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Above and below: December 1 demonstration in New York.



**Growing U.S.
Protests Against
Threats of
War with Iran**

**Ernest Mandel:
The Meaning of
the Nonaligned
Conference**

**Kampuchea Gaining
Against Danger
of Famine**

**The International
Campaign for
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**South African
Troops in
Zimbabwe**

NEWS ANALYSIS

U.S. Imperialism: the Real Terrorist in Iran

By David Frankel

"Terrorism." This is the charge leveled against the people of Iran by President Carter, other government officials, and the capitalist media.

They complain that the Iranians are violating international law by occupying the U.S. embassy.

Imagine what the Iranian people must think about that. Everybody in Iran knows that in 1953 their legally elected government was overthrown by a CIA-organized coup. And here is the U.S. government sanctimoniously going on about international law.

Then there is the condemnation of "terrorism"—condemnation from a government that trained the shah's secret police in Nazi torture methods, and cheered on the dictator as he used U.S. arms to gun down thousands for demanding their rights.

Imagine, too, how the U.S. government's talk about terrorism and international law must look to the people of Chile, Nicaragua, Vietnam, South Korea, Cuba—in fact, to most of the people in the world. They know from bitter, bloody experience how Washington intervenes in their countries without the slightest regard for law or morality, how U.S. arms and money prop up dictators whose sole purpose is to terrorize the masses and make the world safe for American corporations.

As Dr. Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, Iran's new foreign minister, pointed out, "laws are made only for the interests of the United States and it breaks them when it feels that it will be hurt."

But more is involved here than Carter's hypocrisy. The truth is that the U.S. embassy in Tehran is a legitimate target of suspicion and hatred on the part of the Iranian people.

It was the U.S. embassy that was the organizing center for the coup that returned the shah to power in 1953.

It was the U.S. embassy, with its 1,000-person staff, that was the nerve center for the advisers and specialists who helped run every aspect of the shah's regime for the next twenty-five years.

And when the deposed shah was brought to the United States, the Iranian people had good reason to believe that the U.S. embassy would be the center for any new attempts to restore his dictatorship.

Continued use of the embassy as a base for counterrevolutionary operations was confirmed by documents found by students occupying the U.S. compound. One such document, a telex message signed by L.

Bruce Laingen, the U.S. chargé d'affaires, identified two of the hostages—Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty—as CIA agents. The message said that they "must" be given "cover" because of "great sensitivity locally to any hint of C.I.A. activity."

That's the record of the U.S. embassy—twenty-five years of using its presence to subvert the rights of the Iranian people and help hold them in bondage.

The Iranian people have mobilized *in their millions* to defend their interests. This is not terrorism. *It is the legitimate struggle of a whole people* to rid itself of an injurious domination by foreign interests.

When an American interviewer brought up Carter's charge that the Iranian government is practicing terrorism, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini correctly answered:

"The thirty-five million people of Iran are terrorists? . . . You interpret politics like this? . . . I have heard what Carter says of them, and it doesn't make sense."

Carter has tried to use the issue of the hostages to justify his threats of military action against Iran. But the hostages would be released immediately if the shah was returned to Iran to stand trial for his crimes.

Speaking after a meeting with Carter at the White House November 27, Senator Bennett Johnston spelled out the U.S. government's lack of regard for the lives of the hostages.

Johnston said: "The president has made it clear, and that is the one thing he emphasized, that the honor of the country comes first, before the lives of the hostages."

In other words, Carter is prepared to sacrifice the lives of the hostages so that U.S.-backed dictators around the world will be reassured. Whatever crimes they commit, no matter how many thousands they torture, maim, and murder, no matter how many billions they steal, they can rest secure in the knowledge that if they can reach the United States, they won't have to pay for their crimes.

That is the "honor" Carter is defending. Those are the "human rights" he stands for.

When the Iranians released thirteen Black and women hostages, U.S. officials claimed to be "thankful." But they could hardly hide their dismay.

"The Administration is irritated over the drawn-out release of the 13 blacks and women by what the State Department said was Iran's effort to 'split' Americans by

discriminating against white males," Bernard Gwertzman reported in the November 20 *New York Times*.

State Department spokesperson Hodding Carter expressed the fear in Washington with his November 19 assertion that "insofar as this is being attempted as some device to split Americans by race or sex, it is bound to misfire."

"We are all Americans in this together. It will not drive a wedge between us."

But right-wing columnist George F. Will assessed the impact of the Iranian move more accurately. He declared:

"Next time, the U.S. government should tell blacks and women to refuse to allow themselves to be used cynically by an enemy of their nation, to refuse to be used by being singled out for special treatment. Such treatment has the aim of embarrassing the United States. . . ."

Why such vehemence over a move that "is bound to misfire"?

One effect of the release of the thirteen Black and women hostages was to undercut the government's campaign of lies about the treatment of the people being held in the U.S. embassy.

Although the State Department at first issued a statement admitting that the hostages were not being harmed, it later claimed that they were being brainwashed.

In his November 28 news conference, televised throughout the United States, Carter repeatedly talked about the "abuse" of the hostages.

These lies are directly contradicted by the testimony of the released hostages and by the statements of visitors—including U.S. Representative George Hansen—who have been allowed to speak to the remaining captives.

Marine Sgt. William Quarles told reporters in Tehran that he thought the Iranian revolution should be "an example" to other peoples because "freedom isn't just handed to you on a silver platter."

He added: "Having been kept here a hostage for two weeks, I got a different look at American imperialism."

Although Quarles was not one of the thirty-three hostages who signed a petition asking for the return of the shah to Iran, Sgt. Ladell Maples was. He reiterated his stand that he thought the shah should be returned to Iran to stand trial.

After the released hostages left Iran, U.S. government officials tried to prevent reporters from reaching them and put pressure on the thirteen not to talk about their experience. However Quarles, contacted at his mother's house in Washington, D.C., declared November 22 that "the Iranians don't have anything against the American people—they are angry at the American government."

He said that he had been treated "friendly and fair" by the Iranians, and that "in a way, I felt sympathy for them."

Well-paid editorialists and news commentators have redoubled their claims

about how united the American people are behind Carter's war threats. A typical editorial in the November 22 *Washington Post* said:

"Our guess is that if the ayatollah forces him to act, Mr. Carter will have the near-unanimous support of the American people—including, by the way, the support of those blacks whom the ayatollah seems to believe he weaned away by his selective release of hostages."

Carter himself declared November 28: "We stand together. We stand as a nation unified. . . ."

But the real sentiment among Blacks was conveyed by former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, when he said that to Iranians, "our protecting the shah is about like our protecting Adolf Eichmann."

Following this statement, the White House pressured Young not to say anything else on the events in Iran.

Muhammed Ali, former world heavy-weight boxing champion, said of the shah on national television, "this guy is a criminal. Send this guy back."

An indication of the depth of the support for the Iranian people among Blacks was the resolution passed November 16 by the National Black Pastors' Conference. The 1,200 Black ministers gathered there declared that "we understand the hostility of the Iranian masses toward the former shah and toward the United States, which set him up as a puppet, armed him and trained his vicious SAVAK secret police force."

The lines of the struggle in the United States are clear. On one side is the imperialist ruling class. Its view was expressed by the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*, who complained November 20 that "throughout the world, civilization is receding before our eyes."

"This decline of what we have thought of as civilized conduct results from the decline of the Western powers that spread these ideals to begin with, and in particular from the decline of American power, will and influence in the last decade."

Counterposed to this racist and reactionary program for an American-dominated world are the needs and interests of the American working class, which will be asked to pay for such schemes through material sacrifice and with the lives of its sons.

Despite their bluster, the rulers are well aware that they will face widespread opposition to any new war. As Representative Robert Duncan said November 26:

"There's a lot of tough talk, but once those TV cameras go in there and the first bodies of American soldiers start coming home, I think the American people's desire for strong action will rapidly diminish."

Duncan attempts to put the blame for the imperialist war drive on the working class. But aside from that, his judgment of the situation is accurate. □

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U.S. Offensive Against Iranian Revolution Runs Into Trouble

By David Frankel

Four U.S. aircraft carriers are already in striking distance of Iran—two in the Arabian Sea and two in the eastern Mediterranean. And on November 28 the carrier *Forrestal* sailed from its home base in Virginia to join the U.S. Mediterranean fleet.

Navy officers boasted that the combined carrier force—about 350 planes—“could make Iran into a parking lot.”

As Washington escalated its military threats, the United Nations Security Council met December 1 and 2. Following the U.S. lead, one government after another condemned the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

U.S. diplomats openly boasted before the meeting that it would help isolate Iran and strengthen Carter's hand, making it easier for him to use military force against the Iranian revolution.

During Washington's war against Vietnam, the Security Council never even met on, let alone condemned, this genocidal aggression.

Declining to take part in a meeting that was stacked in advance, the Iranian government sent no representatives. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini correctly denounced the Security Council as a “tool” of U.S. policy. The day before the meeting, Iranian Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh declared in Tehran:

“The U.S. embassy in Iran for 25 years ruled over this country. It was not an embassy. It was a center of power and a center of crime.”

But with the cooperation of Moscow and Peking, the truth was not heard in the Security Council.

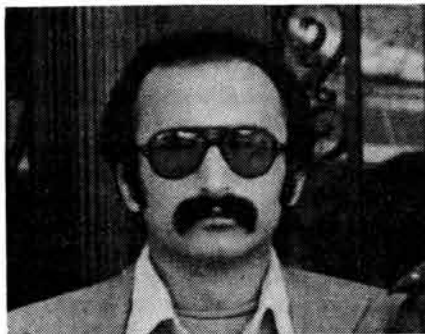
Instead of championing the demand of the Iranian masses for extradition of the shah, and mobilizing worldwide opposition to U.S. threats, the Stalinist rulers added their voices to those condemning the embassy occupation.

However, in spite of U.S. imperialism's vast power, and in spite of its attempts to whip up a chauvinist war hysteria at home, Washington's offensive against the Iranian revolution is in deep trouble. Carter's rhetoric is simply not in tune with the mood of U.S. working people.

For example, on November 27 Carter was ominously threatening that even if the hostages in Tehran were released unharmed, this would not “wipe the slate clean.” Yet a nationwide poll taken at the same time found that 79 percent of those questioned opposed any military retaliation against Iran if the hostages were not harmed.

Also, a substantial 23 percent supported

Two HKS Members Freed in Iran



José G. Pérez/Perspectiva Mundial

KIA MAHDAVI

A significant victory has been won in Iran with the release from prison of two of the fourteen jailed members of the Hezb-e Kargarane Socialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party).

Mohammed Poorkahvaz, in jail since May 30, was freed on November 22. Kia Mahdavi, arrested June 23, was released on November 27.

Mahdavi, like many of the other HKS

prisoners, had been active against the shah's tyranny while in exile in the United States. Poorkahvaz was part of the anti-shah movement in Europe.

The fourteen socialists had been arrested for expressing their political ideas. Shortly before the two socialists were released, the HKS fourteen had declared their support “to the occupation of the U.S. espionage center of the CIA and Pentagon” and appealed for their release so they might join their “brothers and sisters to help strengthen the struggle against reaction and U.S. imperialism.”

As the first prisoner won his release, the remaining HKS members, who are now all in Karoun prison in Ahwaz, came together to sing the revolutionary strains of the “Internationale.”

The release of the two socialists is a sign of how the political situation in Iran is opening up, and raises hopes that the freedom of the remaining twelve socialist prisoners can also soon be won.

the demand of the Iranian people for the extradition of the shah.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, Carter's main challenger for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, indicated his reading of the mood among voters when he blasted Carter's support for the shah December 3.

“How do we justify the United States on one hand accepting that individual because he would like to come here and stay here with his umpteen billions of dollars that he's stolen from Iran, and at the same time say to Hispanics who are here illegally that they have to wait nine years to bring their children to this country,” Kennedy said.

He added: “The shah had the reins of power and ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind, in the form of terrorism and the basic fundamental violations of human rights. . . .”

Kennedy's blast came the day after Carter refused to rule out granting permanent asylum to the shah in the United States.

When the shah was brought into the country, American workers were told he was at death's door and that his admission was only temporary, for essential medical treatment. But the royal butcher, who was flown from New York to a U.S. Air Force

hospital in San Antonio, Texas, December 2, appears to have made a remarkable recovery.

“He walked right up to the plane unassisted,” commented one FBI man involved in the shah's transfer. “He looked very well to me.”

Carter is having serious problems finding any government willing to take the shah off of his hands. Mexican authorities announced November 29 that they would not renew the shah's visa and that therefore “there is no purpose to his returning to Mexico.”

Ghotzbadeh expressed satisfaction with this move, saying that it showed the Mexicans “do not want a pronounced criminal in their country.”

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat publicly invited the shah to come to Egypt, but U.S. officials discouraged the idea, indicating that in their view Sadat already has enough troubles without asking for more. The shah himself, having seen his own regime toppled by a popular revolution, was apparently not enthusiastic about tying his future to Sadat's.

Another possibility frequently mentioned is for the shah to go to South Africa. With anti-imperialist struggles on the rise around the world, Washington is forced to

turn to that racist and criminal regime—and to the one in Israel as well—with increasing frequency.

Underlying Carter's difficulties in finding a refuge for the shah is the massive support among workers and peasants throughout the world for the extradition of the dictator to Iran.

New demonstrations backing the Iranian government's courageous stand against U.S. domination took place November 30 in Kuwait, India, and the Philippines. Iranian students in Moscow attempted to demonstrate as well, but they were stopped by Soviet authorities.

In Tripoli, Libya, a crowd of 2,000 stormed the U.S. embassy December 2 and burned its lower floors.

Along with the antiwar sentiment of the American working class and the mobilization of the Iranian masses, the support for the Iranian revolution among the peoples of the Middle East is the main power holding back the U.S. government from military action. Carter knows that the reaction to any military attack on the Iranian revolution by the masses throughout that region could do serious damage to the very procapitalist forces that he is trying to strengthen.

An official statement by the Syrian regime issued in Damascus December 1 expressed that government's "grave anxiety and deep concern" over the Iranian crisis. It warned of "the dangers of resorting to the use of force against the Iranian revolution, since that would bring the region to the brink of certain explosion."

Reporting from Saudi Arabia, *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Rich Jaroslovsky said November 30:

"At the moment, it seems, U.S. standing in the Persian Gulf is low and sinking lower. Among the working classes—especially in the large immigrant communities from elsewhere in the Mideast—America is widely disliked for its aid to Israel and its support of the Persian Gulf rulers. The U.S. is 'the friend of the sheiks, the rich and the powerful,' says a young Palestinian truck driver in Kuwait. 'I don't consider America as my friend.'"

Jaroslovsky continues: "Adding to the fears of Persian Gulf leaders is the public fury that any U.S. military move [against Iran] could unleash. 'They are certainly afraid of a sudden revolt in their own countries,' a Pakistani diplomat in the area says. 'They aren't worried so much about external aggression as of the growing discontent among their own people.'"

For U.S. policy makers, the recent rebellion in Mecca was a particularly chilling reminder of how vulnerable the Saudi Arabian regime is. According to a report in the December 2 *New York Times* by Drew Middleton, "demonstrations against the [Saudi] government have been more widespread than reported."

Middleton said that "handbills attacking the royal family have been distributed

in mosques and that sermons have been preached against the ruling dynasty."

He reported that the uprising in Mecca "spread from the Grand Mosque to the city and nearby hills."

And, he noted that "the reliability of the armed forces in most nations in the region will be questionable if the *Islamic renaissance is directed against the ruling classes.*" (Emphasis added.)

Iran Socialists Appeal to American Workers

[The following is a statement by the Hezb-e Kargarane Socialist (Socialist Workers Party) of Iran.]

* * *

In the past few weeks the Carter administration has been making open threats against Iran. The pretext is the takeover of the U.S. embassy by students who demand that the murderous and corrupt ex-shah be extradited to Iran. Carter calls this a violation of U.S. sovereignty.

The Iranian people bear no hostility against American working people. We know that it is the U.S. government that has been trampling on the sovereignty of Iran for decades.

The military coup that returned the shah to power in 1953, opening a twenty-five year reign of terror, was organized out of Washington. For twenty-five years the U.S. government poured arms and dollars to keep the shah in power.

The Central Intelligence Agency organized and trained SAVAK, the shah's secret police. About 300,000 Iranians passed through the shah's torture chambers because they criticized his regime. The U.S. rulers provided 40,000 military advisers to help run the shah's army—the army that gunned down tens of thousands of unarmed demonstrators just last year.

Although the U.S. embassy backed him to the very end, the shah was overthrown last February through a heroic struggle by millions of Iranians. The shah—this criminal with the blood of so many on his hands—escaped with billions of dollars stolen from the Iranian people.

Today the U.S. government is providing a refuge for this monster.

Isn't this record a grotesque violation of Iranian sovereignty and proper diplomatic procedure? Isn't it a brutal trampling on basic human rights?

Yet when we demand the return of the criminal for trial in our courts, it is *we* who are denounced by the U.S. government as "inhuman fanatics."

Carter's threats are aimed at stopping the advances that the Iranian working masses have made since the February insurrection which brought down the shah.

U.S. big business is opposed to the

Although he uses the code words of "Islamic renaissance," Middleton's meaning is unmistakable. The upsurge in the Iranian revolution and the response of the masses in other countries has again brought the question of social revolution to the fore in the Middle East.

And as Carter's predecessors found out in Vietnam, it takes more than aircraft carriers to stop a revolution. □

factory committees we have established, which have forced the bosses to raise wages and end speedup. It is opposed to the fact that the Iranian workers are opening the books of the big corporations to expose the profits of the bosses, especially the profits that are taken out of our country and to the United States. It opposes the efforts of our committees to lower prices of the goods that we working people produce.

Big business opposes the actions of Iranian farmers to take over the land they till, to demand irrigation rights and cancellation of debts to banks, moneylenders, and big landlords.

No, the American capitalists do not like the example we are setting for workers and farmers the world over.

The U.S. oil companies especially hate our revolution. Today they are threatening new shortages in order to force you to pay even higher prices—while pinning the blame on us in an effort to whip up hatred against the Iranian people.

But if the U.S. government invades Iran, it will not be the rich who fight and die, but American workers and farmers. Blacks and Latinos will be especially victimized by any war moves by Washington.

We remember how the opposition of American working people put a stop to the U.S. government's war in Vietnam. We know you have no interest in helping big business and the Carter administration force us back into submission and slavery. We know the American working people will join us in saying, "Hands off Iran!" □

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Strong Sentiment in U.S. Against War with Iran

About 500 people marched through midtown Manhattan on December 1 chanting "Hands off Iran; Send back the shah!" and "Rockefeller, Kissinger, we say no! Murdering shah has got to go!"

As they paraded more than thirty blocks through streets crowded with Christmas shoppers, there were more friendly than hostile reactions from by-standers.

In the past ten days teach-ins on Iran have occurred on many U.S. campuses. At the University of Utah, for example, 1,500 attended a forum entitled: "Calm Voice: A Nonviolent Look at Iran." The teach-in was presented as a response to several anti-Iranian demonstrations on Utah campuses.

Similar meetings have taken place at the University of Michigan, Northwestern University in Chicago, Indiana University, Wayne State University in Detroit, and other campuses.

On November 24 some 400 people took part in a San Francisco demonstration called against U.S. intervention in Iran, for the extradition of the shah, and against racist attacks on Iranian students. Similar picket-lines and demonstrations have been held in Boston; Atlanta; Birmingham, Alabama; and Gainesville, Florida.

A crowd of 150 Blacks rallied in a Brooklyn, N.Y., church on November 27 in solidarity with the Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions.

Prominent figures from the labor and

civil rights movements have also begun to make known their opposition to any U.S. military intervention in Iran.

Patrick Gorman, chairman of the 1.4 million member United Food and Commercial Workers Union, the largest in the AFL-CIO, stated that the shah's record is "one of the blackest pages in the history of all rulers of any country." He added that "I don't think one single American life over there should be sacrificed for the shah."

Ed Sadlowski, who received some 40 percent of the vote in the 1977 presidential election of the United Steelworkers of America, has stated: "I'm opposed to any military intervention anywhere." He added that "the shah should be sent back to Iran to stand trial."

Black civil-rights leader Jesse Jackson told a reporter, "We offended the Iranian people by the military coup in 1953 in which the U.S. put the shah in power. We offended the Iranian people by giving the shah arms to kill Iranian people. And we offended them by granting him sanctuary after he clearly confiscated their moneys."

Jackson added that military intervention would be seen in the Arab world "more as an expression of imperialism than intervention."

Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, called for the shah to be investigated by the World Court. He added that "there is hardly a family in Iran that has not lost

a member or had some member tortured or persecuted by the shah."

Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement, said the shah should be sent back to Iran. "Would we defend Hitler? Would we defend Adolf Eichmann?" Bellecourt asked. He noted that it is ironic that the shah is getting U.S. protection while American Indian political prisoners are in jail here.

Dick Gregory, Black comedian and long-time activist in antiwar and civil rights struggles, made a similar point. Iranians, he said, "feel the same way about the shah in America as the Jews in Israel feel about Hitler. . . . If Hitler were alive today and brought to America for cancer treatment, I'm sure the Jews of Israel would do the same thing to our embassy in Israel as students are doing in Iran."

Most Americans, according to recent polls, are also opposed to military action in Iran. An Associated Press/NBC News poll taken on November 27-28 found that 79% opposed any military retaliation against Iran if the Americans held in the Tehran embassy are eventually released unharmed. An ABC/Harris Poll reported that 76% of those responding wanted the shah to leave the U.S.

A poll taken in Detroit reported that 28.8% of the people in that area, and 61% of Detroit's Black population, favored the U.S. returning the shah to Iran. That poll also reported that 91.6% opposed U.S. military force against Iran "once the hostages have been released." □

Behind the Racist Lies About 'Islamic Fanatics'

By Fred Feldman

[The following article appeared in the December 7 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

Mobs of "religious fanatics" motivated by "Islamic fervor."

That's how the U.S. news media are trying to dismiss the millions of demonstrators in Iran demanding that the deposed shah be returned to stand trial, and the tens of thousands of workers, students, and poor in other countries who have protested at U.S. embassies and consulates.

The same newspaper and TV commentators who gushed reverence during the pope's tour are overcome with horror at the religious beliefs of most Iranians. They portray as madmen the Islamic figures—particularly Imam Ruhollah Khomeini—

who presently are at the head of the Iranian people's struggle against U.S. war threats.

This portrayal of Iranians and Arabs as religious fanatics is used by the media to cover up the justice of their demand for return of the shah. It is part of the effort to whip up American working people for a holy war against "Islamic barbarians."

Racist Propaganda

This propaganda is crudely racist. An example was the report in the November 19 *Wall Street Journal* by Karne Elliott House. "U.S. concern for the safety of the hostages also is heightened by the approach of Moharran," a major religious holiday for Iranian Muslims. During that period, claimed House, "Young men flagellate themselves with chains until their blood runs. . . ."

"U.S. officials fear that this religious

fervor and the sight of blood could precipitate violent attacks on American hostages."

Clearly, the reader is supposed to conclude, the U.S. military must act quickly to save the Americans from these blood-crazed beasts in human form!

But House's description of Muharran is a fake. Similar propaganda was poured out last year to discredit major anti-shah demonstrations planned for Muharran. The claims were intended to justify the shah's preparations for brutal repression. When the day came, millions poured out to denounce the butcher shah—but the bloody flagellants predicted throughout the U.S. press were nowhere to be found.

Stirring up racist and religious bigotry to justify oppression of the peoples of the Middle East is nothing new. The European colonizers and their U.S. successors have always portrayed their domination and

exploitation of this region as a Christian, civilizing mission among the heathen Muslim hordes.

When masses of people rose up against British, French, and U.S. domination—from the revolt of the Sudanese against British expansion in 1885 to Iran today—such racist propaganda was used to con working people in the imperialist countries into sacrificing their lives to crush the revolts.

Culture Repressed

As part of grinding down all resistance to foreign domination and maximizing the exploitation of Arab and other predominantly Muslim peoples, the masses were told that their own culture, ideas, beliefs, and organizations were primitive and reactionary compared to those of the “progressive” and “modern” West.

While the Christian religion of the British, U.S., and French rulers was presented as humane and rational, the Islamic beliefs of the masses were systematically downgraded as backward and cruel. The description of the ex-shah—who tortured thousands and devastated Iran’s economy and culture in the interests of foreign corporate interests—as a “modernizer” was cut from this pattern.

As a result of this oppression, belief in Islam and Islamic organizations became for many a means of expressing hatred of imperialist domination, of rejecting the culture of their oppressors, and of defending the value of their own culture and history.

The mosques often provided an opening for organizing and expressing opposition, particularly for the most poor and exploited sections of the population. Religious leaders sometimes came to the fore in movements against foreign domination.

Many liberation fighters in the Middle East came to view religion as a unifying factor for the peoples of different countries and nationalities oppressed by imperialism. Islam is the religion of the majority in a vast region stretching from Pakistan to Morocco.

Khomeini appeals to this sentiment, calling on other peoples of the region to carry out an “Islamic revolution” to “destroy the satanic domination of the United States.”

In a recent broadcast over Iran’s Voice of the Revolution, Khomeini declared, “We, following this great Islam, support all impoverished masses and will back you and all organizations who rise to liberate their countries.”

It Happened in the U.S. and Europe, Too

This is not the first time in history that a progressive movement took a religious form at the start. The same thing happened at the beginning of the antifederal revolutions in Europe that established democratic capitalist states. From England to Germany, Protestant theology and

organizations provided the framework of the struggle.

Much of the early settlement in the United States (particularly in New England and Pennsylvania) was carried out by such groups. These early settlers too were derided as “religious fanatics” by the British ruling classes, who falsely viewed themselves as far more “modern,” “progressive,” and “rational” than the dissenters.

In Iran, the role of the Islamic religion was reinforced by the shah’s brutal repression of dissent, which left the mosques as one of the few places where oppositional views could sometimes be heard, expressed, or discussed. The shah’s ruthless efforts to shut off this outlet gave Islamic institutions added prestige in the eyes of millions of working people.

Then the religious hierarchy, led by Khomeini, went into open opposition to the shah. The masses correctly grasped the opportunity to launch a fight to the finish against the tyranny.

Khomeini’s Popularity

Khomeini’s popularity stems from his resolute antishah and anti-imperialist stand. Other religious leaders who sought to compromise with the shah lost standing.

In particular, Khomeini’s uncompromising posture placed him far closer to the sentiments of the most oppressed and exploited than secular, “liberal” politicians

in Iran, who hated the working masses and feared their anti-shah upsurge. Under the banner of “Islamic revolution,” the working masses began to fight for their own interests against the exploiters at home and abroad.

Neither Islamic religious beliefs nor Khomeini’s often militant stands turned the masses into uncritical followers of the religious hierarchy, however. When Khomeini took stands that ran against the interests of working people—such as popping up the unpopular Bazargan cabinet, launching attacks on the Kurdish and Arab peoples, and restricting democratic rights—he ran into growing resistance.

His popularity soared again when he broke with Bazargan, who was suspected of conspiring with representatives of the U.S. government against the Iranian revolution, voiced support for the committees workers were forming to defend their interests on the job, and threw his weight behind the students who had occupied the U.S. Embassy.

The people who are being slandered every day in the capitalist media as religious fanatics are just working people like ourselves trying to organize to advance their interests and win a better life.

The campaign to whip up hatred of these people because of their religion is a sinister trap for American workers. The rulers want to use it to turn us into cannon fodder for a war to protect their ill-gotten profits in the Middle East. □

‘Earthly Reasons’ to Back Revolution

Nasiri Nematula is one of the millions of Iranians supposedly in the grip of “Islamic fanaticism.” He has a twenty-acre farm right outside the village of Damavand, in the shadow of the Elburz Mountains. From this area wheat, vegetables, pears, and cherries are shipped to Tehran’s bazaars, fifty miles away.

The November 28 *Wall Street Journal*, after the usual jibes against Islamic culture, explains there are also “more earthly reasons” why people in Damavand support the revolution.

Before the revolution, for example, Nematula was only a tenant on land owned by a colonel in the shah’s army. When the colonel fled, Nematula claimed the farm as his own. “Why not?” he asks. “I am working the land.”

Nematula also tells how the 10,000-acre estate of the shah’s brother nearby is now being operated as a cooperative by the former tenants. They plow the stony land with their former landlord’s International Harvester tractors.

“We will double our income,” predicts

Fazola Hosseingoli, one of the farmers. That means he might earn \$1,400 this year.

In an attempt to reduce the country’s dependence on food imports, the new government has set up a loan program for farmers and raised the price paid to them for wheat by 30 percent.

“Credit used to be difficult for the small farmer, and that as much as anything tied him to his landlord,” says Mashood Bahedi. “Now credit is easy.”

A program to improve schools is also under way. Workmen are tiling the floor of a new seven-room school at Jabon, another nearby village. Under the shah, the village school was only for the first six grades. The new school will offer twelve grades.

The sixty-year-old proprietor of the Damavand teahouse expressed the sentiments of the villagers. “Remember,” he says, “our revolution will never be finished until the shah is returned to Iran to stand trial. That is how we all feel.”

Kampuchea Gains Some Ground Against Famine

By Fred Feldman

Despite intense pressure from imperialist-backed forces along the Thai border, and despite the denial of aid by the U.S. and its allies, Kampuchea is beginning to make some headway in its battle against famine.

Pnompenh now has markets where locally produced rice and vegetables can be obtained, according to Dr. Kirk G. Alliman, an official in the Church World Services office of the U.S. National Council of Churches. Alliman saw rice being widely cultivated in the countryside.

"The people are far from adequately nourished, but there is a more plentiful supply of food than in the past," he said in the November 28 *New York Times*.

The growth of agricultural production reflects the ability of the Heng Samrin government to protect the countryside from raids by Pol Pot forces and other rightist groups. The scorched-earth policy adopted by retreating Pol Pot forces was a major cause of the famine.

The rebirth of Pnompenh symbolizes Kampuchea's tortured recovery from a decade of imperialist bombing, civil war, and tyranny. About 70,000 people now live in the core of the city, with many more camped on the outskirts.

"Public services are beginning," wrote Henry Kamm in the November 14 *New York Times*, "there is electricity most of the time and water two hours each morning and evening. Factories are preparing for resumption of work, although it is acknowledged that no raw material is available for them."

Hunger remains the overriding danger, Dr. Nouth Savoeun, who describes himself as Kampuchea's only surviving pediatrician, told Kamm. He said "that the state of health of the Cambodian people was 'precarious.' His hospital, the largest in the country, has about 600 patients and only 577 beds. . . . The maladies of malnutrition are the principal illnesses, the doctor said."

Kamm described "constant hunger for civilians," and near starvation for thousands of unemployed peasants camped in and around the city. And Dr. Nouth Savoeun estimated that the food situation was much worse in parts of the countryside.

Given the grave difficulties of life today in Kampuchea, the unanimity with which its citizens express a preference for the present regime over that of Pol Pot is striking. The same preference is reflected even by the thousands forced to seek refuge in Thailand by war and famine.

"We need the Vietnamese because we

have nothing else with which to counter Pol Pot," a French educated intellectual told Kamm in Pnompenh. "We have no army. Without them. . . ." He completed the sentence with a gesture of cutting his throat.

Massive aid from Vietnam has been a major factor in making possible Kampuchea's bare survival. Although Vietnam is itself afflicted with food shortages, massive malnutrition, and scarcity of almost all goods, the government has provided 120,000 tons of food, 10,000 tons of seeds, and quantities of medicine and agricultural implements to Kampuchea.

Vietnamese provinces have adopted sister provinces in Kampuchea, donating rice, pots, and paper and pencils to help reestablish education.

Laos, only beginning to emerge from a brutal civil war with CIA-organized rightist armies in the northwest, has sent \$2 million in aid to Kampuchea, including 500 tons of rice.

The pressure of world public opinion demanding help for Kampuchea has had an impact on the Soviet rulers as well. According to the November 27 *Daily World*, the U.S. Communist Party daily, the USSR has provided 159,000 tons of food to Kampuchea, barely more than famine-threatened Vietnam.

Kampuchea needs much more help than this to establish a viable society. But the response of the imperialist powers has been to continue to obstruct aid. "Humanitarian aid" is being used as a cover for stepping up assistance to Pol Pot and his rightist allies. (The U.S. alone has 400,000 tons of surplus rice in storage—more than enough to wipe out the danger of starvation in Kampuchea overnight.)

Much-publicized visits by Rosalynn Carter, Joan Baez, and others to refugee camps near the Thai border have aimed at centering public attention and international aid on "saving the refugees"—in reality saving the badly battered military units opposed to Heng Samrin, which control many camps.

The aid program is also intended to draw hungry Kampuchean into the border area, where they are virtually held prisoner, terrorized, and starved by rightist gangs.

Two such camps are run by In Sakhan and "Prince Norodom Soryavong"—who is given to making a Nazi salute and issuing open calls for CIA assistance. Aid funnelled to these camps goes to keep their armed units in trim. In the November 27 *New York Times*, Kamm noted that most refugees in these camps "expressed a

longing to go to a place where their food supply would be sure and medical attention relatively easy to obtain. . . .

"Armed men are in sufficient evidence to intimidate the refugees, who are undernourished, often ill and visibly terrorized."

The situation is no better for the tens of thousands of civilian captives in camps controlled by Pol Pot. Yamada, a correspondent for the Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shimbun*, reported in the November 17 issue on a "supply/transshipment base of the Pol Pot forces in Kampuchean territory" near the Thai border.

The first thing I observed was on the Thai side of the border: a newly built rice storage shed with a galvanized steel roof. It was piled high with sacks of rice marked "World Food Project." There appeared to be more than seventy tons in all. But the people guarding the shed looked like Pol Pot soldiers. . . .

For a Pol Pot contingent of at most about 1,000 soldiers, the 70 tons of rice in the storage shed would constitute at least a five-month supply of food.

There has already been criticism that much of the international relief supplies sent here are going to soldiers rather than to the masses of civilians. Such criticisms are corroborated by what I witnessed.

Frederic A. Moritz reported in the November 28 *Christian Science Monitor* that medical aid supposedly intended for refugees is similarly diverted:

"A medical team comes to the Thai border to treat what it thinks will be sick Khmer children. Instead it ends up as a field dressing station for Khmer Rouge soldiers with bullet wounds. The healed go back to fight."

The United Nations and the International Red Cross are directly complicit in this aid to imperialist-backed forces, and the denial of aid to thousands of refugees—not to mention the great bulk of Kampuchean living under the Heng Samrin government.

This is the primary purpose of their continued recognition of the Pol Pot regime and refusal to recognize Heng Samrin—a refusal that goes to the point of excluding representatives of the Pnompenh regime from international gatherings on the food crisis in Kampuchea.

The Thai regime is now threatening to dismantle the camps of "Prince Norodom Soryavong," the rightist Khmer Serei, and pro-Sihanouk rightists, and move the refugees to new camps further from the border and under Thai control. This reflects their judgment that these forces are incapable of effective resistance to a sustained attack by Pnompenh forces.

By contrast, collaboration between the Thai regime and the Pol Pot forces has become closer. In an Associated Press dispatch from Marker 53, Thailand, Seth Mydans reported:

Officially neutral Thailand is allowing anti-Vietnamese Cambodian troops to run a supply base on its territory and Thai troops are coordi-

nating with them in activities along the Thai-Cambodian border.

An Associated Press reporter and photographer were taken last week on a 15-man Thai marine border patrol. . . .

The Pol Pot soldiers served as guides for the Thai patrol, communicating with the Thai cap-

tain by whistling when they plunged ahead into the jungle.

The supply camp was guarded by armed Pol Pot soldiers, and armed Pol Pot forces were in a Thai marine camp a few hundred yards away, reported Mydans. □

South African Troops in Zimbabwe

By Ernest Harsch

At the Zimbabwe negotiations in London, the imperialists are talking of "peace." But in southern Africa, they are escalating their war drive.

With the backing of Washington and London, the white-dominated Rhodesian government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the apartheid regime of South Africa have greatly stepped up their attacks against the Zimbabwean freedom struggle—and against the Black masses of southern Africa as a whole.

On November 30, South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha admitted—for the first time—that South African military forces were already involved in Zimbabwe.

Botha said that "South Africa, after consultation with the Government of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, has for some time now been looking to the protection of our interests as well as our vital lines of communication, such as the rail links to Beitbridge and the railway links through it." Beitbridge is in southern Zimbabwe.

Although Botha gave no further details, the South African intervention in Zimbabwe is already quite extensive. According to reports in the December 1 *Washington Post*, there is one, and possibly two, South African paratroop battalions stationed at Rutenga, in southern Zimbabwe. South African helicopter pilots have flown with the Rhodesian forces, and South African Mirage jet fighters have participated in bombing raids into Mozambique. South African officers are legally allowed to serve with the Rhodesian military for extended periods, without loss of seniority or rank. South African infantrymen have been asked to volunteer for the Rhodesian army.

Rhodesian troops have received training in South Africa. And according to some reports more than 40 percent of the Rhodesian war budget—now estimated to run \$2 million a day—is provided by the South African government.

South African support for Muzorewa and former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith has long been apparent. But Botha's speech marked the first time since the withdrawal of South Africa's police from Zimbabwe in 1976 that the Pretoria regime has openly acknowledged that it was directly involved in the war. His speech could only have been intended as a threat of even greater South African inter-

vention against the peoples of Zimbabwe. It is part of the current efforts by British and U.S. imperialism to put maximum pressure on the Zimbabwean liberation forces and the so-called front line states.

Backed up by the much more powerful apartheid regime to the south, the Muzorewa-Smith regime has conducted frequent bombing raids, sabotage actions, and troop incursions into neighboring Zambia and Mozambique, both of which provide sanctuary to the Patriotic Front guerrilla forces.

Thousands of Zimbabwean refugees and Mozambican civilians have been killed by Rhodesian troops over the past two years. Dams, bridges, buildings, and railway lines have been seriously damaged as well, in a deliberate effort to disrupt the Mozambican economy. Rhodesian-backed terrorist groups within Mozambique have carried out numerous sabotage actions in Maputo and other cities.

Since October, Rhodesian planes and commando units have knocked out many of Zambia's main road and rail links to other countries, including the vital Tazara railway through Zambia and Tanzania. In early November, the Rhodesian government declared a blockade on all shipments of corn from South Africa to Zambia.

Muzorewa has threatened to use "far greater" force than Zambia "has experienced in the past, and the consequences will be disastrous for the unfortunate Zambian masses."

Declaring that Zambia was in a "full-scale war situation," Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on November 20 ordered a mass military mobilization. All reservists were called up and all military leaves were cancelled. "The party and its government," Kaunda said, "will also take the necessary steps to mobilize all other resources for the war." In addition, Kaunda appealed for material and other forms of assistance to both Zambia and the Patriotic Front "to fight this just war to its logical conclusion."

Laying responsibility for the Rhodesian raids where it belongs—with London—several thousand Zambian youths marched on the British High Commission offices in Lusaka on November 23 and 24, chanting, "Britons go home!"

Within Zimbabwe itself, the Rhodesian army's efforts to crush the struggles of the Zimbabwean workers and peasants con-

tinue to claim the lives of scores of Blacks each week. The vast bulk of the country is now ruled under martial law, under which the white-led armed forces can act with legal impunity against Black villagers and suspected supporters of the Patriotic Front.

Despite the massive force employed against the Zimbabwean freedom struggle, it has continued to gain in strength. There are now up to 17,000 Patriotic Front fighters operating in the country, and thousands more are based in Zambia and Mozambique. The Rhodesian regime has been forced to abandon some areas of the countryside to the liberation forces.

Unable to defeat the Zimbabwean struggle on the ground, the imperialists are hoping to sidetrack it through the London talks.

For several weeks, the British government—with tacit American backing—has been applying considerable pressure at the negotiating table to force political and military concessions from the leaders of the Patriotic Front. Partly as a result of the devastating attacks on Zambia, Kaunda himself has counseled the front to compromise.

While giving barely disguised approval to the relentless Rhodesian war drive, the British negotiators, led by Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, issued a series of ultimatums to the Patriotic Front, warning that if it did not go along with the British settlement proposals, London would lift economic and military sanctions against the Rhodesian regime anyway.

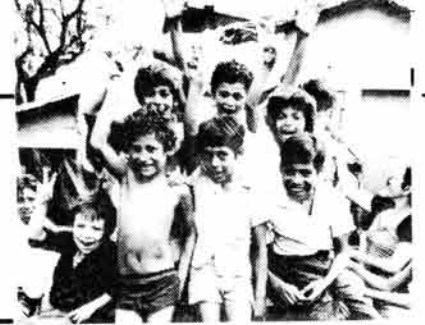
In face of such "blackmail attacks"—as Zimbabwean leader Joshua Nkomo called them—the Patriotic Front made a number of concessions. On October 18, it decided to accept a British-proposed constitution, which would ensure a disproportionate white representation in parliament; safeguard white control of the army, police, and civil service; and prohibit any major constitutional changes for ten years.

On November 15, it also agreed to accept the authority of a British governor, who would take over the government of Zimbabwe until new elections had been held. The governor would also head a Commonwealth "peacekeeping" force, which is to include several hundred British troops.

Although the terms of the settlement carry grave risks for the Zimbabwean masses—in particular if British troops are sent—the actual course of the struggle will be decided in Zimbabwe itself. Settlement or no settlement, the level of mobilization of the Zimbabwean masses will make it very difficult for the imperialists to impose their will.

The South African authorities themselves have very little confidence that the London talks will be successful in derailing the Zimbabwean struggle. In an open threat to intervene with massive military force should the Patriotic Front come to power, Botha warned on November 19 that Pretoria would not tolerate "chaos" on its borders. □

WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR AID TO NICARAGUA



U.S. Conference Sets Solidarity Drive

About 330 people attended a conference of the U.S. National Network in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People November 17-18. Held in Detroit, the conference set the week of February 21, when Nicaraguans will be commemorating the assassination of Augusto César Sandino, as a national week of solidarity action. At the request of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the conference also launched a drive to provide uniforms for workers in Nicaragua's literacy campaign—a project that

entails supplying 275,000 yards of fabric, hats, buttons, and arm patches.

Mosiés Hassán, one of the five members of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction, addressed the conference. "I want to say," Hassán said to cheers and applause, "that the Nicaraguan revolution is not only a revolution of the Nicaraguan people, but a revolution of all the oppressed people of the world."

Also speaking at the conference was

Robert López, an international representative of the 1.5-million-member United Auto Workers union. López agreed to head a trade-union task force which will build support in the labor movement for Nicaragua.

Mónica Baltolano, a representative of the FSLN, told the conference: "We recognize that there is also a struggle going on here, and that a victory for the people of Nicaragua will be a victory for the working class here as well."

'Labor Belongs in Forefront of Solidarity Campaign'

[The following are excerpts from a November 17 speech by Robert López at the conference of the U.S. National Network in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People held in Detroit. López, an international representative of the United Auto Workers (UAW) union, recently returned from a trip to Nicaragua. The text of his remarks is taken from the December 7 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant*.]



LÓPEZ

dining room in the *central* [union federation]. I visited with representatives of their unions on union business, grievances, arbitration, and so forth.

The union, the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores [Sandinista Workers Federation], was my home for ten days. And it was also my classroom. The *central* has hardly 100 days of existence.

I ask those of you who are union members, just imagine in order to understand, that during the Somoza period for almost fifty years—a half a century—the only unions permitted to function in Nicaragua were the unions they called the *blancos*. Here we might call them company unions. The unions whose sole purpose was to control the workers, to guarantee the extraction of the maximum profits from the workers, and to guarantee the extraction of the wealth of the country.

To talk union in Nicaragua for fifty years was suicide.

Imagine for a moment if we in our country for the past fifty years did not have unions—the right to the process of collective bargaining, the right to strike, the right to determine our wages, our working conditions, security on the job.

This is what Nicaragua was for fifty years to the working men and women. This is the kind of life that they were subjected to for fifty years, and yet they never broke the spirit and courage and the class consciousness of the workers of Nicaragua.

ragua.

After coming out of that type of Dark Ages for working people, the working people of Nicaragua in 100 days have organized and are building a powerful union.

And how are they organizing this union? Is this union being organized by professional organizers? Is this union being organized by the stooges that they had under the Somozas?

This union is being organized by the workers of Nicaragua, the workers themselves, from the bottom up.

I sat in the *central* day after day and watched the groups of workers coming in—ten, fifteen, twenty at a time. The very first day that their place of work was again in operation, at the day's end of work they marched to the Sandinista *central* to join their union. This is how they're organizing their union.

More than 300 units belong to the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores. [There are] over 500 activists in that union without getting paid. The only thing they get is a midday dinner. They don't collect a penny. They don't have funds.

Five hundred activists are carrying on the leadership responsibilities of this new, young, powerful union. They carry out the day-to-day responsibilities, the services to the union, and at the same time [they are] meeting and planning and projecting into the future to continue to build this union.

I spent the day with a young representative from the national office, Carlos. My work in the UAW is to service plants, collective bargaining, take up grievances, and so I latched onto Carlos—he does the same work.

At eight o'clock in the morning, we met and we had the first problem—how in the world to get to Granada, a city outside of Managua. No car, no vehicle, no transportation.

We finally got the one and only automobile owned by this union. And then we had a second problem. Carlos and the driver were running around the union headquarters. I caught up with them and asked what the trouble was now. "We don't have money for gas."

Well, I get paid by the UAW, so I guess that was the very first contribution made by the UAW to the *central*.

But let me just tell you of the kind of projects that they have in mind and what they must accomplish. One project is education. They intend to build fourteen schools of the union in fourteen different regions, each with a library.

Well, the *central* hasn't got the first chair or the first desk or a piece of chalk, or a blackboard to open the first school.

And they must carry on and they have to have the schools. And they've got to develop the leadership. And they've got to develop the work of that union if they are to succeed in contributing to the reconstruction of that country and in taking part in the literacy campaign.

I have a letter here in my pocket from the *central*. And by the way, I received it yesterday, and *compañero* Hassán said this morning that they have all their services back and some have been improved. Well, let me tell you, their postal service is better than ours. I received this in four days. It takes longer to get a letter from California.

I want to point out just the last two pages. These are two pages itemizing the equipment that our brothers and sisters in the Nicaragua unions need. These are the most essential, the most basic. Let me read just a couple of them.

They need a printing press in order to put out a newspaper. They need tape recorders. They need mimeograph machines. They need offset equipment.

I even have here a list from the department of culture. They have a band and the band needs the following: five flutes, ten guitars, six accordions.

They need reams of paper, stencils, typewriter ribbons, folders, erasers, chalks, paper clips.

No one there is asking for a Cadillac. No one there is asking for a new union building. No one there is asking for anything else but the most necessary essentials to teach workers, to service workers, to organize a union and to build a union. That's all they're asking.

Compañero Hassán said this morning that part of our drive is to tell the truth and the reality of what is going on in Nicaragua. Well, in order to accomplish that, we also have to tell the truth and the reality of some of the things that are going on in our country.

I know that there is some help, some aid, that has been sent to Nicaragua. The unions that operated under Somoza and had the blessings of Somoza, they have received some aid. But let me tell you that such unions are going to end up just with the equipment because they no longer have the membership. That membership is leaving and is marching into the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores.

Those of us in the labor movement must expose those so-called misleaders of our workers who have also misled the workers in Nicaragua. One of them [AFL-CIO President George Meany] is retiring this week. Another one is taking his place.

Let me tell you, they are willing to help, they would send to the Central Sandinista and to the farm workers in Nicaragua every single typewriter and then some more that they need if they would only have the right to dictate what to type with those typewriters. They would provide every single mimeograph machine if they had the right, as they had in the past, to dictate what is being reproduced.

That kind of aid the Sandinistas will never accept. As soldiers for their country they fought under the slogan of Sandino: they would never surrender and they would never be vanquished.

And as union men, they will not be vanquished. They will not surrender, and they will not sell out. That kind of aid they

don't want.

The only aid they want is the aid that workers give workers in a struggle—a true solidarity, aid without any strings. That's the kind of aid they need. That's the only kind of aid they will accept.

Now there are leaders in our country of unions—national, state, regional—who, if we bring the message to them, if we give them the truth, they will come forward.

There are thousands of leaders in the factories at local union levels who, if told the truth, if we reach them, will join us.

And I know that there are hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file workers who, if we reach them, they will join us.

We who call ourselves brothers and sisters in the trade unions, we who recognize instinctively no boundaries and no frontiers between working men and women, we belong in the very forefront—not of aid, we don't call it aid in the trade union movement.

We don't call it aid among workers *in the struggle*. Not aid, we *join* the struggle.

And we who sing "Solidarity Forever," we've got to put new meaning into the words of that song and join the struggle with our *compañeros* and *compañeras* in Nicaragua to reconstruct their country and to lay the foundation of a new and happy and better Nicaragua that could someday join our struggle for a better America. □

Canada: Warm Response for Sandinista Leaders

[The following is excerpted from an article by Phil Courtney in the November 26 issue of the Canadian Trotskyist newspaper, *Socialist Voice*.]

* * *

TORONTO—Four hundred supporters of Nicaragua attended an enthusiastic rally here November 8 organized by the Canadian Action for Nicaragua (CAN) and the Latin American Working Group.

The meeting was the high point of a visit to Toronto by four leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The Sandinistas stressed the need for the Canadian government to send massive aid to Nicaragua to help its people rebuild their devastated country.

Pedro Ortiz, general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), spoke of the gains for working people in the three months since Somoza's overthrow. For the first time Nicaraguan workers have political freedom and influence. The employers have to obey the labor law. The defunct National Guard can no longer break strikes.

With 343 affiliated locals and 180,000 members, the CST is by far the largest labor federation in Nicaragua, Ortiz said. It hopes to unite all the workers into one labor central.

The CST is cooperating with the other

labor federations including the CUS, which is linked to the Canadian Labor Congress through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

Isabel Gómez, head of the mass-based Nicaraguan women's association, talked about the role of women in the revolution and in the period of reconstruction.

Both Ortiz and Ricardo Zuniga of the Nicaraguan Farmworkers Association emphasized the special role of working people in aiding Nicaragua. Zuniga said that while governments must send aid with no strings attached, the aid effort cannot depend on governments. Class conscious workers around the world need to help.

Aid from the Canadian government is minimal. A delegation of CAN members and the four Nicaraguans were shuffled from one department to another in Ottawa, and promised aid, at the earliest, in three years time.

Father Víctor López, director of the Managua-based Christian Solidarity Committee with the People of Nicaragua, put it very simply: Those governments that supported Somoza—and the U.S. and Canada led the pack—are obliged to help Nicaragua now that Somoza has been overthrown.

A collection of \$1,035 was raised from the meeting and one held earlier in the day. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Right-wing Exiles Murder Cuban Leader in U.S.

Eulalio José Negrín, a leader of the rapprochement between Cuban emigrés in the U.S. and the Cuban government, was gunned down in Union City, New Jersey November 25. The Cuban exile terrorist group "Omega 7" took credit for the assassination.

Negrín was the director of the New Jersey Cuban Program, which provided social services for Cuban immigrants in Union City. He was part of the Committee of 75, a delegation of leaders of the Cuban community abroad who travelled to Havana in November 1978 for talks with Cuban leaders. As a result of the "dialogue" begun there, the Cuban government has since released 3,600 prisoners convicted of counterrevolutionary acts, and some 100,000 Cubans abroad have been able to visit their homeland.

Counterrevolutionary exiles bitterly oppose the dialogue.

At a news conference in New York November 26, members of the Committee of 75 demanded a federal investigation into Negrín's murder, charging that local authorities would not bring the killers to justice.

There has been a long history of terrorist violence by ultraright Cuban groups, who operate with the tacit consent—when not the active collaboration—of police agencies.

In April, Cuban exile terrorists murdered Carlos Muñiz, another supporter of the Committee of 75. Muñiz was the operator of a travel agency in San Juan, Puerto Rico, that organized visits by Cubans abroad to their homeland.

Negrín himself had been a target of the counterrevolutionary killers in the past. In March, the headquarters of his community agency was bombed. Prior to his assassination, Negrín had notified Union City police of a total of ten threats against his life. The cops not only did nothing about them, but following his murder said they were looking into "personal reasons" as the cause.

Members of the Committee of 75, while pressing for a federal investigation into this latest killing, also stressed their determination to continue the dialogue. They are convinced that the ultraright terrorists represent only an isolated handful, and that sentiment is growing among Cubans in the U.S. for a policy of friendship with Cuba.

The Committee of 75 is seeking broad

support for its demand that the federal government take action against the terrorists. It has asked that messages demanding a federal investigation into the murder of Negrín be sent to President James Carter, White House, Washington, D.C., with copies to Operation Cuban Reunification/Committee of 75, 1701 W. Flagler, First Floor, Miami, Florida 33135.

Israeli Peace Now Movement Protests New Settlements

An estimated 1,500 demonstrators marched on the home of Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem November 24, chanting demands for his resignation. The march, sponsored by the Peace Now movement, was called to protest government spending for new Israeli settlements on occupied Arab lands.

Millions Protest Inflation in Italy

Trade unions throughout Italy staged a half-day strike November 21 to demand government action to cope with rising inflation and unemployment. An estimated 13 million workers participated in all, with mass rallies held in major cities.

Juan Mari Brás Released

Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), was released from jail in San Juan October 22. In addition to serving a thirty-day prison sentence, Mari Brás was stripped of his right to practice law before the U.S. district court in Puerto Rico.

Mari Brás was arrested September 24 as he was on his way to New York to speak before the United Nations Decolonization Committee. He had been charged with contempt of court for failing to appear in U.S. district court for the trial of PSP leader Pedro Baigés Chapel, one of the demonstrators arrested during protests against the U.S. Navy's bombardment of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. Mari Brás was Baigés's attorney in the case.

Lawyers don't usually get thrown in jail for missing court dates. But the reason Mari Brás couldn't make it that day was that he was in Havana, speaking at the Nonaligned summit in favor of a resolution against U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico. In the eyes of the Yankee court, that was the real act of "contempt."

3,000 March Against NATO Missiles in Netherlands

Three thousand people staged a torch-

light demonstration in Amsterdam November 15 to protest NATO plans to deploy new nuclear missiles in the Netherlands and other West European countries.

The overwhelming majority of the Dutch people oppose deployment of the new weapons, organizers of the march told Reuters, and further protest demonstrations will continue.

The Dutch cabinet is scheduled to decide December 7 whether to accept the missiles.

U.S. Official Admits Choice of Nuke Plant Sites Was 'Insane'

Robert Ryan, a senior official of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, told a commission investigating the Three Mile Island nuclear accident that the construction of three nuclear reactors at Indian Point, thirty miles north of New York City, was "insane," and that emergency planning to deal with a serious accident there was a "nightmare."

"Everybody says what a terrible situation we had at Three Mile Island, and I agree, but can you imagine what it would have been if it had been at Indian Point? It would have been calamitous. You would have had dozens, hundreds of people killed, perhaps, trying to get out of the place," said Ryan.

Twenty-one million people live within a fifty-mile radius of the Indian Point plant.

Japan Nuclear Workers Die of Cancer

At least some workers at the Tokyo Electric Power Company's reactor complex in Fukushima, Japan, have died as a result of radiation exposure on the job, and many more have been subjected to dangerous levels of radiation, according to an interim report made public November 12 by the Pollution Commission of the Japan Lawyers Federation.

The workers involved were employed by small subcontracting firms, which were brought in by the power company to perform maintenance and cleaning work in highly radioactive areas inside the reactors. Because these workers were often hired on a day-to-day basis, were not unionized, and received little if any training in radiation safety, they could be sent in to perform jobs that power company personnel would refuse to do. And legally, although they only worked in the reactors for short periods of time, they could receive up to the maximum permitted yearly dose

of radiation. In some reactor "hot areas" a worker would get this much radiation in a few minutes.

The lawyers federation report documents cases of subcontractor employees who came down with cancer and later died after having worked in "hot areas." Some of them had been diagnosed by local doctors as suffering from radiation-induced cancer. In face of this mounting evidence of negligence, officials of Tokyo Electric simply reject charges of inadequate safety measures. They insist that no cause-and-effect relationship between the work done in their reactors and the deaths due to cancer can be proved.

More Than 40 Nuclear Accidents Since Three Mile Island

The September 30 issue of the Tokyo newsletter *Antinuclear Struggles Information* points out that in the first six months after the Three Mile Island accident in the United States, more than 40 accidents at nuclear power stations and fuel/waste processing plants have been reported in the press around the world.

Accidents were reported to have occurred in Japan, the United States, Britain, West Germany, Canada, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, and South Korea. In at least nine cases radiation was released into the environment, while three of the accidents involved serious radiation exposure to nuclear workers.

In addition to accidents in civilian nuclear facilities, there were also reports of radiation leakage forcing the evacuation of residents near an American nuclear weapons testing area in Nevada, as well as a series of accidents at the French nuclear test site in the South Pacific, in which two persons were killed.

Philippines Clergy Troubled by 'Defections'

The newest addition to the guerrilla forces fighting the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines is a Catholic organization. Catholic activists have reportedly formed a guerrilla group under the direction of the clandestine Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), which is led by radical priests.

The new group, known as Sandigan (Reliable Army for National Liberation), has already engaged in military actions against local authorities, according to a Jesuit priest in the DSP leadership. *Time* magazine reported October 22 that Sandigan fighters have been active on the islands of Luzon, Samar, and Mindanao.

These regions have for years been the sites of guerrilla struggles, some led by the New People's Army, a grouping of Maoist origins; and others by the Moro National Liberation Front, which has extensive support among the predominantly Muslim population of Mindanao.

The formation of a Catholic guerrilla group reflects broadening opposition to the regime among the Filipino population, which is 85 percent Catholic.

On October 7, a pastoral letter condemning abuses by the martial law regime was read in every Catholic church in the country. The head of the church in the Philippines, Jaime Cardinal Sin, has sharply criticized the political and economic policies of the government in recent months.

This critical stance reflects the growing pressure on the hierarchy due to the emergence of a "Christian left." An article in the October 13 *Economist* reported that 7,000 nuns are involved in lay organizations, "many of which have become more political than religious." It went on to note that "exasperated priests have been defecting from the priesthood to swell the ranks of the communist guerrillas in the hills." Cardinal Sin, *Time* says, is "deeply worried about the growing number of priests and nuns who actively support the . . . Communist insurgency."

In this situation, the church runs the risk of being totally bypassed if it does not speak out, at least against the worst crimes of the Marcos regime. As Cardinal Sin told one interviewer: "When people lose faith in their leaders, fear the military and don't trust the courts the only person left for them to go to with their grievances is their parish priest . . . and he cannot just file away their complaints like everyone else and pretend they do not exist. He has to act, to do something, or he too will lose all hope."

While the church hierarchy has only recently condemned the violence of the dictatorship, it has consistently opposed "violence" on the part of its members. But even here it is running into problems. The October 19 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that recently the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines has been "wracked by an internal conflict between the progressives, who are pressing for a church sanction of 'just violence,' and the conservatives who frown at any suggestion of violence. The latter still holds the majority. . . ."

Cardinal Sin has reportedly asked Pope John Paul to make a visit to the

Philippines—preferably soon.

U.S. Trade Unionists Check Working Conditions in Europe

The Ford Foundation recently sponsored month-long visits by American workers to work alongside their European counterparts and report back on their impressions. Among those involved were dock workers, auto workers, and nurses.

Michigan auto workers were sent to work at a Saab-Scania plant in Sweden. While they noted that conditions were cleaner, safer, and quieter than in Michigan, the American workers opposed Saab's much-touted "job enrichment" program as nothing more than a speedup scheme. Under this plan small groups of workers determine among themselves how various components of an auto will be assembled.

As Joe Rodríguez, who works at Ford's Dearborn engine plant, put it, "If I've got to bust my ass to be meaningful, forget it; I'd rather be monotonous."

The Dearborn workers were also struck by the lack of a union presence on the shop-floor at Saab.

Six San Francisco dock workers spent their month on the docks of Rotterdam. Although they were very impressed with the health care, social benefits and working conditions their Dutch counterparts had won, the San Franciscans felt that some of the special programs were simply disguised forms of speedup, particularly the system that permits Dutch workers to go home after handling a specific volume of freight.

The U.S. dockers were also shocked that "free riders," workers who do not belong to the union but benefit from its contracts, were permitted on the Rotterdam docks.

The six U.S. nurses returned with high praise for the British National Health Service under which they had worked for a month. They found that the health care provided for the poor in Britain was far superior and more humane than that provided in the United States.

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Grenada—Masses Mobilize to Advance Revolution

By Ernest Harsch

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—For the workers and peasants of this small Caribbean island, the March 13 insurrection that overthrew the Gairy dictatorship was an important victory. But it was only one battle in their ongoing struggle to free Grenada from poverty, class oppression, and imperialist domination.

The leaders of the revolution constantly emphasize that point in their speeches before mass rallies, over the radio, and in the press. They repeatedly exhort the population to continue mobilizing to push the revolutionary process forward.

"Yes, the dictator's gone. That was an important step," Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has said. "But no, that does not mean the end of the struggle."

March 13 was the first step in Grenada's revolution. It may also have been the easiest.

'Hurricane Gairy'

The Gairy regime left behind a country impoverished by decades of imperialist plunder, corruption, and mismanagement.

Although the soil of this lush tropical island is very fertile, Grenada must import about three-quarters of its food. Most of the land is taken up with the cultivation of export crops, such as cocoa, nutmeg, and bananas.

Though there are many young people here who would like to work, there are few jobs to be had. With the lack of any real industry and with a stagnation over recent years in agriculture, about half of the work force has been left without employment.

Of the more than sixty primary schools, only three are considered adequate. Many are run down, unpainted, with leaky roofs that cannot keep out the torrential rains. About 40 percent of the population is functionally illiterate. Roads had been allowed to deteriorate. The hospitals and health clinics were frequently without bandages or medicine; x-ray facilities were unavailable.

While tourists from the United States and Europe can relax in luxury in air-conditioned hotels along the Grande Anse beach, most Grenadians must live in small, wooden houses, sometimes without running water or electricity, cooled only by the breezes that blow through the windows and gaps in the walls.

A handful of Grenadians live relatively well, in modern homes, with cooks, servants, and chauffeurs. Their businesses, sometimes linked up with foreign interests, allow them to prosper on their profits, without having to work. The vast bulk of

Grenada's 110,000 people, however, must scrape by on an average income of less than US\$300 a year.

When the New Jewel Movement (NJM) took over, it found a treasury that was virtually empty. Even the most basic economic statistics had not been kept under the Gairy regime; it took the new government weeks just to find out what its revenues and expenditures were. Gairy left behind a national debt of EC\$57 million (one East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$0.38).

Grenada had been the victim, as a popular expression here goes, of "Hurricane Gairy."

In addition to these immediate problems, the NJM is faced with the enormously difficult task of trying to initiate a revolutionary social transformation in a country with an extremely small material base. Even under the best of circumstances, Grenada would have precious few resources of its own to help underwrite the extensive social programs needed to overcome the island's economic backwardness and improve living standards.

Another problem is the numerical weakness of the working class, the revolutionary force that can lead the rest of the laboring masses and drive the revolution forward.

The vast majority of Grenada's population lives on the land, many of them owning small plots on which they grow crops for the export market, or for their own food needs. Many others fish for a living, or engage in small-scale trade in the towns and villages.

Grenada's work force is roughly estimated to be about 35,000, of whom a majority are employed as agricultural laborers, or as road and construction workers in rural areas. Many of the agricultural workers, moreover, are semiproletarian, since they also own small farms and live only partially from wage labor.

Even among the minority of urban workers, the number employed in industry is very small. As of 1969, only 2,473 workers were employed in manufacturing, compared to more than three times as many commercial and service workers. Today, there are only about 350.

On top of all this, the people of Grenada must confront opposition from the imperialist powers, particularly Washington, who fear that their economic and political stranglehold over the Caribbean could be weakened by revolutionary upheavals like the one under way here. And within Grenada itself there are a few wealthy business-

men who are alarmed at the radical course of the revolution and are seeking to resist its advance.

These are all very real problems facing the progress of the Grenadian revolution.

Since seizing power, the basic response of the NJM to these difficulties has been to try to organize and mobilize the population to help overcome them.

The People's Revolutionary Government

When the NJM led the popular insurrection of March 13, it did so in its own name. Its previous parliamentary alliance with the bourgeois opposition parties—the Grenada National Party (GNP) and United People's Party (UPP)—no longer existed. As NJM leader Selwyn Strachan told me in a discussion on the course of the revolution, the GNP and UPP "could not have been part of our process."

The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), established immediately after Gairy's overthrow, is dominated by the NJM. Originally it was composed of fourteen members, but was soon expanded to twenty-three. The bulk are either NJM leaders or working-class supporters from around the country. The cabinet is drawn from the PRG, but not all PRG members have cabinet posts.

The key ministries are headed by top NJM leaders, especially Maurice Bishop, Bernard Coard, Unison Whiteman, and Selwyn Strachan. The ministries that they oversee include those of foreign affairs, national security, home affairs, finance, trade and industry, economic planning, labor, works and communications, agriculture, fisheries, and information. Other NJM leaders—Hudson Austin, Vincent Noel, Kendrick Radix, and George Louison—hold important posts as well.

Since most of them are also members of the NJM Bureau, the central party leadership body, the policies of the NJM are directly reflected in the policies of the government.

There are some government members who are not in the New Jewel Movement, however. These include two former members of the GNP, Norris Bain and Sydney Ambrose (who are in any case reported to be sympathetic to the NJM).

Besides Bain, there are three other PRG members who are involved in various business enterprises, but only one of them, Lyden Ramdhanny, on any significant scale. By and large, they play secondary roles and appear to have a very limited influence in policy-making decisions. Bain, a small-scale businessman, is the only one

to head a ministry, that of health and housing. Ramdhanny holds no administrative position whatsoever.

'Workers Are the Revolutionary Class'

The PRG calls itself a "workers government." The ultimate aim of the NJM, its leaders maintain, is to lead Grenada toward the construction of a socialist society.

Despite the numerical weakness of the working class in Grenada, the NJM openly maintains that workers must play the leading role in the revolution. "The workers we see as the revolutionary class in the society," Strachan said, echoing similar statements by other NJM leaders. Radix, the ambassador to the United Nations and the United States, stated shortly after the insurrection that "the working class in any country is the most important class. . . ."

The role of the urban working class in the struggle against Gairy has already demonstrated this in practice. It was the workers, through strikes and mass mobilizations, who provided the backbone of the antigovernment upheavals of 1973 and 1974. It was the active participation of workers in the March 13 insurrection that ensured its success.

The NJM leaders do recognize the weakness of the working class as a problem for the revolution, but one that can be at least partially overcome through organization, the raising of political consciousness, and the forging of an alliance between the workers and the other oppressed classes of Grenada.

The basic stance of the NJM is summarized in the slogan, "Let those who labour hold the reins." Emblazoned on the masthead of the weekly *New Jewel*, on banners, and on the tee-shirts of party activists, it points in the direction that the Grenadian revolution must go if it is to succeed in breaking the imperialist grip on the island and ending class exploitation.

While projecting socialism as the ultimate aim, the NJM leaders believe that the revolution must go through stages. The current stage, according to Bishop, is the "national democratic revolution."

"Our primary objective at this point of time," Finance Minister Coard said in July, "is not the building of socialism, quite frankly, but simply trying to get the economy, which has been totally shattered by Gairy, back on its feet."

At the same time, however, government officials have made it clear to employers that refusal to recognize unions, victimization of workers, and opposition to the progressive measures being adopted will not be tolerated. They have repeatedly warned businessmen that if they do not respect workers' rights, they will "feel the full weight of the revolution."

The leaders of the NJM point toward the Cuban revolution as an example of how they think the Grenadian revolution will progress. "We believe that our course of

development will be more or less the same as the Cuban revolution," Strachan told me. "There may be one or two minor differences, but nothing dramatic."

The example of Cuba is often invoked as a way of explaining to Grenadians what the government's policies will mean in practical terms. The *Free West Indian*, a government-owned weekly, has published full-page interviews—one with a Cuban

tribunal, the vast majority were eventually released. Now only several dozen—Gairy's most notorious henchmen—remain in detention.

The Mongoose Gang, Gairy's private band of hired thugs, has been destroyed.

The police force has been purged of its most corrupt members. In practice, its powers have now been reduced to jurisdiction over minor cases. Most police are



Ernest Harsch/IP-1

School in St. George's. Pupils now get free milk and cheap lunches.

official, another with a Grenadian who had lived in Cuba for forty-eight years—describing what conditions are like for working people in Cuba. NJM leaders have done the same thing at some of the many mass rallies held here.

Cuba's assistance to Grenada (medical personnel, technical advisers, a fishing trawler, cement, sugar, and other aid) has also done much to arouse interest here in the Cuban revolution.

The NJM has avoided presenting any preconceived blueprints or timetables for the development of the revolution. "We will feel our way," Bishop has said. "But we will take whatever steps necessary to get greater control of our resources and to end imperialist domination of our economy."

An Army of Civilians

One of the first tasks facing the NJM upon its seizure of power on March 13 was the destruction of Gairy's repressive apparatus and the organization of new armed forces to defend the country from counter-revolutionary attack.

In the early days of the revolution, about 500 of Gairy's troops, policemen, and government and party officials were detained by the new authorities. Following reviews of their cases by government-appointed

not armed.

The "green beasts"—Gairy's army—were officially disbanded in June by People's Law No. 32 (the army had, in fact, already ceased to function). All officers and troops were dismissed from service. Its commanding officer is in detention.

Gairy's repressive laws, restricting the press, freedom of assembly, and the right to strike have been abolished.

Within days of the insurrection, the new government recruited hundreds of young volunteers for the newly created People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), a force that Radix has called "an army of civilians." With a strength of about 1,000, it is several times larger than Gairy's army, and has taken over some of the more important functions of the police.

Its members include many of the most ardent supporters of the revolution, including some of those involved in the insurrection. They are mostly young men, but the PRA has also recruited women volunteers, some of whom can be seen in the streets of St. George's in olive-green army fatigues.

The PRA has likewise recruited Rastafarians, members of a religious nationalist movement that exists in many of the English-speaking Caribbean islands; it is the first time anywhere in the Caribbean

that "Rastas"—who are opposed to most existing governments—have been given arms.

The PRA today serves a vital function in defending Grenada from counterrevolutionary attack. Relations between the army and the population appear to be close, and soldiers are at times greeted in the streets by civilians. Troops take part in community work activities, such as repairing roads, and have helped raise money for various projects, including the purchase of refrigeration equipment for fishermen.

In addition to the PRA, a volunteer force of armed civilians, the People's Militia, has been set up. Its tasks include patrolling the coastline and other areas that are vital to the country's defense.

Benefits of the Revolution

Despite the scarcity of funds and resources, the new government—with some international assistance—has already been able to bring material benefits to a large proportion of the population.

"This government has gone a far way," a woman printing worker here told me. "It has already done so much. People like it."

One of the government's first acts was to impose a price freeze (inflation was running at about 18 percent a year). A Price Control Department was set up to monitor prices, and traders caught overcharging are being prosecuted.

The newly established National Importing Board took over wholesale rice importation, which had been monopolized by a few merchants under Gairy; as a result, the retail price of rice fell by 8 percent. It subsequently took over imports of brown sugar and cement as well, and indicated that other imports may follow. Brown sugar prices fell by 15 percent and cement prices by 10-21 percent.

As part of its efforts to cut government waste and conserve funds for vital social services, all ministerial salaries were slashed by a third.

Schools are being repaired, secondary school fees have been cut by a third, and 109 scholarships for study abroad have been granted so far this year (compared to three in 1978). Preparations for a general adult literacy campaign are being made, and classes are already under way among army recruits. Inexpensive hot lunches (at a nominal fee of EC\$0.25) have been introduced in more than half of all schools, and milk is now being given free to all children under five years of age.

The arrival of twelve Cuban doctors, dentists, and medical technicians—whose salaries are being paid by Cuba—has enabled the government to greatly expand health services. From March to October, 11,000 persons received free medical care—about one-tenth of Grenada's entire population. Nurses are being sent to outlying areas, where health services were previously lacking.

Roads are being repaired, three new



Mass rally at Seamoan, on eastern coast of island.

community centers have been built, and plans are being laid for the electrification of Carriacou, a small island dependency just north of Grenada proper. As a result of such projects, 800 new jobs have been created since the insurrection. The PRG promises to eventually create a job for every adult worker in the country.

NJM members and government officials stress that to move the revolution forward the population, particularly the workers and other laboring people, must themselves become actively involved in rebuilding the country.

In explaining their policies and in trying to encourage active support for the revolution, government and party leaders rely to a great extent on mass mobilizations. Rallies, marches, conferences, and meetings—ranging in size from several hundred persons to 15,000 or 20,000—are a constant feature of political life here. They have been held in every town and village. Even tiny Carriacou, with a population of just 7,000, has had rallies of up to 2,000 persons. One issue of the *New Jewel* reported that the NJM had held thirty meetings and rallies in its own name in a period of just three weeks.

There have been rallies to discuss trade-union policies, to commemorate the anniversary of Che Guevara's death, to express solidarity with the liberation struggles in southern Africa, and to explain various government measures and foreign policy initiatives. Conferences and conventions have been organized by women's organizations, youth councils, and student groups. Demonstrations have been held to condemn the right-wing attacks against the government and to press employers to recognize unions.

According to Strachan, the NJM be-

lieves that through mass rallies, political education classes, and other forums "we can best raise [the workers'] level of class consciousness."

The Workers Organize

The government and the NJM have also done much to encourage mass organization, especially among workers.

In the early days of the revolution, the People's Revolutionary Government followed a policy of simply urging employers to recognize trade unions. Some did, most notably Barclay's Bank, which had previously resisted a struggle by the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU) for recognition. The fact that BGWU President Vincent Noel was now the secretary for home affairs helped convince the bank management to give in.

Other employers, however, continued to fight against unionization. Labor activists and organizers were harassed and sometimes dismissed. Workers responded with marches and demonstrations.

On May 18 the government intervened on the side of the workers. The Trade Union Recognition Act adopted that day compelled employers to recognize any union that could demonstrate support from at least half of the workers in a given enterprise. Harassment, intimidation, or dismissal of workers for union activities was outlawed. Violation of the law could now bring a fine of EC\$3,000, one year in jail, or both.

An editorial in the May 19 issue of the *Free West Indian* declared:

For Grenadian workers, their long years of struggle and sacrifice over the trade union recognition issue have at last been greeted with victory—a victory made possible only by the coming to power of a *People's Government*. And the victory which our workers have gained is justly deserved, for workers of all types played an outstanding role in the overthrow of the Gairy Dictatorship. Their triumph, therefore, is the result, not only of trade union struggle, but even more importantly, of *political struggle* towards the creation of a new and just society. . . .

Following adoption of the act, trade-union elections were held in numerous concerns, and employer after employer was forced to grant recognition. According to government figures, trade-union membership rose from about 30 percent of the employed urban work force in March to more than 80 percent by October.

Significant changes have also taken place in the leadership of some unions. The Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (CIWU)—which represents commercial, office, cigarette manufacturing, and other workers—was led for twenty-two years by Eric Pierre, a leader of the bourgeois Grenada National Party and a brother of the president of the Grenada Chamber of Commerce. Following the insurrection, many young radical workers joined the CIWU and began pressing for a more militant leadership. Finally, at a union

convention in July, Pierre was voted out of office and replaced by Vincent Noel of the NJM.

In the rural areas, agricultural workers began organizing within days of the insurrection. There were already reports in late March of elected workers councils being set up on the agricultural estates that had previously been dominated by Gairy's now-defunct Grenada Mental and Manual Workers Union.

The main body seeking to organize the rural proletariat is the Agricultural Workers Council (AWC), headed by Gele-neau James and Caldwell Taylor (the latter is also the secretary of information and culture in the government). The AWC has been established on all the government-owned estates—amounting to a third of all estates larger than 100 acres—and on many of the private estates as well.

One of the prime tasks of the AWC will be to improve the conditions of the agricultural workers. The *New Jewel* reported September 3, "Many private estates are paying less than the daily \$6.00, bad working conditions exist and child labour also exists on these estates, with children who should be in school labouring for a tiny wage. Gairy never bothered to defend workers on those estates owned by his friends."

AWC leaders have also stressed that the council would take on broader management functions, including, according to the May 26 *Free West Indian*, developing "solutions for the proper running of the estates, the workers' interests, and the country as a whole."

Another new union, the Agricultural and General Workers Union, has also recently been established, to organize both agricultural and road workers.

On September 31, several thousand trade unionists rallied at Queen's Park in St. George's, with banners from the various unions and placards calling for defense of workers rights. Of the participants, many were agricultural workers.

The prolabor stance of the government has greatly encouraged the unionization drive. And the presence in the government of unionists like Noel and Taylor has reassured workers of support in their struggles with the employers.

In the few labor disputes that have broken out since the beginning of the revolution, the PRG has openly sided with the workers.

After managers of the Buy Rite store in St. George's instituted body searches of employees upon leaving work (ostensibly to check for pilferage), Bishop himself went on the air over Radio Free Grenada to warn the owners that "the full weight of the Revolution will be brought to bear on them" if they continued to harass workers.

When the local owners of the Coca-Cola

bottling plant refused to rehire two dismissed workers, even after a five-week strike by the rest of the work force, the PRG stepped in directly. It took over the running of the plant, rehired the workers, and resumed production under government management.

'Workers and Farmers Unite!'

The People's Revolutionary Government and the New Jewel Movement have also been implementing measures to improve the conditions of other sectors of the population and to mobilize them in alliance with the workers.

On October 21, some 200 sugarcane farmers rallied in the town of Westerhall. Strachan and Whiteman, who addressed the rally, pledged to double government subsidies to the farmers.

The October 27 issue of the *New Jewel*, reporting on a planned mass rally of farmers near Grenville, carried a slogan across its front page reading, "Farmers and Workers Unite!"

The government has not yet drafted a land reform program, but the NJM political manifesto, issued in 1973, calls for transforming the large privately owned agricultural estates into cooperative farms, to provide land for landless farmers and to bring unused land back into cultivation. It also proposes consolidating the island's many small, uneconomic plots into larger cooperative farms in order to increase agricultural productivity.

Although the waters around Grenada contain a wealth of sea life, the fishing industry had been virtually ignored under Gairy. The PRG is seeking to change that. To encourage an expansion of fishing, fuel costs for fishing boats have been cut, refrigeration equipment is being provided, and fishermen are being trained in more modern techniques aboard the Cuban-supplied fishing trawler (eleven more Cuban trawlers have been promised).

On May 20, about 400 women, representing women's groups and village organizations around the country, gathered at Seamount, near Grenville, to discuss the problems facing women and to come up with recommendations for government action. It was only one of a number of women's conferences and meetings that have been held here since the beginning of the revolution.

To help advance the position of women, equal pay for equal work is being implemented in various areas of employment. Employers or officials found guilty of sexually harassing women workers are now subject to immediate dismissal, and have been warned that they could be jailed as well. Legislation is being studied to provide for paid maternity leave for women workers.

According to Strachan, "What we want to see throughout the society is the involve-

ment of women in the overall political process." To that end, NJM women's groups throughout the country have been organizing seminars, meetings, and conferences to help draw women into political discussions.

Since the insurrection, students have set up a National Students Council. A national service program, called the Youth for Reconstruction, has also been established to help provide jobs and training for about 1,500 young people.

On the local level, villagers have set up some sixty community work brigades, which repair and paint schools, fix up roads, and build new community facilities. The broad participation in these voluntary brigades is one indication of the level of support for the revolution.

The active mobilization of much of the Grenadian population—and especially the growth of mass organizations—is itself an important conquest of the revolution. It helps ensure that the demands of the workers and their allies are voiced and acted upon. It strengthens the revolution against the pressures and threats from Washington and other imperialist powers. It makes it much more difficult for big businessmen within Grenada to resist the radical measures now being implemented.

These organized mass mobilizations are likewise a vital prerequisite for the revolution's continued advance. They provide a powerful impetus for pushing the revolutionary process—as one slogan here proclaims—"onward to socialism." □

Hundreds Arrested in S. Korea

A new round of antigovernment protests, the first since martial law was imposed October 27, has begun in South Korea, and the generals' brutal reaction shows how much their talk of "democratization" is worth.

On November 24, an estimated 1,000 people gathered at a rally in Seoul to demand the release of political prisoners and the holding of free elections. Riot police were sent in to break up the rally, and the Martial Law Command later announced that 96 persons had been arrested.

Four days later, 100 persons were arrested as they tried to attend a meeting called by a Christian student group in Seoul. There have been many other smaller incidents, and the total number of protesters arrested is not yet known.

Although officials in Seoul say they are preparing to release many of the political prisoners held under the former regime of Park Chung Hee, none have yet been freed. On November 8, two journalists were tried and sentenced to prison for violating Park's decree banning criticism of the government.

Worldwide Mobilizations for Right to Abortion

By Jacqueline Heinen

"Every human being, from the moment of conception and in every subsequent stage, is sacred," Pope John Paul II kept saying in all his speeches during his recent trip to Ireland and the U.S.A.

The crusade for "respect for life and the family" that the pope has conducted since he found himself at the head of the Catholic church can only give aid and comfort to the ruling class in its attacks on oppressed strata, and women especially.

For the wing of the bourgeoisie that has always declared its opposition to the right to contraception and abortion, this is valuable support. In its parliamentary attacks against any bill offering the slightest liberalization of the ban on abortion, the right wing has in fact never failed to quote abundantly from the pope's statements. And the many articles expressing reactionary points of view on this question that have appeared in the international press in recent months have also not neglected to refer to "papal authority."

As for the wing of the bourgeoisie that is supposed to be "liberal," it has found the pope's position a good pretext for maintaining its wait-and-see stance with regard to the abortion laws. This also gives it an excuse for the retrograde policy it upholds on the economic and social aspects of such questions.

Internationally, it is clear that everywhere that the bourgeoisie has made some concessions on the question of abortion and contraception in response to mobilizations by the women's and workers movements, it is now trying to take these gains back.

One of the reasons for this bourgeois offensive, of course, is the economic crisis and the austerity policy that the governments in office are trying to impose on the proletariat. They are trying to limit social spending and reduce the budgets of "non-profitable" sectors such as hospitals. And in almost every case, the first appropriation to be cut is that allocated for setting up abortion and contraception centers.

However, the bourgeoisie's determination to attack the elementary right of women to abortion is also part of the general offensive that the ruling class is waging against the democratic rights of the workers movement.

"Down with abortion, down with contraception, down with extramarital sexual relations, and down with homosexuality," is what the pope said in essence. And the organizations fighting to deny women the

right to choose could then take up this cry and amplify it, rejoicing to see such a "program" being put forward.

Would they dare to rejoice at the death of a young English woman, who was unable to get an abortion despite her attempts. She died recently after giving birth to a premature infant. She had already lost a child a few days after it was born. She had heart problems, trouble with her lungs, and only one kidney. But the doctor she went to for an abortion put so much pressure on her that she finally agreed to continue her pregnancy.

This story created a furor in the British press. But what should be said about the thousands of women who die every day around the world as the result of back-alley abortions, especially in the underdeveloped countries?

At the time of his visit to Mexico last spring, the pope violently attacked "these campaigns for divorce, using contraceptives and abortion, which are destroying the world." But, according to World Health Organization statistics, 14 out of every 100 women who have abortions in countries where it is illegal die as a result. And in some Latin American countries, the percentage is still higher. But the pope didn't say a word about that! This is the kind of "respect for life" preached by the church and by the right wing throughout the world.

The pope's sermons seem, however, to have put some new wind in the sails of the American "right to life" movement. Recently Senator Javits, who is known for taking positions in favor of abortion, found his office in New York filled with red roses.

Knowing that these roses did not come from any admirer, male or female, but that they were the calling card of the anti-abortion movement, he had them taken to a children's hospital. When the right-to-lifers showed up an hour later to shower him with abuse, one of them was infuriated when she learned what happened to the flowers. She made this sinister and memorable statement: "These flowers were for the dead babies, Mr. Senator, not for the living ones!"

No doubt the speeches that John Paul II gave to the crowds that thronged to see him in Ireland were a great comfort to those people in Ireland who favored the reactionary law on contraception just passed there. (Abortion is totally illegal in Ireland.)

According to the new Irish law, only married couples are allowed access to contraception. A medical prescription is necessary even to buy condoms, and doctors have the right to refuse to give a prescription to unmarried persons. This corresponds completely to the papal view of things!

However, the pope and his faithful servants seem to have underestimated one thing—the explosiveness of the abortion issue. The same statements that inspired renewed activity by the antiabortion movements roused an unprecedented wave of protests from feminist movements around the world. And these feminists often found themselves being supported by a section of the workers movement.

Since the end of the 1960s, when the women's movements began to take up the fight on the issues of contraception and abortion in Europe and North America, mobilizations around these questions have continued to broaden and to win more and more influential support in the organizations of the workers movement.

At the start, it was groups of women who took up these issues. They were often isolated and generally ran up against the outspoken hostility of the leaderships in the workers movement. It was these groups that called for mobilizing against the repression directed at women who had had abortions and who took up the fight for the right to contraception and abortion.

The women's movement, moreover, remains and will remain the backbone of every mobilization on such questions. This is because very often it is starting from an awareness of their need to control their own bodies that women's consciousness develops out of their oppression and a desire to unite with other women.

However, it is significant that in a number of countries, under the pressure of the women's movement and their own rank and file, the leaderships of the workers movement have had to change their tune. And if they are not actively engaging in the struggle, a number of them support the essential demands put forward by the campaigns on abortion. They do so in particular when this question is a focus of confrontation in parliament and when their image depends on the position they take toward it.

In France, the "Veil law," which was provisionally passed five years ago, comes up for a new vote in parliament in January 1980. After the first illusions had passed

about the changes made by the law, French women had to face the facts. The "Veil law" did not by any means give them the right to contraception and abortion.

After a momentary ebb in the mobilizations that forced the government to make concessions in 1975, collectives arose in most of the country's cities. These were united-front bodies, often formed at the initiative of women's groups or family-planning centers that brought together political organizations, feminist groups, family organizations, and independents. Resuming the battle that MLAC [Mouvement pour la liberté de l'avortement et de la contraception] had waged before 1975, they demanded total decriminalization of abortion, and free abortion on demand for all women, including minors and immigrants. They also demanded the creation of contraception-abortion-sexuality centers over which women and the organizations fighting for contraception and abortion would have right of control.

In face of these radical demands, the Communist Party decided to come out for "improving" the Veil law, notably by including a provision for having the social-security system reimburse the cost of abortions. The Socialist Party proposed a plan clearly more progressive than that of the CP, and it denounces the Veil law as a "hypocritical and insufficient" document. But it has said, on the other hand, that this law represents "a gain of new rights."

In any case, even if their amendments are not accepted, both the SP and CP will certainly vote for readopting the present law, as the government proposes, "in the name of social consensus."

But this has not prevented many activists in both parties from working in local collectives and from supporting an orientation in these groups far more militant than the position of their parties.

Likewise, many union locals and women's committees of the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], and even some in the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], are participating in these collectives and in the initiatives they take. This is despite the fact that the CFDT and CGT, which have come to an agreement with the FEN [the teachers union] on a common platform regarding voluntary interruptions of pregnancy, say that they do not envisage associating themselves with non-trade-union actions.

A first demonstration on this question was called by several feminist groups and personalities for October 6 in Paris. This was supposed to be an all-women's march, but many men in fact participated. In all, about 50,000 persons marched. This was an extremely important first step in the nationwide campaign. On the initiative of the National Coordinating Committee of Collectives, a new national demonstration was scheduled for November 24, on the eve of the debate in the National Assembly.

Thus far the right wing of the government has failed to get its point of view accepted. Chirac, the movements for a higher birth rate, and other avowed enemies of freedom of abortion are keeping quiet. The counterdemonstration organized

tion in the history of the British labor movement. It was held in November 1978.

The 400 delegates present included representatives of the major British unions, although a majority were white-collar workers. They decided to build the mobili-



G.M. Cookson/Socialist Challenge

October 28 march of 40,000 people in London protesting the Corrie anti-abortion bill. The demonstration was sponsored by the Trades Union Congress, Britain's central labor federation.

by the "Yes to Life" group on October 6 was pitiful. But the fight that must still be waged to win the rights that women are demanding should not be minimized. And victory will depend on the attitude taken by the workers movement.

In this regard, the mobilization that is developing today in Great Britain at the initiative of NAC [National Abortion Campaign] and the LARC [Labour Abortion Rights Campaign] is an example of the path to follow for all the movements that exist throughout the world.

The NAC was formed five years ago to demand the enforcement of the law (already at the time 50 percent of abortions could not be performed in public hospitals because of the lack of beds and therefore the cost was not reimbursed). The second objective was to fight back against the first attempt, which was made then by a Labour member of Parliament, to amend the law in a restrictive way.

The mobilization paid off. The bill was not passed. But since then the NAC has had to wage a hard fight against successive attempts by the right to undermine the gains represented by the British abortion law, which, despite all its restrictive clauses, is one of the most liberal in Europe.

In the Labour Party not only have all supporters of the right to abortion joined forces in LARC. They got the 1977 party congress to adopt a resolution calling for defense of the 1967 law. Moreover, the work done by the NAC and LARC activists in the unions prepared the way for the first congress on the question of abor-

ization around this issue and organize a central demonstration on abortion, if the parliament made the slightest move to limit the law now in effect.

All this has not prevented many trade-union leaderships from openly supporting the most reactionary positions on the question of abortion. Nor has it stopped a lot of Labour MPs from taking refuge behind arguments of "conscience" and voting for the new reactionary amendment presented last spring by Corrie, a Tory MP.

But the facts speak for themselves. In response to the new threat to the 1967 law, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) called a national demonstration in London for October 28. Whatever the general political reasons that led the powerful union federation leadership to take such a measure, this can only represent a step forward in raising the consciousness of the working masses.

Of course, the defeat of the Labour Party in the elections, as well as the general attack on the working class by the Thatcher government, considered the most reactionary since the 1930s, had a greater weight in the decision of the bureaucratic leaderships than any desire to defend women's rights.

Of course, it is only the tenacity of the LARC and NAC activists that will make it possible to mobilize the rank and file of the unions. Thanks to bureaucratic operating procedure, the unions were often not even informed of the position taken by the TUC!

Of course, what the unions have done so far is not sufficient, because the attacks

will continue, and the mobilization can only continue to go forward if the workers movement undertakes an all-out struggle against the austerity policy of the bourgeoisie.

But these actions by the labor movement represent an advance from the previous period in which the campaign for abortion was becoming more and more isolated.

It is all the more important to draw the lessons from the mobilizations of the last few years in Europe and North America, since in some countries the fight is only beginning.

In Spain, for example, the organizations of the workers movement are adopting the same sort of wait-and-see positions that we have seen in other countries. A campaign has begun in the Basque Country, and there have been debates in the municipal councils controlled by the left. The SP and CP councilors have abstained in the vote over the platform on abortion presented by the Women's Assembly of Euzkadi, a regional coordinating committee. However, fifteen municipal councils have gone on record supporting this platform, for amnesty in all abortion cases, and for legal recognition of the right to abortion.

The CP's position, which is simply to call for pardoning the women now accused of having abortions, seems all the more contemptible now to those who have engaged in a collective struggle that made an immediate impact on the national level.

As in other countries, many CP and SP activists are taking an active part in the struggle of the women's movement, and it is possible to appeal to the ranks of these parties to convince them to join in the fight and force the reformist leaderships to support the right to abortion.

Just as in other countries, women trade unionists are sensitive to the importance of this mobilization, and it is possible to undertake work in the unions to demand that the leaderships stop just making fine speeches and begin to act. (On the initiative of the women's committees in the unions, the question of abortion has already been the subject of many debates in the Workers Commissions.)

So, it is essential to spread the news about the experiences the women's movement has gone through in given countries so that women in other countries where the struggle is only beginning can base themselves on the acquisitions made elsewhere.

It is striking, for example, to note that in Mexico the mobilization has developed over the last three years in a way very similar to the way it has in several European countries. In 1976, for the first time, a group of feminists began a campaign for the legalization of abortion.

The following year, on the same day, four groups participated in the "Days of Action on Abortion." There were six such days in 1978, and they were supported by several unions, the CP and the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores,

the Mexican organization of the Fourth International].

This year, these "days" took on an unprecedented breadth. The Feminist Coordinating Committee and the National Front for Liberation and Rights of Women (FNALDIM)—which includes several union organizations, feminist groups, and political organizations—got several recently-elected leftist deputies to present their common platform for debate in parliament.

This example can have an important impact on Colombia, where the debate on abortion was opened up in all the press when an abortion bill was introduced by a Liberal deputy. While this proposal was a timid one, it got its author called an "antichrist" by the Conservatives and all sorts of moralists.

So, the Colombian feminists who are already fighting for the unrestricted right to abortion are going to have a hard struggle. Clearly, it will be a help to them to be able to exchange experiences with the Mexican feminist groups, who are also confronted by a Catholic church that has a strong hold on the masses and by the evasiveness of the reformist leaderships.

For this reason alone—to make possible a dialogue between countries and continents, between women who are fighting for the same demands, the International Campaign on Contraception, Abortion and Sterilization (CICAS) must continue.

After the March 31, 1979, day of action, which was a real success, the international coordinating committee set up in June 1978 discussed continuing the campaign and the objectives to be put forward in the coming period. It was obvious that there was a desire to widen the committee internationally and a need for a Europe-wide coordinating committee that would meet regularly. This was reconfirmed by the movement that arose to defend a Portuguese woman journalist who was threatened with several years in prison for taking part in a TV program on abortion.

On this occasion, feminists throughout the world showed their determination to stop the bourgeois courts from passing a vicious sentence against one of their sisters. This determination was displayed once again in recent weeks in connection with the Bilbao trial and the new trial that took place in Portugal on October 29 against a young woman who had an abortion in 1974. She faced two-to-eight years in prison, and her husband and the friend who gave her the necessary address risked up to six years in prison if convicted. (Already 17,000 Portuguese women have signed a declaration addressed to the premier in which they say that they have had an abortion.) This support movement must continue.

It is important that in Luxembourg the women's movement called for a demonstration on October 18 when Thatcher was speaking in their country and that they

managed to get the press to publicize their interpretation of what is happening in Britain on the abortion question and the attacks by the Conservatives against women's rights.

In the same way, it is important for the abortion movement in Britain to offer direct and concrete support to the campaign for freedom of contraception that is beginning in Ireland.

The fact that we want to support the fights being waged in other countries and that through international solidarity we have the ability to exercise a weight in mobilizations that take place thousands of kilometers away is one of the essential features of the international campaign. However, CICAS has other goals.

In the relatively near future, for example, CICAS wants to organize an international conference on contraception, abortion, and forced sterilization. Such a conference would be organized first in Europe and would enable us to move ahead in discussing the fight to be waged and the demands to be put forward in order to meet the real needs of women.

In this connection, three working committees have been set up to produce written materials on what seem to us to be the key themes at this stage of the mobilization, which are the following:

- The question of the antiabortion movements, which are being organized and coordinated on a wider and wider international scale.
- The question of the policy of the international pharmaceutical trusts and the quality of the contraceptive methods they offer us.
- The question of the right to choose of working women, who are often subjected to a killing speedup and discrimination in hiring. There is a notably high percentage of miscarriages in some industries resulting from the production-line tempos and harmful conditions in the factories. Women job applicants are sometimes given pregnancy tests without their knowledge, and some companies ask women to undergo sterilization in view of the harmfulness of the products they will have to handle.

The work of these commissions is to serve as a basis for some of the discussions in the conference, and it will be reported on regularly in the bulletin that the international coordinating committee has decided to put out, beginning in January.

Now that the CICAS has been in existence for a year, a thrice-yearly bulletin is an indispensable tool for strengthening our solidarity work and getting information to all the movements active throughout the world. And it also should serve as a means for overcoming the problem of the exchange of experience being centered too much on Europe.

(The next Coordinating Committee meeting will be held January 19-20, in Brussels.) □

The Nonaligned Movement and the Havana Conference

By Ernest Mandel

After the Second World War, the weakening of imperialism and the formidable rise of the colonial revolution—symbolized by the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949—forced the bourgeoisie of the metropolitan countries to carry out a tactical retreat. The old colonial empires were gradually dismantled. Nearly all the old colonies acquired political independence.

Where Does the "Nonaligned Movement" Come From?

This retreat was in no way, however, accompanied by abandonment of the economic hold of imperialist capital on the former colonies, which became semicolonial countries. It was even combined in many cases with maintenance of military bases and the inclusion of the countries that had attained formal political independence in military pacts that ensured imperialist control of the key strategic zones of the world.

The aim of imperialism's tactical retreat was to transform the possessing classes of the former colonies—and especially their industrial bourgeoisie, which had undergone a certain growth during the war and the immediate postwar period—into junior partners of the international imperialist system. In return for some crumbs from the table, the partners were to assure the permanence of the bourgeois order in their own country and contain the wage demands of the masses—if necessary, with the help of anti-imperialist nationalist demagogy.

Imperialist capital tries to achieve this plan at the lowest possible cost. In fact, after the Korean War "boom," the share of the surplus-value on a world scale that has gone to the possessing classes of the semicolonial colonies has hardly risen. One might even maintain that for two decades it has been declining. As a result, the semicolonial bourgeoisie became quite discontented.

Moreover, it was exposed to growing discontent on the part of the mass of peasants, workers, and pauperized urban plebians in their own countries. For these masses the achievement of the political independence of their respective countries had been seen as indissolubly linked to the solution of their pressing material problems—hunger, poverty, sickness, illiteracy, wretched housing, lack of social and cultural infrastructure, and so on.

But with the maintenance of the rule of the indigenous ruling classes, who could not break the links with the international imperialist system and the superexploitation that goes with it, these problems

remained insoluble.

A considerable portion of the masses found that their poverty increased, even in absolute terms. This was the case despite some progress in industrialization and some limited agrarian reforms (often, at the expense of the poorest layers of the population).

The masses in the semicolonial countries were, for a period of time, prepared to place confidence in the bourgeois leaders who had led the struggle for political independence. But this confidence had a time limit. Moreover, these leaders were much too frightened by the increasingly explosive character of the social contradictions in their own countries to envision violent confrontations with imperialism. Such confrontations would be impossible without a large-scale mobilization of the disinherited masses.

Therefore they opted for a *strategy of peaceful pressure* on imperialism, using the discontent of the colonial masses and the risks of revolutionary explosions as forms of blackmail. The aim was to obtain more than "crumbs"—a more substantial share of the world surplus-value.

In order for this policy of bourgeois nationalist populism to be credible to the masses it had to involve a certain degree of disengagement from military alliances with imperialism. For it to be credible to the imperialists, it had to be accompanied by rejection of any alliance with the main workers states—the USSR and China.

This is the source of the "disengagement with regard to the two blocs." The material goal to be reached is expressed in the ideology of "economic development." The weakness and the fundamental contradiction of the semicolonial bourgeoisie is expressed in the assertion that these objectives can be achieved through the peaceful road, through "mutual respect," "inviolability of national sovereignty," "peaceful coexistence," and so on.

All these fundamental characteristics of the strategy of the semicolonial bourgeoisies were combined in the doctrine of the "Nonaligned Movement," the true founders of which—Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno, and to a lesser extent Perón—moreover perfectly typified it.

From Bandung to Colombo

The "Nonaligned Movement" was formally established at the Bandung Conference in 1955, and Tito, the head of a workers state, was a quite active participant there. The motivation of the Yugoslav bureaucracy was obviously different from

that of the semicolonial bourgeoisie. Tito was first and foremost looking for allies against the constant threats of Soviet and imperialist military intervention that had jointly weighed on his country since Stalin had excommunicated it.

Therefore the "rejection of bloc politics," the rejection of all "hegemonism," and the policy of "active [and armed] neutrality" were the common denominator that could unite the Yugoslav bureaucracy with the leading wing of the nationalist-populist semicolonial bourgeoisie.

The main thrust of the "Nonaligned" was first aimed at those European imperialist powers that were holding onto the remains of their colonial positions. Relations were initially better with American imperialism, which was putting itself forward as the champion of "decolonization," for reasons of both world political strategy as well as interimperialist competition. To this end, Washington was at the point of intervening in October 1956 to stop the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Nasser's Egypt.

But precisely the more the old colonial empires were collapsing, the more American imperialism had to play an increasingly active role as the imperialist cop on a world scale, having already played that role in Latin America. The intervention of U.S. marines in Lebanon in 1958 and the second Indochina war, in which the American army completely took the place of the French army, symbolize this transformation that took place between the 1950s and 1960s.

The Soviet bureaucracy profited from this by presenting itself as the champion of the cause of "national liberation" in the "Third World." Khrushchev chose the line of long-term alliance with the semicolonial bourgeoisie. (Zhou Enlai had already preceded him along this road. Zhou was responsible for formulating the "five principles of peaceful coexistence" approved at the Bandung conference.)

This line was codified in the program adopted by the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the thin cover of a supposedly "non-capitalist [and nonsocialist!] development" that characterized the "Nonaligned." Brezhnev, who is even more pragmatic and cynical, abandoned even this pretense. Now it is only a question of favoring "national independence" and the "economic development" of the "Third World," with all classes jumbled together.

During the first phase of the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Chinese bureaucracy tried to

profit from the détente between American imperialism and the Kremlin by presenting itself as the most resolutely anti-imperialist power and as the best champion of the "peoples of the Third World." Its 1962 military conflict with the Indian bourgeoisie temporarily distanced it from the "Nonaligned." But China never abandoned its orientation toward "peaceful coexistence."

As China evolved toward a rejection of "the hegemonism of the two superpowers," with its foreign policy increasingly becoming a search for alliances with the most reactionary forces throughout the world, it returned to a rapprochement with the semicolonial bourgeoisie. It entered into competition with the Kremlin on this level as well as on the level of developing closer collaboration with imperialism.

What we are thus witnessing is a double and triple play of pressure and blackmail. The "Nonaligned" bourgeoisie tries to cash in on the anger and the menacing explosions in the semicolonial countries to obtain political and economic concessions from the imperialist bourgeoisie, concessions summed up in the formula of a "new world economic order."

The Soviet bureaucracy (and to a lesser extent the Chinese bureaucracy) offers economic and military aid to the "Nonaligned" in order to obtain better conditions of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The "Nonaligned" threaten to go to Moscow or Peking to get what Washington, London, Bonn, Tokyo, or Paris refuse them.

But all are in agreement that the fundamental structure of the international capitalist system should not be called into question by "uncontrollable forces" (meaning revolutions). All seek to modify the relationship of forces and the division of profits *within the system*, not to overturn it. Despite all the demagogic calls to the contrary, all have acted to conserve and not to upset the "world economic order."¹

The Three False Claims of the 'Nonaligned'

The only way that the "Movement of Nonaligned Powers" can put itself forward as such and can as such influence the masses who are in latent or open revolt in the colonial and semicolonial countries is by making use, in a gross or subtle way, of three false claims.

There is no "movement." There are no "nonaligned." And there aren't "coun-

tries" or "powers" in the "Third World" that act "in concert."

Rather there are nations divided into social classes, with antagonistic interests. There are states (and governments), each with a specific class character, that involve themselves in political maneuvers to defend their differing interests.

There is no "movement" because the possessing classes of the colonial and semicolonial countries have a mortal fear of precisely such a development. That is, they fear the concerted *action* of hundreds of millions of exploited people throughout the world against imperialism.

What is put forward as a "movement" is rhetoric. Resolutions should replace (and prevent) revolutions. If there is "action," it takes place in the wings, taking the form of timid pressure plays, and with generally insignificant results. Imperialism would survive for centuries if this "movement" were all that existed.

There are no "nonaligned" because no real social force is neutral in this lowly world. Numerous "Nonaligned" governments are complete puppets of imperialism. Others are imperialism's loyal allies, even if they sometimes strain at their leashes and have a greater margin of independence. Some are governments of more or less bureaucratized workers states (North Korea, Yugoslavia, Cuba).

The several borderline bourgeois states run by the nationalist petty bourgeoisie, such as Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia, or the liberation movements creating "pre-states" such as the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, and the Polisario Front in the Western Sahara, are doing their utmost to combine the military and/or political aid received from the workers states with the maintenance or extension of economic ties with imperialism. For this reason they end up sooner or later flopping into the imperialist camp, politically and militarily, unless a victorious social revolution changes the class character of the state and the economy in their country.

But not one of these categories of states (or pre-states) is "neutral" or "nonaligned," not only with regard to imperialism and socialism, but even in their reciprocal relationships. They all tenaciously defend their specific material interests, and do not hesitate in the slightest to trip each other up, despite all the sermons on the "solidarity of the Nonaligned." The relations between the OPEC countries and the "nonaligned" countries that have to import petroleum is a good illustration of this point.

Furthermore, each of the countries represented in the "nonaligned" conferences has a well defined social structure. Most are capitalist countries. The counterposition of classes between capital and labor, the antagonism between the rich and poor is just as pronounced in these countries as in the imperialist countries. In addition, the exacerbation and the explosiveness of

social contradictions has led the possessing classes of many of these countries to set up despotic dictatorships that are among the bloodiest in history.

The Argentine government has just been accused by Amnesty International of having "refined" the horror of torture as an ongoing practice of repression to the point that it has even been torturing small children in front of their parents. But the Cuban government was forced to bring General Videla, the head of this infamous dictatorship, to the Havana conference.

If, by chance, the shah of Iran had not been overthrown by the masses of his country, he would undoubtedly also have cut a fine figure in this august gathering of "nonaligned representatives of the Third World."

The semicolonial bourgeoisies' attempt to get the masses to substitute a division of the world into "rich countries" and "poor countries" for the real division between social classes must be denounced as pure demagogic fraud.

It is true that the pauperized peasants and the workers of the semicolonial countries—who make up the big majority of their populations—are much poorer than wage workers in the imperialist countries or in the workers states of Europe. But the royal family of Saudi Arabia, which was worthy of participation in the "nonaligned" conference, is the richest family in the world. The Latin American bourgeoisie, the industrialists, bankers, usurers, and wholesalers of Asia and Africa are not at all poor. Even the *kulaks* of India and Pakistan, and the comfortable middle classes of Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Singapore, South Korea, Kuwait, and Nigeria are in the process of accumulating capital, something that the immense majority of the wage workers of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States are completely unable to do.

This falsifying ideology has a specific practical function: *to prevent, retard, and hold back the class political independence of the workers and poor peasants of the semicolonial countries*; to prevent, retard, and hold back defense of the class interests of these workers and peasants through their own class organizations.

This class approach to the economic, social, and political problems of the semicolonial countries in no way entails any underestimation of the misdeeds and crimes of imperialism. On the contrary, in all these countries the rule and the direct exploitation by the indigenous possessing classes is inextricably linked to the maintenance of the indirect rule and direct or indirect exploitation by imperialism. One cannot be eliminated without the other.

Leaving aside the so-called Third Worldist theories put forward by disillusioned former Marxists, the principal link between the ideology of the semicolonial bourgeoisie and currents of the international workers movement is furnished by the Menshevik-Stalinist theory of "revolu-

1. In Havana Castro said that the USSR does not exploit, but rather aids Cuba, no doubt referring to the purchase of its sugar at a price above the world market. This is true, but one would have to add that this is the exception and not the rule. Because the USSR generally applies the world market price in its trade with the semicolonial countries and thus contributes to maintaining the imperialist "world economic order," the unequal exchange and the superexploitation of the people of the so-called Third World that this implies.

tion by stages": first to march with the "national" bourgeoisie against imperialism; then, after having eliminated imperialist exploitation, to begin the struggle for the specific interests of the proletariat.

History has shown innumerable times, however, that the possessing classes of the colonial and semicolonial countries are neither able nor want to really break with imperialism. Subordinating the independent struggle and organization of the workers and peasants to a "front" with the "national bourgeoisie" in no way accelerates the defeat of imperialism. Instead it assures the permanence of imperialist domination.

This does not mean that the colonial or semicolonial bourgeoisie can never unleash an action against imperialism, especially when its vital interests are attacked by imperialism. And it certainly does not mean that petty-bourgeois nationalist groupings cannot carry out broad anti-imperialist struggles. Whenever such struggles unfold, they deserve the support of the proletariat, and above all they require the unconditional support of the workers in the imperialist countries (otherwise these workers would be adopting an objectively proimperialist position).

We were not neutral in the Sino-Japanese war, nor in the Algerian war, nor in the 1967 Six Day War in the Middle East, nor in the war led by the Sandinista Front against the imperialist stooge Somoza, nor in the war of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe against the Salisbury government. In each case we were for the victory of the camp opposing imperialism and for the defeat of the imperialist camp.

But this clearly means:

1. That we make a clear distinction between real anti-imperialist battles (which do not necessarily take the military form, but can also take the form of the nationalization of imperialist properties, etc.), and purely verbal anti-imperialist demagoguery that does not strike any real blow against imperialism (the resolutions adopted at the various "nonaligned" conferences, including the Havana conference, are in this second category rather than in the first);

2. That the workers and poor peasants take part in this common battle with their own forms of action and organization. Far from dissolving themselves into an interclass "front" in the name of anti-imperialism, they make use of the situation, particularly to accelerate their organizational class independence;

3. That they be educated in a spirit of permanent vigilance and distrust of the "national bourgeoisie," which is historically compelled to betray the anti-imperialist struggle even when it itself has unleashed it;

4. That they be brought to understand that only the seizure of power by the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, only the creation of a workers state, can simultaneously liberate their country from

imperialist domination and allow them to take the first steps along the road of eliminating the dire social effects of underdevelopment.

Unless these conditions are fulfilled, the anti-imperialist struggle will reach a dead-end, the anti-imperialist mass mobilizations run the risk of being drowned in blood, and the proletarians of the colonial countries will have definitely failed to break the chains that bind them, will have failed to put an end to their inhumane and unbearable poverty.

Did the Havana Conference Reflect a 'Radicalization' of the 'Nonaligned'?

By comparing the resolutions adopted at the "Nonaligned" conference in Havana with those adopted two years earlier in Colombo, Sri Lanka, one could get the impression that there had been a definite political radicalization of the governments represented.

Not only were the Camp David accords condemned with near unanimity, Sadat was completely isolated. The PLO and the Patriotic Front were recognized as "pre-states." The conference even called for the withdrawal of the troops of the Suharto dictatorship of Indonesia (another recognized participant in the "Nonaligned" movement!) from East Timor, the elimination of the American naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba, and the independence of Puerto Rico. The fall of Somoza was hailed, even by governments that had supported him almost to the very end.

But the very nature of the majority of the governments represented in Havana—not to speak of the social nature of the states and possessing classes these governments represent—should make any objective observer more than a little skeptical regarding this supposed radicalization. The United National Party (UNP) government in Sri Lanka, far from adopting a more radical anti-imperialist position, is trying its best to break the union movement in its country in order to be able to open the doors wide to superexploitation by the imperialist capitalists in the "free zones." (The way Fidel Castro referred to Julius Jayawardene, head of the UNP, as acting with "wise prudence" will hardly sit well with the workers of Sri Lanka.)

General Torrijos, far from radicalizing, capitulated before imperialism on the question of maintenance of the Panama Canal under Yankee military control.

Presidents Kuanda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania, while letting out with great anti-imperialist sloganeering, are exerting enormous pressure on the leaders of the Patriotic Front to stop the guerrilla war and work out a compromise with Salisbury under the aegis of British imperialism, meaning that the Front should collaborate in the consolidation of a neocolonialist regime in Zimbabwe. This list could be expanded without any difficulty.

Therefore, the motions adopted in Havana in no way reflect a "radicalization"

of the "Nonaligned" bourgeois governments, meaning commitment on their part to undertake more resolute anti-imperialist activity. Rather the motions reflect:

1. That the relationship of forces for imperialism has seriously deteriorated with the defeat in Indochina and the fall of the shah. The semicolonial bourgeoisie seeks to profit from this deterioration, not in order to overthrow imperialism, but to get a bigger slice of the pie.

2. That there has been a major revival of the mass movement in a whole series of semi-colonial countries. This revival is symbolized by the Ethiopian, Iranian, and Nicaraguan revolutions, and the rise of workers struggles in Brazil. But it is also seen in the broad struggles in Peru, Egypt, Tunisia, various countries in Black Africa, etc. The semicolonial bourgeoisie is obliged to adopt more radical anti-imperialist language if it is to maintain a chance of containing this thrust.

The tone taken in Havana is therefore revealing about what has already taken place and is not the product of the success of some "left wing" or "radical wing" among the governments that met there, as opposed to a supposed "conservative wing."

Many observers wanted to present the results of the conference as the success of such a "progressive wing," grouped around Cuba, over the "conservative wing," grouped around Tito. It is true that on a goodly number of controversial questions Fidel Castro adopted more radical positions (often identical to those of Soviet diplomacy).

It is also true that in the present international situation the Soviet bureaucracy can profit from the weakness of imperialism to strengthen its diplomatic ties with petty-bourgeois regimes such as those in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan, while maintaining its traditional policy of alliance with the semicolonial bourgeoisie, even under dictatorial regimes like Videla's.

Without doubt Tito adopted the more traditional positions of the "neutralist movement." Fidel Castro proclaimed that the "socialist camp" is the "natural ally" of the "Nonaligned." Tito held to his position of "equidistance with respect to the two blocs" and "rejection of any hegemonism."

But Tito is not a spokesperson of imperialism. He is the spokesperson of the bureaucracy of a small workers state, a bureaucracy that is obsessed with the threat of Soviet military intervention in the event of a political crisis in its country (the precedent of Czechoslovakia proves that this obsession is not without foundation). It reacts in an ultraopportunist way in the face of this danger, of course. But in doing so it is simply following the logic of "socialism in one country," which dominates the policy of *all* the workers states.

This does not make the Yugoslav workers state or its bureaucracy more

“reactionary” than the bourgeois states (and despotic governments like Iraq’s that shoot communists) that supported Cuba on all questions at the Havana conference. To justify such a conclusion, it would be necessary to begin to call into question whether China, North Korea, and Yugoslavia are workers states, as the Cuban and Vietnamese leaderships, moreover, are in the process of doing.

To treat the Peking regime as “fascist” can only lead to the same disastrous consequences that the theory of “Soviet social imperialism” led the Maoist leaders to.

Contradictions in Cuba's Foreign Policy

Was it, then, an error for the Castroist leadership to get involved in the “Non-aligned Movement,” to agree to hold the conference in Havana? We don’t think so.

But neither do we believe that this conference was a big defeat for imperialism. The real defeats were those inflicted upon imperialism by the Vietnamese, Ethiopian, Iranian, and Nicaraguan masses, and the Havana conference was no more than a weak and belated echo of these defeats, an echo that was, moreover, partially distorted.

In order to explain this dual conclusion we must begin with a statement that only infantile ultraleftists question: A workers state, and its government, have the full right to maneuver in the camp of the class enemy, to seek to divide it, including on the diplomatic plane. Lenin and Trotsky did this at Brest-Litovsk, at Rapallo, in the conflicts of Kemal Atatürk and the bourgeois Republic of China against imperialism. As long as the socialist revolution has not triumphed in one of the principal countries of the world, such maneuvers are *one* of the preconditions of survival for the workers state or workers states, whatever their degree of bureaucratization.

Therefore it is quite right that Fidel Castro utilize to his advantage the new rise in the colonial revolution in order to sharpen the contradictions between the semicolonial bourgeoisie and the imperialist bourgeoisie—even if only on paper.

But seeking to profit from intercapitalist contradictions is only *one* of the elements for survival of the Cuban workers state. And this element is not sufficient to permit a revolution that is on the march—like the Nicaraguan revolution—to escape from the constraints of the world market and the financial institutions of international capitalism. And that’s the rub. That’s where the contradictions of Cuban foreign policy are highlighted.

Fidel Castro is the head of a workers state that was born in an authentic workers and peasants revolution. He was not trained in the Stalinist school. He has his own doctrine, situated between Stalinism and revolutionary Marxism, which is expressed through contradictory practices. He is not an agent of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The isolation of the Cuban revolution in the Western Hemisphere following the successive defeats of Latin American revolutions (Brazil in 1964, Argentina in 1976) has placed the Cuban workers state in a situation of increasingly pronounced material dependence on the Kremlin. There can be no question but that an interaction has developed between this material dependence on the Soviet Union, its political and ideological repercussions, and the process of bureaucratization in Cuba (this article will not try to deal with how far this process has gone in Cuba).

There can also be no question but that this dependence weighs heavily on the shoulders of a portion of the Cuban leaders—and that these leaders would very much like to reduce its weight and regain a wider margin for maneuver with respect to the Kremlin.

But there are two paths toward achieving this goal, and these paths separate too much for one to be able to simultaneously follow both for very long.

The first path is to concentrate on a new extension of the revolution. This is what Castro has done so far in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and, of course, this is all to his credit. The future will tell whether he follows this path to its ultimate conclusion in Nicaragua, i.e., whether he encourages or restrains the process leading to the appearance of a second workers state in the Western Hemisphere. This will be an important test of the degree that bureaucratization has reached in Cuba.

The second path is to concentrate on an alliance with the semicolonial bourgeoisies of the region, meaning the bourgeoisies of Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Panama, and even Colombia and Ecuador, although to say the least the governments of these two countries don’t show very many “liberal” traits. Herein lies the basic meaning of the Havana Conference, which was perfectly illustrated by Fidel Castro’s speech to the UN General Assembly.

At the UN Castro spoke as the head of the Cuban workers state who had become the spokesperson of a bloc with the semicolonial bourgeoisie. Along with excellent socialist agitation, nothing was missing from the speech. There was the evoking of peaceful coexistence, the appeal to reject all “hegemonism” without any distinction of class camp (for which he had previously sharply rebuked Tito and Deng Xiaoping), the support for the austerity policy of the imperialist governments under the cover of the “fight against inflation,” the fraudulent presentation of the SALT II accords as a contribution to disarmament while the arms race is accelerating.

In addition the Castroist leadership has already put this second path into practice in Peru, Panama, and Mexico, where it is completely aligned with the policy of the local Communist Parties, and through its silence it supports the Argentine CP. The

Castroist leadership is putting forward a clear adaptation of the theory of “revolution by stages,” in counterposition to the practice of the victorious Cuban revolution. There the Cuban leadership followed the logic of permanent revolution, which Che and Fidel at least partially resurrected even on the theoretical plane at the time the revolution reached its highest point (for example Che’s famous formula that “the revolution will be socialist or it will not be”).

One might object that in Havana and New York Fidel was speaking as the head of state. Under Lenin and Trotsky the Bolsheviks themselves also made a distinction between the language of government and the language of the party and the Communist International.

This objection is not valid. First, Fidel Castro himself does not make this distinction. There is no Castroist International or Cuban CP speaking in another language than Castro’s as head of state.

Then too, neither Castro’s speeches in New York nor in Havana were aimed solely at diplomats. The speeches were disseminated in hundreds of thousands, even millions of copies throughout the world. They move the masses of the semicolonial countries much more than they move their governments. Therefore it is pure fiction to maintain that these speeches simply extend the “diplomatic maneuver.” They contribute to influencing the consciousness and ideology of millions of proletarians and poor peasants.

Finally, precisely in this regard, Lenin and Trotsky never practiced a double game. They did not say everything to the bourgeois diplomats—they’re not the ones the Bolsheviks were trying to convince of the virtues of the world revolution. But they did not tell the diplomats the opposite of what they told the masses. Since there was always the possibility that their words would be heard by these same toiling masses, or repeated to them, it was important not to lead the masses into error.

Lenin and Trotsky held to the rule that while there was no reason to reject “on principle” any maneuver or any compromise, these should raise the class consciousness of the exploited, their confidence in themselves, their determination to organize themselves and liberate themselves.

But when you characterize the tyrants, the bloodsuckers, the imperialist stooges, including the “nouveaux riches” of the “Third World” who were present at Havana, as valiant anti-imperialist fighters;²

2. Fidel Castro does not hesitate to assert: “We are firmly anti-imperialist, anticolonial, antineocolonial, antiracist, anti-Zionist and antifascist because these principles are part of our thinking; they constitute the essence and origin of the movement of Nonaligned countries and have formed its life and history ever since its founding.” By deliberately mixing up the thinking of the Cuban revolutionaries, the thinking of the toiling masses of the “Third World,” and the thinking of the governments of the “Movement

when you present the alliance with them as a necessary alliance, when you proclaim it is necessary to preserve the "unity" of the neutralist governments; and even conclude that humanity would be able to spare itself the "revolution" and "the apocalypse," if imperialism would only show itself wise and install a "new economic order"—a proposal that is identical to the one made in 1974 at the same General Assembly of the UN by Mexico's bourgeois President Luís Echeverría—when you say all this, you are sowing tremendous confusion in the minds of the workers and peasants of the semicolonial countries. You are lowering, not raising, their political class consciousness. You are, therefore, assuredly reducing rather than increasing the chances of dealing decisive blows to imperialism.

Can we avoid putting Fidel Castro's warm welcoming words to the representatives of the Spanish bourgeois state as an observer at the Havana Conference in this same category of spreading inadmissible confusion among the workers? Fidel Castro saluted the representative of the Spanish bourgeois state, with its monarchofascist repressive apparatus intact, and did not hesitate to proclaim in this context: "We also need friends in industrialized Western Europe that are not tied to the imperialist wagon." As if Spain itself were not an imperialist power, closely tied—including through military bases!—to American imperialism. As if this state, its king, its army, its possessing class, and its government were not the bitter enemies of the workers and the oppressed Basque and Catalan nationalities.

The enormous confusion sown among the toiling masses of the world regarding who their real friends and allies are and who their implacable enemies are is part of the objective balance that must be drawn up of the Havana conference.

That is why, despite appearances, the conference was in no way a severe defeat for imperialism.

The reason the representatives of the semicolonial possessing classes came to Havana was not because Castro used conciliatory language with respect to them in return for their "hard" language with regard to imperialism. Rather they came to Havana in order to use the prestige of the Cuban revolution—enhanced by Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua—with the aim of smothering the revolution in their own countries.

They tell their peoples: "Look, even

of Nonaligned Countries," he bestows, whether he wants to or not, a certificate of "antifascism" on dictators Videla, Suharto, and Marcos, and a certificate on "antiracism" on Indian Jan Sangh ministers and on Prime Minister Jayawardene of Sri Lanka, at the very moment that he is launching a racist campaign against the Tamil minority—not to speak of the anti-Kurd chauvinism of the Iranian supporters of Khomeini.

Castro recognizes our merit.³ Don't encroach on our prerogatives. Let us do it. In exchange, we offer you thunderous anti-imperialist resolutions."

At the very least this increases confusion. One will not find any such sources of confusion in the speeches of Lenin and Trotsky, including on the governmental level, including in the course of "diplomatic maneuvers."

Again the objection will be raised that it is necessary to take into account the specific conjunctural and geographic context. In the course of recent months Cuba was the target of increased imperialist maneuvers, pressures, aggressions. There was Washington's decision to maintain the economic blockade. There was the whole fuss around the so-called Soviet brigade, a pretext for strengthening the Yankee military presence in Guantánamo. There was the barely veiled threat of military intervention in the event of the presence of Cuban troops in Central America. There was the creation of a special base and intervention force in Florida to that end.

All this, obviously, is not unconnected to the progress of the Nicaraguan revolution, the fall of Somoza, and its consequences throughout Central America.

Given the clear reluctance of the Kremlin to extend its guarantee of active support to Cuba in the Western Hemisphere, not to mention its refusal to support any sort of "revolutionary adventure" in Central America, Fidel Castro turned toward the "liberal" bourgeoisies of the region (Mexico, Panama, and the "Andean Pact" countries) to try to neutralize the imperialist maneuvers.

These bourgeoisies, frightened by the risks of a generalized conflagration in the region in response to any Yankee aggression, and also subject to the growing pressure of a mass political radicalization in some of their countries, broke the diplomatic isolation that the Cuban revolution had been in.

The most dramatic expression of this turnabout was the refusal of the majority of member governments of the Organization of American States (OAS) to authorize or cover the sending of any military intervention force to Nicaragua. This refusal contributed to the victory of the Sandinista Front and to reducing the pressure on Cuba.

Without question this was a major diplomatic success for Cuba and an important

3. The Algerian workers will have some question about the justice of Fidel's reference to Houari Boumediene as "a hero of his country's liberation and revolution." While he did indeed play a positive role in the Algerian national liberation struggle, he was nonetheless the head of the counterrevolution that eliminated another "beloved friend" of Fidel, Ahmed Ben Bella.

setback for Washington—a success and a setback that in the last analysis are the byproducts of the revolutionary rise in the region.

The Cuban leadership conceived of the Havana conference as the extension of this success. From this angle and in this sense the conference too was a diplomatic success for Castro.

But in longer range terms, the effective defense of the Cuban workers state is not a function of the good will of the so-called liberal Latin-American bourgeoisie, of its fear of or its pressure-plays on imperialism.

The defense of the Cuban workers state depends on the extension and the new triumphs of the Latin American revolution. Any policy of alliances with the "national" bourgeoisie, of alignment around the Latin American CPs' strategic orientation of "revolution by stages," condemns this revolution to new and bloody defeats. Far from serving the cause of defense of the Cuban state, in the long run such a policy undermines its defense, whatever the short-term successes might be.

For that reason, telling the unvarnished truth about the bourgeois governments that met in Havana and their real role in the world is not simply an elementary requirement from the standpoint of defense of the interests of the toiling masses of the "Third World." It is also an elementary requirement from the standpoint of defense of the Cuban workers state itself.

October 20, 1979

Torture in Paraguay

Since taking power in a 1954 coup, Paraguay's dictator Gen. Alfredo Stroessner has ruled that country with an iron hand. Some of his methods were recently outlined by Amnesty International, the human rights organization, which has just adopted thirty-four "prisoners of conscience" in that country.

During the 1975-1976 campaign to break up the small Paraguayan Communist Party, Amnesty International reports, the Stroessner regime made a practice of arresting family members of CP activists. Among those seized were old men, pregnant women, and children under six years of age. They were systematically beaten and kicked, given electric shocks, and submerged in dirty, excrement-filled water until they nearly drowned.

Amnesty International also revealed the circumstances of the death of Miguel Angel Soler, general secretary of the CP. Following his arrest on November 30, 1975, he was beaten with rubber hoses and iron bars for four hours. While the police were kicking him in the chest he suffered a fatal heart-attack. His torturers then left the room and reported his suicide.

For a Return to Genuine Marxism in China!

By Wang Xizhe

[The author of this article, Wang Xizhe, was a member of the "Li Yizhe" dissident group. He and two others were released from prison in December 1978. (See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, March 26, 1979, p. 301.) Since the group split up after their release, Wang has continued to speak out and write in his own name. He is probably the best-known dissident activist in the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou (Canton).

[This article, which Wang describes as "a sequel" to the 1974 wall poster that got him jailed, reflects the deepening political discussion going on within an important current of Chinese dissidents today. Seeking to refute the caricature of Marxism presented by the bureaucracy's "theoreticians," these young activists have gone back to the Marxist classics in order to analyze the problems their country faces. While for the most part avoiding the kind of open attacks on Chinese leaders that have led to repression against other dissident groups, they have nonetheless managed to carry on a public discussion of some very important ideas.

[In an attempt to reach a wider audience, Wang originally submitted the text of this article for publication to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, which puts out a series of scholarly magazines. The article later appeared in the July issue of the Guangzhou dissident monthly *Renmin zhi Sheng* (Voice of the People). It was reprinted in the September issue of the leftist Hong Kong magazine *The Seventies*, from which we have taken the text. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

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The latest media fad in our country is a kind of "worship" of the Gang of Four. It appears to people as if the Gang of Four were almost gods, with vast magical powers. They were capable of moving heaven and earth—they could make China change colors if they wanted to. Naturally, then, all the disasters that hit China during the last decade or so must have been their doing. If only they hadn't been here, we wouldn't have suffered so. . . .

Things have even reached the point where Comrades Wan Bin and Liu Yucheng were obliged to stoop to this sort of worship, contrary to their own beliefs. In their essay "Some Tentative Remarks on the Source of Problems in Democratic Life"—an essay we consider to be quite

well written—they wrote that Lin Biao and the Gang of Four created feudal fascism in China.¹

Marx once commented:

The Young Hegelians are in agreement with the Old Hegelians in their belief in the rule of religion, of concepts, of an abstract general principle in the existing world. Only, the one party attacks this domination as usurpation, while the other extols it as legitimate.²

Today, a lot of our commentators would agree on one point of faith concerning the Gang of Four: namely, that a handful of people in leading roles managed to transform the character of our country overnight. (Whether they were heroes or criminals, though, depends on whom you ask.) As these commentators see it, it was not a certain set of social relations that created the Gang of Four, but rather the Gang of Four who created a certain type of social relations.

This is a new brand of superstition, a new religion!

People may worship benevolent gods out of love for them, or they may worship evil gods out of fear and loathing. But in either case this shows that people feel baffled and powerless in the face of seemingly supernatural alien forces.

In a society where people are no longer dominated by the products of their own creation which seem like alien forces—in other words, in a society where people are able to fully control their own destiny—it would be totally impossible for superstition to take root. And conversely, if such a ridiculous superstition as this "Gang of Four worship" is still in vogue among our commentators today, doesn't that very fact prove that the Chinese people don't yet really, fully control their own destiny?

The purpose of this article, then is to briefly examine the social relations that have given rise to such superstition, and also the necessary social conditions for eliminating it.

The Division of Labor

One of the most basic facts of life today is that people are still bound by a division of labor in the system of social production.

1. This essay was published in the Chinese magazine *Zhexue Yanjiu* (Philosophical Studies) No. 2 in 1979. It surveys the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat.—IP/I

2. Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York 1978, p. 41.

Members of the Mahengchang Model Production Brigade may engage in a certain amount of volunteer activities, but if they start spending too much time at it society will insist (through the press) that they return to their places of production. In the same way, leading cadres may participate directly in production, but if they work too much they can actually be disciplined and forced to return to their supervisory posts.

Socialism, after all, represents the elimination of classes. But the precondition for doing away with classes is abolishing the division of labor. (We understand this can only be abolition of the old type of division of labor.)

As Engels put it:

So long as the total social labour only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labour engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bound slaves to labour, arises a class freed from directly productive labour, which looks after the general affairs of society: the direction of labour, State business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labour that lies at the basis of the division into classes.³

But to make it possible to abolish the old division of labor requires the full development of the social forces of production under conditions of public ownership, along with the rise of a whole generation of human productive talent.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels depicted the productive forces they saw around them as colossal already—and they were talking of course about steam-powered industry. In their view, the existing forces of production—symbolized by the steam engine—already made it possible for people to construct a social system in which "such an abundance of goods will be produced that society will be able to satisfy the needs of all its members . . . [and] in this way make it possible for its members to put their comprehensively developed faculties to full use."⁴ This would provide the basis for abolishing the division of labor, and thus eliminating classes.

3. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1972, p. 60.

4. Engels, *Principles of Communism*, Samasama Prakashan, Bombay, 1969, p. 17.

Marx and Engels even believed that the productive forces in the nineteenth century had already grown to the point where they could no longer be contained within capitalist relations of production. They stated flatly that it was possible for the capitalist mode of production to die out in that century (consistent with the principle that no social order can perish unless and until it has brought into play all the productive forces it is capable of containing). Given that steam-powered industry represented the most advanced productive forces compatible with the capitalist mode of production, and that the steam engine had already been fully developed, therefore, they reasoned, capitalism ought to perish.

Half a century later in 1895, Engels, recognizing that this had not been the case, wrote:

History has proved us, and all who thought like us, wrong. It has made clear that the state of economic development on the [European] Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the elimination of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolutions. . . .

After listing the economic transformations that had occurred in the economies of various European countries during that half century, Engels noted that these had occurred "all on a capitalist basis, which in the year 1848, therefore, still had great capacity for expansion."⁵ (Note that 1848 was the year in which Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* had proclaimed the imminent doom of the capitalist mode of production!)

Based on this understanding, Engels wrote that in France, although the workers had been "conscious . . . of the fatal antagonism existing between their own class and the bourgeoisie, still, neither the economic progress of the country nor the intellectual development of the mass of French workers had as yet reached the stage which would have made a social reconstruction possible."⁶

What conclusion should be drawn from this? That the proletariat should sit back and wait until capitalism has fully developed all the productive forces it is capable of containing, and only then organize a revolution? Certainly not. The gradualism of the Second International was denounced by Lenin, who boldly led the October Revolution. Lenin understood that it was possible for the proletariat to seize power, and to carry out the tasks of capitalist development under its own leadership, thereby creating the material preconditions for socialism.

Socialism, however, is not just a matter of one country; socialism is a worldwide

system. The material preconditions for socialism include not only highly developed productive forces, but also the world market created by capitalism, the essentially interdependent, worldwide association of humankind that Marx spoke of. Engels stated flatly that socialism could not triumph in a single country, but on the



Billboard roasts deposed "Gang of Four." Since Mao Zedong's death, new regime has claimed that all the country's problems were caused by these four individuals. Wang Xizhe ridicules such claims, calling them the "new superstition."

contrary had to be considered above all from the standpoint of the world market.⁷

Once the proletariat has seized power and gradually taken control of the means of production in a single economically backward country, one which occupies a subordinate position in the world market, it then has to choose between two possible courses. It can pursue a policy of isolation and self-sufficiency, promoting the growth of its own natural economy—thus pushing the country backward toward a form of "socialism" with feudal features (one which will sooner or later collapse). Or else it can pursue an open-door policy, entering the world market and achieving progress through association with all the nations of the world.

In the latter case, under conditions where the capitalist productive forces of the most advanced nations are in the dominant position internationally, production will inevitably retain some features of the capitalist mode of production. Marx wrote that the dominant mode of production is like a great, colored light, that causes all objects of whatever color to appear the same color as it. It is fundamentally for this reason that socialism in the scientific sense cannot be achieved in a single, isolated country.

But in view of this, what we are talking about is really a capitalist mode of production based on a system of public ownership in a single country—that is, a capitalist mode of production without capitalists. (And the state set up on that economic foundation is a sort of bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie.)

In this mode of production, the proletariat as a whole becomes in one sense its own employer, and in another sense its own employee. It is engaged in commodity production, and although on the domestic market it may be able to gear production along generally socialist lines, according to a plan more or less, nevertheless in view of the expanding and deepening links between its own commodities and the capitalist world market, this really amounts to nothing more than a special form of the capitalist mode of production. It still has to follow many of the basic rules of capitalist production. This becomes increasingly apparent as the relative weight of its commodities on the capitalist world market increases.

In his discussion of worker-owned cooperative factories within the framework of the capitalist mode of production, Marx wrote:

The cooperative factories of the laborers themselves represent within the old form the first beginnings of the new. . . . The antagonism between capital and labor is overcome within them, although only in the form of making the associated laborers their own capitalists, that is, enabling them to use the means of production for the employment of their own labor.⁸

5. Engels, Introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 12.

6. Engels, "Preface to the 1893 Italian Edition," in *The Communist Manifesto*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 37.

7. See Engels, *Principles of Communism*, Section 19.

8. Marx, *Capital*, International Publishers, New York, 1967, Vol. 3, Chapter 27, p. 440.

Marx recognized such workers' cooperative factories as a form of "positive elimination" of the capitalist mode of production.

Don't Russia since the October Revolution, and China since the victory in 1949, simply represent this form of elimination of the capitalist mode of production, on a huge scale? Viewed on a world scale, these "socialist countries" are merely enlarged forms of workers' cooperative factories, which have arisen within the capitalist mode of production prevailing internationally.

This is the point of departure for considering all the theoretical problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What is it in these huge workers' cooperative factories (or "socialist countries") that determines their character? It can only be the following factors.

First of all, those who manage the cooperative as representatives of the working-class collective must be democratically selected by the working class as a whole, and subject to dismissal at any time. They cannot act like masters of the working class—on the contrary they must be totally responsible to the working class.

Secondly, the wages these managers get must be the same as, or just a bit more than, those of a skilled worker.

And thirdly, the hard-and-fast division of labor between managers and workers must be eliminated, making it possible for all workers to carry out managerial and supervisory functions.

This is what we can call the lower stage of the socialist mode of production within a single country (although in fact it is merely working-class management within a special form of the capitalist mode of

production). In political terms we call it the class dictatorship of the proletariat.

But this "workers' cooperative factory," due to its enormous scale (taking the form of a country), also entails new kinds of problems. Since, as we have indicated, the degree of development of the productive forces does not yet provide the necessary material basis for eliminating the division of labor, and since the cultural level and managerial capabilities of the proletariat as a whole are still limited, it is necessary to entrust the tasks of management to the most advanced layer of the proletariat (organized in the Communist Party).

Lenin put it this way:

The result of this low cultural level is that the Soviets, which by virtue of their programme are organs of government *by the working people*, are in fact organs of government *for the working people* by the advanced section of the proletariat, but not by the working people as a whole.⁹

But as Lenin noted, such a division of labor involves enormous potential dangers, since it "is reducing the significance of Soviet power and reviving bureaucracy."¹⁰

The great majority of the working masses do not participate in management. And since "the exercise of a social function [is] everywhere the basis of political supre-

9. Lenin, "Report on the Party Program" [at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), March 19, 1919], *Collected Works* Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 183. Emphasis in the original.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

macy,"¹¹ they therefore do not participate in the dictatorship.

What can be done about this? If, indeed, the dictatorship of the advanced section of the proletariat is an unavoidable economic and political stage in the development of such a "bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie," then all we can do is to recognize and understand that fact. What we must examine, however, are the two possible courses of development of the dictatorship of the advanced section of the proletariat—the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Two Possible Courses

Clearly, once the dictatorship of the Communist Party has been established, it can go one of two ways.

One possibility is that the development of the social forces of production, and the rising cultural level and managerial capabilities of the big majority of the working masses, will be accompanied by a gradual transition from the dictatorship of the party to the organization of the proletariat as a whole, and eventually to the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹²

On the other hand, it is also possible for the dictatorship of the Communist Party to gradually break loose from control by society, and turn into a domineering force over society. What starts out as the advanced section of the proletariat (and in particular its leading organization) can become estranged from and turn against the proletariat. What starts out as the dictatorship of the advanced layer can change into a dictatorship of the "CP bureaucrats" who cloak themselves in the banner of the Communist Party.¹³

Engels, in analyzing how the social division of labor leads to the formation of classes, described clearly "how this independence of social functions in relation to society increased with time until it developed into domination over society: how he who was originally the servant, where conditions were favourable, changed gradually into the lord. . . ."¹⁴

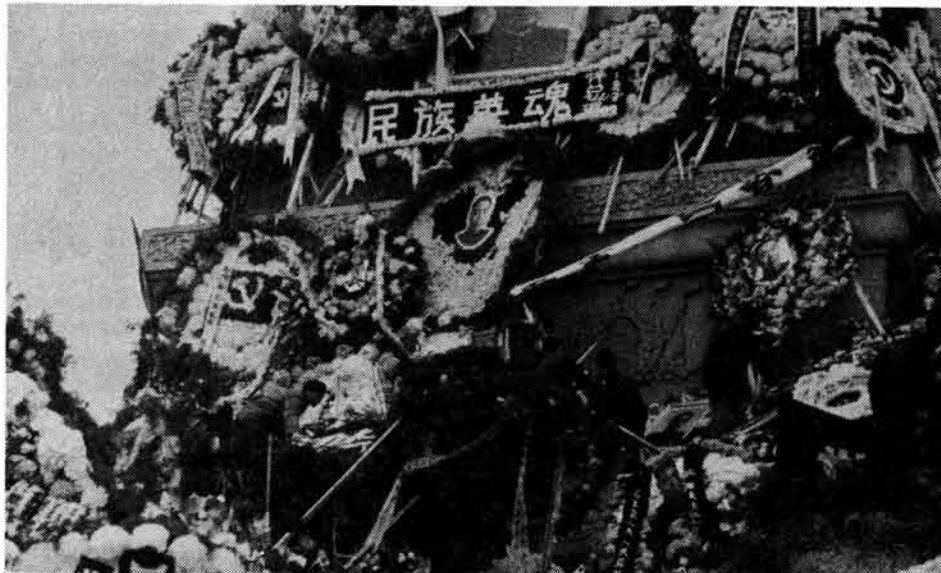
Comrade Mao Zedong was also quite concerned about the possibility of this happening once the dictatorship of the Communist Party had come into being. He warned us to beware of the formation of new aristocratic social layers, and he put

11. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, International Publishers, New York, 1972, p. 198.

12. The author notes that "this point has been elaborated quite well by Comrade Yu Guanyuan, to whom we are indebted." The article by Yu, comparing the writings of Lenin and Stalin on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Communist Party, appeared in the magazine *Baiken Zhishi* (Encyclopedic Knowledge), No. 1 in 1979.—IP/1

13. See Lenin's "Letter to G.Y. Sokolnikov" [February 22, 1922], *Collected Works* Vol. 35, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 549.

14. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 198.



Wreaths and poems placed in Tiananmen Square in honor of former premier Zhou Enlai. When Peking authorities removed thousands of wreaths from the square in April 1976, it provoked a series of angry demonstrations.



Part of Tiananmen Square demonstration of April 5, 1976.

forward the concept of a "bureaucratic class."

Still it must be recognized that on the theoretical level Comrade Mao Zedong had not completely freed himself from the influence of the heroic view of history. He did not apply Lenin's concept of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat through a transition from the dictatorship of the party to the organization of the proletariat as a whole.

Quite the contrary—even though Mao saw the danger of bureaucratization of the Communist Party once it took power, he nevertheless pinned his hopes for permanently maintaining a healthy party and state on the ideological quality of a few leading individuals. He considered the fate of the party and the state to depend on whether or not the top leadership was in the hands of "true Marxists."

This is in contrast to Lenin's view that the fate of the party and the state hinged on whether or not leadership was really in the hands of the entire proletariat as a class.

This theoretical error by Comrade Mao Zedong inevitably caused the dictatorship of the party to degenerate into a dictatorship of individual leaders. The leaders thus broke loose from control by the party and the people. They became veritable gods who could decide the fate of the people, sacred idols who lorded it over society, not tolerating the slightest irreverence.

It was the new religion fostered by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four that provided the subjective conditions for this to happen.

But what should we do, then, in order to set ourselves on the road from the dictatorship of the party to the organization of the proletariat as a whole, and finally to the dictatorship of the proletariat? What are the characteristics of the class dictatorship of the proletariat, anyway?

As Comrade Yu Guangyuan explained quite well, we can get some clues on this by looking at socialist Yugoslavia.

Let's take a look, then, at the theory and practice of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Experience

The Yugoslav comrades are fully aware of the danger of bureaucratization under the dictatorship of the Communist Party. They understand correctly Lenin's warning about "restoration of bureaucracy." They don't think that Marx and Lenin's warnings about the danger of bureaucratism can be reduced "only to the danger from distinctive characteristics of men employed in officialdom, that is, inefficiency, slowness, mercilessness, and inhuman behavior of the administrative machine."¹⁵ Rather, they view this sort of

15. Edvard Kardelj, *The Practice of Socialist Democracy in Yugoslavia*, Yugoslav Information Center, New York, undated, p. 3.

bureaucratism as a socioeconomic phenomenon.

This phenomenon occurs in a single socialist country (which we view as a tremendous workers' cooperative factory within the worldwide capitalist mode of production) when the producers are not yet really united with the means of production, and hence the means of production continue to act as an alien, opposing force to the producers. The party and the state are supposed to manage the means of production as representatives of the producers, but as Comrade Kardelj noted, "as soon as this representative becomes independent in the management of the means of production, he ceases to be the real representative of the working masses and becomes the master over them."¹⁶

The Yugoslav comrades don't deny the historic necessity for the party and the state to manage the means of production as representatives of the working masses during a certain stage following the victory of the revolution, in a situation where the cultural level of the working masses is still low. They consider it necessary, though, to root out any danger of the party and the state turning into rulers over the people, new masters of society.

From this flows the need to proceed gradually but resolutely along the road indicated by Marx and Lenin, of uniting the associated producers with the means of production, to accomplish what Lenin posed as "transformation of the political power of working people's representatives into political power of the working people."

On this theoretical foundation, the Yugoslav comrades have implemented three significant norms in practice:

1. Workers management in the economic sphere;
2. Workers self-government in the political sphere; and
3. A leading role for Communist Party members which consists not of direct administration of the society, but rather the strengthening of political ideology.

Workers management in the economic sphere realizes in practice the ideal explained by Marx and Engels that "all . . . branches of production are operated by society as a whole . . . and with the participation of all members of society."¹⁷

Workers self-government in the political sphere assures that proletarian democracy is truly the most direct democracy. And as in all socialist countries the comrades in Yugoslavia will tell you that socialist democracy is superior to even the most thoroughgoing Western-style democracy.

But on this point the Yugoslav comrades don't stop at general propaganda.

16. Edvard Kardelj, "Report to the People's Assembly on the New Constitution," *New Fundamental Law of Yugoslavia*, Union of Jurists' Associations, Belgrade, 1953, p. 19.

17. Engels, *Principles of Communism*, p. 12.

Nor do they use empty propaganda to intimidate the common people who voice demands for democracy. On the contrary, they have proceeded in a realistic way to create a firm economic and organizational basis for this kind of democracy.

Socialist democracy is not something that can be bestowed on society artificially by passing some kind of law; it can only arise organically out of certain new economic relations, on a new economic foundation. It is nothing other than the political form that naturally corresponds to those new economic relations. Here we see an embryonic form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat, for in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat is merely the political expression of the organization of the entire proletariat to manage production directly.

A system of this type, in which members of the Communist Party do not take direct administrative leadership of society, but merely lead in strengthening political ideology, has prevented the bureaucratization of the party by getting to the root of the danger. It has firmed up the links between the party and the popular masses, really preserved the character of the proletarian vanguard, and consolidated the fundamental power of the popular masses as a whole.

This is the basic theory and the practical experience of Yugoslavia.

Here we must quote briefly from a report given by Comrade Su Shaozhi after a visit to Yugoslavia. He reported that he, Li Yimin, and other comrades who had been there agreed that "while in the thirty-two years since Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform¹⁸ there have been all kinds of polemics, still it is difficult to gauge the truth from such documents. Practice, after all, is the sole criterion of truth. One look at Yugoslavia, though, shows that they have definitely prospered, and their future is extremely bright."

Well then, in emancipating our thinking, shouldn't we investigate for ourselves different forms of socialism and roads of socialist development? And shouldn't we learn a bit from the Yugoslav comrades? Remember how they stood up to Stalin and emancipated their thinking!

Danger of Bureaucratization in China

If we can say that the social division of labor necessitated by economic and cultural backwardness constitutes the objective condition for the danger of bureaucratiza-

tion under the dictatorship of a Communist Party in general and in our country in particular, it follows that there are also subjective conditions involved. Comrades Wan Bin and Liu Yucheng have analyzed this point quite well. As they put it:

The real source of the problem is that we lack a conscious understanding of the following point. The teachings of Marxism-Leninism stipulate that the proletarian state is in essence a state that has already begun to 'wither away' (in the sense that power in society lies increasingly with the people themselves), and the Marxist-Leninist program calls for the complete liquidation of the old system of government functionaries. The proletarian state is still an instrument of class rule. Yet at the same time it is no longer a state in the old sense, but rather an organ of advanced democracy. In our country, however, these two aspects of the proletarian state have become divorced from each other theoretically and in practice, with emphasis on the former and disregard for the latter. As a result of this the party and state organs in our country have deviated to an extent from the teachings of Marxism on the proletarian state.¹⁹

These are the subjective conditions underlying the danger of bureaucratization of the party.

In an effort to block its own tendency toward bureaucratization, the party is constantly carrying out purges aimed at cleansing itself and ensuring its proletarian purity. This shows the loyalty of the party to the people.

However, from a historical point of view, primary factors are ultimately decisive over secondary ones, no matter how much secondary factors may at times react upon and influence the primary ones. Material factors are ultimately decisive over ideas. This is a fact that can in no way be altered by anyone's subjective intentions.

If the *material roots* of the danger of bureaucratization of the party lie in the special capitalist mode of production that prevails in the so-called initial stage of socialism, then how can those who represent the relations of production in an independent capacity, and who constantly increase their independence in the course of production, possibly eliminate through purges their own tendency to become estranged from the proletariat? How can they possibly eliminate the danger of bureaucratization in any fundamental sense?

Isn't our society always calling on party cadres not to seek privileges for themselves? Aren't we constantly demanding that cadres never forget they are "public servants"? But if in their social existence cadres see no material reason to act as servants of society, how can we expect them, in their consciousness, to remember that they are "public servants"?

Now let's turn from the realm of theory to reality.

19. Wan Bin and Liu Yucheng, "Some Tentative Remarks on the Source of Problems in Democratic Life," *Zhexue Yanjiu*, No. 2 in 1979.

The Tiananmen incident²⁰ gave us a glimpse of how far the party had escaped from control by the people and become a domineering force over society as a whole.

Remember all those tens of thousands of poems at the Tiananmen demonstration? Those were ballots. That demonstration was a spontaneous opinion poll, a real referendum. There, in the form of their poems, the people voted for public servants they could trust—cadres like Zhou Enlai—and at the same time sought to unseat the local despots they were saddled with. It was a courageous attempt by the people to regain control over a party and a state that had become increasingly alien to them.

In the end, however, the people found that this thing they had created had already turned into its opposite, and started to become a force ruling over them. The party suppressed the Tiananmen demonstration, and thereby proved that all the necessary social, material, and subjective conditions for such a suppression to be carried out had already matured.

Thus it was not all some accidental result of a seizure of power by the Gang of Four. It was nothing other than a public revelation and confirmation—in the form of a large-scale, open clash—of the estrangement of the party from the people!

Most importantly, however, this public revelation led to a positive result—it shocked broad layers of the people, as well as quite a few genuine Marxists within the party. It left them with a burning feeling that such a thing must never be allowed to happen again, and that something had to be done to save the party!

Later on came the victory of October [1976], when the genuine Marxists within the party, representing the will of the people, totally smashed the Gang of Four. (In legal terms, they "removed" the Gang of Four from their posts.) In the final analysis, though, this resulted not from the people's direct exercise of their right to remove officials, but rather from the genuine Marxists in the party exercising *their* right to remove them.

The victory of October thus represented not the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but merely a victory for the dictatorship of the advanced section of the proletariat—the dictatorship of the Communist Party (exercising dictatorship against the antipopular, reactionary forces within the party).

20. On April 5, 1976, as many as 100,000 demonstrators battled police in Tiananmen (Tien An Men) Square in the heart of Peking, after the authorities had removed thousands of wreaths and poems placed in the square in memory of the late Vice-Premier Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai). Zhou and the wing of the CP led by him were seen as the exponents of economic modernization.

For an account of the Tiananmen incident see *Intercontinental Press*, September 27, 1976, p. 1355.—IP/I

And as a result, even though the people were pleased and inspired by the victory of October, it nevertheless resulted in two different kinds of demands being raised.

Some of the masses felt dissatisfied because they still lacked the material and subjective means to remove the Gang of Four directly, and so they raised democratic demands that went a step further in that direction.

But on the other hand, some of the masses merely seemed to discover once more the need for a "savior." These people would go around saying, "Let's hope Uncle Deng lives to a ripe old age!" Some even offered prayers.

While this was an indication of the people's love for the genuine Marxists within the party, still in the final analysis it showed how little people feel they can actually control their own destiny!

We can also look at the danger of bureaucratization from another angle.

Wang Xiaoping, the main figure in the Wang Xiaoping corruption case, stated after his trial, "This is a political frame-up! They're victimizing me in order to get at my father!"

What does this remark reveal? It indicates that intraparty struggles are regarded as fights over the redistribution of property within the party. This way of thinking is apparently quite universal among rank-and-file cadres and their children today. If it weren't, how could Wang Xiaoping ever have hoped to obtain such tremendous sympathy from cadres and their children?

The present bureaucratic cadre system, based on hierarchical authority, has already caused all but a few party cadres to practically ignore the four modernizations²¹ except when it comes to fighting for wealth and power for themselves, or doing their damndest to hold onto their official salaries.

The problem of cadre reassignment has already become a major brake on the four modernizations, and the voices of people demanding reform of the bureaucratic cadre system are growing stronger and stronger. An efficient cadre system—one that doesn't recognize any kind of privileged status—is essential if we are to achieve the four modernizations. Doesn't the continuing existence and expansion of the bureaucratic cadre system despite the crying need for reform pose a serious threat to our great national task?

Even since the Third Plenum of the

21. The policy of "four modernizations" (modernizing China's industry, agriculture, science and technology, and military) was proposed by Zhou Enlai in a speech to the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975. This policy was denounced by the Mao regime after Zhou's death, but has been revived by the current leadership of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, which pledges to accomplish the four modernizations, thus making China into a modern developed country, by the year 2000.—IP/I

Central Committee [in December 1978] we have often spoken of the problem of rigid, ossified thinking on the part of many people in the party. These people neither think for themselves, nor do they allow others to think.

But shouldn't this sort of ossified thinking be explained in terms of these people's ossified social existence? Isn't it precisely the ossification of their social existence that leads to such an inflexible way of thinking? Their social position, after all, is nothing but a stagnant, utterly lifeless, bureaucratic existence.

Could a capitalist, who goes rushing all over the world in pursuit of profits and out of fear of competition, suffer from such ossified thinking? Could a scientist, who dares to challenge old, accepted theories despite opposition from all sides, possibly sink into such a rigid way of thinking?

Cadres whose thinking has hardened into "whatever-ism"²² are nothing other than the intellectual representatives of the forces of bureaucratic decadence within the party. They are the biggest source of inertia obstructing the progress of Chinese society today.

Haven't they simply switched from an approach of "clinging forever to the line once set" over to "whatever-ism"? Aren't they the ones who, when confronted by the genuine Marxists in the party and by the masses' rising outcry for reform always try to reassert and defend their own special interests by crying about the threat from those who seek to "cut down the banner" [of Maoism]? If these people are so fond of "the banner," why wasn't there even a peep out of them when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were busy "cutting down the banner"?

Of course, all this is only one side of the question. We can be optimistic about the party in our country. Within the party a conscious Marxist outlook predominates, or ultimately will predominate. One proof of this is the party's resolute action in smashing the tendency to "cling forever to the line once set," criticizing "whatever-ism," and upholding the banner of consist-

22. Since 1978 the Chinese press has carried on a campaign of criticism against government functionaries ("cadres") who obtained their posts under the Mao regime and now resist the implementation of new policies. The term "whatever-ism" has been coined to ridicule those who insist that whatever Mao said must be right, despite what the facts may suggest. Other stubborn bureaucrats have been denounced for "clinging forever to the line once set."

Mao Zedong's ideas have also been disavowed, although this is handled more delicately than the criticism of Mao's underlings. The press has featured a discussion of philosophical principles, in which Deng Xiaoping is presented as a champion of the concept that "practice is the sole criterion of truth." In a country where for years Mao's writings were treated as scripture, the political implications of this phrase are unmistakable.—IP/I

ent materialism, the concept that practice is the sole criterion of truth.

The party is determined to eliminate the danger of its own bureaucratization, to follow the principled course that Marx and Lenin indicated in their writings on the Paris Commune, and thus to advance from the dictatorship of the party to the organized dictatorship of the proletariat as a whole. Haven't the efforts of leading party ideologists in the realm of philosophy already demonstrated this?

For Class Dictatorship of Proletariat

In seeking to realize the class dictatorship of the proletariat, the biggest ideological stumbling block facing us is the conception of the leading role of the Communist Party.

This is a question that never became a problem for Marx in his time. Marx never envisioned the possibility that a socialist revolution might take place in a single, economically and culturally backward country where people were not yet capable of running the country themselves. For this reason, Marx never even imagined that within such a "workers state" the Communist Party might take on a directly administrative leadership role, and start lording it over society.²³

In Marx and Engels' blueprint for the society of the future, all the social relations in such a "workers state" were to be an extension of the relations of production within a workers' cooperative factory.²⁴ The new economic relations among citizens would determine the selection of administrators of the new society, who could only come from the ranks of self-governing communes. And, of course, those administrators would only be responsible to the people who elected them, never to any sort of special power ruling over society.

The question of the party's role only became a problem in Lenin's time. The problem was taken up by Lenin, who taught us that a workers state erected on a backward economic and cultural foundation, as in Russia, would for a time have to let the advanced section of the proletariat exercise administrative and political control on behalf of the proletariat. Therefore, under the conditions prevailing at that time, Lenin proposed that no state agency not yet under party direction be allowed to resolve any major political or organizational question.

Stalin not only carried out this directive of Lenin's, he made it into an absolute rule. From that time on, the exercise of direct, administrative leadership over society as a whole by the Communist Party came to be seen as the absolute, irrevoca-

23. Marx, "The Conspectus of Bakunin's Book *State and Anarchy*," in *Marx, Engels, and Lenin on Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 148.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

ble, one-and-only form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a socialist country. In the early 1950s, when the Yugoslav comrades raised some disagreements, they were immediately declared heretics and excommunicated.

But the experience and the lessons of the past sixty years teach us that this sort of theory, which views the exercise of direct administrative leadership over society as the one-and-only form of the party's leading role, is extremely harmful in practice. It is also inconsistent with Lenin's original intention, since the task that Lenin posed was precisely to "transform political power of working people's representatives into political power of the working people."

In fact, if all major political and organizational questions have to be settled by directives from the central party leadership, this would mean that when it came to dealing with public officials like the Gang of Four, the people would be totally powerless to do anything other than quietly await instructions from the party tops. Doesn't the bureaucratization of the Soviet Communist Party—and the danger of bureaucratization of the Chinese Communist Party—testify to this?

Our tasks then, are to transform the dictatorship of the party into the organized dictatorship of the proletariat as a whole, to transform the party's role from one of direct administrative leadership of society into one of strong political and ideological leadership in the context of self-government in society as a whole, based on self-governing communes. (Lenin considered this kind of self-government to be the prerequisite for democratic centralism.)

But do conditions today make it possible to pose the gradual accomplishment of these tasks?

Marx once said that humanity always poses only such tasks as it is capable of solving. This is so because the tasks themselves can be discovered and thought out only once the material conditions for accomplishing them already exist or at least are in the process of being formed.

In our opinion, the Tiananmen incident was one example that pointed up the material conditions which enable us to pose these tasks today.

In explaining the historical reasons why the proletarian dictatorship in its initial stage had to temporarily allow the advanced section of the proletariat to exercise dictatorship on behalf of the whole class, Lenin wrote:

... so far we have not reached the stage at which the working people could participate in government. Apart from the law, there is still the level of culture, which you cannot subject to any law.²⁵

But the striking thing about the "April 5

Movement"²⁶—and something that distinguishes it from the "May 4 Movement"—is the fact that the vanguard and most of the activists in the Tiananmen demonstration were young workers. Isn't this a reflection of the fact that a massive, cultured, and socialist-minded industrial work force has grown up over the past generation?

During those dark days for the proletarian cause, in that time of crisis when politicians and theorists trembled with fear, silent as crickets on a cold night, wasn't it the young workers who boldly stepped forward, who defended the interests of the people and in so doing demonstrated their own ability to run this society?

Especially noteworthy was the fact that through the Tiananmen incident the people, acting as the makers of history and by their own creativity, revealed the secret: administrative leadership by the party is not the only form the party's leading role can take! Didn't the demonstrators at Tiananmen come out under their own leadership, thanks to the exemplary action of a self-sacrificing vanguard of party members, as well as to the years of political and ideological education by the party? In its April 5 editorial this year, *People's Daily* summed it up quite well:

The participants in the movement had been educated by the party for many years and many of the activists were party members or cadres, youth league members or outstanding young people, and quite a number of party organizations supported or organized the mass struggles. This means that, without party leadership, the April 5 Movement would not have produced such immense impact. Party leadership was embodied mainly in the correctness of its line, principles and policies and in the exemplary role played by party members.²⁷

This is truly an important theoretical conquest!

What does this show? It shows that even when the party refrains from administrative leadership the people can still make earthshaking accomplishments under correct ideological leadership from the party.

But what about the comrades who participated in suppressing the April 5 Movement? What about those infamous hatchet men of Tiananmen Square? Hadn't they also "been educated by the party for many years?" Weren't many of their ringleaders party members? The Tiananmen incident also shows what horrendous crimes people

can commit under certain conditions (such as interference by the likes of the Gang of Four) by ignoring their consciences and blindly obeying the administrative leadership of the party.

It should also be pointed out that changes in the form of the party's leading role will not come about as the result of some discovery by theoreticians. On the contrary, they will come as the inevitable result of specific changes that are indispensable for development of the productive forces in our country. Consequently in the final analysis they cannot be subordinated to any kind of sentimental, traditional, or administrative considerations—any more than a young man who has become economically independent can be stopped from telling his parents to quit trying to run his life the way they did when he was a child.

Naturally, we don't think that the tasks of the class dictatorship of the proletariat can be posed all at once and accomplished immediately. On the contrary, they will have to be carried out gradually. The system of economic management established by the Anshan Constitution²⁸ and known as "workers' participation in management" (the corresponding political term would be "workers' participation in the dictatorship") must be transformed into direct, democratic management by the workers. The class dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realized on the firmest of material foundations, under conditions of direct, democratic control of the means of production by the workers. This is what the Paris Commune sought to accomplish, and it is still the goal that every socialist loyal to the class dictatorship of the proletariat should strive for.

We have often discussed questions of democracy and the legal system. But the ideal of democracy and a legal system can be transformed from a utopia into reality only in the context of social relations based on self-governing communes.

The class dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realized in a situation where the associated workers are directly united with the means of production. Only then will the people really be able to control their own destiny. Only then will the whole web of mysterious social relations that once seemed to envelop them and dominate their lives be smashed. They will know that they have finally become true human beings, and they'll look on all forms of superstition and worship—including worship of the Gang of Four—as long-gone relics of their ignorant past. □

26. The Tiananmen demonstration of April 5, 1976 is often referred to as the "April 5 Movement." Since the twelve months of the Western calendar are represented by numerals in Chinese, this reference to the "4/5 Movement" calls to mind the "5/4 Movement," which was the wave of mass protests against Japanese colonialism touched off by students in Peking on May 4, 1919.—*IP/1*

27. English text released by Xinhua News Agency, April 6, 1979.

28. The Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, said to have been written by Mao Zedong in 1960, and publicized as a guide for the operation of all industrial enterprises in China.—*IP/1*

25. Lenin, "Report on the Party Program," p. 183.