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Iran

**Revolution
Enters Its
Fifth
Year**

United States

**Trial of
Socialists
Ends in
Victory
for SWP**

'Most Aggressive Attack' Since 1979 Revolution

U.S.-Backed Rightists Hit Deep in Nicaragua



Counterrevolutionaries strike near Matagalpa and along Honduran border.

Reagan Drives Further Into Salvadoran War

Reagan pushes deeper into Salvadoran war

By Steve Wattenmaker

The weakened and demoralized dictatorship in El Salvador will be getting an emergency transfusion of U.S. weapons, dollars, and military "advisers." President Reagan confirmed March 10 what administration officials had been telling Congress for several weeks — Washington is moving to significantly escalate U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

In a major policy address to the National Association of Manufacturers, Reagan announced the White House was prepared to rush the Salvadoran regime \$60 million in arms aid to supplement \$26 million already allocated for 1983.

He also told the wealthy corporate executives that he would push Congress for a further \$50 million, bringing total military aid to \$136 million. Economic aid to the dictatorship was pegged at \$227 million.

The number of U.S. military personnel assigned to El Salvador as "trainers," Reagan said, would "depend upon the resources available." A week earlier Reagan had said that he "may want to go beyond" the current limit of 55 U.S. soldiers in El Salvador.

The administration's new aid requests have focused fresh attention on the drive to deepen U.S. military involvement in El Salvador. The proposed buildup has fueled an upsurge of antiwar sentiment among U.S. working people and sharpened the political debate over Central America in the halls of Congress.

Today in El Salvador, as it was in Vietnam, alleged outside communist subversion is Washington's stock-in-trade excuse for military intervention. Behind this propaganda, however, the government's determination to press ahead on escalating U.S. military involvement is an urgent attempt to stem the tide of deepening social revolution in El Salvador.

Vietnam echo

While repeating assurances that "there is no parallel whatsoever with Vietnam," the White House is actually campaigning hard to sell working people the same lies U.S. imperialism used in trying to justify its war against Vietnam.

The peoples of Central America may have a few "accumulated grievances," Reagan explained in his March 10 speech, but the real problem "is that an aggressive minority has thrown in its lot with the Communists, looking to the Soviets and their Cuban henchmen to help them pursue political change through violence. Nicaragua has become their base."

And, he added, "their first target is El Salvador."

For decades U.S. imperialism felt secure in plundering the labor and resources of Central

America and the Caribbean. What Washington is combating is not outside subversion, but peasants and workers fighting to free themselves from the "accumulated grievances" of that plunder — brutal poverty and bloody local dictatorships. And in doing so they look to the successful revolutions in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada for inspiration.

Salvador regime shaken

Coming closer to the truth behind the emergency step-up in U.S. aid, Reagan admitted in his speech that the military situation in El Salvador "is not good." The guerrillas "have taken the tactical initiative. . . ."

In fact, rebel military advances over the past several months have struck some major blows against the corrupt Salvadoran army.

The military offensive launched by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in early 1983 swept over Salvadoran army garrisons in Morazán, Chalatenango, San Miguel, and Usulután provinces.

Rebel forces held several towns with populations greater than 10,000 people. On January 31 the FMLN routed the army garrison in Berlín, a city of 35,000. Antigovernment rallies were held in the liberated towns and new fighters were won to the rebel army.

Significant guerrilla actions continued even after the January offensive ended. At the beginning of March the FMLN captured the last military outpost blocking its advance on the capital of Morazán Province, San Francisco Gotera.

On March 13, rebel bombing of transmission lines in northern Chalatenango Province left the entire country without electrical power.

The regime's gloomy military prospects were confirmed by Francisco Adolfo Castillo, former Salvadoran assistant secretary of defense. Castillo was captured by the FMLN in June 1982 and has since been held in the liberated zones.

"Formerly we believed that the guerrillas and the armed forces were gaining in strength, but that we had the advantage in the situation — that the defeat of the guerrillas would only be a matter of time," Castillo commented in a March 11 broadcast over the rebels' Radio Venceremos.

Instead, he observed, "the armed forces have almost been placed on the defensive. . . . I believe they are in grave danger and only a miracle is going to save them."

The popularity of the call by the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) for unconditional negotiations as a step toward peace has also added to the dictatorship's woes. The proposal has wide support in El Salvador, particularly in

the trade unions, the church, and even sections of the junior officer corps.

Internationally, a number of European and Latin American governments have come out in favor of a dialogue.

Despite growing isolation, the Salvadoran regime and its backers in Washington flatly reject any dialogue with the rebel forces. They understand that any talks would give the FMLN-FDR a further opportunity to demonstrate the depth of support the revolutionary forces have among the workers and peasants.

Attempting to blunt some of the worldwide sentiment in favor of negotiations, the White House is trumpeting elections scheduled for later this year as the road forward for Salvadoran democracy.

Washington's rejection of negotiations is not the obstacle to peace, Reagan cynically declared March 10, "it is the guerrilla militants who have . . . resorted to terror, sabotage and bullets instead of the ballot box."

After more than 50 years of propping up successive dictatorships in El Salvador, the White House is on thin ice in extolling the virtues of the ballot box. In fact, the election call is no more than window dressing for the U.S. military buildup.

Rural 'pacification'

U.S. government officials once again echoed Vietnam in disclosing details of what one official called a last-ditch effort to reverse rebel momentum.

An escalation of U.S. aid to El Salvador, they said March 12, was needed to launch a combined military and civic action campaign along the lines of the "rural pacification" program used by Washington in Vietnam.

During the Vietnam War such rural pacification amounted to "winning the hearts and minds" of the civilian population by herding them into squalid concentration camps dubbed "strategic hamlets."

The civilian population was further "pacified" by the assassinations of tens of thousands of civilians suspected of being sympathetic to the Vietnamese revolutionaries. The murders were directed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency under the code name Operation Phoenix.

The Salvadoran army is particularly efficient in this aspect of "pacification." In the past three years they have joined with right-wing death squads to murder 42,000 Salvadoran civilians. The latest prominent victim was Marianella García Villas, head of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador. She was assassinated by army troops March 13 while compiling a report for the United Nations on human rights observance in the latest fighting.

Resorting to such methods in El Salvador is a virtual admission by Washington that the revolution cannot be defeated without intensifying the war against the peasants and workers themselves.

Rural "pacification" has only one aim: to attempt to violently uproot the social revolution

that is already developing in liberated zones of the countryside.

Charles Clements, a U.S. doctor working in FMLN-controlled territory north of San Salvador, provided a glimpse of what that social revolution means for people's lives in an interview published in the March 16 *New York Times*.

There are 30 elementary schools, 15 medical clinics, and 2 hospitals in the zone, he reported. The population of the area increased by about 20 percent last year. The rebels hold regular assemblies of the population and have established the beginnings of a judicial system.

'Rebuilding' Berlin

To showcase what civic action programs will accomplish, the U.S. Agency for International Development pledged \$3 million for reconstruction in Berlin. The city was heavily bombed by the Salvadoran air force when rebel forces occupied it at the end of January.

Salvadoran workers employed by AID in reconstruction projects were promised \$1.60 a day plus food, according to the March 17 *Washington Post*. This part of the civic action program was "to get these people off the streets and earning their beans," a Salvadoran military officer said.

In fact, the workers complained, they were getting neither money *nor* beans. After clearing rubble for three weeks, they said, some of them had not been paid at all and none of them had seen the promised food. And it is a safe assumption that handsome sums of AID money destined for Berlin will disappear into the pockets of the military and government officials.

Another civic action project in Berlin was the construction of the three-room Clarence Long nursery school and kindergarten. The school is named for the Maryland Democratic congressman who heads a subcommittee that decides aid appropriations for El Salvador.

Mounting opposition

The Reagan administration's push to escalate military intervention in El Salvador is deepening some tactical differences among capitalist politicians in Washington.

Divisions in Congress over administration policy, especially after Reagan's March 10 speech, reflect the fact that many legislators are reluctant to take public responsibility for what U.S. working people accurately view as the beginnings of a new Vietnam in Central America.

Some, like Democratic Senator Daniel Inouye, argue that even massive aid may only postpone the eventual collapse of the Salvadoran army.

"Are we, in the name of anticommunism, setting the stage for another Castro?" asked Inouye in a March 14 speech on the Senate floor comparing the Salvadoran regime with that of former Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista.

Inouye joined other senators March 18 in efforts to pare down the size of Reagan's proposed military aid package. Although he said he expected a fight over the request, Con-

gressman Stephen Solarz predicted: "By the end of the day, the administration will get the additional funds."

Antiwar sentiment among U.S. workers has already begun to make an impact at the top levels of the U.S. labor movement. The AFL-CIO labor federation made an unprecedented break with State Department policy recently by deciding to oppose Reagan's certification that the Salvadoran regime had made advances in protecting human rights.

Some 3,000 demonstrators gathered at an emergency rally in New York City March 19 to protest Washington's planned escalation.

Signs and buttons identified auto workers, transit workers, garment workers, and other trade unionists in the ranks of the marchers.

David Dyson, secretary to the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, told the rally that labor should be in the forefront of demonstrations opposing Washington's escalation.

"We are the only thing standing in the way of sending American troops to El Salvador. We must prevent them from sending the sons of North American workers to kill the sons of Latin American workers in El Salvador." □

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U.S. war carried into heart of country

'Most aggressive military operation' since 1979 revolution

By Michael Baumann

MANAGUA — The Nicaraguan government announced here March 21 that it was confronting "the most aggressive military operation" launched by imperialism since the defeat of the dictator Anastasio Somoza in July 1979.

A total of about 2,000 former Somoza National Guardsmen have infiltrated into Nicaragua from their bases in Honduras. Some 1,500 of the heavily armed counter-revolutionaries have taken up positions in the northern mountains, while 400 to 500 have made their way into central Matagalpa Province, scarcely 50 miles northeast of the capital.

Counterrevolutionary radio broadcasts have called for an insurrection against the Sandinista government, declaring that "the hour of liberation is near. With God and with patriotism, we are combating Communism."

Reserve battalions mobilized

"This escalation is being and will be totally defeated," Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega announced at a March 21 news conference here.

All reserve battalions have been mobilized indefinitely to carry defense preparations through to victory, Ortega said, and many militia units are being called up as well.

While Nicaragua's revolutionary government is confident that it can smash the rightist forces that have entered the country, Ortega told reporters in Managua that the situation remains "grave."

"The danger," he said, "lies in imperialism's trying to use the military confrontations between our forces and the National Guard to provoke border conflicts between our forces and the Honduran Army."

This, Ortega warned, could lead to a war with Honduras.

Sergio Ramírez, member of the Government of National Reconstruction, read a statement at the news conference calling for "support and solidarity" from "all friendly governments" and "all political formations that support our revolutionary process."

Meanwhile, in New York, Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs Víctor Tinoco asked for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council. Tinoco charged that the bold new move by the counterrevolutionary forces was inspired and organized by "the Reagan Administration, which is determined to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution."

Ortega also spoke on this point, saying that Washington's political aim is to "distract world attention from the present situation in El

Salvador," while seeking to "create better conditions" for its efforts to hold back the revolutionary upsurge that is taking place throughout Central America. The U.S. rulers, Ortega said, want "to interfere with and destabilize the development of our complex process, to destroy our country."

But the Somozaists and their U.S. backers will not succeed, Ortega pledged. "We will throw whatever forces necessary against them — the Sandinista Army, the reserve battalions, the militias, tanks, and planes. We are going to drive them out, to neutralize imperialism's political and military operation."

Invaders isolated

A two-day meeting of the Sandinista Assembly — the full national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) — preceded the announcement of the new attack and the steps being taken against it. The news conference was attended by nearly 60 correspondents from around the world. They were drawn by reports, circulated by Honduran-based counterrevolutionaries, that the invading force was on the verge of capturing several cities deep in the interior of the country. This was clearly aimed at convincing world public opinion that the Sandinista-led government has little domestic support, as well as creating confusion and disorder inside Nicaragua.

The actual military situation was explained in detail by Commander Lenín Cerna, head of Nicaragua's State Security, and Commander Leopoldo Rivas, vice-minister of defense. Rivas reported that the rightist forces in Matagalpa Province have "suffered heavy casualties."

"They haven't been able to carry out a single offensive action, apart from the [February 28] ambush when they killed 17 members of the Sandinista Youth."

Furthermore, Rivas pointed out, the former Somozaist National Guard forces "have no political base. The only help they can count on is from the old collaborators of Somoza. They must be supplied by air from Honduras, and we think we can cut that off on any sustained basis."

CIA's 'Plan C'

Preparations for the present escalation go back to 1981, Lenín Cerna said. At that time the CIA began to work to bring together all the dispersed ex-National Guard forces into one organization, the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN).

In November 1982, 800 heavily armed FDN

forces crossed the border in an effort to take the northern city of Jalapa and declare it a "liberated zone." This effort was defeated in two months of heavy fighting that culminated in early January of this year.

The current operation, called "Plan C" by the CIA, began in late January of this year. It had two major components — to take and hold positions in northern Jinotega and Nueva Segovia provinces, and to carry out diversionary attacks in northern Zelaya Province on Nicaragua's Caribbean coast. Later it was supposed to be joined by counterrevolutionary forces that would enter from Costa Rica, to the south, under the leadership of ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora.

Extensive training was provided for the forces involved in the operation, in Florida and California, as well as in Honduras and Costa Rica. Advisers from the CIA, Israel, and Argentina, Cerna said, helped set up a unified high command, logistical structures, field hospitals — in short, everything needed by an invading army.

Even a crushing military defeat of the present invading force will not end the problem, Ortega noted at the news conference. The war will continue as long as "the National Guard has the support of imperialism and a secure base in Honduras."

Right-wingers march

Encouraged by the widening of the war, support from the pope, and the Reagan administration's increasingly threatening words and actions, domestic opponents of the revolution are seeking ways to take the offensive.

On March 13, nine days after the pope's visit, they mobilized under the pretext of expressing apologies to the Vatican.

Organized out of El Carmen Church, one of Managua's wealthiest and most reactionary parishes, some 500 people, according to the Sandinista daily *Barricada*, marched through the streets carrying Vatican flags and portraits of the pope.

Chanting "Long live Catholic Nicaragua!" the demonstrators marched for about two hours. They claimed to be making amends for supposed "disrespect" shown to the pope during his visit here. But the class composition of the marchers showed their true aims.

Most were women from wealthy families, many of them owners of businesses in their own right. Also participating were leaders of three right-wing political parties — the Social Christian Party, Liberal Constitutionalist Movement, and Conservative Party.

Following the march they returned to church for an evening mass, whose main political

point was a call from the pastor for willingness to shed blood to defend the church, to set an example against the "atheists" and "Marxist-Leninists."

The fact that the march occurred is much more important than its relatively small size. *Barricada* called attention to it with a front-page news article and photograph March 14. The headline noted that the march had taken place "without incident," signaling that it had failed as a provocation.

Instead of commenting editorially on the political character of the march, *Barricada* quoted a bystander who said: "They might as well have been chanting 'Long live Reagan!' or 'Long live the counterrevolutionaries!'"

The march represented a hard core of reactionaries willing to condemn as a show of "disrespect" the masses' appeal to the pope for help in achieving peace.

They clearly expect their numbers to grow. And in face of massive support for the revolution, they have made clear that they intend to focus on so-called religious themes to obscure their real political aims.

The reactionary pastor's reference to the "Marxist-Leninists" was part of the church hierarchy's response to a big educational campaign currently being carried out by the revolutionary government, the union movement, and the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Marx's death (March 14), Lenin's birthday (April 22), and preparations for May Day are all being used to broaden discussion of scientific socialism and its application to Nicaragua today.

One aim, *Barricada* reported February 26, is "to clarify for Nicaraguans who Karl Marx was, and to erase from popular consciousness the distortions the Somoza dictatorship spread about Marx's work and ideas."

The keynote speech at the recent convention of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) focused on the challenge of moving toward socialism in a backward, underdeveloped country.

A seven-part television series on Marx's life and work is currently being shown on prime-time television.

Discussions on the works of Sandino, Marx, and Lenin are being organized in workplaces and educational centers around the country.

At a leadership level, more than 250 cadres of the revolutionary government have enrolled in a special 25-week course on Marxist political economy, being taught by a visiting professor from the University of Havana.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of volunteers have answered the call to enlist in the new period of militia training.

Enlistment in the militias is not something to be taken lightly. The militias are, in fact, the third arm of organized defense, after the regular army and reserve battalions. According to figures from the Ministry of Defense, militia units took part in combat on more than 70 occasions in 1982. □

United States

Salvadoran gets out message

Unionist speaks to farm workers, miners

By Steve Wattenmaker

Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara, an official of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and general secretary of the Fishing Industry Union, is on an extended tour of the United States. His call for an end to U.S. intervention in Central America has received a warm response from U.S. workers.

Molina Lara has spoken before dozens of trade union organizations — from mine workers' locals in rural West Virginia to central labor councils in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

At a labor forum in New York City hosted by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at their national headquarters, Molina Lara's description of the repression against unionists in El Salvador was broadcast over nationwide radio.

Molina Lara has also appealed for solidarity in winning the release of Salvadoran labor leaders jailed by the dictatorship since 1980. Several thousand U.S. union officials and members have signed petitions demanding the release of the Salvadoran unionists. And thousands of dollars have been raised during the tour to aid the families of the jailed activists.

Molina Lara's February 14-18 tour of Arizona was sponsored by officials of the Teamsters, Steelworkers, and teachers unions. Also sponsoring the tour was the Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America (CAUSA).

During the five-day visit he spoke to copper miners in the small town of Miami, Arizona, and to members of the United Steelworkers employed at the Reynolds Aluminum plant in Phoenix.

At one of the largest meetings during the Arizona tour, Molina Lara spoke to 120 farm workers, members of the Arizona Farm Workers (AFW). The workers — mostly Mexican immigrants — gave Molina Lara a standing ovation.

Another highlight of Molina Lara's visit was a public meeting held at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 769 union hall. More than 60 people attended, including members and officials of the IBEW, USWA, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

"How can it be explained that for three years now we have been able to stand the tremendous military power being brought against us?" Molina Lara asked the rally audience. "There are 30,000 men in the Salvadoran army; many U.S. Green Beret advisors; a Pacific fleet of 20 ships; planes; and helicopters.

"The only answer as to why this power has

been unable to destroy us is that we are not just a group of subversives, but rather an entire people."

During his 10-day swing through Minnesota, Molina Lara spoke before local meetings of auto workers, clothing and textile workers, machinists, steelworkers, rail workers, teachers, and municipal workers. He also addressed the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

On February 26 more than 200 people turned out for a labor-community rally against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The rally was chaired by Bob Killeen, Sub-Region 10 Director of the United Auto Workers (UAW). Earlier in the week Molina Lara spoke before the UAW Sub-Region 10 CAP Council, the union's political-action arm.

After hearing Molina Lara, the council unanimously sent a resolution to President Reagan condemning the imprisonment of Salvadoran trade union leaders. It read, in part:

"Minnesota United Auto Workers join with Latin and American citizens . . . and request you press the Salvadoran government for the release as soon as possible of the union leaders who have been jailed since August 22, 1980.

"The government of El Salvador is violating the fundamental rights of union members and their leaderships as stated by the International Labor Organization (ILO); therefore we ask you do your utmost to have these union members released and returned to their families."

Joining Molina Lara on the platform were Carl Hoogenraad, president of Local 1139 of the United Electrical Workers and John Massetti, secretary-treasurer of Lodge 143 of the International Association of Machinists.

"I am honored that Molina Lara has asked me to speak," said Massetti. "I am horrified at the record of the U.S. government. I thought we had enough of this in Vietnam.

"Let our voice become many and demand no more military aid to El Salvador."

Two members of Massetti's lodge have begun to circulate the petition to free the imprisoned trade unionists. They said their goal is to sign up every single worker in the Northwest Orient plant where they work.

Another important stop on Molina Lara's Minnesota tour was a presentation to 200 members of USWA Local 1938 on the Mesabi Iron Range in the far northern part of the state. Representing taconite miners, Local 1938 is the largest steelworkers local in Minnesota.

"In the six states I have toured, it is clear to me that our brother and sister workers in the United States are beginning to move and wake up," Molina Lara concluded from the warm response his message has received from U.S. trade unionists. □

Masses mobilize against U.S. threats

'No backward reaction can stop this revolution'

By Steve Clark

ST. GEORGE'S — Plans for celebrating the fourth anniversary of the March 13, 1979, revolution on this small Caribbean island underwent an emergency change here this weekend.

Initial plans had projected no central, island-wide event, such as those that have taken place the previous three years. Instead, local rallies had been set for towns, villages, and workplaces throughout the country.

As Prime Minister Maurice Bishop explained at an evening rally here March 13, however, President Reagan took those plans out of the hands of the revolutionary Grenadian government by levelling a serious threat to Grenada in a speech just two days earlier to the National Association of Manufacturers.

In that speech, Reagan explained his intention to increase military assistance to the Salvadoran dictatorship and to consider expanding the number of U.S. military personnel aiding the counterrevolution in El Salvador's civil war.

Attempting to justify these steps, Reagan raised the specter of outside aggression from Cuba and the Soviet Union, which, he said, threatens to spread throughout the region right up to the Mexican-U.S. border.

"I know a good many people wonder why we should care about whether Communist governments come into power," Reagan said. "One columnist argued last week that we shouldn't care because their products are not that vital to our economy."

Continuing, Reagan said: "That's like the argument of another so-called expert that we shouldn't worry about Castroite control over the island of Grenada — their only important product is nutmeg."

"People who make these arguments haven't taken a good look at a map lately or followed the extraordinary buildup of Soviet and Cuban military power in the region. . . .

"It is not nutmeg that is at stake in the Caribbean and Central America. It is the United States national security," Reagan concluded.

No idle threat

At a late afternoon rally outside St. George's March 12, leaders of the Grenadian government and governing New Jewel Movement explained the seriousness of Reagan's threat. The rally had initially been called as a ceremony officially opening the Sandino Housing Plant. The new factory, named for the Nicaraguan revolutionary hero Augusto César Sandino, will turn out 500 new homes each year to upgrade living standards for Grenadian workers and farmers.

José López Moreno, a member of the Cen-

tral Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and ex-minister of construction, was an honored guest at the event, along with the Cuban workers and engineers who assisted Grenada in building the plant.

As Reagan's threat became known early that morning, announcements were broadcast all day long over Radio Free Grenada urging people throughout the island to come hear the revolutionary government's response. Buses were marshaled to provide transportation to the rally.

"It is one thing for Reagan to say that U.S. imperialism doesn't like our foreign policy," Grenada's Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard told the rally. "It is one thing for him to say that they don't like our economic path of development.

"But it is altogether another thing," Coard emphasized, "to say that another country is a threat to your national security." Such threats and provocations, he said, are "the closest thing to a declaration of war without declaring war."

Coard explained how Washington had lied in the middle 1960s about a North Vietnamese attack on a U.S. ship in the Gulf of Tonkin to justify an all-out war against the people of that country. He recalled false White House claims last year of Soviet bases and an alleged massive military build-up in Nicaragua just before the major escalation of U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary activity along the Honduran border.

"Every criminal has his trade mark," Coard said. "And this particular criminal has his trade mark, too — when you're about ready to attack another country, claim it's about ready to attack you, or to attack its neighbors."

The surprise speaker at the end of the rally was Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who within the hour had landed at the island's Pearl's Airport following his return flight from the Seventh Summit of the Nonaligned Movement in New Delhi.

Bishop told the crowd, "by these words, and by the unremitting attacks on our revolution since its victory, Ronald Reagan is clearly signalling that imperialism is getting ready for an all-out assault against our revolutionary process."

Calling attention to the examples of revolutions in El Salvador, Nicaragua, southern Africa, Palestine, and Indochina, Bishop continued:

"In every single case of a revolution around the world, imperialism has responded not only by counterrevolutionary propaganda and lies, not only by economic aggression, but also by armed invasion. That is the lesson we must

draw from the experience of other revolutions.

"The imperialists have tried their propaganda in Grenada," Bishop stated. "They have tried their economic aggression. And in both cases they have been severely beaten by our people.

"So now they are forced to resort to armed aggression."

U.S. military build-up

Bishop and Coard pointed to a pattern of public attacks on Grenada by U.S. officials over the past several months. These include a speech by Vice-president George Bush in Miami in January and recent statements by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary Nestor Sánchez.

They also pointed out that new U.S. naval maneuvers involving 36 warships and more than 300 planes began off the coast of Puerto Rico on March 11; in August 1981 the United States staged "Operation Amberines," which included a mock invasion of a small Caribbean island obviously meant to be Grenada.

In addition, in the vicinity of Grenada today there are five docked U.S. naval vessels — in Antigua, Trinidad, Dominica, and Barbados — as well as Britain's HMS *Invincible* used last year in its colonial reconquest of the Malvinas Islands from Argentina.

The New Jewel Movement leaders also called attention to the recent revelation in the *Washington Post* of CIA plots to overthrow the revolutionary government of Grenada. While U.S. officials claim that only propaganda and economic destabilization were eventually authorized, Bishop recalled the June 1980 bomb that exploded beneath the speakers' platform at a rally in this city's Queens Park.

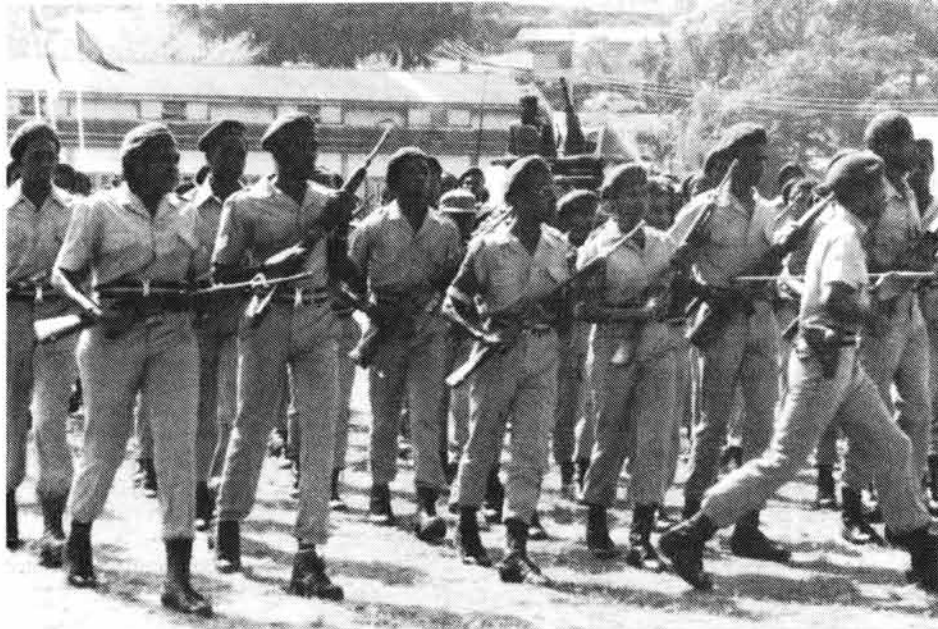
That explosion did not kill its intended victims, the entire central New Jewel Movement leadership who were scheduled to be seated on the platform. It did, however, kill three young women in the crowd and injured many.

Why the attacks?

Prime Minister Bishop explained that the deteriorating political and military situation for the U.S.-backed Salvadoran regime is a prime reason for Washington's stepped-up threats.

Referring to the results of the Nonaligned Summit in New Delhi, Grenada's prime minister said:

"Whereas imperialism was hoping that the Nonaligned Summit would keep quiet on the question of El Salvador, instead the people of El Salvador were able to get firm solidarity. Not only that. It was also clear to all the countries present [in New Delhi] that by their revo-



Rick Congress/Militant

Grenadian troops during celebration of revolution's fourth anniversary.

lutionary fighting action over the past few weeks, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front was in fact winning the war. The people of El Salvador not only could, but would win.

"And that is one of the major reasons there is this desperation in Washington at this time."

Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard explained a number of other factors behind the stepped-up threats against the Grenada revolution.

Coard pointed to a Voice of America broadcast following Reagan's speech that claimed that Grenada's human rights record was getting worse. It alleged that prisoners were tortured, kept hungry and naked, and denied showers and toilet facilities.

"I suspect they are talking about prisons in the United States and got a little mixed up," Coard said. "I suspect they are talking about the thousands of prisoners, Black and white, living without proper conditions, treated like animals."

Coard also reminded the crowd at the Sandino Plant of past U.S. claims that Soviet submarine bases were under construction in Grenada.

"These people have a very fertile imagination," he said. "If Reagan would put his mind to doing some work, and concentrate on running America to provide for the people of America, instead of poking his nose into Grenada's business, maybe the 15 million people who are out of work could get jobs."

"Maybe he should spend some of his time providing housing to the people of America. Maybe he should restore social security benefits and health benefits in America.

"Because while they are closing schools in America, we've opened three schools in Grenada this week. While they are closing hospitals and clinics in America, we're opening them every year in Grenada. While you have to spend your life savings to see a doctor or a dentist in America, it's free in Grenada."

Washington is "afraid of the example of

Grenada in the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean," Coard said. The Grenadian economy grew by 5.5 percent in 1982, while those of the governments "who have been acting as stooges for imperialism in the region are going from crisis to crisis."

Reagan fears, Coard continued, that the masses throughout the rest of the Caribbean will say, "If Grenada can build 500 houses a year for the people, why can't we? If Grenada can move unemployment down from 49 percent to 14 percent in three years, with a goal of 0 percent by 1985, why can't we?"

This is the real reason that the U.S. government is so upset about Cuban aid to Grenada too. "What Reagan is really afraid of Cuba for is not primarily its military aid," Coard said. "It's the economic aid that drives him crazy. In health, in education, in housing, in building the new international airport to make our country independent, in scholarships to our youth to learn medicine, engineering, and other skills to develop our country."

The American people

Coard stressed that it is the U.S. capitalist government, not the American people, that is the enemy of the Grenada revolution.

"You either have to be a multi-, multi-millionaire — or backed, financed, and controlled by multi-, multi-millionaires — to become a president, a senator, or anybody of significance in the U.S. government. That's what they call democracy.

"There is not one single worker in the United States Congress. Not a single worker. That tells you a lot.

"So we always have to make a distinction between the criminal being who rules that country and the people of America, who believe in justice, freedom, and genuine democracy. The Grenadian people will always stretch out a hand of friendship to the American people and welcome them to our country."

He expressed the appreciation of the Grenadian

people to the scores of visitors who had come to this island to join the anniversary celebration from the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and throughout the Caribbean.

Military parade

The next day, March 13, opened with a military parade. Grenadian army troops, police, militia members, and cadets were reviewed by Prime Minister Bishop and other leaders of the revolutionary government. Also on display were several of the new armored personnel carriers, tanks, antiaircraft weapons, communications vehicles, and other advanced military equipment.

The troops then piled into army trucks and jeeps. These military vehicles headed up a caravan of other trucks from the St. George's area — filled with Grenadians, young and old, and foreign guests including this reporter. The 8-hour motorcade wound up and down mountains, throughout the countryside, and to every major town on this small island of 133 square miles.

All along the way people poured out to greet the motorcade, many with homemade signs or refreshments for the riders. Many jumped into the trucks. Fists shot into the air.

People chanted: "No, no, no. Imperialism, no. No backward reaction can stop this revolution"; "Steady Maurice [Bishop], steady! The people put you there!"; "To crush Reagan's might, Grenada unite"; and "Don't touch our Revo, Reagan. You're too old for that."

It was an impressive outpouring of support for the revolution in the face of imperialist threats.

At the conclusion of the motorcade back here in St. George's, Prime Minister Bishop presented a brief address to the nation. He stressed the need to step up vigilance and defense of the revolution.

The most immediate task, Bishop said, was that those who had signed up for the militia and later dropped away, feeling that the revolution was secure, now should rejoin. He urged all those able to learn the use of weapons to join the militia, be they young or old.

"Revolution requires not only the building of our political consciousness," Bishop said, "not only the building of our economy, not only the building of our organs of popular power and democracy. It also requires that each and every one of us, on the occasion of an armed attack on our country, be prepared to exercise their duty to come out fighting, arms in hand, to repel any invader from our shores."

The crowd responded in a crisp calypso cadence:

"If they come by sea, we will beat them back!

"If they come by air, we will beat them back!

"Whether in a boat, we will beat them back.

"Whether in a plane, we will beat them back!

"Anyhow they come, we will beat them back!"

Trial of socialists ends in SWP victory

After four years of disruption by courts

By David Frankel

LOS ANGELES — One week after it opened, the trial of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. District Court here ended with Judge Mariana Pfaelzer saying she would rule in favor of the party.

Pfaelzer's March 9 decision was a big victory. But it came after a four-year-long disruption operation that cost the SWP hundreds of thousands of dollars and an incalculable drain on the time and energies of the party's central leadership.

As David Epstein, attorney for the SWP, said in his closing argument, "The tragedy here is that no matter what the final decision, it does not alleviate for one moment the four years of harassment that my clients have been put through."

Epstein pointed to the table set aside for the SWP legal team. It was piled high with the transcripts of pretrial question-and-answer sessions that SWP leaders had been required by the court to submit to — some 350 hours in all.

The SWP was hauled into court by Alan Gelfand, a Los Angeles County attorney who has leveled the slanderous claim that the party is run by government agents. Gelfand, who was expelled from the SWP in 1979, asked that the capitalist court review the principles and practices of a revolutionary workers party and rule on whether these were in keeping with the genuine traditions of the socialist movement!

Not only did Gelfand ask the capitalist court to determine who represents the ideas of socialism, he also demanded that it reinstate him in the SWP and remove the elected party leadership from office.

Judge's role

No less outrageous than Gelfand's suit was the agreement of Pfaelzer to hear his case and rule on it. Gelfand's lying accusations against the SWP would have remained so much hot air had it not been for that. As it was, the power of the courts enabled the disruption operation to go forward.

At stake in the trial were the democratic rights of all working people. Gelfand's tactic of joining an organization, getting himself thrown out, and then bleeding it through the courts can be used against the union movement, Black rights organizations, women's rights groups, or any other progressive formation.

That Pfaelzer carried the case as far as she did was a blow to the constitutional right of freedom of association — that is, the right of citizens to form independent organizations without any government control and supervi-

sion. If that right is taken away, so is the right to organize against the policies of the bosses and their government.

In keeping alive Gelfand's suit, the judge repeatedly turned down motions by the SWP to throw the case out of court, although she herself admitted Gelfand had never presented a shred of evidence to back up his charges.

During the final arguments Pfaelzer declared, "All along the way I have defended Mr. Gelfand's right to continue. . . . We have gone along and reopened discovery . . . even though I did not believe there was anything to this case. . . ."

"And here we are now, after having spent all this time and money. I can only assume that the only motive was to paralyze the SWP. If I had been presented with one piece of evidence that these people are agents of the United States government I wouldn't be so disturbed."

At this point John Burton, Gelfand's chief lawyer, complained, "The court was never misled about what this case was about. You can look at each step — the interrogatories, the summary judgment brief, the trial brief — we told the court what kind of case we were going to present."

It was Pfaelzer who gave the go-ahead for the endless inquisition of SWP leaders by Gelfand's lawyers. As she put it in court, "I know

there has been an abuse of discovery. . . . Probably it is still going on, but I am not going to do anything about it. I am going to let it proceed."

McCarthyite smears

Pfaelzer also allowed Gelfand to fill the court record with innuendo and slander. At one point Burton tried to introduce into evidence a section of the book *Men Without Faces*, by FBI informer and professional liar and perjurer Louis Budenz. Budenz was a major figure in helping to get the McCarthyite witch-hunt going. His frame-up accusations that leaders of the Communist Party were Soviet agents helped set the stage for the Smith Act trials that sent many to prison in the 1950s.

Budenz also smeared others on the left. In *My Story*, one of his books not introduced as evidence by Gelfand, Budenz assures his readers that "Hitler used German Trotskyites as guards and encouraged them to persecute Catholics of the resistance movement. That is the Trotskyite style."

But Gelfand, who claims to represent the ideas of Trotskyism, had a particular use for another one of Budenz's slanders. Gelfand maintains that the agents who supposedly head the SWP today were helped into their places by Joseph Hansen, a leader of the party for 40 years. Hansen, according to Gelfand's noxious fantasy, was originally an agent of the Soviet secret police who was later recruited by the FBI.

Where the connection with Budenz comes in is that the witch-hunter had picked up and publicized an FBI smear against a former SWP activist, Sylvia Caldwell (also known as Franklin). Caldwell was one of many people accused by the FBI and its lapdogs of being a Soviet agent during the 1940s and '50s. She was hounded and threatened by the FBI and courts for years. Gelfand takes the FBI-Budenz smear for good coin and argues that "Soviet agent" Caldwell was helped into place by another "Soviet agent" — Hansen.

The Budenz book was offered as evidence for this mishmash of foul slanders.

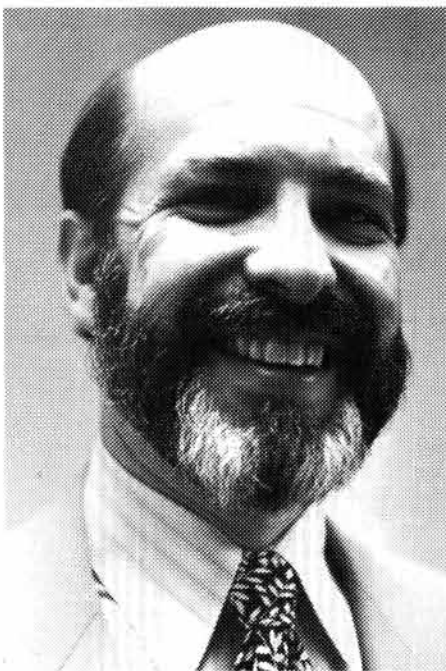
'There's no limit'

"Your honor," attorney Epstein objected, "surely there has to be some limit. . . ."

"No," the judge shot back. "There's no limit. That's the way we're trying the case."

Epstein tried again. "Your honor, here we have an excerpt from a book about somebody named Helen who we're supposed to know is Franklin because of a letter written by the defendants. What's that supposed to prove?"

"I don't know what it's supposed to prove,"



Della Rosa/Militant

David Epstein, attorney for SWP.

the judge replied. "The record is already so overburdened, I see no reason why not to admit more."

Pfaelzer later admitted that "75 percent of the evidence I let in, in this trial, is irrelevant and immaterial in my opinion."

Using the pretext that she has hidden behind all along, the judge claimed, "My motivation here is to make sure that Mr. Gelfand had his day in court."

With Pfaelzer's help, Gelfand had four years in court.

Cops say Gelfand was OK

During the trial itself, Pfaelzer let Gelfand's lawyers call whatever witnesses they wanted to, despite objections from Epstein that their testimony was irrelevant.

Two of Gelfand's witnesses were already known to Pfaelzer. They were Vincent Parisi and Ricky Gibbey, Los Angeles cops who infiltrated the SWP and carried out a spying and disruption operation against it. At that time, Pfaelzer was serving as president of the Los Angeles Police Commission and approved the police operations against the SWP.

Parisi and Gibbey were offered, in effect, as character witnesses for Gelfand. "During the first year or two of Mr. Gelfand's membership," Burton asked Gibbey, "did he have a reputation as an outstanding member in the SWP?"

"Yes, he did," the cop hastened to reply.

"Through the entire time that you were in the SWP, did you ever see him try to disrupt the SWP?"

"No," Gibbey assured the court.

"Did you have the impression that Mr. Gelfand was trying to act in the best interests of the party?" Burton continued.

Pfaelzer, doubtless thinking of what the record would look like, broke in to say, "Now how is an agent supposed to answer a question like that?"

Turning to Gibbey, however, she said, "Go ahead. You may answer the question."

Gibbey replied, "Yes." Gelfand, as the cop saw it, was acting in the best interests of the SWP.

'Just like a TV camera'

In the weeks leading up to the trial, the SWP publicized Pfaelzer's previous responsibility for police spying and disruption against the party. During the trial itself the debate over such police operations was making front-page headlines in Los Angeles, fueled by new revelations about what the cops had been doing. Although Pfaelzer refused to step down from the case, as the SWP had demanded, the impact of the public campaign was felt inside the courtroom.

During Burton's final argument, he said: "You heard Mr. Gibbey say there was nothing wrong with Mr. Gelfand's procedure." The judge interrupted.

"Oh come now, Mr. Burton, Mr. Gibbey was a policeman. Rightly or wrongly he was in there as a policeman. What kind of weight do



Militant

GELFAND

you want me to give to his testimony?"

Pfaelzer's "rightly or wrongly" speaks volumes. The former head of the police commission, who authorized Gibbey's activities, was conceding that there was a question after all about the propriety of such police spying and disruption.

Burton answered by offering the same lie that the cops themselves do in seeking to justify and defend their disruption programs against opponents of the government. Denying that the purpose of the cops is to disrupt the groups they target, Burton said of Gibbey: "He was an observer, he was like a television camera that recorded these events."

This defense of Gibbey's infiltration into the SWP was not an exception. Gelfand's entire case was based on government documents — mainly from the police and FBI, but also some from the State Department — documents that were filled with lies; on the testimony of cops like Parisi and Gibbey; and on the output of informers such as Budenz. It was a cop case from beginning to end.

Gelfand and his attorneys made no attempt to prove the truthfulness of these documents, offering them as evidence only of Gelfand's "state of mind." Moreover, none of the documents contained any shred of proof whatsoever that the leadership of the SWP or Joseph Hansen were government agents.

The knowledgeable Mr. Budenz

The character of Gelfand's case came through with particular clarity around the frame-up of Sylvia Caldwell. The charge that Caldwell was an agent of the Soviet GPU (a forerunner of the KGB) first surfaced around 1947. SWP leader Larry Seigle explained on

the witness stand, "The party treated it as if would any accusation from the FBI that someone was a Soviet agent. They were coming fast and furious at that time."

But Burton was not about to give up. "Isn't it a fact," he asked SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, "that Mr. Budenz filed an affidavit before the House Un-American Activities Committee, stating that Sylvia Franklin [Caldwell] was a GPU agent?"

"I wouldn't believe anything that Louis Budenz said," Barnes pointed out.

Nevertheless, in his final argument Burton cited the authority of "Mr. Budenz, who everyone agreed had a great deal of knowledge about GPU actions in the United States."

Perhaps the thing that most impressed Gelfand's lawyer about the Sylvia Caldwell story was that, as he explained, "The U.S. government was convinced, at least enough to name her as unindicted coconspirator" in a 1958 spy trial.

Even in those days, however, the government was not willing to risk asking a jury to convict Caldwell. It makes one wonder what Burton thinks about the frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Not only did the government call them Soviet spies, in their case it even staged a trial and electrocuted the two martyrs.

But no doubts about official government documents have any place in the minds of Gelfand and his lawyers. "Today is a historic day," Burton declared as he introduced a last-minute government document he claimed was final proof that Sylvia Caldwell was a Soviet agent.

"It doesn't prove anything!" snapped the judge.

Especially suspicious, in Burton's view, was the fact that the SWP defended Sylvia Caldwell despite the fact that she left the party in the late 1940s. "Why are they defending her?" he asked in his final argument. "Nobody else wants to defend her. . . . The woman is obviously an agent."

According to Burton's logic, only agents would want to defend a woman who has been tagged as a Soviet agent by authorities such as the knowledgeable Louis Budenz.

'You have proved nothing'

By this time, the judge was interested in putting some distance between herself and Gelfand and company. She pointed out that an alternative explanation for the actions of the SWP leaders could be that "they're devoted to the party, they're loyal to Sylvia Caldwell, they're loyal to Mr. Hansen, and they assume that all these charges have been laid to rest in the past."

When Burton, in reply, referred to an earlier SWP motion to throw out the case without any trial, Pfaelzer snapped back: "That is exactly what should have been granted, the motion for summary judgment. . . . I have given you your day in court and have asked you repeatedly how you intend to prove that these people are agents of the government. You have not proved anything that you said you were

going to prove — nothing.”

Another point was repeatedly made by Pfaelzer. All the testimony about Caldwell and Hansen not only proved nothing about them, but it was also irrelevant.

“What you have to do is show that the people who expelled Mr. Gelfand from the party were agents of the FBI, or CIA, or of some government agency,” she added.

The best that Gelfand could do in his attempt to come up with something to show that the leaders of the SWP are agents of the U.S. government was a letter written by Doug Jenness, a coeditor of the *Militant*, to the dean of students at Carleton College during the early 1960s. The letter, written in compliance with campus regulations, informed the school administration on behalf of the Student Peace Union (SPU), which Jenness was a member of at that time, that the SPU was organizing an off-campus antiwar demonstration.

“What does that do?” asked the judge, looking at the letter.

“It is an example of Doug Jenness acting as an informant,” Burton replied.

‘Not one shred of evidence’

It was on the basis of such “proof” that Gelfand’s lawyer declared in his final argument that “every allegation in his complaint has been established here in trial.

“Mr. Gelfand was forced to resort to a circumstantial case of great complexity, but each and every fact has been proved here today.”

When the judge told Burton, “You’ve been given countless thousands of hours to prove your case and you have not shown one shred of evidence,” Gelfand’s lawyer began to get upset.

His voice rising, pointing his finger at Pfaelzer, Burton cried out, “You may not believe it, your honor, but the evidence is there.”

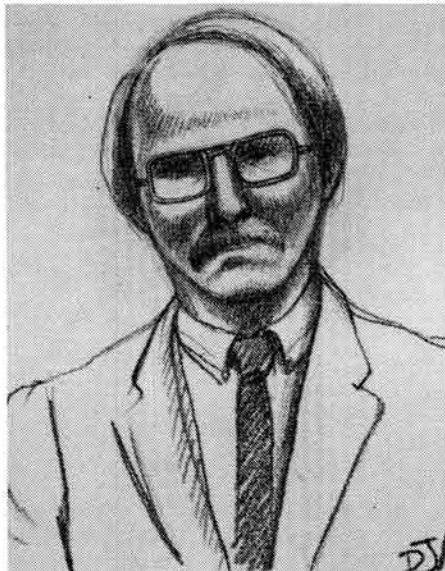
Gelfand cites J. Edgar Hoover

A major issue in the case was Gelfand’s expulsion from the SWP in January 1979. Gelfand maintained that this action had been taken by the “agents” in the SWP leadership to silence him and that his rights as a member had been violated. The court had agreed to rule on whether the party had violated its “contract” with Gelfand.

Gelfand’s expulsion came about because of his intervention into the fight that the SWP was waging against the U.S. government and its secret police. In June 1978 Griffin Bell had become the first U.S. attorney general ever to be cited for contempt of court. Bell had defied a court order to turn over informer files to the SWP’s lawyers in the famous SWP lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Disclosure of the informer files, the government argued, would endanger national security because the SWP was supposedly in league with foreign powers. Furthermore, the government claimed, disclosure would endanger the lives of the informers because the SWP was a violent organization.

In December 1978, while appeals on this



Cop Gibbey — Gelfand’s star character witness.

issue were still being heard, Gelfand jumped in with his own legal document in the case. He did this behind the back of the SWP. His argument dovetailed completely with those being raised by the government.

“How could it do that?” SWP attorney Epstein asked Larry Seigle.

“Well,” Seigle replied, “first it accused Joe Hansen of being a Soviet agent. Joe Hansen was a plaintiff [in the SWP’s suit against the government].

“Second, it cited the letter by the liar J. Edgar Hoover that accused Joe Hansen of murdering George Mink. . . . It fed right into the government’s arguments.”

(One of the FBI documents that Gelfand thought was particularly useful for his case against Joe Hansen was a letter from J. Edgar Hoover citing a report that Hansen had tied up one George Mink and thrown him to his death in a volcano crater outside of Mexico City. Mink, however, turned up alive and well some months after Hoover’s letter. Also to be noted is the fact that Mink was supposedly an agent of the GPU on his way to Mexico City to kill Leon Trotsky. But Gelfand’s whole frame-up is based on the claim that Hansen was working for the GPU and was secretly conspiring to assassinate Trotsky. Apparently Gelfand’s respect for J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI is far greater than his powers of logic.)

During the final arguments, the judge noted, “If there ever have been grounds in the history of the world for throwing a party member out, it was in the brief that Mr. Gelfand filed. . . .

“I don’t know what kind of political party they would be if they hadn’t thrown him out. They let him vilify the party extensively before they threw him out.

“Come now, Mr. Burton, you read it. Do you think that brief was helpful to the party?”

“Certainly,” replied the counsel for the plaintiff.

Gelfand’s testimony had previously established that his suit against the SWP was conceived, organized, and financed in collaboration with the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and the WRP’s subordinates in the U.S. Workers League (WL). These groups, which had previously been marked by ultrasectarian politics, have carried out an eight-year campaign accusing the SWP of being run by agents. Their campaign against the SWP has become the axis of their political activity. As the character of the Gelfand suit clearly showed, the evolution of this tendency has placed it outside the working-class movement.

The whole purpose of Gelfand’s suit was to disrupt the SWP and to try to get more ammunition for the WRP-WL slander campaign against the SWP.

“What is happening in this courtroom, your honor, is very simple,” Epstein noted in his final argument. “With every click of that stenographic machine, these plaintiffs obtain more material to take out of context and to use in the same irresponsible way as they have up to now.”

Gelfand’s own testimony, and the inquisition of SWP leaders Jack Barnes and Larry Seigle, proved absolutely nothing about the lying claims of the WRP-WL. Neither did the brief testimony of WL member Jean Brust.

Brust’s husband is a professor at Carleton College in Minnesota. Part of the WRP-WL argument is that Carleton College was the staging ground for the infiltration of government agents into the SWP. The proof? Jack Barnes, Larry Seigle, Doug Jenness, and some other leaders of the SWP went to Carleton College.

“That is the most outrageous and ridiculous thing that has ever been argued in this courtroom, what you’re arguing now,” the judge told Burton when he began on the “Carleton connection.”

The only other witnesses called by Gelfand’s lawyer were the two cops, who gave Gelfand a clean bill of health, for what it was worth. Then Burton rested his case.

There was simply nothing for the SWP defendants to answer. The court had merely served as a sounding board for the same slanders that the WRP-WL have been issuing for years. “The defendant SWP will be presenting no defense,” Epstein told the court.

Government ‘defendants’

Aside from the SWP, Gelfand had also named the FBI, CIA, and Justice Department as defendants in the suit. But no depositions were taken from government officials. No real attempt was made to force the government to testify about the disruption programs it carries out. The suit was obviously aimed at the SWP, not at the U.S. government.

Two government lawyers sat silently at their own table through the entire trial. They did not question any witnesses. They did not present opening or closing arguments. Virtually the only role the government defendants played in

the four-year history of the case was to defend what they call "informer privilege" — that is, the government's "right" to keep secret the names of its informers.

The government contended that for it to say SWP leaders were *not* among its informers and agents would endanger national security! Judge Pfaelzer upheld this view.

While the government lawyers did not play a very visible role, the interests of the capitalist government were quite ably served by another of its representatives — Judge Pfaelzer. The kind of disruption program that has been carried out in secret by the FBI and CIA in the past was done out in the open through the use of the courts.

As Epstein explained during his final argument, "This case was a studied attempt by Alan Gelfand to act in the most disruptive and provocative way that he knew how, with the purpose of doing nothing but paralyzing the SWP."

Gelfand, Epstein declared, "had no shame in putting forth every bit of energy in disrupt-

ing this party, and he is doing it to this day."

For her part, Judge Pfaelzer had enabled Gelfand to carry out his disruption program against the SWP for four years without — as she herself repeatedly said — "one shred of evidence." Having taken the case as far as it could go, Pfaelzer turned around and tried to dissociate herself from Gelfand's malicious use of the court process.

Believes in everyone's rights?

"I do believe in the constitutional rights of all the people who come in here," Pfaelzer insisted.

When Epstein was outlining the way that Gelfand had used the courts to pursue the disruption campaign against the SWP, Pfaelzer broke in to say: "I agree with what you have just said. I think the lawsuit has been harassment. I think in large measure that it was brought for reasons other than getting Mr. Gelfand back into the party. I am more confident of that than ever before."

Whatever one cares to think about Pfaelzer's

sincerity on the subject of constitutional rights, her stance has opened up an opportunity to pursue the counteroffensive against Gelfand and his collaborators. In response to Epstein's request, the judge set a hearing at which the SWP will be able to ask for lawyers' fees and the other costs of the case.

But the SWP is not just going to go after Gelfand in this process; it is also going to ask that the law firm that represented him be held liable. Gelfand's lawyers continued for years with a case they knew lacked any foundation in fact whatsoever.

Insofar as the SWP is successful in making Gelfand and company sorry that they ever went to court, it will make other rightists less eager to try out this tactic against unions, Black rights groups, or whatever progressive organization they would like to get. The SWP never wanted this fight in court, but now that the party has been confronted with it, it will carry the battle through to the end in the interests of the entire working-class movement. □

The Gelfand suit and the Cuban Revolution

[The following editorial appeared in the March 25 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Alan Gelfand's suit was financed by the U.S. Workers League and carried out in collaboration with this outfit and its parent group in Britain, the Workers Revolutionary Party of Gerry Healy.

Decades ago, the grouping led by Healy was a Marxist organization. How did it degenerate into its present state?

Key to understanding this process was the Healyite rejection of the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s. Healy and his grouping maintained that socialist revolutions were only possible if they were led by Trotskyist parties.

Since the Cuban revolutionary leadership was not Trotskyist, the Healyites concluded that no revolution had taken place. Cuba remained capitalist and Castro was another Batista or Chiang Kai-shek.

In other words, when the living class struggle turned out different from the Healyite schema — they solved the contradiction by denying reality.

The Socialist Workers Party, by contrast, saw the Cuban revolution as of historic importance. Not only had the first socialist revolution in the Americas occurred, but a new leadership, Marxist and proletarian, had been forged in the process. This augured well for overcoming the crisis of leadership of the working class on a world scale in face of the betrayal of social democracy and the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International.

The sectarian stance of the Healyites toward Cuba soon led them to sectarian positions on the Algerian revolution and the colonial revolution in general, the Labor Party in Britain, the rise of revolutionary Black nationalism represented by Malcolm X in the United States, and on other questions.

Their rapid political degeneration proved that the Cuban question was indeed a touchstone. Coming down on the wrong side of the barricades during a proletarian revolution cannot but derail a party that claims to speak for the interests of the working class. By not correcting their sectarian position on the Cuban revolution and its leadership, but rather maintaining it over the years, the Healyites were led further and further from Marxism.

From the early 1960s on, the Healyites have covered up their break from Marxism with a vociferous campaign against the Socialist Workers Party. This campaign took a new twist in the mid-1970s, when they explained the SWP's alleged degeneration by charging that the SWP leadership had been taken over by government agents.

They never had a shred of proof, but used the technique of the Big Lie, developed by Hitler and Stalin. By shouting their slanders loud and often enough, and by amassing "documents" that prove nothing, but all together make a large pile, they hope to convince people that there must be something to their slanders and lies.

The Gelfand suit was part of this slander campaign. Through it the Healyites have amassed more "documents" and "testimony." No matter that it all proves exactly

nothing — it will make a thick, official-looking book, "Official Court Testimony."

* * *

The question of the Cuban revolution and its leadership remains a touchstone today. The extension of the Cuban revolution to Nicaragua and Grenada, the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and Central America in general, has produced fresh divisions. The confrontation between imperialism and the revolution is growing sharper day by day. The resulting pressure to get out of the line of fire bears down on the left in the United States and the world.

Groups like the one led by Nahuel Moreno in Argentina turned their backs on the Nicaraguan revolution. Others, like the Spartacist League in the United States and the group headed by Pierre Lambert in France, reconfirmed their earlier sectarian stance toward Cuba in the case of Nicaragua.

In the wake of the Nicaraguan revolution these groups have launched sharp attacks on the SWP for its support of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions and their leaderships. They charge that the SWP leadership has betrayed the ideals and program of the founders of the SWP.

As a consequence, the Healyites have tailored their case against the SWP to echo such charges coming from these quarters.

The Healyite campaign against the SWP has provided, in the Gelfand suit, an opening for government harassment of the SWP. Its roots lie in the Healyites' break from Marxism. □

Regime strikes at Nkomo's supporters

Imperialists hope to benefit from divisions

By Ernest Harsch

The political crisis in Zimbabwe took a new turn March 9 when Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the country's second-largest party, fled into exile. He charged that Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was plotting to kill him.

Nkomo's flight followed weeks of large-scale military operations by government troops in the province of Matabeleland, where Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) draws most of its support. Government officials have admitted widespread detentions of "dissidents" and "bandits" in the region, while ZAPU supporters have charged that hundreds of villagers have been massacred.

The fighting in Matabeleland is the most serious since Zimbabwe won its independence three years ago. It raises the danger of a debilitating and drawn-out civil conflict that could leave the country more vulnerable to imperialist threats and pressures.

The white racist regime in neighboring South Africa is already calculating how to use these developments to its advantage.

Unity and disunity

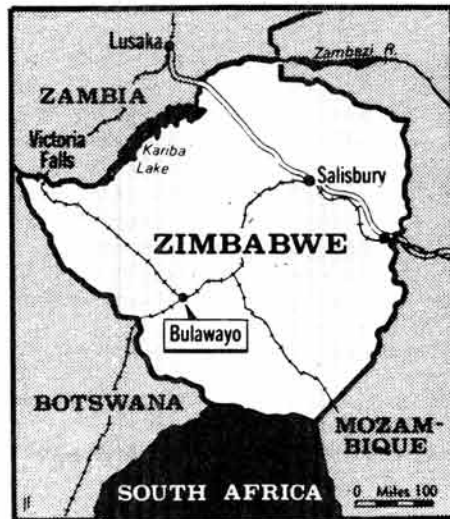
The current conflict involves the two key forces that led the Zimbabwean struggle for independence and Black majority rule, Nkomo's ZAPU and Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

ZANU originally emerged from a bitter split in ZAPU in 1963. Although ZANU later became the most active and influential of the two liberation movements, ZAPU also played an important role in the armed struggle against the white minority regime of Ian Smith, in what was then called Rhodesia.

ZAPU's base of support was primarily among the Ndebele and Kalanga peoples of western Zimbabwe, who make up some 20 percent of the Black population, while ZANU's was largely among the majority Shona people. ZANU employed more socialist rhetoric than ZAPU, but there were no fundamental political differences between the two groups. Both were concerned primarily with attaining national liberation.

Seeking to set aside some of the past rivalries and frictions in order to wage a joint struggle against the racist regime, the leaderships of ZANU and ZAPU formed an alliance in 1976, known as the Patriotic Front. But it was an uneasy bloc. Little effort was made to integrate the political or military forces of the two groups.

Nevertheless, the formation of the Patriotic Front prevented Smith and his imperialist backers from playing the groups off against



each other during the crucial stages of the liberation struggle. The common front forged by ZANU and ZAPU won the support of the overwhelming majority of the Zimbabwean population and eventually forced Smith to step down.

During the preindependence elections in February 1980, however, the two parties ran separately. Based on its support among the Shona and its record as the most active opponent of the Smith regime, Mugabe's party garnered a decisive overall majority, while ZAPU won most of the seats in the Ndebele areas.

Mugabe controlled enough seats in the new parliament to form a government composed of ZANU members only. But bowing to the popular sentiments for unity, Mugabe gave several cabinet positions to ZAPU leaders (including Nkomo).

Less than two months later, Zimbabwe won its formal independence from Britain.

Gains for working people

The Zimbabwean workers and peasants, who had fought for decades against colonial and settler rule, hailed the attainment of independence as a historic victory. They knew that it placed them in a stronger position to fight for their interests. They also had high hopes in the new government headed by Mugabe, which they saw as an ally in their struggle to overcome Zimbabwe's continued domination by imperialism.

That domination is overwhelming. Most industry is controlled by British, South African, and U.S. companies. The bulk of Zimbabwe's trade is routed through South Africa. And

much of what is not held directly by the imperialists is still in the hands of the local white settler population.

Although the Zimbabwean masses looked to the government to act in their interests, they also began to mobilize on their own to an extent. Workers embarked on a series of militant strikes that forced the white employers to grant substantial wage increases. Landless peasants occupied uncultivated or abandoned white-owned land.

Under such pressures, the new government adopted numerous measures that benefited ordinary working people. It established a minimum wage that boosted workers' incomes greatly. Government subsidies have kept down the prices of many basic necessities. School enrollment has more than doubled since independence, and primary school is now free. Rural services, especially health care, have been expanded significantly.

Thanks to such measures and to the militantly anti-imperialist declarations of Mugabe and other prominent figures, the government remains popular, at least in the Shona-speaking areas of the country. Official rallies can often bring out several hundred thousand people.

Procapitalist policies

Yet in the nearly three years since independence, the Mugabe regime has shown that it does not actually represent the interests of the workers and peasants. Rather, it is a capitalist government that has safeguarded imperialist interests in Zimbabwe, as well as those of the white settlers who have remained.

An important indication of this has been its failure thus far to carry through on its promises of land reform. The demand for land was one of the key issues in the liberation struggle. Yet today, only 18,000 Black families have been resettled. On the other hand, several million Black peasants have either no land or plots so small that they can barely provide subsistence.

Meanwhile, some 5,000 white landlords own nearly half of the country's entire land area, including the most fertile parts. The government has said that it will not expropriate their estates and has given them generous financial subsidies.

Although the government has spoken out against unauthorized land occupations by Black peasants, it has so far refrained from acting against them on any significant scale. To do so would bring the ZANU leadership into direct conflict with its supporters, who have been particularly active in the land occupations.

The government has been less reluctant in

cracking down on strikers. Since late 1981, it has arrested more than 2,000 workers involved in strikes by nurses, teachers, bus drivers, and railway firemen. Many others have been threatened with similar action.

In late 1982, the government introduced a new labor bill that includes numerous restrictions on the right to strike, collective bargaining, and the formation of trade unions independent of government control.

The authorities have combined such anti-labor moves with repeated assurances to local and foreign companies that the government does not plan to embark on widespread nationalizations, as some capitalists had earlier feared.

Because of the Mugabe regime's policies, the U.S. and British imperialists have been notably less hostile toward it than toward the radical nationalist regimes in Mozambique and Angola, for example. While the Reagan administration has cut off all food aid to Mozambique and is actively supporting the frequent South African attacks on Angola, it has provided hundreds of millions of dollars to the Zimbabwean government, making it one of the largest recipients of U.S. aid in sub-Saharan Africa.

Anti-ZAPU campaign

As part of its efforts to establish stable capitalist rule in Zimbabwe, the Mugabe regime has been moving systematically to undercut and weaken ZAPU's influence and ability to function. This is despite the fact that the ZAPU leadership, including Nkomo, has agreed with the government's basic policies and has helped to implement them.

However, Mugabe is concerned that ZAPU's very existence as an independent political force could encourage others who are becoming disillusioned with the government's policies to form their own organizations as well. Moreover, by creating a scapegoat, Mugabe is also seeking to distract the attention of ZANU's own supporters from the government's failure to meet their expectations.

Within months of Zimbabwe's independence, some key leaders of ZANU began talking about the establishment of a one-party state, declarations that were later picked up by Mugabe himself. This heightened the distrust and unease among ZAPU members and initiated a new cycle of bitter conflict between supporters of the two parties.

In February 1981, ZAPU supporters in the army mutinied, leading to fierce fighting in Bulawayo, the second-largest city and a ZAPU stronghold, in which as many as 300 people were killed.

Hundreds of former ZAPU guerrillas then deserted from the army and took up arms. Operating with no evident central direction, these small bands carried out a series of kidnappings, robberies, assassinations, and terrorist actions in Matabeleland. Some were clearly of a political nature, others not. Although Nkomo sharply denounced these groups and disavowed any involvement, Mugabe has pinned

responsibility for them on ZAPU.

In February 1982, Mugabe seized on the discovery of some arms caches on several ZAPU-run farms to kick Nkomo out of the cabinet. A number of top ZAPU military leaders were arrested.

To justify these actions, the authorities have frequently accused Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders of collaborating with the South African regime — without offering any evidence. At the same time, the prosecution in a trial of several ZAPU military leaders has accused the defendants of plotting to overthrow the government with the help of the KGB, the Soviet intelligence agency — again without any real evidence.

The split between the two parties is not yet total, since some ZAPU leaders remain in the cabinet and many former ZAPU guerrillas still serve in the national army alongside pro-ZANU troops.

But the escalating attacks against Nkomo and other prominent ZAPU leaders have only served to deepen opposition to the government among the Ndebele people. This has been aggravated by a disastrous drought in Matabeleland and the government's failure to provide much assistance.

White settlers allowed to arm

Toward the end of 1982, armed actions in the province increased sharply, leading to scores of deaths, including a number of white settlers. Following repeated pleas by the white farming community, Mugabe sent in large numbers of troops and also allowed the settlers to arm themselves.

The government has claimed that its actions are directed solely at putting down the armed bands and restoring order. But government troops — almost all of whom are Shona — have carried out widespread reprisals against the civilian population as well.

Few reporters have been allowed into Matabeleland. But other witnesses have lent some credibility to ZAPU's charges that many villagers have been massacred. Defense Minister Sydney Sekeramayi indirectly admitted as much when he told Parliament in early February, "If some people are caught up, it is regrettable, but it is not a Zimbabwean peculiarity that in a conflict some innocent civilians get some bruising."

Accompanying these actions in the countryside, massive army sweeps have been conducted in Bulawayo's poor and working class neighborhoods, in which hundreds have been arrested. In one such raid, Nkomo's house was attacked and his driver killed, leading to his decision to flee the country.

South African pressures

The fighting in Matabeleland has seriously set back the efforts to build unity between the Ndebele and Shona peoples, and thus between the different sectors of the working population. That can only benefit imperialism.

The imperialists will try to use Zimbabwe's domestic conflict to step up their pressures

against the country.

Although Washington, London, and other imperialist powers have shown some satisfaction over the course followed by the Mugabe regime, they nevertheless fear the Zimbabwean workers and peasants, who have become radicalized by decades of anticolonial struggle. Their combativity is still very much alive, and under their pressure the Zimbabwean authorities have been impelled to adopt some foreign policy positions that conflict with imperialist interests.

The imperialist power that is most concerned is the one in neighboring South Africa.

The South African racists have not carried out direct attacks against Zimbabwe on the scale of their aggressive campaigns against Angola and Mozambique. But threats, pressures, provocations, and sabotage actions have been increasing noticeably over the past year.

South African-trained and -armed guerrillas in Mozambique have blown up railways and oil pipelines that Zimbabwe, a landlocked country, sought to use to lessen its dependence on South African transportation links.

Hundreds of former Rhodesian troops, both white and Black, are being trained at South African military bases for possible action in Zimbabwe. In July 1982, a carefully executed series of sabotage bombings destroyed part of Zimbabwe's air force. Some clashes have taken place between Zimbabwean and South African military units within Zimbabwe's borders.

The Mugabe regime has accused Pretoria of providing money and arms to the rebel groups in Matabeleland. Whether that is true or not, reports on Matabeleland in the South African press supplied by "intelligence circles" indicate that Pretoria is actively probing for openings.

If the South African racists are able to take advantage of the divisions in Zimbabwe, that would seriously endanger not only the struggles of the Zimbabwean working people, but all those fighting for freedom in southern Africa. □

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Capitalists push antiworker drive

Labor protests austerity program, nuclear missiles

By Robert Went

[The following article appeared in the March 7 issue of *International Viewpoint*, an English-language fortnightly published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

AMSTERDAM — For three months, the Netherlands has had a right-wing government.

Presided over by the millionaire Ruud Lubbers, a coalition of right-wing liberals from the Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD — People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) and Christian Democrats from the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) have launched an offensive against the working class on many fronts.

The government can rely on a clear majority in parliament. This is the result of the victory of the right-wing parties in the September 1982 special elections held after the fall of the coalition of the CDA, the PvdA (the Labor Party, led by Joop den Uyl), and D-66 (Democrats '66, so-called left liberals). This government fell after the PvdA lost so many votes in the regional elections that it had to stop going along with the Christian Democrats' demands for more and more austerity measures. Otherwise it would have risked losing still larger sections of its base.

So, the PvdA took its distance from the CDA's calls for further austerity. The D-66 took the side of the CDA, and paid the price for that in the September elections. Of the 17 seats it had, it lost all but six.

In the short time the new government has been in office, it has become absolutely clear that the capitalist parties are mounting a big new escalation of social cutbacks and preparing an even more drastic one.

- The government is doing everything it can to get rid of automatic cost-of-living adjustments in wages.

- Youth aged 16 and 17 can no longer draw unemployment benefits after January 1 of this year.

- Wages for youth have again been lowered.

- After February 1, everyone will have to pay 2.50 guilders (about \$US1.25) for every purchase of medicine, although up till now they could be gotten free by anyone earning up to a certain income.

- The cuts in the social budget this year will be 7 billion guilders if the working class sacrifices 2 percent in wages. If it does not, the cuts will be increased to 10 billion guilders.

- Plants threatened with closing or mass layoffs in principle get no support, unless they

get rid of their unprofitable sections. But first, the workers in these plants have to agree to pay the costs, to give up their cost-of-living increases, vacation pay, and take wage cuts.

The previous government had a Social Democratic "plan for jobs," which was supposed to provide work for 25,000 people. This was far too little, naturally. But this government has adopted a memorandum on employment that does not provide for creating a single job but grants the bosses 6 billion guilders and infringes on various legal rights of the workers.

- The government expects that in 1984, there will be 1 million unemployed in the Netherlands, and a million and a half in 1986.

- Reprivatization of various publicly owned corporations is under study.

- Fares on public transport are going to be raised by 10 percent this year.

- The government wants to install 48 new Cruise missiles in 1986, but in view of the strength of the peace movement it does not want to say that, and so it is linking deployment of the missiles to the outcome of the so-called peace negotiations in Geneva.

It is clear from this list that the Lubbers government wants to make the Netherlands a paradise — for the bosses. The bosses are obviously quite pleased about this, and they are making sure to keep up the pressure on the government by raising new demands almost every week. They want the following:

- The environmental-protection regulations for companies relaxed.

- More freedom to lay off workers.

- Education of the youth to be more under the control of the employers; youth should be obliged to do a year's apprenticeship in the factories without pay.

- More social cutbacks.

Working-class response

If we look for the reaction to this stepped-up attack in the working class, we have to make a distinction between the leaderships of the trade unions and the PvdA, on the one hand, and large sections of the workers, women, and youth, on the other. A few key struggles in the first months of the Lubbers government make this clear.

- In the first couple of months of the right-wing government, there have been strikes in the railroads (for the first time since 1944), in education (a week of strikes for the first time in history), and by sections of the public workers against the incomes proposals of the cabinet.

These actions have all been quite militant, massive, and popular with the people. This was true in particular of the teachers' week of

action, which a study has shown was supported by 80 percent of the Dutch people. This, in fact, could be seen from the massive support by parents and pupils in the demonstrations and strikes.

But the PvdA worked out a compromise proposal in the lower house of parliament. And the leadership of the union deliberately kept the actions separated. It refused to build united actions, raised no unifying demands, and organized no solidarity in the rest of the working class.

- A great many actions have been, and are being conducted against threats of mass layoffs, for example at Fokker (1,100 laid off), ADM (700 laid off), the RSV shipyard (6,000 laid off), and the Bijenkorf chain of department stores (thousands laid off). The trade-union leadership is keeping these actions separated, even if they are in the same industry. And it is prepared to accept layoffs without a fight if the bosses will just reduce the numbers a bit.

At Fokker in Amsterdam, for example, more than 1,100 workers, prompted by the trade-union youth group, called for negotiating a reduction of the workweek with no cut in pay. But the union negotiator refused to go to discuss this and agreed to 1,100 layoffs in the Fokker company as a whole.

At the ADM ship-repair yard, an agreement providing for hundreds of layoffs and a 10 percent wage cut was represented as a great victory and a model of how actions against layoffs should be conducted in the future.

During the week of teachers' strikes, youth throughout the country showed their solidarity by joining in these actions. But the union leaderships took their distance from the spontaneous strikes of pupils.

In the same period, youth staged actions throughout the country and demonstrated massively in The Hague against the attack on unemployment benefits for 16-year-olds and 17-year-olds. But the unions did nothing to back up these actions. To the contrary, various unions now want to talk to the bosses about hiring more youth for a 32-hour week for 32 hours' pay.

In general, we see great militancy on the part of the workers, women, and youth. At the same time, on the part of the union leaders, we see a still greater inclination to capitulate and a stronger reluctance to organize struggles. As for the PvdA leadership, it has at best given lip service to the actions that have been carried out. It has not made any real effort to build them or to call actions to bring down the government.

Nonetheless, this wave of militancy has not

failed to have an impact on the union leaderships and the PvdA tops. In the past period, we have seen actions every day — by youth, railroad workers, teachers and government workers; by women getting the minimum unemployment benefits; by invalids; by 23 committees against the cuts in social security for women; by committees against the increase in the price of gas; by committees against higher rents and against initial payments for medicine; by peace movement demonstrators; and so on. These actions are putting on increasing pressure for action against the right-wing government.

At the end of last year, the leader of the biggest union confederation (the FNV), Wim Kok, signed an agreement with the head of the employers association, van Veen. In the agreement, it says that cost-of-living increases are to be traded for shorter hours. But now, after the concrete content of this has been discussed in the factories and shops, it seems that there is almost nowhere it has had any effect. What is more, 350,000 workers got a further cost-of-living increase on February 1 (2.06 percent), since it seemed impossible to get them to agree to give this up. It seems that this is going to happen in still more factories and industries.

On Saturday, January 22, a coordinating committee of trade-unionists (including the national chairman of the food-workers union), action leaders from various movements, and people from the left political parties undertook to organize a national demonstration under the slogan: "Stop the cuts policy, for a progressive alternative." For the first time, the PvdA and the FNV were officially represented in this activity.

In all sorts of preparatory activities and discussion, calls were raised for initiatives and actions. For several reasons (which cannot be gone into here), little concrete came out of this. But the participation of the PvdA and the FNV in a committee dominated by parties and currents to the left of the PvdA reflected the pressure there is on these organizations to do something.

On January 15, the National Council of the PvdA decided, against the will of the party leadership, to begin a study of the potential and limitations of civil disobedience, and decided that even after a decision by parliament to site U.S. Cruise missiles in the Netherlands the PvdA would continue to resist this.

The whole right-wing press and all the right-wing politicians have gone after the PvdA to show how undemocratic it is to consider civil disobedience. They also know that a PvdA that led actions against this government would not only become enormously popular but could bring the government down.

Antimissiles demonstrations

It can easily be seen that in this whole context, actions against the new missiles take on a continually greater importance. These actions lead to successes; they have already produced big divisions in the government parties (especially the CDA). And they might even lead di-

rectly to toppling the government. It is more and more clear also that this year for more and more organizations, groups, and individuals the antimissile actions are going to be central in finding a way to fight back against the right-wing government.

The peace organizations have quite ambitious plans for action. On Saturday, February 5, there was a very well-attended national conference to work out their implementation. Among other things, October 29 was set as the date for a national demonstration in The Hague. The actions are to begin at Easter.

The unions are being approached directly, and committees of trade unionists against nuclear weapons are being built. The possibilities are being investigated for a two-hour work stoppage on October 28. A national youth paper is being set up as the first step toward building a national youth organization against nuclear weapons. The PvdA declared that it was going to fully support the actions, and the peace organizations' call for mobilizing the 2 million PvdA voters.

In the CDA, a memorandum has appeared by the defense specialists de Boer and Frinking. Both are not against the missiles. But in their document, which has been leaked to the press, they call for serious consideration for not deploying the missiles, regardless of what happens in Geneva. The reason is the mass opposition. Previously, former Premier [Andreas] van Agt said that it was necessary to consider not bringing in the missiles. In a TV

interview broadcast February 13, he again stated that in the face of great social unrest it would be wrong to site the missiles.

The CDA is trying to water down the coming actions by making them into a vague apolitical protest against nuclear weapons. Premier Lubbers said that the memorandum drawn up by de Boer and Frinking represented a "nationalist point of view." Both maneuvers were countered at the February 5 conference of peace activists by Mient Jan Faber, who was cited not long ago in *Newsweek* as "as dangerous to the security of the West as Andropov." He said: "It would be good for the CDA to collaborate with the peace movement, but on the basis of our demands, that is, not one missile, no matter what comes out of Geneva." And, he stressed, the peace movement is not nationalistic but internationalist. If the government decides not to site the missiles, then we won't have to demonstrate here, "we'll hire a couple of ferries and go over to England."

Former Premier van Agt has said that in studying civil disobedience, the PvdA was doing something dangerous. "It's letting the genie out of the bottle." He was right. This government is far from being as firmly in the saddle as it claims. Even the PvdA leader Joop den Uyl has said that he does not think the government can remain in power more than six months. The coming year, in which the fight against the missiles will be central, is going to be an enormously important one. □

Denmark

Dockers strike against austerity

Mass protests greet government takebacks

By G.K. Newey

Danish dockworkers carried out a six-week strike at the beginning of the year. It was the most determined fightback to date against the austerity program of the government of Poul Schluter, which came to power in September.

In October, the new government began to cut back on social programs such as unemployment compensation.

Dockworkers in Denmark are employed by the day. Often they only find work a few days per week, and rely on unemployment benefits for the rest of the week. For many, the cuts in unemployment benefits mean a drop of nearly \$3,000 in yearly income.

The changes in unemployment compensation have also cut the living standards of workers in the construction and fishing industry, who will now be unable to collect benefits for the first three days that work is shut down due to poor weather.

When the government laid out its plans, the announcement was met by one of the largest protest movements ever seen in Denmark.

On October 8, some 50,000 people demonstrated in front of parliament. On October 13, demonstrations around the country by the trade unions and unemployed organizations drew 120,000 people — 80,000 of them in Copenhagen. Given the population of Denmark, the turnout was the equivalent of about 6 million people in the United States.

An October 25 demonstration in Copenhagen also drew 30,000 people.

A leader of the dockworkers in the port of Ålborg described how police attacked strikers in an interview in the January 13 issue of *Klasssekampen*, the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SAP), the Danish section of the Fourth International.

"I never saw anything like it," said Hans Hansen. "It was just plain Nazi methods. Over a hundred police in battle dress, with plexiglass helmets, charged us. They pulled people out of buses and cars and beat them up with clubs. At the same time, they loosed their maddened police dogs on the crowd.

"People literally ran for their lives, and still

they did not get away without getting clubbed and bitten."

During the course of the dock strike, one worker was killed when he was run over by a truck crossing a picket line. The driver was released without charges.

On a number of occasions the unemployed and other workers joined the dockers in pre-

venting scabs from working. But while the dockworkers received help from other workers on a local basis, the national leadership of the Social Democratic-controlled labor federation was directly hostile to their struggle and tried to prevent them from getting aid from the rest of the union movement.

In addition, the workers parties in parlia-

ment did little to help the dockers during the struggle.

Although the dockworkers were forced to suspend their strike on February 14 without winning any concessions, the strike was an important initial experience by Danish workers in their struggle against the capitalist government's economic offensive. □

India

Women struggle for rights on job

Battle low wages, job restrictions, sexual harassment

[The following declaration was released for International Women's Day, March 8, by the Forum Against Oppression of Women, based in Bombay, India. This organization has been active in the growing movement for women's rights in India, focusing in particular on the rights of women workers and women prisoners and participating in struggles for the abolition of the dowry and against rape and other forms of violence against women.]

* * *

Each year March 8 reminds us of the struggles of women against inequality, injustice and inhumanity. The heroic herstory of our sisters in the past and the present all over the world has enhanced our strength and convinced us that *only we women can liberate ourselves* by uniting with other exploited and oppressed masses.

During 1857, women textile workers in the U.S.A. waged a militant war against the inhuman working conditions and meagre wages and demanded a 16-hour working day. On March 8, 1857, they achieved their basic demands.

This pioneering work of organised women on March 8 became a symbol of sisterhood, strength, solidarity and success and in 1910, it was declared International Women's Day. We see that working women have always participated in heroic battles to achieve their own demands and also to better the conditions of all women.

In today's patriarchal class society women are discriminated against in all walks of life; right from the family to the factory. A female child is not given proper food and medical care. This has resulted in an adverse sex-ratio (i.e., for every 1,000 men there are only 935 women as per the Census of India, 1981). Infant and maternal mortality rates are very high. Among all the illiterates in our country, two-thirds are women.

Women and work

Women form a source of cheap and unskilled labour. During a time when labour is in great demand women are the first to be re-

cruited, but during a period of recession, they are the first to be retrenched. However, our society looks upon women's work as secondary and unimportant. The work she does in the home is neither paid for nor socially recognised, yet this is supposed to be her only "career."

This low status which is assigned to her unpaid work at home becomes extended to paid work outside. If "sacrifices" are to be made, they must be made at the expense of her job, her career, her independence. This is consistent with the ideology which perceives males as the sole breadwinners. It is this view of women's work and her dependent status within the family that places her in an inferior position in the workplace.

Women's employment declining

For the last 40 years the employment of women has been steadily decreasing. The number of women employed in industries covered by the Factories Act has been declining since 1951, even though the total number of employees has increased. Similarly, the total employment in mining and quarrying increased; however, female employment in the mines declined.

Article 16 of the Indian Constitution provides for a quota system on the basis of caste. However, a quota system on the basis of sex has not been provided for in the Constitution, despite the immense discrimination which women face in all spheres of life. We, therefore, *demand that at least 25 percent of jobs be reserved for women and that it be included as a fundamental right in the Constitution*. In professions of high participation of women the percentage should not be reduced.

Sexual division of labor

The sexual division of labour at the workplace is a reflection of women's inferior position within the family. Moreover, women's labour is regarded as having lower productivity and value than the similar work done by men. On this basis the wages of a woman worker equal only one-half or two-thirds of a man's doing the same work for the same period.

In most occupations, women put in the same amount of work, have equal productivity and yet are paid less than the male workers. For example, in the construction industry, male workers are paid about 12 rupees [a day],* whereas women workers doing the same work are paid about 6 rupees. Moreover, agricultural women workers are paid less than male agricultural workers. They are made to do the most tedious and backbreaking jobs and are totally excluded from ploughing, which is exclusively done by men and where the wages are relatively high.

A large number of women are also employed in Employment Guarantee Schemes, where the wages are low, working conditions poor and where the women often fall prey to sexual harassment. Thus, the wage paid to the women is determined *not only by economic criteria but by cultural attitudes and practices which see women's work as secondary and insignificant*.

In order to do away with this discrimination in pay and hiring, the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976 was passed. Yet till today, the Act has not been implemented and it has several loopholes. For example, the employers are able to pay women workers less and get away with it on the pretext that the work done by the women is of a different nature from that of the male workers or by classifying women's jobs in the lower category.

Tedious and low-paying jobs

Women are concentrated in certain jobs which are regarded as "women's jobs," i.e., low-paying, low-skilled and low-productivity jobs. Generally, women work on jobs which are an extension of their traditional activities, like food processing and nursing, teaching, clerical work, etc. The status and pay of these occupations is low and there is little possibility of acquiring skills.

Women are rarely employed as machine operators, press operators, fitters or turners. In industries like engineering, chemicals, or petroleum, which require skilled labour, less than

* 1 rupee = US\$0.10. — IP

1 percent of the work force are women. The minimum wage in industries where a majority are women, like bidi and tobacco, is much less than the minimum wage in other industries where male employment is concentrated. Thus, a sex-segregated labour market which keeps women in the low-paying and unskilled jobs makes it difficult to implement equal pay legislation.

Vocational training for women

The only way in which the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976 can have any meaning is by doing away with the segregation in jobs which keeps women in the lowest-paid jobs. This is possible if women are given vocational training in non-traditional jobs. In 1977, out of the 356 Industrial Training Institutes, only four were for women. We therefore, demand that *more Industrial Training Institutes be made available and that 25 percent of the existing training facilities should be reserved for women.*

Sexual harassment on the job

Women workers are sexually harassed by their employers and at times even by the male employees. These incidents are usually hushed up by the women themselves for fear of being ostracised, humiliated and looked down upon. Trade unions and the traditional working-class organisations have failed to take up these issues.

One of the main reasons is that very few women workers are active in their trade unions and the women do not feel confident to talk freely to their union leaders. They accept whatever demands are put [forward] by the male workers, become totally dependent on them and in the process their own demands are suppressed and not given any importance.

At times the male workers have played an active role in restricting the employment of women workers, since they pose a threat to the jobs of the skilled male workers. Thus the only way our demands will be given any notice and importance is by developing our own organisation and making our movement strong.

Women in custody

Not only are women kept ignorant of their rights at work, but also in other spheres of life. Women in custody are the worst off and are deprived of all legal rights. The atrocities on women in police lock-ups and other custody are numerous. Women in custody are not only oppressed and brutalised, but often left without any recourse to the legal processes in society.

It is essential that women's groups unite to pressurise the government to take up the issue of women in custody, to participate in developing the guidelines and formation of vigilant groups to oversee that the guidelines passed by the recent court order are implemented.

Therefore, on this historic International Women's Day, we make the following demands:

- The Equal Remuneration Act of 1976 be extended to agricultural employees. At present

it is restricted to industrial employees only. There is no legislation to protect agricultural employees.

- The Equal Remuneration Act of 1976, now restricted to sexual discrimination in pay and hiring, be expanded to include sex discrimination in promotional facilities and apprenticeship.

- 25 percent of jobs be reserved for women and, amongst the already existing job reservations for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, 25 percent of jobs be reserved for Dalit [untouchable] and Adivasi [tribal] women.

- Safe transport be provided by the companies for women working on shifts.

- Creches [day nurseries] be provided in the

locality in which the women live.

- Hostels be provided for single working women as well as for working women with children. 25 percent reservation for single women in government housing schemes.

- Vigilant groups be formed to oversee that the legal rights of women in custody are not violated, and to oversee that the guidelines passed by the recent court order are implemented.

Don't say we can't achieve these demands.
No more lack of confidence!
No more hesitation!
Let us be clear in our minds —
We shall win!

Spain

Women fight for abortion rights

New bill goes only part way

By G. K. Newey

Under the pressure of an ongoing struggle of women in Spain for safe, legal abortions, the recently elected Social Democratic government has introduced a bill into parliament to ease slightly the restrictions on women's right to abortion.

Under the existing total ban on abortion, women who terminate a pregnancy and anyone performing an abortion are subject to up to 12 years' imprisonment. These laws are frequently applied, with jail sentences regularly being meted out.

The Spanish Justice Tribunal estimated in 1974 that some 300,000 Spanish women a year had abortions abroad or illegally in Spain itself. Up to 100 women, most of them poor, die annually as a result of unsafe, illegal abortions.

According to official British health statistics, more than 20,000 Spanish women had abortions in 1981 in London clinics alone.

The prohibition of all abortions was a legacy of the Franco dictatorship. Franco and the church hierarchy were staunchly opposed to the right of women to control their own bodies.

But with the death of Franco and the gradual easing of the repression, women began to press harder for abortion rights. The fact that a growing number of women in Spain are now wage workers (three times as many as in 1930) has also contributed to bringing the demand for legal abortions to the fore.

The government's bill, however, goes only a small way toward satisfying that demand.

If the proposed legislation passes, abortions will be permitted at any time if the mother's life is in danger. Abortion would also be legal up to the 22d week of pregnancy if the fetus is severely deformed, or within the first three months if a woman has been raped and has reported it to the police.

Spanish women's groups have protested that even if the new law passes, most women would still be unable to get legal abortions in Spain.

The Coordinating Committee of Feminist Organizations in Spain issued a statement in February pointing out that the new legislation "will in no way change the hopeless situation of thousands and thousands of women."

More than 100 doctors and health officials belonging to the Communist Party issued a call for the right to abortion on demand within the first three months of pregnancy.

An editorial in the March 4 issue of *Combate*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the Spanish section of the Fourth International, noted that under the proposed law, 95 percent of the women who have abortions each year would still not be able to get one legally.

At the same time, opposition to any lifting of the total ban on abortions is being spearheaded by rightist political parties and the Catholic church hierarchy. When Pope John Paul II toured Spain last November, he denounced all forms of abortion and contraception. In his open-air sermon in Madrid, attended by more than 1 million people, the pope insisted that "every conjugal act must remain open to the transmission of life."

Although 95 percent of Spain's population is at least nominally Roman Catholic, surveys indicate that more than two-thirds of the people favor the legalization of abortion. □

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Revolution enters fifth year

Class struggle continues in cities and countryside

By Ernest Harsch

On February 11, the people of Iran celebrated the fourth anniversary of their massive insurrection in 1979 that toppled the shah and his hated dictatorship.

In Tehran, several hundred thousand Iranians marched through the streets of the capital and rallied outside the gates of the former U.S. embassy, which has come to symbolize the decades of imperialist domination that the Iranian workers and peasants have had to suffer and against which they are still fighting. During the shah's rule, the government had, for all practical purposes, been run from the U.S. embassy compound.

Expressing their deep hatred of Washington's policies toward Iran, they burned a U.S. flag and shouted anti-imperialist slogans. And in response to the Iraqi regime's counter-revolutionary war against Iran, the demonstrators called for the overthrow of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and urged the Iranian government to pursue the war against the invaders.

The 10 days preceding the anniversary were marked by numerous processions, meetings, and rallies organized in support of the revolution. Guests from other countries in the Middle East and North Africa and from a number of liberation movements attended the ceremonies, including Abu Saleh, a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Although the February 11 action was not as large as previous anniversary demonstrations, it nevertheless reflected continued popular support for the revolution. Entering the fifth year of the revolution, the workers and peasants and their allies are still trying to find ways to push the revolutionary process forward in their interests, despite the many obstacles and difficulties they face.

This massive support for the revolution has even been acknowledged by an unlikely source: the big-business press in the United States. Generally, the U.S. and other imperialist media have tried to portray Iran as a country of universal fear and repression, where the populace has been cowed into total submission.

Yet in a report in the November 14 *New York Times*, for example, R. W. Apple, one of the few U.S. journalists who have recently visited Iran, found that "those committed to the revolution" encompass "a majority of Iran's 38 million people, without doubt."

A popular revolution

These ongoing mass mobilizations are a testimony to the depth of the revolution that has erupted in Iran.

Beginning in early 1978, the Iranian people — workers, students, women, farmers, the unemployed, members of the oppressed nationalities — poured into the streets of cities and towns across the country to demand the ouster of the U.S.-backed dictator, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. Tens of thousands fell before the bullets of the shah's police and troops. Yet still they came out.

This revolutionary upheaval, unprecedented in the history of the Middle East, touched virtually all sectors of the Iranian population. But it was the Iranian workers who provided the backbone of the upsurge.

As the mobilizations continued, the working class came more and more to the fore. In October 1978, tens of thousands of workers began downing their tools in workplaces throughout Iran, a movement that soon developed into a general strike against the shah. The oil workers played a particularly key role, and by the last weeks of the shah's rule had taken over the oil fields and refineries and controlled them through workers committees.

In February 1979, shortly after the shah fled Iran, a massive popular insurrection overthrew the monarchy. Workers seized some key installations and communications centers and used them to help organize the uprising. Popular committees arose spontaneously and took over the maintenance of public services and helped direct the arming of the population. Many rank-and-file soldiers went over to the side of the revolution.

The overthrow of the dictatorship and the abolition of the hated SAVAK secret police soon inspired all the oppressed and exploited of Iran to raise their many pressing social, economic, and political demands — and to take action to try to attain them. Workers fought for higher wages and control over the factories abandoned by the shah's fleeing supporters. Soldiers in Tehran and a few other areas started electing their officers. Poor peasants seized the land of many large landowners. The oppressed nationalities (Kurds, Arabs, Azerbaijanis, Turkmenis) pressed for their national rights.

This revolution was profoundly anti-imperialist. The Iranian masses demanded an end to all vestiges of imperialist domination over their country, particularly that of the "Great Satan" — U.S. imperialism.

The Iranian revolution also changed the face of politics throughout the region. It destroyed one of Washington's most powerful client regimes in the Middle East and provided an inspiration to the oppressed masses of other countries.

In many respects, the revolution that over-

threw the shah's tyranny was similar to the one that toppled the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua that same year. But there was one crucial difference. Unlike in Nicaragua, the working people of Iran did not have a leadership like the Sandinista National Liberation Front that was rooted in the masses and that could lead the workers and peasants to take political power in their own hands.

Thus while the shah had been overthrown and many individual capitalists and landlords had fled, the ruling classes were able to retain a shaky hold on power.

A new regime headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini took over. Khomeini enjoyed a tremendous popular following because of his staunch opposition to the shah's rule, but his government was a capitalist one.

This government sought to represent the interests of the capitalists and landlords. To that end, its general aim was to disarm the masses, slow down and halt the revolutionary mobilizations, and reforge some ties with imperialism.

But it found itself in an extremely contradictory situation. It had been thrown up by the revolution and derived its political authority from the revolution. Its attempts to impose capitalist stability ran directly counter to the demands the working masses were raising. Not only was the Khomeini regime unable to push the masses back, but the continuing mobilizations forced it to make repeated concessions, or lose its base and authority.

Moreover, Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and other figures most closely identified with the capitalists were driven out of the government within the first year of the revolution, in the wake of the occupation of the U.S. embassy. Later, President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr was removed in the course of the war against the imperialist-backed Iraqi invasion. The interests of the capitalists, merchants, and landlords are being represented more and more in the government by Iran's clerical strata.

Imperialists back Iraqi invasion

Washington and the other imperialist powers hate the Iranian revolution. They fear the powerful class forces of the workers and peasants that have been unleashed and the prospect of a further extension of the revolution, both within Iran and beyond its borders.

The imperialists are also opposed to the Khomeini government. Given its origin in the revolution, they have no confidence in its ability to rein in the Iranian masses and they see it as an obstacle to crushing the revolution. As part of their attacks against the Iranian revolution itself, they have been seeking to overthrow the



Tehran in 1979. Four years later, revolution still has massive support among working people.

Khomeini regime.

Washington imposed an economic blockade on Iran following the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in late 1979. It sponsored several abortive coup attempts. In April 1980 the Carter administration sent in a U.S. military force under the guise of seeking to rescue the U.S. embassy hostages. Its aim was to link up with proimperialist forces in Iran and overthrow the government. Like the other attempts, it failed.

Then, in September 1980, the imperialists launched their most serious attack on the revolution yet. They gave a go-ahead to the Iraqi regime to invade.

Saddam Hussein, who also feared the example of the Iranian revolution, sent tens of thousands of troops across the border and carried out massive bombing raids on major Iranian cities. The Iraqi troops managed to occupy thousands of square miles of Iranian territory and inflict widespread death and destruction in the western oil-producing regions.

Washington sent a naval task force to the Persian Gulf area in a show of support for the Iraqi invaders. The proimperialist regime in Saudi Arabia gave Saddam Hussein hundreds of millions of dollars in aid. As the war continued, the Kuwaiti, Egyptian, Sudanese, and Jordanian regimes also provided money and arms — and even some troops — to Hussein. Recently, the French imperialists have become more active in their support for Hussein, sending him some advisers and large amounts of arms.

In launching the invasion, Hussein and the imperialists hoped to take advantage of the domestic turmoil in Iran and the disorganization within the Iranian army to strike a massive blow that would bring down the Khomeini regime. But they underestimated the response of

the Iranian masses.

Following the Iraqi troops' initial advances, the invasion bogged down and the military situation remained stalemated for nearly a year. Then in late 1981 the tide began to turn in Iran's favor.

Through a series of major offensives, the Iranian forces were able to push the Iraqi troops out of most of Iran and even drive across the border into Iraq itself. Large numbers of Iraqi troops surrendered, reflecting the growing demoralization of the Iraqi army. According to the International Red Cross, Iran now holds 45,000 Iraqi prisoners of war — seven times the number of Iranians held by Iraq.

A key role in this success has been played by the various mass organizations, which have mobilized the population as a whole behind the war effort. Workers and peasants *shoras* (committees) collected money and food for the war-front. Activists of the Jihad-e Sazandegi (Reconstruction Crusade) helped build trenches, bridges, and roads and carried out other engineering projects.

The Pasdaran, or Revolutionary Guards, assumed an increasingly prominent part in directing the war. Formed shortly after the downfall of the shah, the Pasdaran now number between 150,000 and 200,000 armed fighters — including many revolutionary-minded youth from the working class and other oppressed sectors of the population. It is now larger than the regular army, which often failed to take initiatives during the early months of the war (many of its officers were relics from the shah's regime, though hundreds of these have since been removed from their posts).

Above all, it has been the Baseej-e Mustazafin (Mobilization Corps of the Oppressed) that

has borne the brunt of the fighting. An all-volunteer force, it has recruited workers and youths from the cities, towns, and villages throughout Iran to fight at the front. Thus far, it has provided military training to some 2.5 million Iranians.

Altogether, more than 400,000 Iranians have served at the front at one time or another.

Iraq still aggressor

Following the entry of Iranian troops into some border areas of Iraq, the imperialists raised a loud howl of alarm, charging that Iran was the aggressor.

But for the Iranian people, the war remains a defensive one. Although much of the Iranian territory previously held by the Iraqi forces has been liberated, Iraq still occupies some 350 square miles of Iran. Iraqi jets continue to bomb Iranian towns and villages and Iraqi artillery units frequently fire rockets across the border.

On December 19, for example, Iraqi missile attacks on Dezful killed more than 60 civilians and wounded more than 300. In response, more than 100,000 Iranians in the city turned out — in torrential rains — for a mourning ceremony for the victims of the attack.

In an effort to cover up this continued aggression, Hussein has claimed that his troops are carrying out a "voluntary" withdrawal from Iran and has repeatedly called for a cease-fire.

Answering this propaganda ploy, the Iranian mission to the United Nations stated in February, "The Iraqi regime has proven with its unfounded claims of voluntary withdrawal, and its savage bombardment of civilian targets after each military defeat, that its call for peace cannot be seriously considered because such a regime will only use peace for re-organization of its armed forces, leading to another sudden

aggression. The only alternative to the Muslim people of Iran and their combatants on the war-fronts is to make the regime heed their legitimate demands through military victories and by inflicting losses upon the army of aggression."

In a similar vein, Iranian representative Rajaie Khorasani said at a news conference in New Delhi March 9, in response to another Iraqi cease-fire call, "Your concern is a cease-fire, our concern is peace. Peace, yes. Cease-fire, no."

In February, the Iranian forces launched another offensive aimed at driving the Iraqi troops out of Iran. The government announced that some territory had been liberated in the Fakkeh region in the north, but claimed no other major military advances.

As the war drags on, the imperialists have been increasing their direct backing to the Saddam Hussein regime. In December, the French government sold Hussein some \$2 billion worth of arms, according to the Iraqi regime. In mid-February, French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson stopped off in Baghdad to assure Hussein of Paris' continued backing.

This has been coupled with threatening U.S. military maneuvers in the region. In early December, for example, some 2,500 U.S. Marines carried out military exercises in Oman, just across the Gulf of Oman from Iran.

Assassinations and bombings

In addition to the attacks against their revolution from without, the Iranian masses have had to contend with terrorist actions within Iran carried out by imperialist agents and a variety of monarchist, bourgeois, and petty-bourgeois groups opposed to the revolution. These include the People's Mujahadeen Organization, which announced that it was "launching war" against the regime in June 1981; it has claimed credit for many of the attacks, and has repudiated or condemned none.

Hundreds of Revolutionary Guards and government officials — including a prime minister and president — have been killed in these counterrevolutionary attacks. But the attacks have also claimed the lives of many ordinary working people.

Some of the most devastating bombings have taken place in crowded marketplaces, railway stations, and the working-class neighborhoods, such as those in south Tehran. In October 1982, for example, a powerful bomb ripped through Imam Khomeini Square in Tehran, killing more than 60 people and injuring some 700. The victims included children, elderly people, and many workers.

A survey of such terrorist attacks issued by Iran's United Nations mission noted that this bombing and similar ones "have taken place in regions whose inhabitants are amongst the poor and very hardworking strata."

The obvious purpose of these terrorist campaigns is to intimidate supporters of the revolution, spread demoralization, and — they hope — prepare the ground for a coup against the

government that would install a regime more amenable to imperialism.

Increasingly, those carrying out these counterrevolutionary actions are lining up with the Iraqi regime's own attacks against the revolution. Some of the monarchist and bourgeois forces have had bases in Iraq for several years. And now the People's Mujahadeen — who originally had a position on paper in opposition to the Iraqi invasion — is seeking closer ties with Saddam Hussein as well.

On January 9, People's Mujahadeen leader Massoud Rajavi met in Paris for four hours with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tareq Aziz. Without giving any details of their talks, Rajavi characterized the meeting as "an important political turning point on the regional level and for the world in relation to the Iran-Iraq war." He chimed in with the Iraqi propaganda machine, deploring what he called the Iranian regime's attacks on "civilians and the defenseless people of the Iraqi cities."

A joint communiqué issued after the meeting said that the People's Mujahadeen and the Iraqi regime shared a "common political understanding," although it claimed that the Iraqis were not providing the Mujahadeen with any material or military aid. Earlier in the week, however, Aziz said in an interview that Iraq had close ties with the Mujahadeen, but would not go into any details for fear of embarrassing them.

Before leaving Rajavi's home in Paris, Aziz invited him to visit Baghdad. Rajavi accepted the invitation.

Masses mobilize for defense

For the Iranian workers and peasants, the war remains the central political question. They know that a defeat for Iran would spell the end of their revolution, and that a victory

would make it easier for them to advance it.

Thus, support for the war effort remains high. The Iranian press is filled with reports about villages throughout the country providing thousands of volunteers and donations of money, food, blankets, detergent, dishes, lambs, and anything else they have to give.

On one day alone, February 3, Iranian newspapers reported donations to the war effort from Islamic *anjomans* (societies) in a number of major Tehran factories:

- At the Iran National auto factory, workers donated 4,859,226 rials [81 rials = US\$1].

- Those at the Cheat-e Ray fabric plant gave 21,413,413 rials.

- The Islamic anjoman of the Pars-Khudro auto plant collected 39,601,705 rials in contributions. The same plant has sent 175 volunteers to the warfront, and another 1,000 to help behind the lines and in the reconstruction efforts in the war zones.

- Workers of the Naz vegetable oil factory donated 1,237,316 rials. Thirty of them have volunteered to fight at the front.

In a report from Tehran in the December 1 *Wall Street Journal*, Youssef Ibrahim reported:

Ahmad Hediyeiou, a mechanic by day, is the recruiting officer for the Basij in the Imam Mosque at night. From his district, where 9,500 people live, he has already signed up 180 volunteers, of whom 35 are serving on the front lines, 25 are receiving weapons training, 50 are about to be inducted, and 70 are being screened.

Mr. Hediyeiou says the Basij soldiers are trained "to do everything from serving in the kitchen to detonating mines on the war front." Their average age is 15.

The continuation of the war with Iraq has served to deepen even further the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Iranian masses. Work-



Ruins of Khorramshahr after Iraqi occupation.

ing people in Iran are well aware that the Iraqi regime — as well as the various terrorist groups — are acting in the interests of imperialism, especially of U.S. imperialism.

New York Times reporter Apple described this sentiment in the November 14 issue:

Three years after the seizure of the American embassy, an act that led to 444 days of captivity for a group of United States diplomats and soldiers, Iran appears, on the surface at least, more resolutely anti-American than ever. The four American reporters in the group of visitors were greeted everywhere with condemnations of American imperialism.

At a military cemetery, inside the notorious Evin prison, at the war front and outside the embassy itself, there were chants of "Death to America!" Signs in Teheran and Dizful, and conspicuously on the facade of the airport terminal at Shiraz, made the same point. The Oil Minister, Mohammed Gharazi, welcomed the Americans to a news conference with a furious 20-minute harangue against the United States, delivered with a baleful squint and not the slightest sign of flexibility.

Iranian foreign policy

Since the revolution, representatives of Iran have been attending a wide variety of international conferences, and meeting with officials from many different governments. They have been taking positions on most major international questions.

The immense hatred of the Iranian masses for U.S. imperialism has been a key factor in shaping the Iranian government's foreign policy.

According to a review of the Iranian revolution issued in February by the Iranian mission to the United Nations:

In its external relations, during the past year, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has expanded diplomatic relations with a number of progressive countries in Africa and Latin America. After the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, the external relations of Iran had to be revised because they were based upon a set of norms and understandings that had become irrelevant. . . . The ideological basis of the Islamic Republic's foreign policy became the struggle against imperialism and Zionism and that of assisting the oppressed peoples of the world to join this struggle.

This side of Iran's foreign policy has been particularly evident around Central America. The Iranian government has officially recognized the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) as the legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people, and has sharply condemned U.S. imperialism's intervention in the region.

Addressing a meeting of foreign ministers of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in Managua, Nicaragua, January 13, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati declared:

We have always supported Nicaragua against the conspiracies of the Great Satan for exerting pressure on and suppressing the Revolution here. Besides, with due regard to our friendly relations with Cuba, we support the anti-imperialist policies of that country against the Great Satan and condemn the measures taken by America against that country. . . .

In connection with the crisis in the Malvinas Islands, and considering the legitimate rights of the people of Argentina and the support and confirmation of the Latin American countries to this effect, we condemn the flagrant and avaricious aggression of the old monster of world Imperialism, the British government. We also support the rights of the people of Puerto Rico for independence and liberty.

The Middle East is obviously an area to which the Iranian government pays considerable attention. It has been extremely militant in its denunciations of Israeli policies, and has mobilized millions in the streets of most Iranian cities to condemn the crimes of the Zionists. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, thousands of Iranians volunteered to go to Lebanon to fight the invaders (some did, although they have been kept largely behind the Syrian lines in the Bekaa Valley). Iran backs the struggle of the Palestinian people for their right to self-determination, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization.*

Articles in the official press have also come out in support of various African liberation struggles, including those against the apartheid regime in South Africa and the fight of the Western Saharans against the Moroccan monarchy. Others have supported the fight of the Muslim people of the southern Philippines against the Marcos dictatorship and backed North Korea against U.S. threats and pressures.

Although the Iranian regime has taken a general anti-imperialist stance, there are some major contradictions in its foreign policy. As a capitalist government, it obviously does not view world politics from a working-class perspective, as do the revolutionary leaderships in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. According to the Iranian authorities, for example, the Soviet Union is an imperialist power. But the fact is capitalism was abolished six decades ago. This has made the Soviet Union the object of unrelenting imperialist hostility since 1917, including military invasion and war, and today it faces the most formidable military machine ever assembled. The Iranian press frequently carries articles condemning Moscow, particularly its actions in Afghanistan. A common slogan of the Iranian regime is "Neither East nor West."

However, the sharpest condemnations are reserved for Washington. Summarizing a speech by Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the

* There have been some articles in the Iranian press recently that attack the PLO leadership in a sectarian fashion, accusing it of having sold out to imperialism. A column in the December 21 *Tehran Times*, for example, falsely charged that the PLO had agreed to Reagan's Middle East "peace" plan. It bemoaned the "tragic decline of the PLO's stand and its ominous integration in the Western strategy."

In this light, the invitation to PLO leader Abu Saleh to attend the ceremonies marking the anniversary of Iran's revolution was an important indication that Tehran's differences with the PLO have not gotten in the way of its support for the fight being waged by that organization.

speaker of the Majlis (parliament), the *Tehran Times* reported:

The Majlis speaker stressed that the Islamic Republic had repeatedly declared its readiness to confront the U.S. directly instead of indirectly through its regional agents. "When our people commenced its struggle against the U.S., it prepared itself for these tasks," he said.

Rafsanjani emphasized that the Islamic Republic was fully ready, adding that the U.S.'s history in Vietnam, El Salvador and elsewhere showed that such moves would no longer frighten [the] people of the world.

'Many are much better off'

Two and a half years of war have inflicted serious losses on the Iranian economy. Many of the cities and villages in the western provinces have been devastated by the Iraqi attacks. Two million people have been left homeless. The vital oil industry has been disrupted, and sections of it destroyed. By early 1982, economic losses caused by the war were already in excess of \$100 billion. Billions of dollars of the Iranian budget have had to be allocated for the war effort.

These losses have come at a time when Iran has been subjected to an imperialist economic blockade, led by Washington. Since much of Iran's trade had previously been tied to the imperialist countries, since much of its industry had been dependent on spare parts and technological assistance from the United States and Western Europe, this blockade has had a serious impact on the Iranian economy's functioning and performance.

On top of these conjunctural difficulties, the Iranian people are still burdened by the legacy of decades of imperialist domination, which distorted and held back Iran's economic development and left the vast bulk of the Iranian population impoverished, illiterate, and without adequate shelter or medical care.

But despite all this, the Iranian workers and peasants have seen important gains in their standard of living since the beginning of the revolution.

"The bulk of the people in this country are better off today than they used to be before the revolution," an unnamed "senior Western diplomat" admitted in a report in the November 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

The *New York Times'* R.W. Apple concurred. "Many at the bottom of the economic scale are much better off," he wrote in the November 19 issue. "And it is obvious that many ordinary Iranians revel in the discomfort of the rich 'tahutis' — heretics — who lived in unimaginable luxury in the mansions near the Shah's palace."

Four days earlier, Apple had reported, "There is ample food for everyone."

More milk and eggs are now available in the working-class neighborhoods of Tehran than before the revolution. And although there are shortages of some staple foods — such as cooking oil and meat — the introduction of rationing has helped limit illegal profiteering and hoarding and ensured that most people can get

at least modest amounts of the scarce items. The rate of inflation, moreover, has slowed somewhat.

The most striking gains have been in the rural areas, which were largely neglected under the shah's regime. Most of these advances have been thanks to the efforts of the Reconstruction Crusade, whose volunteers now function in thousands of villages. Its construction projects rely largely on the mobilization of local peasant communities.

According to figures issued by the Crusade in January, in the three-year period from June 1979 to June 1982, it has:

- Built 2,607 schools and repaired or completed 6,703 others.
- Provided 1,960 villages with electricity, and repaired the electricity systems in 533 others.
- Established 37 agricultural repair shops and helped repair 14,803 farm machines of one kind or another.
- Given 8,126 tractors and combine harvesters to farmers, and more than 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizers.
- Built 230 rural medical clinics, sent 28,185 medical teams to villages, and brought 154,450 villagers to hospitals.
- Distributed free medicine and powdered milk to nearly 22 million people.
- Set up 135,640 educational classes.

As a whole, the Iranian economy has also taken some important steps toward recovery.

According to government figures, the decline in Iran's gross national product was checked during 1981 and the GNP grew 4.5 percent in 1982.

By January 1983, oil production had increased to 3.2 million barrels a day (compared to some 500,000 barrels in late 1981), of which 2.7 million were being exported.

An important factor in Iran's improved economic performance has been its efforts to get around the imperialist economic blockade. Since the revolution, it has greatly diversified its trade and economic relations with other countries. Over the past year alone, more than 80 high-level foreign economic delegations have visited Iran. Important economic agreements have been concluded with Yugoslavia, North Korea, Turkey, China, Italy, Nicaragua, Pakistan, and other countries. Trade with countries in the semicolonial world now accounts for 25 percent of Iran's total trade (compared to 9 percent before the revolution).

Overtures to capitalists

While the Iranian masses have seen some improvement in their living standards since the revolution began, the government's overall view of how the Iranian economy should develop diverges from the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants. As a capitalist government, the Khomeini regime has been seeking to defend the interests of the Iranian capitalists and landlords and halt the revolutionary process in Iran.

In recent months, the government has been making increasingly explicit overtures to the



Peasants, organized by Reconstruction Crusade, build irrigation dam in northeastern Iran.

capitalists, seeking to assure them that their property is safe. (Fearing otherwise, many have fled the country since the overthrow of the shah.)

In mid-December, the Council of Guardians, which has veto powers over any legislation passed by the Majlis (parliament), rejected a bill that called for the nationalization of foreign trade. Explaining the rejection, council member Ayatollah Mohammad Reza Mahdavi-Kani said, "If the government was to take control of foreign trade, that would mean no private ownership would be respected."

In a speech to provincial governors and officials of the Ministry of the Interior December 22, Khomeini stressed, "It is the duty of the Islamic Republic to confirm people in their confidence that their property, profession and work are under its protection and the government has no right to violate their rights."

"Nobody," Khomeini went on, "should have any qualms that his assets and capital will be taken away. The people are free to invest their capital and do trade. They should contribute to the country's strength and the government should also support them."

On January 18, the Council of Guardians rejected another bill passed by the Majlis. Adopted a week earlier, it had called for the confiscation of the property of those who have fled Iran.

Alongside its overtures to the wealthier sectors of society, the government and the employers have also been trying to weaken and shackle the workers shoras. Originally formed during and after the insurrection against the shah, the shoras function primarily on the factory level. The workers have used them to fight

around such issues as wages, health and safety conditions, housing, arbitrary firings, production priorities, and broader social issues.

To try to counter the influence of the shoras, supporters of the regime have set up Islamic anjomans in the factories. They usually involve only a minority of the workers and often collaborate with the management. Coming under the pressure of the workers, however, the anjomans have at times also criticized specific policies of the government and employers.

According to Workers House, a coordinating center for shoras and anjomans in the Tehran area, some 800 members of these bodies have been fired from their jobs during 1982.

In Shahr-ray, an industrial center in south Tehran, the local office of the Ministry of Labor has been dissolving every shora whose term of office has expired, rather than allowing the workers to elect new ones.

The government, however, is still far from bringing the workers movement — or the mass organizations in general — under its firm control.

Under the impact of imperialist attacks, it is forced to countenance — and even encourage — mass mobilizations to beat off those attacks. And coming under the pressures of the mass organizations of the workers and toilers, it is often compelled to make major concessions to them.

The government and employer attempts to whittle away the gains of the revolution and the efforts of working people to defend and extend them have led to an ongoing tug-of-war.

Within the factories, struggles and discussions are taking place over a wide range of issues. These include fights against moves to

weaken the shoras; for unemployment, health, and disability insurance; against economic sabotage by the capitalists and management; and for the scrapping of Article 33 of the labor code (dating from the time of the shah), which allows employers to fire workers at will.

Discussions in factories

Many discussions were held in late 1982 and early 1983 over a draft of a new labor law drawn up by the Ministry of Labor.

At one pharmaceutical plant in Tehran, a workers' meeting passed a resolution calling for the bill to be sent back and for a new one to be written with the participation of the shoras themselves. Points the workers thought should be contained in the new labor law included the provision of child care for working women, health and unemployment insurance, and wage protection.

At a series of meetings at a textile factory, workers proposed including a number of broader social issues in the bill, such as a literacy campaign, a jobs program, unemployment insurance, and military defense of the country.

The government has said little about the labor bill in recent weeks, and appears to have quietly shelved it for the time being.

At the nationalized Dupar pharmaceutical plant, workers are fighting moves by the government to return it to private ownership. To publicize their struggle, the workers have been publishing a factory newspaper (which has also included some articles on the Nicaraguan revolution).

Workers at the Ray-O-Vac battery plant in Tehran (which employs some 500 workers) discovered that the bosses were hoarding goods and had closed down another plant in Qazvin. When they began to fight against this, the bosses prepared to fire five of the workers. In addition, the managers launched a hunger strike to protest their "mistreatment" by the workers!

The workers took over the factory in response and began running it themselves.

According to a report in the February 12 *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, the newspaper of the ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP), a worker attending a meeting of the Coordinating Center for Islamic Shoras of East Tehran Factories got up and "criticized the weakening of the shoras." He also noted that with earlier improvements in work-related problems, "the managers became fearful and began to create problems for the shoras."

On February 17, *Jomhuri-e Eslami* carried a report on another meeting of the same coordinating center. At it, a worker from the Iran-Gach factory, which produces 1,200 tons of plaster a day, reported that the management was planning to close down the plant.

"The reconstruction of the war-stricken areas absolutely demands this kind of production," he pointed out. "But the factory is facing a shutdown, although the raw material is plentiful and is supplied domestically. Two hundred workers are losing their jobs. It is not clear who is behind this conspiracy. But it is

clear that it is the management that has ordered the closure."

The widespread sentiment against such economic sabotage and against illegal profiteering and hoarding by merchants and capitalists has prompted officials to speak out against such practices from time to time.

In a November 30 letter to Ayatollah Mosavi Ardebili, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, 60 Majlis representatives urged the court's "vigilance of capitalists intending to transfer property and funds out of the country," according to a report in the next day's *Tehran Times*.

On January 30, Khomeini met with merchant representatives from around the country and appealed to them not to engage in hoarding and other illegal practices. This was followed over the next week by meetings with merchants in Tehran conducted by President Ali Khamenei and Prime Minister Mir Hussein Musavi, who presented a similar message.

The government has also responded to some of the specific demands that have been raised in the factories.

On December 18, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare Mehdi Moinfar announced that literacy classes for workers under the age of 50 would become compulsory in all government-owned or nationalized enterprises. The classes would be held during working hours, or outside working hours with overtime pay.

A bill to recognize the formation of "Islamic labor shoras" has been passed by the Majlis and is awaiting review by the Council of Guardians. Though it would apparently give some legal sanction to the existence of shoras, supporters of the bill in the Majlis have stressed that its purpose is to limit the shoras' activities. The bill has been attacked from the right, however, by officials who are opposed to any kind of shoras.

Khomeini's 8-point message

Another issue that has caused concern among working people is the regime's encroachments on the democratic rights of the toilers.

In order to advance their revolution, the workers and peasants need to be able to organize and demonstrate freely in support of their social, economic, and political demands and to have access to all political ideas and the right to discuss them without fear of arrest or persecution.

From the earliest days of the revolution, working people have come into continual conflict with the government around such questions. Sometimes the government has been more successful in intimidating critics or those with independent views, and sometimes a surge in the revolutionary process has opened up a period of relatively greater democratic freedoms (as happened during the U.S. embassy occupation).

Over the past two years or so, the government has been able to effectively ban all street demonstrations not sponsored by the govern-

ment or the IRP. It has closed down most newspapers not controlled by the government. And it has carried out arbitrary firings and jailings of socialists, worker militants, and revolutionary intellectuals.

During 1981 and 1982 — at the height of the counterrevolutionary terrorist campaign of assassinations and bombings — the government arrested thousands of people and executed many, often without trial. Many of those jailed or executed had taken up arms against the regime, but many had not, and were not even supporters of the Mujahadeen, the group that the authorities blamed for most terrorist actions. They included members of leftist groups such as the various factions of the Fedayan, the Maoist Peykar group, and others.

The government sought to justify these actions on the grounds that they were necessary to fight the counterrevolutionary terrorist groups. But the arbitrary jailings and executions also created a climate of intimidation against the working class, making workers reluctant to raise criticisms of the government and its policies. Moreover, the imperialists were able to intensify their propaganda campaign around the question of democratic rights to further galvanize sections of the middle class against the revolution.

In time, opposition to the government's arbitrary actions deepened, and supporters of the revolution spoke out against them more frequently. This put some pressure on the government to ease up. Several hundred prisoners were amnestied in late 1981, though thousands still remained behind bars.

On December 15, 1982, Khomeini issued a major declaration, known as his "8-point message," that took cognizance of the demands for an end to arbitrary arrests.

"No one," he said, "has the right to arrest or summon anybody without the writ of a judge issued according to religious standards, however short the period of detention [may] be. Arrest or summons by force is an offense which entails religious punishment. . . ."

"No one has the right to enter anybody's house, shop or personal office without the permission of the owner. . . ."

"No one has the right to listen to another person's telephone or taped messages. . . ."

Khomeini urged, "Examining the competence of judges, prosecutors and courts should be done quickly and carefully so that the current of affairs become religious and divine and the people's rights not be violated."

At the same time, Khomeini noted, these guidelines did not apply to "conspiracies and groupings opposing Islam and the Islamic Republic" and who "devise subversive schemes and cause corruption," although even in these cases actions should be carried out "in accordance with the orders of the prosecutors and courts."

A week after Khomeini's declaration, six high officials were ordered to appear in court. Three of them were dismissed from their posts: two prosecutors in Tehran and Qum and an un-

dersecretary of the Ministry of Labor.

Although the government has taken few other concrete steps to ensure that abuses of democratic rights are in fact curbed, workers in some factories have been able to use Khomeini's declaration as a lever to fight against arbitrary firings.

At a pharmaceutical plant in Tehran, seven out of eight workers who had previously been fired were reinstated after workers held a series of meetings to discuss Khomeini's declaration.

At the Pars electric plant, workers complained to the Imam's grievance committee after the bosses fired several workers. The committee came to the plant, investigated the complaint, and ordered some of the workers reinstated.

Khomeini's declaration has also spurred academic circles to speak out more forcefully in defense of democratic rights (see box). Although most universities have now been reopened (after having been closed for nearly two years), the authorities are carefully screening the students, readmitting only those who are politically acceptable to the authorities.

Encourage capitalists and landlords

Khomeini's message was two-sided, however. Under the guise of upholding the law, he also implicitly condemned peasants' unauthorized seizures of land from the big landlords and calls for the expropriation of capitalist firms.

Point 5 of Khomeini's message said, "No one has the right to interfere with anybody's property, either movable or immovable, or attach and confiscate anybody's property without the order of a religious judge which has been examined and proved religiously valid after issuance."

This was part of the government's campaign to allay the fears of the capitalists and landlords, and to encourage them to invest their money within the country, rather than seeking ways to spirit it out.

Some officials have interpreted this point of Khomeini's message to mean that previously nationalized or expropriated property should also be handed back to private hands.

One official of the Foundation for the Disinherited claimed that 2,000 units of property under its control were eligible to be returned to their owners under the guidelines laid out by Khomeini.

On January 20, Minister of Industry Mostafa Hashemi declared, "It is said that those factories that lose money should be handed over to the private sector. And we are ready, in this regard, for example, to put the Yassouj sugar factory at the disposal of the private sector, on the condition that they do not expect any help from us in initiating its operations."

Hashemi added, "We are not at all against investment by the private sector, and in this regard help the industrialists as much as we can."

Anti-Marxist propaganda

It is in line with such procapitalist statements and policies that the government has

continued its efforts to intimidate working people — despite Khomeini's strictures against arbitrary arrests. This comes at a time when workers are increasingly questioning the government's policies.

In the debates and discussions about what road the revolution should take in order to move forward, some workers have naturally become attracted by the example of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions and their ability to stand up to imperialism. Many others are interested in listening to socialist ideas and solutions.

To counter this process, the government and its backers have launched a broad ideological campaign. Explicitly antisocialist and anti-Marxist articles are becoming more common in the official press. These run the gamut from polemics by religious scholars against dialectical materialism and scientific socialism to speeches at Friday prayer meetings that attempt to deny class struggle exists in Iran.

Government leaders frequently argue that the "Islamic revolution" is "neither capitalist nor socialist," as Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani recently told a Friday prayer meeting. While exploitation of the oppressed is condemned, the division in society is said to be Islamic versus non-Islamic, rather than between classes. The economic underpinnings of Iranian society — capitalist property relations — are played down.

Thus religious, idealist concepts are used in an attempt to blunt class consciousness and short-circuit the ongoing struggle of the exploited against the employers, landlords, and imperialists.

It is in this context that the slogan "Death to the Soviet Union" is pushed by government leaders. They are acutely aware of the example set by the great gains the masses of the Soviet Union have achieved through their revolution.

In order to confuse the Iranian workers, the regime points to unpopular actions of the bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union, actions that are neither in the interests of the Iranian masses nor the Soviet masses — the cozy relations maintained with the shah almost to the end of his reign, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the continued friendly relations with the Iraqi regime.

These actions are used to falsely argue that the Soviet Union, like the United States, is "imperialist," that it is a "superpower."

The government's propaganda efforts are also aimed at red-baiting the most militant working-class fighters in the factories, attempting to isolate them from their fellow workers.

Arrest of Tudeh leaders

In this context, attacks against the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party have also increased. This is despite the fact that the Tudeh Party had previously been an uncritical supporter of the Khomeini regime.

On February 5, units of the Pasdaran arrested Tudeh Party General Secretary Nuredin Kianuri and a number of other party leaders, on the charge that they were "spies linked to the KGB," the Soviet intelligence agency.

Articles in the official press accused the Tudeh Party of everything from laying the groundwork for the 1953 CIA-organized coup

Academic employees: 'Defend people's rights'

[The following statement appeared in the February 27 issue of *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, published daily in Tehran. The translation is by Nader Avini.]

* * *

We, members of the Scientific Group and employees of the Technical Office of the College of Educational Sciences and Islamic Culture and the Central Library of the Literature and Human Sciences complex, proclaim our complete support for the 8-point edict of the great leader of the revolution, Imam Khomeini, and demand:

1. That the 8-point edict of the Imam be precisely implemented in a spirit of service to the deprived and the oppressed.

2. That the text of the historic edict of the Imam be the guideline to action for administrations and officials, and that it be posted in the offices of all state and private organizations and in public places.

3. That all aggressors against the people's rights, whatever their position or standing, be exposed and punished.

4. That the life, property, principles, and opinions of all those who act within the framework of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran be respected and safeguarded.

5. That, with the Imam's emphasis on the dissolution of the selection boards, all those serving the country and the people who have been deprived of their social, political, job-related, and individual rights should be rehabilitated and that those self-seekers, reactionaries, bigots, sowers of discontent, and infiltrators responsible for such self-seeking purges be exposed and punished.

6. That scientific, educational, intellectual, and job-related security be granted to all students, professors, researchers, and other university employees who act within the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

7. That the principles of the constitution, especially those safeguarding the social and individual rights of the people, be precisely implemented.

to acting "as a fifth column of the Russian imperialists in Iran."

A declaration issued by the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party denied these charges and demanded the release of the party's leaders.

Because of its political line, however, the Tudeh Party has left itself more vulnerable to government attack. While it is formally on record in support of the war effort, since early 1982 it has been calling more and more openly for "peace." Local branches have even opposed the entry of Iranian troops into Iraq (echoing Moscow's position on this question). This has put the party at odds not only with the Iranian government, but with the Iranian workers and peasants as well.

The government is now using the arrests to try to whip up anticommunist sentiment and thus further its ideological campaign and its red-baiting efforts.

At the Iran National automobile factory in Tehran, worker activists have complained, "Whenever we raise our demands, they call us Tudeh Party. No, we are Islamic. We have a right to discuss our problems."

At a mass demonstration in Tabriz February 19 (to mark the anniversary of the 1978 uprising in that city), Ayatollah Hatami read out a declaration endorsing the imprisonment of the Tudeh leaders.

Supporters of the government within the factories and the Islamic anjomans have passed out leaflets attacking the Tudeh Party and "the party of the socialists of Iran," an ambiguous reference that could apply to several socialist groups.

In some factories, anjoman leaders have initiated chants of "Death to the Tudeh!" and have urged workers to trample on U.S. and Soviet flags. Socialists in Iran report that this has not aroused much excitement, except when the issue of Afghanistan is brought up: then workers join in the chanting.

Despite this concerted campaign, some shoras and anjoman members oppose the arrests. While they believe the Tudeh Party has a wrong political line, they nevertheless consider it part of the workers movement and see the arrests as an attack on worker militants in the factories.

Peasants make gains

As in the cities, a class struggle is unfolding in the countryside.

Following the overthrow of the shah, peasants in many parts of the country began seizing the land of big landlords and cultivating it themselves. Many of these landlords fled to the cities or left the country entirely.

In early 1980, the government put forward a land reform law. One section of the law, which would have legalized the takeover and distribution of the big landholdings, was suspended after six months under pressure from the landlords.

Though the land occupations were not legally sanctioned, the peasants nevertheless fought to continue cultivating their newly ac-

quired land — sometimes in opposition to gangs of armed thugs sent by the landlords.

The government refused to defend the peasants from landlord attacks, but it has provided various forms of assistance that have improved the peasants' lot, including loans and the free provision of tractors and fertilizer. This — plus the overall rise in investments in agriculture — has led to an increase in the amount of land under cultivation and bigger harvests of such crops as wheat and rice. The activities of the Reconstruction Crusade in building schools, clinics, dams, and irrigation ditches have likewise benefited the peasants enormously.

To defend these gains — and to fight for their still unfulfilled demands — the peasants have organized themselves into shoras, which now exist in some 20,000 villages. These shoras work closely with members of the Crusade. They have helped peasants solve various technical and organizational problems they face and have fought for implementation of the land reform law, access to credit, improvements in irrigation, technical assistance, and so on. In many of the smaller and more remote villages, where the government's presence is rarely felt, the peasant shoras constitute the only real authority.

In an important victory for the peasants, a law was passed in late 1982 legalizing the peasant shoras.

Then on December 5, the Supreme Judicial Council ordered the dissolution of all cultivation shoras. These are committees of peasants set up to manage taken-over land that is farmed on a cooperative basis among a number of peasant families.

On January 23, however, the council reversed itself and ordered the cultivation shoras reinstated, with the same composition as before. It also issued a memorandum that legalized the takeovers of land that were carried out from 1979 through 1981, but it seeks to draw the line there. All cooperatively cultivated land taken over after 1981 without the authorization of the appropriate religious authorities must be given back to its original owners, the council insisted.

Some landlords have also begun to try to use Khomeini's 8-point message to regain their property.

In a letter published in the February 17 *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, six peasants who had received land left behind by a supporter of the shah in Tonekabon, in the north, wrote, "Using the 8-point edict of the Imam, some heirs of the shah's fleeing supporters have introduced themselves as the owners, or the attorneys of the owners, and are campaigning to take the land back. We warn the authorities that this offensive by the pro-shah people and their friends is an insult to the Imam's precious commands. We hope that the officials will put up a determined fight against this conspiracy."

In Yazd, in central Iran, a seminar of peasant shoras has protested against the discriminatory way in which water is distributed between the cities and the countryside.

In Zabol, a town in eastern Iran near the border with Afghanistan, a local religious dignitary declared during the Friday prayer meeting January 21 that the land of the big landowners should be taken over and distributed to the peasants.

Fighting in Kurdistan

Shortly after Khomeini's 8-point message, seven recently elected Kurdish members of the Majlis met with Majlis speaker Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani to ask whether the declaration applied to Kurdistan as well. Rafsanjani replied that it did.

But the government's repression in Kurdistan had not ended. At a news conference in Tehran December 28, Mohsen Rezaie, the commander of the Pasdaran, described various military operations against the Mujahadeen and Kurdish groups, in which hundreds were killed or captured.

A few days earlier, the Iranian press reported a series of battles on December 19 in 24 Kurdish villages between Sanandaj and Kamyaran, in which some 20 insurgents were killed.

Just as the peasants are key allies of the Iranian workers, so are the oppressed nationalities within Iran. The Iranian revolution combines two, interrelated national questions: the fight of Iran as an oppressed nation to be free of imperialist domination, and the fight of oppressed nationalities within Iran for an end to domination by the Persian-speaking nationality.

The dominant Persian nationality in Iran is only 40 percent of the population. The other 60 percent is made up of Azerbaijanis, the largest and most proletarianized oppressed nationality; the Arabs, who have considerable weight in the oil industry; the Kurds, a primarily peasant population and so far the most combative in fighting for their national rights; Turkmenis and Baluchis, mainly peasant and nomadic; and others.

Under the shah these nationalities were brutally repressed, discriminated against in jobs and education, denied the right to use their own languages or observe their own cultures.

Thus Azerbaijanis, Kurds, and Arabs in particular fought heroically in the struggle to overthrow the shah and bore the brunt of his army's attacks.

With the defeat of the monarchy, the Kurds seized the opportunity to demand their right to control their affairs in their own part of the country, northwestern Iran. Kurdish peasants began taking over land owned by the pro-shah landlords.

The Khomeini government in Tehran sent its army against the Kurds, charging that their actions were counterrevolutionary and proimperialist. The sharpest point of military conflict came in August 1979, when the central government launched a major offensive aimed at wiping out the organized Kurdish forces. The resistance of the Kurds, combined with growing antiwar sentiment among Persian-speaking workers, forced the government to

pull back. But battles have continued ever since, with the government unable to impose direct control in Kurdistan.

The imperialists, hypocritically bemoaning the denial of Kurdish rights, have tried to exploit the divisions caused by the regime's policies. So has Saddam Hussein, who has made overtures to both Kurds and Arabs inside Iran. Most Arabs and Kurds have remained loyal to the revolution, however, as shown by the ability of Iranian troops to progressively push back the Iraqi forces that had occupied parts of Iran where Kurds and Arabs live.

But the counterrevolution has scored some successes in Kurdistan, notably the defection of the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party to the proimperialist National Council of Resistance led by Bani-Sadr and Rajavi. This is a blow to the Kurdish liberation struggle, and to the revolution as a whole.

Thus the failure of the Iranian regime to meet the justified demands of the oppressed nationalities has weakened the nation as a whole in its fight against imperialism.

Women press demands

Women, too, are continuing to demand their rights.

Since the overthrow of the shah, millions of women have been drawn into the revolutionary mobilizations. They participate in large numbers in the Reconstruction Crusade, and there are armed units of women in the Pasdaran.

As with other sections of the population, the capitalist government of Iran is also trying to restrict the rights of women. Some child-care facilities in government offices have been closed down.

Like other workers, women employees are also attempting to use Khomeini's 8-point message to fight against arbitrary firings.

In a letter in the February 17 *Jomhuri-e Es-lami*, a group of 10 women who were fired from the Union of Workers Consumer Cooperatives (EMKAN) wrote that their firings violated "Articles 20 and 10 of the Constitution, which emphasizes the equality of men and women in an Islamic framework."

After meeting with Motamed Rezaie, an undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor (to which the cooperatives' union is attached), Rezaie "proclaimed the reason for our firings to be his personal taste and desire. And in reply to our charges that such decisions are illegal, he claimed that using Article 33 [of the shah's labor code], any employer has the right to fire workers because of his personal taste and desire. . . ."

"We, the fired sisters, condemn this action by the managerial board, which took place immediately after the issuance of the Imam's historic edict."

The provision of child care has become another common demand in factory shora meetings. And often this and other demands of the women are being backed by male workers.

Under such pressures, a bill has been submitted to the Majlis that would give women

employed in educational institutions one year of paid maternity leave.

An ongoing revolution

These continuing struggles of workers, peasants, women, and the oppressed nationalities show that the image of Iran projected in the imperialist media is totally false. The people of Iran have not been crushed. Their revolutionary aspirations and determination remain very much alive.

After more than four years of concerted imperialist attacks, after two and a half years of one of the costliest and most protracted wars in the Middle East, after countless efforts by the Iranian capitalists and landlords to slow down

and break the mass mobilizations, the Iranian revolution has still not run its course.

This should be an inspiration to the oppressed throughout the world, an example of the power and tenacity that working people can display in their struggle for a society that reflects their interests.

It should also be a warning to working people everywhere that the imperialists will not rest. They will do everything they can to stop the revolutionary process in Iran.

Solidarity with the struggles of the Iranian workers and toilers must begin from that basis. It must focus the most determined opposition possible against all attempts by imperialism to intervene in Iran and deny the Iranian people the future they are fighting for. □

Babak Zahraie held in Evin Prison

Longtime anti-imperialist fighter



BABAK ZAHRAIE

Iranian revolutionary Babak Zahraie was called to Tehran's Evin Prison January 17 for questioning by the prosecutor's office. He was placed under arrest there and has been held ever since. He has been denied the right to receive visitors. No charges have been made public.

Zahraie, a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran, spent years in exile during the tyrannical rule of the shah. Living in the United States, Zahraie was active in the anti-shah student movement and in the movement against the Vietnam War. Because of these activities, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) attempted to deport him back to Iran in the early 1970s.

Zahraie and his supporters successfully exposed the deportation move as a conspiracy between the U.S. government and the shah's secret police, SAVAK. Protests by opponents of U.S. support to the shah, anti-Vietnam War activists, Blacks, and others forced the INS to withdraw its deportation proceedings.

Zahraie went on to help found and lead the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which helped win the release of religious figures, writers, and other political prisoners in the shah's jails, including Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri and Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani. CAIFI also exposed the U.S. role in training SAVAK torturers and propping up the repressive regime of the shah. It denounced attempts to restrict the political activities of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini when he was living in exile in France.

In early 1979, Zahraie returned to Iran and participated in the insurrection that toppled the monarchy. Since that time he has been active in helping advance the revolution and in defending the Islamic Republic from imperialist attack. He and his party, the HKE, have supported and participated in the mobilizations against the invasion of Iran by Iraq. He served as editor of *Kargar*, a socialist newspaper put out by the HKE, until it was banned in 1982.

HKE members Bahram Atai, Mohammed Falsafi, and Sohaila Farhangi are also being held in Evin Prison.

Shanaz Dilmaghani, an HKE member arrested in the fall of 1982, was freed March 15.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are urged to send messages calling for Zahraie's release. Such messages should request:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of U.S. imperialist attacks against that revolution, I urge you to free anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie, currently held in Evin Prison.

"His continued imprisonment — based on no crime against the revolution — can only harm the just struggle of the Iranian people."

Messages should be sent to the committee recently established by Ayatollah Khomeini to investigate violations of constitutional rights:

Seta'd Peygiri, Karimkhan Ave., Iranshahr, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to *Intercontinental Press*. □

A fight to extend the socialist revolution

2. Solidarity's historical and political roots

By Ernest Harsch

The fight of the Polish workers today is part of the worldwide struggle for socialism and against capitalism.

That is the historical and political context in which the Polish workers' upsurge has taken place. It is impossible to adequately understand it in isolation, apart from the wider class struggle on a global scale.

Among workers in Poland there is a certain, though limited, understanding that the rise of the Solidarity union movement is part of a process that has its roots in earlier working-class struggles. Usually, people in Poland look back

This is the second of two articles based on a talk given by Ernest Harsch in New York, Boston, and Chicago following his return from a visit to Poland in October and November 1982. The first one dealt with Solidarity's program and demands and its opposition to martial law.

to previous antibureaucratic upsurges, such as those in 1956, 1968, 1970, and 1976.

In reality, however, the roots of Solidarity's struggle go back much further.

Poland has a long revolutionary tradition. The fight of the Polish people for national independence, for an end to foreign domination, goes back centuries. And the Polish working-class movement, the socialist movement, is as old as the *Communist Manifesto* itself.

There were close ties between the Polish workers movement and those in other countries. The links with the Russian workers were particularly close, especially since a good part of Poland was ruled for more than a century by the tsarist regime. Many Poles were active in the Bolshevik Party. Thousands took part in the Russian revolution, one of the most prominent being Karl Radek.

Impact of Russian revolution

The Russian revolution of October 1917 had a big impact in Poland, and on the future history of that country.

In Russia, for the first time in world history, a socialist revolution had been successfully accomplished. For the first time anywhere, the workers and farmers had taken political power and begun the difficult process of seeking to transform their society in the interests of working people.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the Russian workers provided a stirring example to workers everywhere. And thanks to the Russian revolution — as well as the revolutionary upsurge in Ger-

many and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1918 — Poland was able to regain its formal independence.

Within Poland, workers and peasants formed their own elected councils, similar to the Russian soviets. These wielded considerable authority for several years.

But the Russian revolution suffered serious reverses. It was invaded by troops from more than a dozen capitalist countries, including the United States. The socialist revolution was unable to spread elsewhere in Europe at the time. So the pressures of the surrounding capitalist world were enormous.

Under these pressures, a political counter-revolution took place in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's progressive state property forms were retained; the workers state itself survived. But the workers and their leadership, the Bolsheviks, lost political power. A privileged bureaucratic caste arose, led by Stalin. It thrived in the conditions of economic scarcity. After Lenin's death, it systematically consolidated its grip, eliminated workers democracy, and killed off the vast bulk of the old Bolshevik leadership.

The coming to power of this bureaucracy served to obstruct and distort the advance of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union, and it became an obstacle to revolutionary struggles in other countries as well. The bureaucracy's policies were — and are — counter-revolutionary. Its practice is totally contrary to the ideas long put forward by the Marxist and workers movements.

The bureaucracy hinders, rather than promotes, the organization and mobilization of the working masses. Rather than allowing the workers to decide state policies democratically, the bureaucracy appropriates all decision-making powers to itself. Rather than aiding the advance of the world socialist revolution, the bureaucracy puts its own narrow, material interests above all else.

Although the workers no longer governed the Soviet Union, in the political realm, they remained the *ruling class*. The progressive state property forms continued to function in the interests of the workers, despite all the distortions and mismanagement introduced by bureaucratic rule.

That is the basis of the imperialist hostility to the Soviet workers state. Touching on the role of the bureaucracy in this context, Trotsky, who was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1928 for defending Leninism, wrote in 1937:

The pressure of imperialism on the Soviet Union has as its aim the alteration of the very nature of So-

viet society. The struggle — today peaceful, tomorrow military — concerns the forms of property. In its capacity of a transmitting mechanism in this struggle, the bureaucracy leans now on the proletariat against imperialism, now on imperialism against the proletariat, in order to increase its own power. At the same time it mercilessly exploits its role as distributor of the meager necessities of life in order to safeguard its own well-being and power. By this token the rule of the proletariat assumes an abridged, curbed, distorted character.

One can with full justification say that the proletariat, *ruling* in one backward and isolated country, still remains an *oppressed* class. The source of oppression is world imperialism; the mechanism of transmission of the oppression — the bureaucracy.

The Polish workers state

While the Stalinists in the Soviet Union were able to obstruct and hinder the advance of the world socialist revolution, leading to numerous and costly defeats, they were not able to stop it.

In Poland itself, a new stage was opened up as a result of World War II. The war had devastated the country. More than 6 million Poles, half of them Jewish, had been killed by the Nazi occupation.

As a result, many Poles initially welcomed the Soviet troops, who helped free the country from the Nazis in 1944–45. They did so despite justified fears of Moscow's political intentions and a legacy of distrust fostered by past Russian domination.

Under the impetus of the Nazi defeat, working people also started to take matters into their own hands.

Beginning in 1944, workers in many parts of the country spontaneously formed their own workers councils and took over the factories. In most cases these were factories abandoned by German owners. The workers got production going again, under their control.

In the countryside, Polish peasants established committees to fight the domination of wealthy landlords and to press for land reform.

This widespread social ferment and the sheer necessity of getting the Polish economy functioning again spurred the new government — which was allied to Moscow — to enact a series of important social measures.

Landlordism was smashed by expropriating all large estates over 250 acres and distributing the land to some half a million peasant families. The peasant committees played a major role in the actual distribution of this land.

Many foreign-owned companies were expropriated. A law was passed recognizing the legal status of the workers councils, and their

right to elect factory managers.

This was a period of great hopes in Poland. Working people were inspired to begin organizing themselves and seek to advance their interests, despite attempts by the new government and its Soviet allies to keep this social ferment under strict control and to maintain capitalism in Poland.

But in 1947, Washington opened a major political, economic, and military offensive against the Soviet Union and the workers movements in Eastern Europe. It encouraged procapitalist counterrevolutionary forces in Poland and other countries. Thousands were killed in this reactionary campaign in Poland alone.

To defend their own position and interests, the Soviet bureaucrats were compelled to extend the social changes that had been begun in Eastern Europe. This was the only way to undermine the social base of the counterrevolution and to provide a buffer against the imperialist attacks. The result was the abolition of capitalism in Poland and other Eastern European countries and the opening of new socialist revolutions.

With these revolutionary changes came important advances in living standards and conditions. New housing was built for workers. Free education and medical care were introduced. The reconstruction efforts provided many jobs, and soon unemployment was wiped out. New, inexpensive public transportation systems were built. New social programs were established in the countryside.

In addition, political consciousness changed. The idea of social justice became pervasive, and Polish workers today accept that as the way things should be.

The workers of Poland consider these gains as their own. This social revolution put them and their allies in a much stronger position than before to defend and advance their interests.

Working people in the United States and other capitalist countries also have a big stake in defending the workers states. By analogy, it is like nonunionized workers seeing the importance of having strong unions, even if they themselves are not yet able to belong to them. The very existence of the unions — whatever wretched leaderships they may currently have — strengthens the position of all workers.

Bureaucratic grip

The Polish government, however, is not interested in seeing the workers advance their socialist revolution.

As in the Soviet Union, it is controlled by a privileged bureaucracy — not by the workers and farmers. This bureaucracy has the same conservative, narrow, self-centered world outlook as its partner in Moscow. It maintains a monopoly on all decision-making powers. It fears the Polish workers movement.

One of its first acts in the late 1940s was to order the dissolution of the workers councils. And it gradually eliminated all critical and opposition political currents.

Poland, however, continued to make impor-

tant economic and social advances. This was thanks to the abolition of capitalism, the nationalization of industry, the smashing of landlordism, and the institution of economic planning. But these changes came despite the policies of the bureaucracy.

The bureaucrats wantonly violated the popular principle of social equality. It is to be expected that wage disparities and other inequalities will persist in workers states during the period of transition to socialism. But what existed was a policy of systematic privilege for a social layer.

Party secretaries had fancy villas built in the countryside. They had fleets of private limousines and sports cars. They took all-expense-paid pleasure trips abroad and set up foreign bank accounts. They had access to scarce goods that working people had trouble finding. Corruption was so widespread that it almost seemed to be official policy. One common name for the bureaucrats in Poland is the "red bourgeoisie."

To try to keep the workers in line, the bureaucracy instituted a system of widespread political repression. Intellectuals, workers, peasant activists, students, all were subject to police surveillance, harassment, and detention for their political ideas and activities.

Nor did the bureaucrats manage the economy very well. Their policies, in fact, hampered rational economic planning. Priorities were drawn up without any social consultation and without even access to some of the most necessary economic data, because of all the state secrecy laws.

Projects were launched to maximize artificially set production goals, not to fulfill real social needs or ensure rounded economic development. Agriculture, consumer goods industries, and services were starved of state funds and allowed to deteriorate. As a result, there are today enormous shortages of housing for workers, public transportation is in sad shape, and agricultural production is in a shambles. There is massive waste and inefficiency.

The management of the economy in Poland is quite a contrast to that in Cuba. In Cuba, the industrial plans are discussed publicly in the workplaces. Errors and false projections can thus be caught more easily, and skewed priorities are straightened out.

Because the trade unions in Cuba are democratic, the working people are directly involved in this planning process. And because of that, they feel greater responsibility for what happens.

Cuba is a much poorer country than Poland because of its long history of imperialist domination and underdevelopment. Nonetheless, there are not the same kind of wide disparities in income and living standards in Cuba as in Poland.

Who defends workers states?

Poland is a vivid example of how the policies of a bureaucracy actually undermine and weaken a workers state. They lead to demoral-

ization and breed social strife. They hold back rational economic development and the extension and consolidation of the socialist revolution.

They also make the country more vulnerable to pressures from the capitalist world. This has been especially evident in the way Poland's economic crisis has developed.

During the 1970s, the regime of Edward Gierak launched a massive industrialization program. Like everything else, it was drawn up arbitrarily, with no public discussion of its pace or goals, or whether all of it was realistic.

Aside from the usual inefficiency and waste, the biggest mistake Gierak made was basing this industrialization program on the illusory prospect of a continued upturn in the world capitalist economy. The program was financed by huge loans from imperialist banks and governments. It was predicated on Poland's ability to sell its products to the West. From these sales hard currency was to be earned to pay back the loans and to pay for the imports of spare parts and raw materials that were needed to keep Polish industry going.

But already by the early 1970s, a prolonged capitalist stagnation had begun. Markets in the West were shrinking. Polish products could not be sold. Foreign earnings dried up. As a result, the debts skyrocketed and Polish industrial production declined.

Obviously, the economic pressures bearing down on the workers states cannot be avoided entirely. The continued dominance of the world capitalist market and the necessity of the workers states to trade with capitalist countries means that such pressures are inevitable in today's world. But they can be taken into account and their effects limited.

The only effective way to do that is if the workers themselves are able to participate in making decisions. They will become more conscious as a class of the threats facing them, and find better ways to deal with them.

The bureaucracy is incapable of doing that. In fact, the very existence of the bureaucracy is a reflection of the pressures on Poland and other workers states from the capitalist world. Defending the Polish workers state means opposing the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy and replacing it with a government of the workers and farmers.

The role of Stalinism in undermining this defense was a point raised during the massive 1956 upsurge in Poland. An article in the anti-Stalinist newspaper *Po Prostu* declared at the time:

When they talk to us today about the unity of the international movement, we must reply:

We need unity as much as we need air to breathe. But not unity with the Stalinists, not unity at any price, that is, at the price of truth and revolutionary honor. The kind of unity we need is unity against imperialism and against Stalinism, unity based on the resurrection of the world communist movement.

Any other kind of unity means defeat.

The experience of all of us and the experience of our defeat in Hungary [the Soviet crushing of the Hungarian revolution that same year] in particular, proved that the capitalists always benefit from Stalin-



Solidarity's struggle against bureaucratic abuses helped strengthen the defense of the Polish workers state.

ism. The survival of Stalinism in our ranks is the surest guarantee of imperialist victories.

The author of those words, Roman Zimand, is today a prominent supporter of Solidarity, and was among those detained immediately following the declaration of martial law in December 1981.

When the Polish authorities today accuse Solidarity of being antisocialist, it is to mask their own counterrevolutionary role. They also try to claim that any opposition or dissent within a workers state only weakens it against the imperialists.

But what was the basic thrust of the struggle of the Polish workers, led by Solidarity? It was certainly not to undermine, but to strengthen Poland's economic and social system.

That is why the workers attacked the bureaucracy's mismanagement of the economy and the country as a whole. That is why they demanded the abolition of its special privileges. That is why they are trying to organize strong unions. That is why they fought for the establishment of democratically elected workers councils, like those that existed in the 1940s, to manage the factories. That is why they want workers democracy.

The Polish workers want to defend their country, to save it from ruin. They want to defend — and extend — the social gains they won in the past.

Lack of internationalist outlook

In facing these historic tasks, however, the Polish workers have been held back not only by the bureaucracy's repression, but also by the political limitations and unclarity of their current leadership.

This has been most evident in Solidarity's stance on international questions. Although the internationalism of the Polish workers movement had been quite strong in the past, there has been very little expression of that in recent years.

Solidarity, for example, has not hailed the

struggles of the Nicaraguan or Salvadoran people, or the national liberation movements of Africa, the Middle East, or elsewhere.

Moreover, the few times when authoritative Solidarity leaders have commented on international issues, they have displayed numerous illusions in the imperialist governments in the "democratic West." Because they have no clear understanding of Solidarity's struggle as part of the world workers movement, they do not realize that it is fundamentally opposed to the interests of the U.S. and West European ruling classes. Some even think that the Reagan administration, because of its strident condemnations of Moscow, is an ally.

This outlook is an obstacle to building greater international working-class solidarity.

A declaration by Solidarity or one of its recognized leaders supporting the struggle in El Salvador or opposing U.S. intervention there would be a big help to the Salvadoran workers. It would help undercut Washington's propaganda about fighting "Soviet expansionism" in Central America.

At the same time, such a declaration would win the Polish union new allies, in Central America and elsewhere, and make it infinitely more difficult for the Polish bureaucrats to politically justify their crackdown.

Solidarity's weakness on international questions is one result of the break in the political continuity of the Polish workers movement caused by the rise of Stalinism. Another is the attitude of the Solidarity leadership toward Marxist ideas in general.

While there are no procapitalist currents of any significance within Solidarity or its leadership, there are, at the same time, few Solidarity leaders who consciously identify with the traditions of Marxism, with the traditions of the Bolsheviks and the communist movement they launched after the victory of the Russian revolution in 1917.

There is currently no wing of the Solidarity

leadership that is seeking to educate the Polish workers on the roots of their struggle for socialism, or on how it fits into the struggle of workers worldwide against the capitalist system. That is not part of Solidarity's program. The target of its struggle is defined narrowly — and almost exclusively — as the bureaucracies in Warsaw and Moscow.

This is also a widespread misconception among Polish working people in general.

Because the bureaucracy, the government, the party hierarchy, and even the hated ZOMO riot police use Marxist-sounding language, day in and day out, many people find the use of similar words and slogans distasteful. They are not initially inclined to look back to the traditions of the early Marxist movement, because those traditions have been obscured by Stalinism.

More importantly, few people in Poland know of any living alternative to the kind of workers state they have in Poland. The ignorance of the way Cuban society functions is almost total. People commonly assume, because of Cuba's relations with the Soviet Union, that it, too, must be bureaucratized.

There are some in Solidarity and its leadership who are familiar, more or less, with the genuine traditions of the Marxist movement. A few have rejected those traditions. Others simply do not see that Solidarity's lack of a consciously socialist, Marxist world outlook is a problem.

Poland's recent history shows that the movement there can absorb political lessons very quickly. Many have already learned something about the functioning of the world capitalist system by seeing the way the imperialist banks have pressured Poland on its debt repayments.

But this process of political education will not proceed automatically. Revolutionary socialists, both within Poland and outside, can help contribute to it by patiently explaining the real political context in which the Polish workers' struggle is taking place. They can try to help reestablish a political continuity with the program of the revolutionary workers movement developed and defended by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and the first four congresses of the Communist International.

Such ideas will fall on receptive ears, despite today's widespread ideological misconceptions. That is because the struggle of the Polish workers is, fundamentally, a struggle for socialism and against capitalism.

Whether they now realize it or not, they are fighting to extend and deepen the socialist revolution in Poland, by sweeping away the bureaucratic obstacle that stands in its path.

That places their struggle objectively on the side of the Vietnamese people, on the side of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people, on the side of the Palestinians, on the side of the Black majority in South Africa, on the side of the Irish freedom fighters. It places their struggle on the side of working people everywhere who are fighting against capitalist exploitation and national oppression. □

Israeli occupiers intensify repression

Palestinian universities and press singled out

By Deborah Liatos
and Georges Sayad

JERUSALEM — The Palestinian population of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank reacted to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon with massive opposition. A September 22, 1982, general strike on the West Bank following the Sabra and Shatila massacres was the culmination of months of demonstrations, strikes, and other forms of protest.

Israeli authorities, requiring a quiet home front to wage their war against Lebanon, stepped up their repression throughout the occupied territories of Palestine.

All Palestinian nationalist organizations, institutions, and individuals have been subject to the military authorities' acts of repression. Palestinian universities and the Palestinian press have been singled out for special attention.

Universities under attack

"After the Israeli occupation of the West Bank [in 1967], higher education for Palestinians was cut off," explained Penny Johnson, Vice-president for Public Relations at Bir Zeit University. "Until 1972 those in the Gaza Strip could go to Egypt. Sadat expelled most Palestinian students. Students would rather go to a Palestinian institution; if you go to a university outside you have to stay away for five years."

"The situation," said Johnson, is unsolvable "until control is taken of the West Bank."

To fill the Palestinian population's need for higher education, Bethlehem University opened in 1973, Al Najah University in 1975, and Bir Zeit — started as an elementary school in 1924 — was converted into a university in 1973.

The Palestinian universities are nationalist institutions that serve to educate and, at the same time, fulfill certain aspirations of the Palestinian people. Thus they are centers of political discussion on the Palestinians' struggle for their homeland.

Since these universities opened, Israeli military authorities have constantly harassed them. Johnson recounted instances of roadblocks leading to the schools, beatings and arrests of students, midnight raids of the dormitories, and periodic shutdowns of the universities.

Israeli soldiers raided Bethlehem University January 13, 1983. They confiscated materials and detained 40 students. On the same day soldiers detained a busload of students, mostly from Hebron University.

At Al Najah University a week before, the entire student council was arrested and held in

detention on charges of "inciting students." In the 1981-82 academic year alone, Bir Zeit University was closed a total of seven months by military order.

Financial pressures

"Even a department of tourism is forbidden by the Israeli authorities at Bethlehem University for 'security reasons,'" Johnson said.

She explained that the Israeli authorities are also attempting to sabotage the universities' fundraising efforts. Bir Zeit University is financed through private contributions from individuals living mainly outside the occupied territories.

Bir Zeit must already report all contributions to the Israeli authorities on an annual basis. The authorities are now demanding that the universities get permission to receive *each* contribution that we get from outside," Johnson said.

Given the hostility and slowness of the Israeli administration, the university's functioning could be stopped simply by denying permission for this or that contribution.

Another attack is the military authorities' demand that foreign nationals working as educators in the West Bank sign a loyalty oath — Military Order 854. The loyalty oath serves as a prerequisite for obtaining a work permit.

Professors expelled

Foreign lecturers at all four West Bank universities — about 100 persons in all — opposed signing the oath. It reads in part, "I am fully committed against indulging in any act and offering any assistance to the organization called the PLO or any other hostile organization that is considered to be hostile to the State of Israel."

Because of their refusal to sign this highly political document, 22 professors at Al Najah University have already been expelled from the country. On January 17, 1983, five foreign lecturers were banned from teaching and excluded from their classrooms at Bethlehem and Al Najah universities.

Professors holding Jordanian passports — mainly Palestinians who were originally from the West Bank but whose legal residency was revoked after the 1967 war — face an even more difficult situation. In their case, if they lose their work permit, they lose their right to reside in the West Bank. As of November 1982, 18 educators holding Jordanian passports had been expelled from the area.

A background paper issued by the Ad Hoc Foreign Passport Holders Committee (AHFPHC) explained that the real intention of

the Israeli authorities was the "serious weakening and perhaps even the destruction of independent higher education in the West Bank.

"Without the possibility of hiring foreign staff, the universities will face serious difficulties in obtaining qualified personnel. Their academic programs will be seriously affected, and in some cases whole departments will cease to exist.

"For example, at Bir Zeit University, 21 lecturers in the English Department, more than half the staff, are foreign passport holders. In addition, there are indications that the definition of 'foreigners' who must sign this declaration may well expand to include residents of Jerusalem and Gaza," the AHFPHC paper said.

"The only avenue for us is public pressure. It's a political matter, not a legal one. If foreigners sign, then they'll ask Palestinians," Johnson explained.

She described student demonstrations held to protest the expulsions. "A lot of support, too, came from universities in Britain, France, and Italy.

"The Israeli solidarity committee got 200 signatures of academics. Even the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* treated us fairly, presenting a sympathetic profile of the professors. Peace activists have also been a big help to us. The military tries, of course, to discourage this activity; one roadblock turned back Israeli supporters on their way to the West Bank," Johnson said.

Censoring the press

The military government in the occupied territories also keeps a tight rein on the Palestinian news media.

Sam'an Khoury, managing editor of the English-language weekly *Al Fajr*, explained that the censorship is direct and far-reaching.

"They censor anything," said Khoury, "even items that are already public knowledge and not sensitive at all. During the Lebanon War they censored out any reaction [in the West Bank] to the war. They censor our editorials. There can never be anything on the military government — that's considered a threat to national security.

"I think they have an aim to their censorship. When [the Israeli government] started giving out licenses, they wanted to show the world that they are liberal; that it's only the terrorist attacks they are against.

"Then, I believe, they discovered that these same [journalists] who had been given licenses to cover certain political issues wrote articles reflecting the opinions of the West Bank popu-

lation. The problem for Israel, of course, is that the state wants to be seen as democratic, so they can't just openly declare 'we're closing the papers' — although that's their aim."

What the Israeli authorities will do, Khoury explained, is exert more and more pressure until the journalists stop writing and the papers close.

"This happens often. I can see it here. We have journalists who come to me and say 'what's the use of writing this story if it's only going to be read by the censors.' This is part of the fight here. We keep encouraging each other and continue because the Israelis' aim is to stop us or pressure us to change."

Al Fajr reported in its November 19, 1982, issue that it was forced to throw out 80 to 90 percent of its news coverage during the Lebanon War.

"The censorship we've had averaged 30 to 40 percent total censorship and something between 20 and 25 percent partial censorship. By that I mean mutilated articles," Khoury said.

Protests back journalists

Has there been opposition to the censorship and harassment of the Palestinian press?

"You will find a few journalists who will take a story from us and publish it. We have gotten more support from international journalists than from Israeli journalists.

"For example, none of the Israeli papers did anything about the arrests of the chief editors of *Al Fajr*, *Al Shaab*, and *Al Talia* in Ramallah. This case has been pending for 30 months.

"It became so notorious that Amnesty Inter-

national started working on the case. Journalists from unions in other countries protested to Begin and sent copies of their letters to the Israeli journalists union. I believe after all this the Israeli journalists union finally decided to visit the three editors in prison."

Khoury believes that it is in the interests of the Israeli press to solidarize with their Palestinian counterparts. "This is a fight for freedom of expression. If they don't fight now, the Israeli authorities will do the same thing to them later."

Government censors have already used their razor on a major Israeli daily newspaper. The *Jerusalem Post* recently left a blank space in place of a censored article, with a caption protesting the government's antidemocratic action.

There have been instances, however, of the same article being published in the *Jerusalem Post* and censored out of *Al Fajr*.

Journalists union persecuted

Khoury also described the evolution of the Palestinian journalists union.

"In 1980," Khoury reported, "a majority of nationalists were elected to the leading bodies of the journalists union in the West Bank. For the first time it became a nationalist body. But the problem that it faces is that even though the Israeli authorities have given a license to this union, they won't acknowledge it as an independent body."

"One of our journalists was carrying union pamphlets in Ramallah. He was arrested for carrying illegal leaflets, detained for 12 days,

and then released on bail. After 10 months his case came to court. He was found guilty and fined 10,000 shekels [almost US\$300]. This was a very recent case."

There is no comprehensive list of what is "illegal literature." Many books and much literature that is legal inside the state of Israel (including in Jerusalem, which was annexed by Israel in 1967) is illegal in the West Bank.

Khoury explained other forms of harassment. "The military can always stop you just for being a Palestinian, rather than for being a reporter covering a certain event. I know journalists who were covering a demonstration where people were picked up and they were picked up along with them. According to the Israeli view, Palestinian journalists are considered 'terrorists' like any other Palestinian.

"A photographer who was on her way to Nazareth by way of Jenine saw a demonstration. She wanted to take some photos; that's her job. She was beaten and detained. When we heard of it the next morning we bailed her out."

Explaining the purpose of the newly launched Hebrew-language edition of *Al Fajr*, already published in Arabic and English, Khoury said, "we want to have the Israeli public read and understand the Palestinian point of view that first of all Palestinians are not terrorists.

"Especially now after the war in Lebanon, we feel there is a good percentage of Israelis who are interested in knowing what Palestinians think, what our demands are. And we are optimistic because we know there are a lot of Israelis fed up with the wars." □

Good response to 'IP' subscription offer

By Sandi Sherman

The special subscription offer to *Intercontinental Press* outside North America that began at the end of December and ended on March 1 met with a good response.

We received 72 annual subscriptions through this drive, including 56 from first-time subscribers and 16 renewals. Forty-six people took advantage of our special offer of a free copy of the 240-page issue of *IP* containing major resolutions and reports from the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International. These documents are essential reading for the discussion leading to the upcoming World Congress.

The largest number of subscriptions were received from Britain, where 50 people responded to our special discount offer. Subscriptions also came in from Denmark, West Germany, Sweden, France, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Peru, Norway, and Thailand.

This success underscores the need activists have for a source of news and analysis of events in the international class struggle and developments and discussions

in the revolutionary movement worldwide. *IP* is the only English-language magazine with a full-time bureau in Nicaragua, reporting on the development of the revolution there as well as providing invaluable information on the upsurge of revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean as a whole. We think the interest in the developments in Central America was a big factor in the response to our special subscription offer.

For example, we received this note along with two subscription orders from London: "We are both very impressed with your journal and find it essential to any activist concerned with the events of the Caribbean, Central America, and Africa. Keep up the good work. We're looking forward to you getting back to a weekly schedule."

And from Sheffield, England: "I enclose a number of articles which may be of interest to you. They are a sample of the educational and informational material which is being produced by the Sheffield Latin

America Solidarity Front. I find your magazine to be without comparison. Keep up the good work."

IP will continue to provide coverage on Central America and the Caribbean, the Palestinian struggle, the Iranian revolution, and developments in Indochina, Africa, and elsewhere. We will also carry first-hand reports on the fight against austerity and war by workers in the United States, Western Europe, and other imperialist centers. Speeches by revolutionary leaders such as Fidel Castro, Tomás Borge, and Yassir Arafat, along with documents of the world workers movement, will continue to be regular features of *IP*.

We welcome our new readers. And we encourage those of you who are not yet regular readers to subscribe. Yearly subscription rates, which should be paid in U.S. dollars, are \$25 for Central America and the Caribbean, \$35 for Europe and Latin America, and \$45 for Africa and Asia. Readers in the United States and Canada should look for the subscription form on page 165 of this issue for current rates.

Palestinians protest Carter visit

Israeli occupiers dismayed by massive upsurge

By M. Shajor

TEL AVIV — Former U.S. President James Carter, the prime architect of the Camp David accords and their denial of Palestinian national rights, visited Israel and toured the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip during late February and the first two weeks of March. But what were supposed to be pacified and tamed areas turned out otherwise. The Palestinians in the occupied territories turned Carter's trip into an unprecedented demonstration of rebellion and strength.

"The hooligans marred Carter's tour with stones," complained the evening newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* March 3.

"After having caused a storm by his presence in Bethlehem last Wednesday, Jimmy Carter did it again yesterday in Ramallah too. It was just a miracle that the guest's car was not hit by a torrent of stones."

In Bethlehem, Carter was greeted by burning tires and a crowd of students. They turned out to demonstrate against the man who, in their view, came to push for implementation of the phony autonomy plan in the Camp David accords, a plan that the Israeli government cites as its alternative to Palestinian demands for an independent state.

In Hebron the disorders lasted a whole morning and the military closed the Islamic College, from which stones were thrown. One could follow Carter's progress by the smoke of burning tires, a reporter noted.

"Demonstrations, merchant strikes, and stone throwing lasted throughout the weekend in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem," *Davar* reported March 13.

"Hundreds of Arab youths were arrested. Limitations on movement and curfews were imposed on many areas in the West Bank.

"In many places in Gaza, Palestinian flags were waved and in Gaza College American and Israeli flags were burned and roadblocks were built.

"A military force broke into the college, using tear gas and shooting into the air."

In Bet Sahour, youngsters came out from school carrying pictures of Yassir Arafat and chanting nationalist slogans. The military consequently closed three schools.

In Arab Jerusalem, a Palestinian flag was raised on the walls of the Old City.

Curfews were imposed in five refugee camps, as well as in the Nablus casbah.

Throughout the West Bank, no Israeli or foreign car could pass through untouched. Soldiers were stoned and even Carter's car was hit.

In Hebron the stormy demonstration was directed against the collaborators in the Israeli-supported Village League. The city was

paralyzed for a whole morning. Two reporters from *Yediot Aharonot* complained on March 14:

"It has become clear that even in places where there is a curfew, disorder and stone-throwing continue. In Halhoul and Dahariya and in the refugee camps of Deheishe, Aide, Kalandia, and Jalazoun the Israeli Defense Force and the border police patrolled, trying in vain to impose the curfew.

"In Ramallah commerce totally ceased in the main streets due to violent incitement by groups of youngsters who passed in the streets early in the morning and demanded that the merchants lock their businesses. In the Mount Hebron area the disorders spread even into usually quiet areas."

This outburst of popular rebellion contradicts the boasting by Prime Minister Menachem Begin and former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, who claim that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is finished and that there is no power in the West Bank to oppose them.

Of course, the upsurge is not just a reaction to Carter's visit. It is a response by the West Bank and Gaza Strip population to a terrible

war in which their brothers and sisters in Lebanon were massacred and threatened with expulsion, and yet emerged unbeaten.

It is a reaction to the fact that Sharon had to resign as defense minister after the commission of inquiry on the Beirut massacre released its conclusions. It is also a reaction to Carter, who is seen as a representative of the American rulers, of the government that supported Israel throughout its Lebanese war.

The residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are convinced today more than ever that their struggle cannot be liquidated by military means. They are ready to confront the Israeli war machine with stones, tires, and whatever they have to protest the occupation and to raise their demand for an independent Palestine.

The last Palestinian National Council, which completed its session in Algiers on February 22, has supplied further proof of this truth. Moreover, it became a source of confidence and pride to the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

As against Carter's phony peace plan, which only gave cover to Begin's murderous course, the Palestinians in the occupied territories fully support the PLO and its demands for an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, with Arab Jerusalem as its capital, and for the right of the refugees to return. If Carter learned anything from Palestinian students in the occupied territories, it should be — as the Palestinian daily *Al Shaab* explained March 4 — "Whoever searches for the path to peace in the region must pass through the Palestinian door." □

Victory for free press in Antigua

By Baxter Smith

ST. JOHN'S — Concluding a trial that ran more than three months here, the court ruled January 31 that the editor of the socialist newspaper *Outlet* must pay a fine of US\$37.

Outlet is published by the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM). Its editor is Tim Hector, who is also chairman of the group. Hector, whose life has been threatened for speaking out against the government of Prime Minister Vere Bird, said of the court's decision, "We feel that we were right, that justice was on our side."

The government's attempts to gag the ACLM and its paper buckled in the face of international support for the group's right to publish. Protests came from prominent groups and figures in other Caribbean islands and elsewhere. These included the American Committee to Protect Journalists, which includes such figures as Walter Cronkite; a journalists' group in Australia; the New York-based National Council of Churches; a Puerto Rican church group; and supporters in St. Kitts, Guyana, and African countries including Zimbabwe.

The move against the ACLM began last July 23, when cops invaded the *Outlet* offices and seized files and subscribers' lists. They falsely charged that *Outlet* was publishing without a

bond. The group had placed a bond, but in 1982 the document mysteriously disappeared from the authorities' possession.

Nevertheless, in its zeal to silence the ACLM, the government overlooked the fact that its own party paper was publishing without a bond.

Outlet has come under blows for repeatedly exposing the Bird regime's corruption, repression, domination by Washington, and dealings with South Africa.

The regime has cuddly relations with U.S. mobsters and other crooks. ACLM exposed how financier Robert Vesco has offered to buy up to one-third of Barbuda, Antigua's sister island. Vesco is wanted in the United States on criminal charges and has fought extradition for some years.

Outlet has also pointed out that Bird is seeking to transform Antigua into an offshore banking center for imperialist interests. □

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