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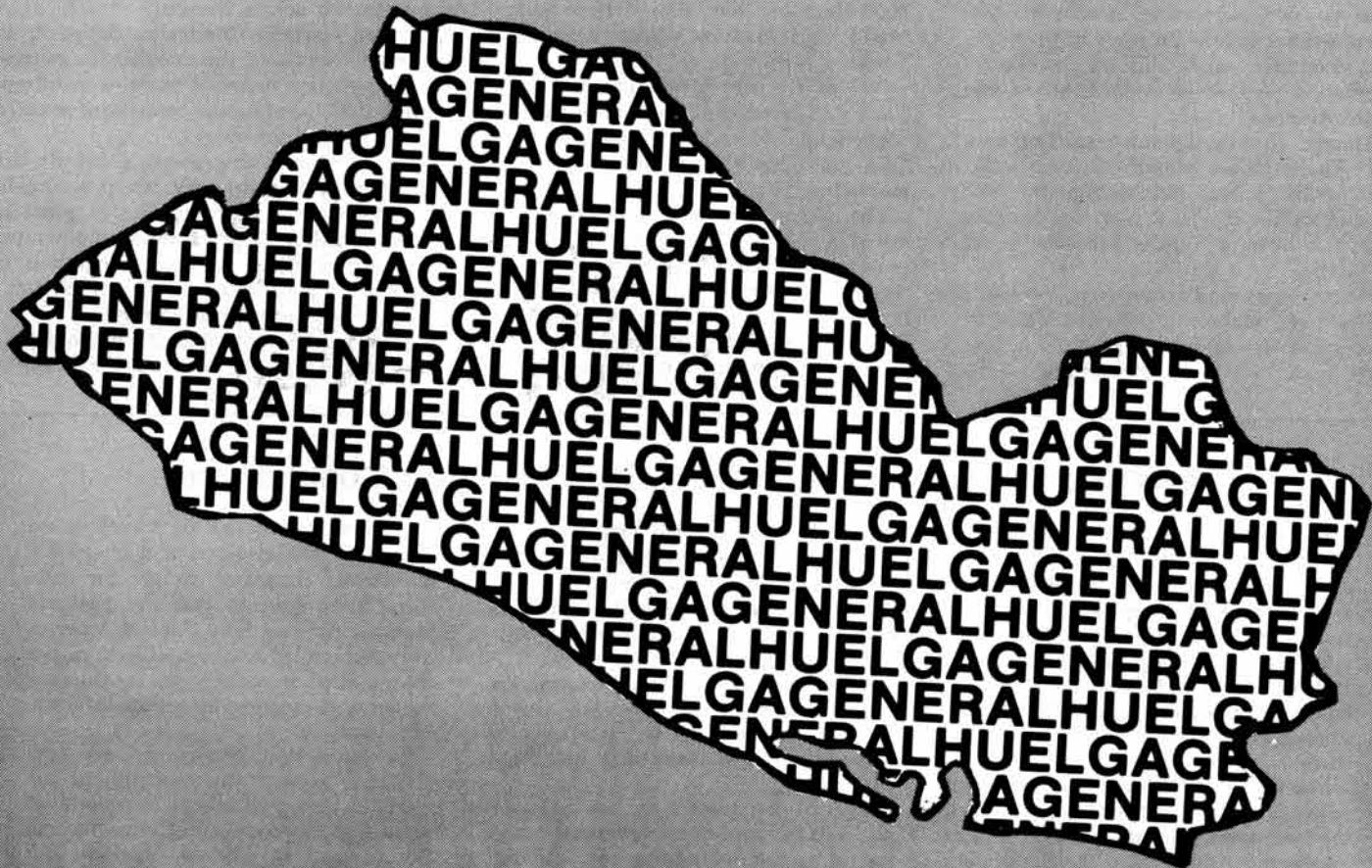
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Two-Day General Strike Shuts Down El Salvador



**BUILDING THE WORKERS
PARTY IN BRAZIL**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Why Carter Got So Little At Venice Summit

By Fred Feldman

"Their coming together at the summit is a pretense," said an editorial in the June 22 *New York Times*, "their aimless discussion a tragedy."

The editors were bemoaning the outcome—or lack of one—of the June 22-23 meeting in Venice of the heads of state of the big capitalist powers.

The summit, an annual affair since 1975, was officially supposed to discuss the economic problems of the capitalist world. There was general agreement on making workers pay for the crisis through rising unemployment, rising prices for gasoline and other necessities, increased use of deadly nuclear power plants, and declining social services.

But the Carter administration wanted more out of this meeting. It wanted other governments to take on more of the political, economic, and military burden of combating revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Among other things, this meant supporting Washington's moves to reverse the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan, and to punish the Soviet Union for sending troops to block a rightist takeover in Afghanistan.

Neither goal was achieved in Venice.

The joint statement adopted June 22 denounced the taking of diplomatic hostages (not, of course, the crimes of the

shah). "But, to the surprise of many, it made no specific mention of Iran," reported *Times* correspondent R.W. Apple, Jr.

The summit demanded that the Soviet Union withdraw all its troops from Afghanistan. (As the gathering commenced, Moscow announced that one division of troops would soon leave Afghanistan.)

But the condemnation of the Soviet Union was a toothless one. And to get it, Carter had to back off on his demand for veto power over any European or Japanese negotiations with the Soviet government.

Earlier, French President Giscard d'Estaing aroused Washington's ire by meeting with Brezhnev in Warsaw, Poland. Similar irritation followed the announcement that West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt would visit Moscow within days of the Venice meeting.

But at the conclusion of the summit, Carter declared that such meetings were "beneficial." More to the point, he added, "We could not prevent them even if we wanted to."

The outcome of the Venice meeting followed a series of setbacks for Washington's anti-Iran and anti-Soviet drive.

Carter's demand for a total economic boycott of Iran has been largely ignored. The decision May 18 by the European Economic Community to cancel all trade

contracts signed after the embassy crisis began in November was flouted initially by the British government. Now the European and Japanese capitalist governments are making ever-longer lists of exceptions to the sanctions.

The boycott of the Moscow Olympics sparked protests by athletes, sports fans, and antiwar forces around the globe.

As a result, teams from Italy, Britain, France, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium—all governments represented in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—will be in Moscow when the games open. Only Norway and West Germany among Washington's European allies have joined the boycott.

Nuclear Arms Escalation

Washington's demand that a new generation of nuclear-tipped missiles, targeting the Soviet Union, be stationed in Western Europe also faces growing opposition. The plan was approved last December by NATO, but the Belgian and Dutch governments said they could not yet go along. The reason: mass opposition at home.

Since that time, resistance to the plan has spread across Europe.

It led German Chancellor Schmidt, an early advocate of the missiles, to suggest freezing the number of missiles in Europe until 1983, pending the outcome of negotiations with Moscow.

In substance, this proposal hardly differed from Washington's, which also calls for having the new missiles in place in 1983. But it is a gesture aimed at placating the opposition to nuclear escalation in West Germany, particularly in Schmidt's own Social Democratic Party.

Carter criticized Schmidt's proposal in a strongly worded letter June 13. Washing-

Revolution in Central America—Our Coverage Costs Money

Within ten days of the overthrow of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* staff writer Fred Murphy was reporting from Managua. Murphy, along with other *IP/I* correspondents such as Pedro Camejo and Lorraine Thiebaud, has been on top of events in Nicaragua at each step in the unfolding revolution there.

Readers of *IP/I* have been given an in-depth picture of the development of the revolution through translations of important articles from the Sandinista press, speeches by Sandinista leaders, and news accounts and analytical articles about how the workers and peasants are organizing themselves and beginning the process of transforming their country and their lives.

Outside of Nicaragua's own daily press, no other publication anywhere in

the world has provided such a portrait of the Nicaraguan revolution—the first successful revolution by the Latin American masses since the overthrow of the Batista regime in Cuba twenty-one years ago.

Elsewhere in Central America, the class struggle is also moving ahead. And as always, *IP/I* can be depended on to bring our readers the information they need.

Eyewitness reports on the Salvadoran junta's murderous repression, statements by the Salvadoran revolutionaries on the progress of their struggle, news about U.S. imperialism's mushrooming intervention can all be found in *IP/I*. And as the struggle in El Salvador expands, so will our coverage.

But all this takes money. Keeping a full-time staff member based in Nicaragua for the past year has not only cost

thousands of dollars in traveling expenses. It has also meant a phone bill of several thousand dollars for calls from Nicaragua in just the past six months. Articles from Central America are often called into our offices, rather than mailed, in order to ensure that our readers get the most up-to-date information possible.

We know how important these articles are to revolutionists around the world, who cannot rely on the capitalist press for information on the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. But inflation these days is advancing almost as quickly as the revolutionary struggles that *IP/I* reports on. We need your help to keep on doing the job.

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

ton fears that such verbal concessions will fuel rather than dampen opposition to a new military buildup.

Adding to Washington's woes, on June 13 governments belonging to the European Common Market ignored state department warnings and issued their own Middle East "peace plan"—one calling for the Palestine Liberation Organization to be "associated" with negotiations.

The PLO dismissed the proposal as an empty one. But it was indicative of Washington's inability to impose its will not only on the peoples of the Middle East, but also on its traditional junior partners.

The differences that have emerged between Washington and its allies do not reflect the collapse of the alliance. Nor do they signal the end of Washington's decisive role. The European and Japanese capitalists remain dependent on Washington's nuclear arsenal as the ultimate defense of their rule.

Nor do the conflicts stem from any greater sympathy for the colonial revolution or the Soviet Union on the part of the European and Japanese ruling classes, nor from a greater political shrewdness and farsightedness.

Schmidt's government, for instance, remains the single biggest aid donor to the reactionary regime in Pakistan—and the ties of the West German regime with the rightist rebels in Afghanistan are well documented.

The French government has sent troops to Zaïre, Chad, the Central African Republic, and other countries in Africa to block struggles of the oppressed and exploited—something Washington has been unable to use its own troops for.

Weakening Imperialism

The divisions are an inevitable consequence of the weakening of U.S. imperialism, and therefore of world imperialism. The revolutionary victories in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Grenada, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere have undermined confidence that Washington has the muscle to effectively reverse the tide at this time.

The allied governments know that the "Vietnam syndrome" in the United States—the opposition of working people to new wars in Asia, Africa, or Latin America—has not been reversed.

And they face a similar "syndrome" among workers in their own countries. This resistance by the European and Japanese working classes is the major check on the ability of these governments to simply fall in step with Washington.

The worldwide capitalist economic crisis and the stiffening competition for markets among the capitalist powers are also producing growing strains.

The European and Japanese capitalists have more to lose than their U.S. competitors in giving up the advantages of trade

with the Soviet Union and Iran, or joining in an attempted crackdown on Arab oil producers—especially when they see no guarantee that Washington can back up economic sanctions with the military force needed to deal lasting blows to the world revolution.

The tensions and rifts in the counterrev-

olutionary alliance headed by Washington are good news for working people the world over. They create openings for people in struggle from Vietnam to Palestine, from Iran to Nicaragua.

As the *New York Times* fretted May 21, "It is an ominous trend that the rest of the world is learning to exploit." □

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Two-Day General Strike Shuts Down El Salvador

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—A two-day general strike shut down more than 90 percent of industry, commerce, transportation, and government offices in El Salvador June 24-25. Less than twelve hours after this resounding repudiation of the U.S.-backed military-civilian junta, Salvadoran armed forces responded with a bloody attack on a working-class neighborhood and the National University campus in San Salvador.

The strike, called June 18 by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM), was supported by some 60,000 workers organized in CRM-led trade unions, 18,000 public school teachers, and 80,000 government employees. Small businessmen, such as bus and truck owners and proprietors of gasoline stations and food stores, also participated in the strike. All daily newspapers were shut down, and San Salvador's huge Central Market remained closed.

The work stoppage was called to protest government repression and strengthen the CRM's organizational base among the masses.

The strike's demands were for a halt to military repression in the cities and countryside, an end to the state of siege, an end to U.S. military aid and intervention in El Salvador, respect for the right to strike, and the authorization of a visit by the International Red Cross, or another international humanitarian agency, to verify the extent of human rights violations in the country.

The strike also demanded the release of two members of the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL) recently captured by the military: ex-Minister of Education Salvador Samayoa, and José Antonio Morales Carbonell, who is a son of ruling junta member and Christian Democratic Party leader José Antonio Morales Ehrlich.

The CRM also called for using the period of the strike to organize "peoples committees" and self-defense militias in the urban neighborhoods. Such meetings took place in many barrios. Food, water, and medical supplies are reportedly being stocked in many areas in preparation for the insurrection against the dictatorship that now seems to be fast approaching.

The regime mobilized thousands of troops and put tanks and armored vehicles in the streets during the strike. Truckloads of armed men in civilian clothes from the right-wing paramilitary group ORDEN were also highly visible. There were few armed clashes, however, since the CRM convincingly showed its discipline and organization by keeping its supporters off

the main thoroughfares and preventing unequal confrontations.

Members of the military/Christian Democratic junta made televised appeals against participation in the strike on both June 24 and 25. The utter failure of these calls further exposed the absence of popular support for the U.S.-backed junta.

In his June 25 broadcast, junta strongman Col. Jaime Abdúl Gutiérrez adopted a more threatening tone. Charging that "El Salvador has been chosen as the bridgehead for an international conspiracy," Gutiérrez said the junta was ready "to fight fire with fire."

"If it's war they want, war they will have," Gutiérrez declared.

Attacks Barrio, Campus

Gutiérrez made good on his threat the very next day.

In a brutal reprisal for the successful forty-eight-hour strike, the Salvadoran armed forces occupied the National University with tanks and heavily armed troops on June 26 and launched helicopter and ground assaults against a densely populated poor and working-class neighborhood in San Salvador.

Initial reports reaching Managua indicated that at least twenty-five persons were killed and hundreds wounded or captured when combined forces of the army, National Guard, national police, treasury police, and air force attacked the La Fosa neighborhood east of the university and then invaded the campus.

The attack came as CRM leaders were holding a news conference at the university to present their assessment of the strike.

Some 300 students, CRM activists, and journalists were forced to seek refuge in the basement of the building where the news conference was taking place. Red Cross officials were later able to evacuate the journalists, but the fate of CRM leaders who were at the university was not in-

itially known. They did, however, manage to escape.

As the attack began, Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR) leader Julio Flores spoke to an Agencia Nueva Nicaragua reporter and called on "all progressive, democratic, and popular organizations to immediately demand that the government junta withdraw the military operation."

According to a report from San Salvador in the Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario* June 27, "Foreign correspondents who were evacuated from the National University after the attack said that the action was comparable only to the attacks that the genocidal National Guard of dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle carried out against the eastern neighborhoods of Managua during the insurrection of last June and July. . . .

"Air force helicopters aimed their machine guns against the poor neighborhood of La Fosa, east of the university, while air force planes launched their deadly fire. . . .

"Red Cross and Green Cross ambulances arrived at both locations to pick up wounded, but many of the dead and wounded had already been carried off to unknown destinations in military trucks. The army attacked with armored cars, tanks, bazookas, and deadly G-3 rifles. . . .

"Many students who put their hands over their heads were shot down, while others were thrown face-down and threatened with the fearsome G-3s. A general search was initiated throughout the university. . . ."

Some resistance was offered by self-defense units of the CRM, but these were unable to withstand the massive firepower of the Salvadoran military. "The army acted as if it were fighting another heavily armed force," the *El Nuevo Diario* report said.

The assault in San Salvador was the latest incident in the bloody war against

El Salvador: Bigger Than It Looks

Although El Salvador is geographically the smallest of the Central American republics, its importance in the region is far greater than you might think from a quick glance at the map. With 560 inhabitants per square mile, El Salvador is much more densely populated than any other Central American country. Its population of 4.5

million is surpassed only by Guatemala's. Nicaragua, for example, has some 2.5 million inhabitants, 44 per square mile.

Since 1962, El Salvador has undergone considerable industrialization, leading to the formation of a relatively large urban working class.

El Salvador's workers and peasants that had already been under way for months. The Salvadoran military, armed and advised by the Pentagon, has been systematically sowing terror in the countryside in an effort to break the massive support there for the revolutionary organizations.

Río Sumpul Massacre

The most horrible example that has come to light so far was the June 14 Río Sumpul massacre, which was denounced by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Honduras. Priests from the Honduran border town of Santa Rosa de Copán reported that on June 14 hundreds of Salvadoran peasants fleeing an army and National Guard attack tried to cross the Río Sumpul, which separates the two countries. They were driven back by units of the Honduran army and then mercilessly gunned down by Salvadoran National Guard Helicopters, army troops, and ORDEN members with machine guns.

According to a summary of the bishops' document that appeared here in the June 24 *Barricada*, the slaughter "left a toll of at least 600 bodies, which were not buried, but were left for several days to be preyed on by dogs and vultures. Others were lost in the river's waters, the document said.

"The religious figures also said that a Honduran fisherman later found the bodies of five small children in his net."

Refugees from the terror in El Salvador have begun to make their way through Honduras to Nicaragua, the only nearby country willing to accept them. The Nicaraguan government has called on the United Nations and International Red Cross to provide aid to the refugees, owing to its own difficult economic situation. As many as 200,000 refugees are expected here if full-scale war breaks out in El Salvador.

U.S. Hands Off!

As the junta becomes increasingly isolated and the revolutionary forces gain in unity, there are reports that Washington has stepped up its efforts to gain the backing of Latin American regimes for

El Salvador's Main Opposition Groups

On January 11, 1980, a *Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM)* was established. The CRM now encompasses five political organizations in El Salvador. They are: the *Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR)*; the *February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28)*; the *United People's Action Front (FAPU)*; the *Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN)*; and the *People's Liberation Movement (MLP)*.

Four of these organizations maintain links with political-military organizations. These are: BPR—*Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL)*; LP-28—*People's Revolutionary Army-Party of the Salvadoran Revolution (ERP-PRS)*; FAPU—*Armed Forces of the National Resistance (FARN)*; MLP—*Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC)*. The UDN is linked to the *Salvadoran Communist Party*.

On April 31, 1980, forty-nine trade unions, professional organizations, and political groups that were not in the CRM joined together to form the *Salvadoran Democratic Front (FS)*, which pledged support to the CRM's program.

On April 16, 1980, the FDS formally joined with the CRM to form the *Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR)*, on the basis of the CRM's program.

On June 10, 1980, a *Revolutionary Military Coordinating Committee*—made up of the FPL, the ERP-PRS, the FARN, and the Communist Party—was formed to coordinate the military struggle against El Salvador's ruling military-Christian Democratic junta. On June 25 the formation of an integrated joint general command, made up of one representative from each of the four groups, was announced.

outside military intervention in El Salvador.

Jorge Chiriboga Guerrero, a leftist member of Ecuador's parliament, told *Prensa Latina* June 26 that the armies of the Andean Pact countries (Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador) are already involved in the Pentagon's plans for a "peacekeeping mission." U.S. intervention "would provoke a new Vietnam," Chiriboga Guerrero remarked, after pointing out that the Ecuadoran people, as well as other peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, would act to prevent such a U.S. plan from taking shape" (*Barricada*, June 26).

Responding to questions from listeners on Radio Sandino's weekly "Direct Line" program here on June 26, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto referred to unofficial reports that Washington was seeking support for a meeting of the Organization of American States at which

the OAS would be asked to send an "inter-American peace-keeping force" to El Salvador. D'Escoto said some governments that had opposed a similar U.S. proposal for intervention in Nicaragua a year ago were reportedly now ready to back intervention in El Salvador.

"I hope . . . President Carter would not feel tempted to do that, much less order a direct intervention in El Salvador," D'Escoto said. "For us, that would be like aggression against our own person, since we are an integral part of Central America. If that should occur, it would produce an explosion in the Central American political struggle."

The warnings by Chiriboga and D'Escoto should serve as alarm signals to all supporters of the Salvadoran people's struggle against military tyranny and imperialist domination. Efforts should be redoubled to demand "U.S. hands off El Salvador!" □

DOCUMENTS

Unity Statement of Revolutionary Military Coordinating Committee

[The following article, containing extensive excerpts from and summaries of a statement recently issued by four armed revolutionary organizations in El Salvador, appeared in the June 19 edition of the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front's daily *Barricada*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

The four principal political-military organizations of El Salvador recently signed a unity agreement at the leadership level. Below, we are presenting our readers with the main aspects of the joint manifesto issued by these organizations:

"We, the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL), the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS), the National

Resistance (RN), and the Party of the Salvadoran Revolution—Revolutionary People's Army (PRS-ERP), address ourselves to the Salvadoran people, and to the peoples of Central America and the world, to inform you that we have achieved a new and higher level of unity among our revolutionary organizations.

"On May 22 we established a Unified

Directorate that will set forth and apply a single political-military line for all our groups, and that will lead the revolutionary war of our heroic people to victory. This will lead to the installation of the Revolutionary Democratic Government and the carrying out of the deepgoing social, economic, and political changes outlined in the Programmatic Platform, which is already well-known nationally and internationally. [See *IP/I*, April 7, p. 357.]

"The historic agreement reached in December 1979 by the FPL, PCS, and RN—which created the political-military coordinating committee—gave rise to appropriate conditions for the general unification of all the democratic and revolutionary forces of our people. In line with the people's desire for unity, the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) were formed. These represent and unite the immense majority of the Salvadoran people.

"All this has created a great torrent of immense renovating potential, bringing together a broad variety of political, ideological, and social currents. Among these currents there is mutual respect and real democracy. These currents are increasingly united in a firm and resolute struggle for the common supreme goal of the final liberation of the Salvadoran people from the brutal and criminal regime that today

Revolutionists Announce Leadership Bodies

A United Political Directorate was announced in El Salvador on June 25, made up of one representative from each of the five organizations in the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM). The five are Juan Chacón of the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR); José Leoncio Pinchinte of the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28); Alberto Ramos of the United People's Action Front (FAPU); Mario Aguiñada of the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN); and Luis Díaz of the People's Liberation Movement (MLP).

At the same time, it was announced that an integrated joint general command had also been established, made up of one representative from each of the four groups in the Revolutionary Military Coordinating Committee. The joint command is composed of Joaquín Villalobos of the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP); Ernesto Jovel of the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN); Salvador Cayetano Carpio of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL); and Jorge Schafik Handal of the Salvadoran Communist Party.

FDR Tours Europe, South America

Representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, a coalition of groups opposed to that country's ruling junta, toured Europe and South America in early June to publicize the fierce repression in their country.

At a June 13 meeting of the Socialist International, the FDR scored an important victory when the conference declared it "fully supports the struggle of the FDR for freedom and democracy." The meeting also called on the U.S. government to drop its support for

the present government, which is made up of military officers and members of the Christian Democratic Party.

Another FDR team visited the Andean Pact countries of South America.

The junta, disturbed by the publicity the FDR tours received, recently announced it too would be sending representatives abroad to tell its side of the story. The composition of the junta delegations is subject to question, however, since at least four civilian government ministers have resigned within the last month.

oppresses them. This regime condemns the Salvadoran people to social injustice and backwardness. It smothers their independence as a nation, tramples on their dignity, and even denies them the right to live.

"The powerful upsurge of struggle and unity that followed the December 1979 agreement made this new step from simple coordination to the creation of a Unified Directorate both possible and necessary. This Unified Directorate will undoubtedly stir the combative spirit and the resolve to win among the broad ranks of the people, and will raise those feelings to even higher and more decisive levels.

"From now on there will be a single leadership, a single military plan under a single command, and a single national and international political line."

The manifesto goes on to denounce the repressive policy of the Salvadoran army, whose killings have climbed to fifty a day, and it charges that the most reactionary sectors of the Honduran army are massacring Salvadoran peasants along the border with that country.

Another section of the manifesto is directed to the "patriotic and progressive sectors of the Salvadoran army." It calls on them to repudiate the genocide and join the struggle with all the democratic sectors in the country. It also expresses the Salvadoran people's pride in the new church, which is struggling alongside the people, and the manifesto expresses confidence that the church will hold to this line to the end.

In analyzing the current situation in El Salvador, the revolutionaries expose the bankruptcy of the formula of "massacres and reforms that imperialism dictated to the Christian Democratic/military junta." They point out that since the honest sectors of the Christian Democratic Party abandoned the [José Napoleón] Duarte clique and joined the Revolutionary Democratic Front, the isolation of the Christian Democratic Party has reached the point where the Christian Democrats can no longer even fill all the governmental or municipal posts:

"The cabinet is being filled with elements from the reactionary business associations; the National Guard decides who is to be named mayor or judge in each area; the so-called Democratic Nationalist Organization (ORDEN) [a rightist paramilitary terror group] fills more posts in the administrative and political apparatus of the state each day.

"The end of the reforms has been officially announced—the land occupied by the government in its so-called agrarian reform has begun to be returned to the landlords in various parts of the country. The complete failure of the reformist fraud, and the agreement with the same reactionary associations of private businessmen that have been supporting the killing for many years, is now to be covered up and confirmed through the announcement that there will be future elections. This is incredible, but true, in this country, which is fed up with sickening electoral farces.

"The brazen release of the fascist coup-plotters, headed by Major D'Aubuisson, has increased the hegemony of the most reactionary and murderous sectors of the Armed Forces under Yankee direction. This sector is represented by Colonels Abdul Gutiérrez, José Guillermo García, and Nicolás Carranza, all longtime agents of the CIA. More than ever, the continued presence of Duarte and the other elements of the Christian Democratic grouplet in the government is an effort to preserve the façade necessary to maintain the support of certain governments for the Yankee imperialists' plan to prevent the liberation of the Salvadoran people.

"At the very moment that we were meeting to agree on the creation of the Unified Directorate, a secret meeting was taking place in Washington—presided over by Brzezinski and several Pentagon generals—with some leaders of the Christian Democrats in Latin America and other official figures. The meeting was held to try to concretize a traitorous commitment to military intervention in our country.

"We have already defined our position regarding a possible military intervention

by the United States, whether it intervenes alone, with other countries, or through others. We will resist. We will fight, however long it takes, until the invaders are expelled and their tools and servants within our country are defeated. The Salvadoran revolution will not be halted by intervention!

"The Central American peoples and their revolutionary organizations well understand the grave danger that foreign military intervention in El Salvador would mean for their vital interests. We do not have the slightest doubt that they will fight together with us. We are certain that the Venezuelan people cannot be dragged along by their country's most reactionary

Christian Democratic sector, which has sold itself to the Pentagon. The Venezuelan people will refuse to give aid to aggression against our people. We are also certain that all Latin American peoples and all governments of this continent and the world that love independence, freedom, and peace will condemn such a crime by imperialism."

The signers of the manifesto also expressed their solidarity and admiration for the struggles of the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Belize, Grenada, Palestine, and of the Polisario Front and other Asian and African peoples.

Finally, the manifesto points out that the creation of the Unified Directorate will

serve to strengthen the people's incorporation into the insurrectionary process and in the great battles and victories that will not be long in coming.

The manifesto was signed as follows:

"United to fight until the final victory!

"For the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces: Revolution or death! The armed people will win!

"For the Communist Party of El Salvador: Workers of all countries unite!

"For the National Resistance: Armed struggle today, socialism tomorrow!

"For the Party of the Salvadoran Revolution and its armed wing, the Revolutionary People's Army: Struggle until victory, or death!" □

Deals New Blows to Pol Pot Forces

Vietnam Counters Thai Regime's Moves Against Kampuchea

By Fred Feldman

The capitalist media has reported accounts by the U.S. and Thai governments that Vietnamese forces moved across the Kampuchean border into Thailand June 23. The media reports on the conflict are vague and contradictory.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach confirmed that major clashes occurred along the Thai-Kampuchea border, but denied that Vietnamese troops entered Thailand. Thach said that Thai "territorial integrity" would continue to be respected by Vietnamese forces.

The U.S. State Department and the media describe the targets of the Vietnamese move as "Thai villages" and "refugee camps." They charge that Vietnamese forces acted to stop the distribution of food by international relief agencies to hungry and homeless Kampuchean civilians.

The real targets are not Kampuchean civilians or international relief efforts.

The fighting centers on border areas where the U.S. and Thai governments, supported by Peking, provide base camps, arms, and protection to rightist military gangs that seek to overthrow the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea.

Thousands of Kampuchean refugees are held as virtual prisoners in these camps. Those who try to flee from their captors are returned by Thai army units. Food supposedly destined for civilian refugees is eaten, stored, or sold by rightist bands.

The most important of these are the 10,000 or more Khmer Rouge troops controlled by Pol Pot, the brutal mass murderer who was ousted from power in January 1979 by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents.

A lesser threat are the Khmer Serei units, organized by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in the early 1960s.

The Thai army regularly engages in joint military patrols and other operations with the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei inside Kampuchea.

The current fighting was sparked when the Thai Army began to convoy thousands of Khmer Rouge soldiers and their civilian captives back into Kampuchea to resume fighting. The goal was to devastate western Kampuchea, formerly the country's main rice-producing region, and block the restoration of agricultural production.

Thach said that Vietnamese troops had clashed with Kampuchean rightists only after Thai soldiers had "escorted" them four miles inside Kampuchean territory. (What U.S. and Thai officials call humanitarian "repatriation" is actually an exile invasion.) Thach said that Vietnamese forces would continue to strike at the Pol Pot guerrillas being shuttled back into Kampuchea.

The military operations of the Khmer Rouge reflect their lack of any popular support. They are aimed at terrorizing the civilian population.

One such incident, described by NBC television reporter Neil Davis and United Press International, involved an ambush of a train bound for Pnompenh. (Public transportation, largely destroyed under Pol Pot, is being reestablished by the Heng Samrin government.) About 150 civilians were reported killed.

Success for the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei would mean another devastating famine for Kampuchea.

And in the event of failure, the Thai Army was certain once again to provide a refuge, military bases, and new arms for the Khmer Rouge.

The role of Washington and the Thai military dictatorship in backing the

Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei killers is coming under criticism from those relief officials who try to help Kampuchean refugees and civilians living in western Kampuchea.

Louis Wiznitzer wrote in the May 29 *Christian Science Monitor*: "A gap much deeper than has been reported has widened since early last fall between the objectives of UNICEF-Red Cross on the one hand, and of the ASEAN countries [Association of Southeast Asian Nations—an anticommunist bloc including the Thai regime], China, and the US on the other. . . ."

"The UN officials . . . describe the contrasting aims of the two sides in these terms:

"Those of the international community (UNICEF-Red Cross):

"1. The survival of the Cambodians
"2. Achievement of self-sufficiency by the Cambodians at the end of 1980. . . ."

"Those of the American Embassy in Bangkok and its backers:

"1. Supporting politically and materially the Khmer Rouge and other Cambodian groups fighting against the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin regime.

"2. Destabilizing [Kampuchea's] Battambang Province near the Thai border."

Washington—which earlier hinted at military action if Vietnamese and Kampuchean forces tried to clean up Pol Pot's forces in Thailand—has responded by denouncing Hanoi and ordering a speed-up in the delivery of military supplies to Bangkok.

Peking also blasted Hanoi, but made no threat of military action. Bangkok poured troops into the border region and threatened to protest to the United Nations Security Council. □

Grenada Mobilizes Against Counterrevolution

By Ernest Harsch

In the wake of the June 19 terrorist bombing of a mass rally in St. George's, Grenada, the country is mobilizing to push forward the revolution and to step up defense against imperialist attack.

Mass rallies and marches are being held throughout the island to protest the bombing, which killed two young women and injured dozens of others, and to reaffirm popular support for the People's Revolutionary Government, led by the New Jewel Movement. On June 26, thousands turned out for the funeral of thirteen-year-old Laurie Charles, one of the two killed by the bomb.

A major drive has begun to recruit new members into the People's Militia. In a radio broadcast on the night of the attack, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop announced that the goal of this drive would be to build-up the militia to 20,000 members—nearly one-fifth of the entire population of the island.

One of the key suspects in the bombing, Keith St. Bernard, has been captured by the security forces. Another, Strachan Phillip, was killed shortly after the bombing during a gun battle with the government forces. Ammunition, explosives, detonators, fuses, and guns were found during a search of the house where Phillip and St. Bernard were hiding.

Twenty-three other persons have been detained for questioning in relation to the terrorist attack.

The perpetrators of the bombing have ties with a grouping of counterrevolutionaries led by the Budhlall brothers, who have been in the forefront of the resistance to the government's campaign to stamp out large-scale marijuana cultivation. Just a week before the bombing, hundreds of

rounds of ammunition were discovered at the home of Russel Budhlall. The government has pointed to links between these counterrevolutionaries and the American CIA.

In his June 19 broadcast, Prime Minister Bishop noted the likelihood of imperialist involvement in the bombing itself. The technology used in the bomb, which was equipped with a timing device, was more sophisticated than anything previously used in Grenada, indicating that those who had made it had received special training.

Bishop also placed the bombing in the context of the sharpening political polarization in the Caribbean.

Rifts Within Jamaican Army and Police

On June 22, twenty-six military officers and soldiers were arrested in Jamaica and later charged with plotting to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley. Several others, including H. Charles Johnson, the leader of the small right-wing Jamaica United Front, were also picked up.

In a radio broadcast that night, Manley announced that those arrested had been detained "in connection with an alleged conspiracy to commit certain acts detrimental to the national security and subversive to the constitutional government of Jamaica."

Referring to the imperialist-inspired slander campaign against his government, Manley warned Jamaicans not to be taken in by "propaganda" and "lies." He also lashed out at the provocative actions of the right-wing Jamaica Labour Party (JLP),

The massive popular support for the Grenada revolution—as shown by the crowd of 30,000 that turned out for the first anniversary celebrations of the March 13, 1979, insurrection—terrified the imperialists, Bishop stated. Because the revolution was for all Grenadians, he said, the capitalists and backers of imperialism were becoming desperate.

To answer the imperialist attacks, Bishop stressed, the revolution must advance. Not only would the militia be strengthened, but the literacy campaign, the efforts to increase production, and the proposed land reform drive would go forward.

"We cannot sit and accept the plan of imperialism," Bishop declared. "We will fight back. We will draw on our hidden reserves of strength." □

which is campaigning against Manley's People's National Party (PNP) in elections later this year.

JLP leader Edward Seaga, who was in the United States meeting with American businessmen at the time, denied that the JLP had anything to do with the alleged coup plot. Continuing with its red-baiting campaign against Manley, the JLP issued a statement charging that Manley was trying to "create the conditions under which Cuban troops can be invited into the island."

The emergence of a rift within the Jamaican armed forces comes at a time when the country is under increasing pressure from American imperialism.

Carter's National Security Council has initiated a destabilization campaign to try to topple the Manley regime. The major American banks and businesses are being encouraged to deny Jamaica much-needed funds and investments, while the CIA is funneling assistance to the proimperialist JLP.

Armed clashes in the shantytowns around the Jamaican capital of Kingston have escalated sharply in recent months, as armed JLP bands have engaged in street battles with PNP supporters. On April 13, an attempt was made to assassinate Manley. The following months, a fire killed 144 elderly women at a nursing home in Kingston, amid evidence of arson.

Nor was the recent arrest of the officers and troops the first sign of opposition to Manley within the armed forces. On May 28, Police Inspector Johnson MacBeth spoke out at a police meeting to publicly denounce the Manley regime, in particular Security Minister Dudley Thompson, a leading figure in the left wing of the PNP.

Another prominent speaker at the meeting was Edward Seaga, who warned that the JLP would not accept the election results unless they were "free and fair," that is, unless the JLP won. □

Grenada Signs Aid, Trade Agreement With Soviet Union

The Soviet Union has pledged \$3 million in equipment to aid the development of Grenadian agricultural production. The full cost of the equipment will be covered by the Soviet government, including the cost of its transportation to Grenada. The aid consists of twenty-eight trucks, fifteen jeeps, and twenty irrigation pumps.

The Soviet aid was announced by Grenada's Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. Coard, who is also minister of finance, trade, and industry and planning, had just returned from an official visit to the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia.

The Grenadian and Soviet governments also signed a trade agreement. Grenada will be able to buy further

Soviet equipment on credit at low interest payable over ten years. In addition, the Soviet government agreed to a long-term policy of selling goods to Grenada at below world market prices.

In Czechoslovakia, the Grenadian delegation obtained a pledge of assistance in planning the development of light industry; processing factories for Grenada's cocoa, nutmeg, and mace; hydroelectric power plants; and poultry and pig farms.

The Bulgarian government pledged help in setting up a canning factory, two ice plants for Grenada's fishing industry, and hydroelectric plants.

All three governments offered scholarships for Grenadian students.

AROUND THE WORLD



Lechín Withdraws From Bolivian Election

Union leader Juan Lechín withdrew as a candidate for Bolivia's presidency in the June 29 elections. As a result, the race has become a virtual rerun of the 1977 elections. Once again the three leading candidates—all former presidents—are Víctor Paz Estenssoro, Hernán Siles Zuazo, and Gen. Hugo Banzer.

In 1979 none of the three received a majority, sending the elections into parliament. The parliament chose a compromise interim president who was then overthrown in November 1979 and replaced by a second interim president.

Lechín, head of the powerful Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), had been the candidate of a coalition of working-class and peasant organizations. Lechín's decision to withdraw was ostensibly due to lack of money to finance an effective campaign.

"We do not believe that this is the basic reason" for Lechín's withdrawal, said the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR-C), the Bolivian section of the Fourth International. The POR-C was one of the organizations that had participated in the electoral front.

"Lechín is opposed to providing a revolutionary channel for the current process, one that would provide the workers and people's movement with a weapon for revolutionary struggle. In this way, Lechín is holding back the progress of the masses in their struggle for power," the POR-C continued.

Lechín's withdrawal was a setback in the process of building a working-class political alternative to the austerity measures that international financial organizations have demanded that the Bolivian regime impose.

The election campaign was marked by violence and continuous threats of military coups. Given Bolivia's deepgoing economic crisis, and the political radicalization of its workers and peasants, most observers expect the military to try to seize power in the near future.

"The coup is inevitable. But its victory is not," stated an editorial in *Combate*, newspaper of the POR-C. The editorial noted that "there are many powerful factors working against the adventure: the preparedness and mobilization of the masses, the unions, the COB, and the left parties; the internal crisis within the army; and the opposition of various bourgeois-democratic governments in Latin America, and

even of the U.S. State Department itself, which hope to prevent another Nicaragua in our country."

The COB has already announced it will call a general strike and block roads in the event of a coup. The POR-C has proposed three other measures to the COB: military organization of the workers and peasants; establishment of a program of struggle including broad nationalizations and workers control of the economy; and creation of a political alternative organized around the COB and the left parties.

South Africa: Black Auto Workers Win Wage Increases

Strikes by Black workers in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, the center of South Africa's auto industry, spread to sixteen factories by June 21, involving more than 10,000 workers. The strikers, who walked out in the midst of the anti-apartheid upsurge in the country's Black townships, were demanding pay increases and an end to the differing pay scales for Black and white workers.

Most workers returned to their jobs June 25, after tentatively accepting an offer raising hourly wages from \$1.53 to \$1.80 for unskilled workers, and \$3.20 to \$4.28 for the highest paid assembly line workers. However, Black workers at the American-owned Goodyear Tire plant in Uitenhage remained on strike.

The Goodyear workers had been demanding a base wage of \$3.90 an hour—an amount that was ruled excessive by an industrial court. The company fired the strikers, saying it would only rehire them on its own terms, and a demonstration of more than 1,000 strikers was attacked by police June 25.

South African Troops Occupy Angolan Towns

About 3,000 South African troops are occupying several towns in southern Angola, according to a June 26 statement by the Angolan government.

The apartheid regime's forces originally pushed into Angola on June 7. A week later, Pretoria, claiming that the operation was over, said that it had killed 200 guerrilla fighters of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

According to the Angolans, however, the

South Africans massacred more than 300 civilians and were still operating within the country.

The South African force was composed of three infantry battalions and a unit of paratroopers backed up by three squadrons of Mirage jet fighters, twenty helicopters, two transport planes, thirty-two artillery pieces, and forty armored cars.

According to an Angolan Defense Ministry statement, the South Africans were occupying the towns of Evale and Mongua and were also entrenched just north of Cuamato, all located in southern Angola.

One of the aims of the invasion, the Angolans charged, was to infiltrate guerrillas of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a proimperialist outfit that operates out of camps in South African-ruled Namibia and that is seeking to overthrow the Angolan government.

Angolan forces shot down a South African aircraft on June 23, the Angolan press agency reported. This was confirmed by the South African military command, which admitted that a helicopter had been downed.

Meanwhile, on June 17 the U.S. Senate passed an amendment that would allow President Carter to resume undercover activities in Angola, including military aid to UNITA, without making the actions public and without the need for Congressional approval. Such activities were specifically banned by Congress in 1976, when the Ford administration was intervening in the Angolan civil war, and after it had encouraged the South African regime to carry out an invasion of Angola.

South Africans Unveil New Weapon

A new anti-riot vehicle (ARV) is being manufactured in South Africa. Popularly known as the "disco tank," it is equipped to broadcast music through loudspeakers.

According to Harry Brelsford, the managing director of the company that manufactures the ARV, studies have found that music has a calming effect on angry or "disturbed" people. The crew can sit in a bullet-proof, armor-plated cab, from which they control the selection of music.

In case the tunes do not appeal to the intended audience, the ARV is also equipped with a turret for spraying jets of water and hatches to enable tear-gas canisters to be thrown out.

Where Is the Iranian Revolution Going?

[The following editorial was published in the June 10 issue of *Kargar*, newspaper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

The fifteenth of Khordad (June 5) anniversary* celebrations, as expected, were a day of mass action by millions of people against American imperialism. This was true despite all the negative rumors fanned for more than a week before by counterrevolutionary circles and sections of the population that have become apathetic toward the revolution.

In these street demonstrations, millions of men and women of all ages showed the firm determination of the Iranian people to continue the struggle against imperialism.

We are now in the seventeenth month since the victory of the February revolution. What are the problems facing our revolution? What is the outlook for the future?

The top circles in our society have been seized with fear, disillusion, and even hatred of the revolution at the very time when there is a clearer and clearer perspective for the final victory of the great majority of the population—the industrial workers and other working people—in their life-or-death struggle with American imperialism.

The revolution is an intense school of action and experience. Every day it brings more groups of working people and militant youth to new levels of consciousness. Every day the militant and Muslim people of Iran learn a new lesson about the complex system of subordination to imperialism that still remains in this country.

A brief examination of the basic features of the current situation shows the real change that has taken place, the widening of the revolution.

The Crisis of Authority Deepens

The solution to all the problems now facing our society, according to the words of the first elected president of the Islamic republic [Abolhassan Bani-Sadr], is to eliminate multiple power centers. Many militant and Muslim workers are asking themselves what these multiple power centers are.

The fact is that the overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy created a power vacuum on the national level. The first attempt to fill this vacuum was not successful. After eight months experience with the provisional government of Mr.

Bazargan, the broad masses rejected it. This fact makes the crisis of governmental power abundantly clear. And now, more than a year and a half after the revolution, this talk by the first president of the republic about multiple centers of power is an indication that despite all the dramatic changes we have experienced in this period, the power vacuum remains.

In other words, there is still no single, united, homogeneous, stable governmental power.

The persistence of this governmental crisis deserves attention. What is the reason for it? Is it the intellectual deficiencies of some politicians, the activities of the president's political competitors, or the self-interestedness of some individuals or groups? Nearly everyone has heard such explanations repeated over and over again by the president. Actually this sort of talk only points up more clearly that the power of the millions upon millions of working people engaged in the struggle against imperialism remains intact and that they are still on the offensive.

The reason for the continuation of the crisis of governmental power in this situation arises from a contradiction facing the revolution. From the beginning of the revolution, the governments put in office by the overwhelming majority of the population have proven incapable of executing the will of this majority. That is, a governmental power serving the interests of the great majority of the society has not gone into operation. The statements and actions of the first president of the republic point up this reality. Mr. Bani-Sadr's battle against the multiple centers of power suggests the predicament of someone who has to constantly look over his shoulder.

The continuing offensive of the broad masses has more than once been called the second revolution. It seeks to remove the innumerable social, economic, and political obstacles put in the way of the advancing revolution by the corrupt system imposed by imperialism, which has not yet been eliminated.

The leaders of the government themselves at the various levels are obliged to talk continually about getting rid of these obstacles. Otherwise, they would have no chance of being accepted by the broad masses.

However, the continuation of the revolutionary advance means extensive frictions with the ossified state bureaucracy and with the machine of oppression left over from the days of the despotic regime. It means challenging the prerogatives and privileges of the rich, the capitalists, and the millionaire landlords. It means breaking diplomatic relations with the high

priests of world imperialism. It means a constant surging and advance of the movement of the broad masses of the people.

This revolutionary storm cannot fail to shake everyone in the bureaucracy, from the top to the bottom, who have used their position to carry out base maneuvers, although the officials on the various levels are affected in different ways.

As a result of these shocks, those who have taken as their instrument the state apparatus left over from the despotism have had only one recourse. They have tried to divert people's attention to a shadow play going on behind the closed doors of bureaucratic offices. They have had to resort to verbiage about the problems of ambition, rivalries, various self-interests, and other invented issues. Every advance in the anti-imperialist struggle strikes at them.

From the first exposures made by the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line after the occupation of the Den of Spies, the anti-imperialist offensive has continued without letup in an ascending spiral. These actions were immediately opposed by the conciliationists. Mr. Bazargan resigned. Libel suits were instituted in an attempt to stop the exposures. The broad masses supported the exposures. The conciliationists stepped up their opposition. Millions of people marched in support of the occupation of the Den of Spies and in support of the decision to hold the hostages until the shah was extradited and the wealth he stole returned.

There were the many attempts to get the hostages turned over to the Revolutionary Council. There was the trip of the United Nations Commission to Iran. There was the Imam's message that basically postponed the decision on the hostages. Across all these peaks and troughs, the anti-imperialist upsurge continued to rise.

The Tabas events [Carter's aborted raid] made another thing clearer than ever. Everyone saw that the aim of the Great Satan had always been to crush this revolution against despotism and exploitation. And now the authorities saw that instead of determining the events, they themselves were being drawn by these events onto higher levels of anti-imperialist struggle.

In this period, there was a leap in the development of the power of the mass organizations, the power of the working people of Iran, on all levels. This was reflected in a number of advances.

There was the formation of the factory shoras. There was the mobilization of the revolutionary youth in the Jihad for National Reconstruction, which pumped new life into this campaign. There were the attempts of many Islamic Councils, both in the universities and in the military forces, to build the army of twenty million people.

Many of the Revolutionary Guards [Pasdaran] became attracted to the perspective

*This was a celebration of the seventeenth anniversary of the 1963 uprising against the shah.

raised by these developments. There was redoubled mobilization among many activists of the Imam's Committees. Many factory shoras took steps to exercise direct control over production, and in many cities there was an extension of unity among the shoras. At the same time, there were mobilizations by peasants for distribution of the land.

This process is unquestionably the basic reason for the deepening of the crisis of power. It is also the basis for the hope and the perspective that the revolution will continue to advance.

The Role of Imperialism Is Key to Understanding the Situation

The deep crisis now existing in this country can be understood only on the basis of an understanding of the principal features of our revolution. The special character of this process derives above all from the position of our neocolonial society in the capitalist world. A policy that fails to take into account the terrible pressure of the imperialists on all aspects of the internal life of Iran is obviously one that has little relation to reality.

The pressures being brought to bear by the imperialists in this period seem to be something external. But given the real social, economic, and political bases of power that the imperialists have in Iran, these pressures are tangible and dangerous. In greeting the delegates to the conference to investigate American interference in Iran, Imam Khomeini began by saying, "I must thank the gentlemen who have taken the trouble to come to our ruined and oppressed country." Indeed, no aspect of life in this country was spared the destructive effects of the long-term influence of the imperialists.

Over the seventeen-month advance of

the revolution, we have come to feel very acutely the extreme dependence of our relatively insignificant industries on imperialist sources and technology, our lack of any heavy industry. Because of lack of parts, these industries have had to reduce their production or shut down altogether. For the same reasons, the means of transportation have been breaking down.

These facts have shown innumerable militant, Muslim, and revolutionary workers that the imperialist pressures brought to bear from the outside have not affected all classes and strata equally. Experience has shown to what extent these pressures have become factors in the internal life of Iran. This fact has been made clear in every initiative and every decisive action that the revolutionary masses of workers have taken toward an Iranian capitalist, businessman, boss, or trader.

The pursuit of profit by Iranian commercial and industrial capitalists depends on the capital, technology, and even on the bayonets of the imperialists. The activists of the Jihad for National Reconstruction at many levels and in many circumstances have learned this through experience.

In the headlines of its June 7 issue, the daily *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* quoted Ayatollah Beheshti as saying: "Without the real participation of the people no progress can be made at any task." In a revolution that raised the masses of the people to their feet with the hope that they would be able to free themselves from imperialism and win the right to determine their own fate, this aspiration cannot be condemned.

It would be naïve to think for a moment in this revolution that the problems of agriculture, of the workers, and of all the downtrodden could be solved by commands from above by some government department or some committee of media-

tors. This is particularly obvious in view of the scope of the tasks posed by the revolution and by the great masses of people drawn into it.

The workers want to break the hold of the reactionary capitalists. They want to teach the industrialists and officials to respect them as human beings and recognize their rights as workers. The peasants want to break the chains in which the big landlords have held them for their entire lives. They want to free themselves from usury and all the other trickery that has kept them in submission and slavery.

World imperialism has always reacted, and will always react, with terror to any advance by Iran. It is mobilizing all its financial and military power against the revolution. It seeks to condemn to slavery the workers, the peasants, and all the downtrodden.

At the same time that the workers were on the advance with their shoras, many peasants in several sections of the country began to divide the land. With the advance of the revolution, many of the downtrodden took a larger share of control over the life of the society into their own hands. So, it is obvious why the imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists most of all, are upset. This fact deserves special attention.

The fight against the big landlords and the feudalists, the fight against the moneylenders, and the fight against the capitalists, even if it is only for better working conditions, inevitably becomes a struggle to free Iran from the claws of imperialism. The productive forces of Iran must be freed from the straitjacket imposed by foreign imperialism. It is the imperialists who are our strongest and main enemy.

The power of this enemy comes not only from the ships, helicopters, and arsenals that it has concentrated near the coast of Iran. It comes also from the direct contacts it has maintained for many years and continues to maintain with Iranian bank heads, moneylenders, bureaucrats, military officers, and capitalists. It comes as well from the very close indirect contacts it maintains with the big Iranian commercial and industrial capitalists.

It is obvious why imperialist pressure does not operate merely as an external force and why at the same time it does not generate the same ferment in all classes. The imperialist capitalists and military chiefs play the role of the more cunning and experienced leaders in counterrevolutionary plans. They are willing to shed the blood of the working people of Iran for the sake of their interests, just as they have stolen our oil and other natural resources.

If we want to expel the imperialists from Iran, if we want to defeat the enemy, we have to make it impossible for these gangsters to continue to carry on the sort of covert activities that they inevitably do in our country.

The fact is that we cannot achieve this objective through conciliation or by main-

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taining normal relations with the imperialists. The fact is that following this course leaves no room for preserving the interests of the capitalists and the big landlords.

For the same reason, those who opposed the taking of the hostages, those who have sown division in the struggle since the occupation of the Den of Spies, look more and more like an anti-imperialist current devoid of any real content.

It is possible that through a conciliationist course, the profit that the Iranian capitalists and big landlords exact from the labor of the Iranian working people could be raised by a few percentage points. But if such a perspective were realized, it would only mean that the influence of imperialism in the economic and political life of Iran would increase. The inevitable result would be worse slavery and submission for the industrial workers and other working people.

There is no lack of obstacles on the road to victory over the enemy. And the robbery of the industrial workers and other working people is not being curbed. We still suffer from the heritage of national oppression of the other nationalities living in Iran. The events of the last year in Kurdistan indicate the importance of this question. The rate of illiteracy in our country is a basic indicator of the extent of the obstacles that remain. Another obstacle is the aspects of the exploitative system imposed on the whole structure of education.

The working people of the cities and the countryside are the only force capable of defeating imperialism. Only the power of the masses rising up in their millions can achieve victory. Such masses of people cannot be raised to their feet by one or another limited demand. The masses are fighting as much against imperialism as against usury. Today they are fighting speculation. Tomorrow it will be inflation. It is these struggles that have been bringing the Iranian people to their feet. It is in these struggles that they have been tempered and prepared for battle. There is no other way to gain a military education.

Some oppose this road openly. Some are furiously making all sorts of preparations to oppose it. After the events in Tabas, it is clear that we are now in a life-or-death struggle with imperialism.

The political leaders of the capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie are wavering. They are frightened by the mass upsurge that is getting more and more out of their control. All their past experience has inclined the petty-bourgeois radicals to look to the layers above them and to make all sorts of alliances with these layers. They do not look below them, to the real struggle of millions of industrial workers, working people, and the downtrodden. But while wavering and hesitation is dangerous in any endeavor, in a revolution the results are disastrous.

As the anti-imperialist struggle has deep-

ened, with the occupation of the Den of Spies and the break of diplomatic relations with the United States, the society has become more and more polarized between those who favor and those who oppose cutting the chains that bind us to imperialism.

As the gap has widened between the great majority of the people and the minority of the very rich, the anti-imperialist action of the masses has accelerated. There has been less and less room for the pretense and maneuvers of the minority. In a year's time, we have seen many who posed as anti-imperialist fighters fade away.

We must understand clearly that the only way to defend the revolution is through a more deepgoing mobilization of the masses, by offering a more radical program of social measures. The only way to defend the revolution is to unfurl and raise the flag of all the demands of the industrial workers, peasants, and the downtrodden, all the demands of the factory shoras and mass organizations.

In the long run, this is the only way to prevent the defeat of the revolution. The only way is the broadest possible mobilization against the danger of U.S. military intervention. Only a revolution that is able to inscribe all the demands of the working people on its banner in a clear and concentrated way has a chance of success. This is the lesson of all revolutions of exploited and oppressed people throughout the world.

No leadership has saved itself through conciliation. The result of this has always been to send the broad masses to the slaughterhouse. In their statement on the opening of parliament, the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line warned the deputies: "Determination and intransigence are the great secret of achieving victory." Our revolution needs such accumulated political capital to achieve victory.

Today, millions of fighters and revolutionary youth in the institutions of the Jihad for Reconstruction are demanding that red tape and bureaucratic delays be eliminated. They are demanding that our great potential human power be put to work in rebuilding the country. The reorganization of the country that they want means the elimination of the legacy of oppression and exploitation, the elimination of this heritage in every sphere where it exists.

Today millions of workers, militants,

and Muslims have learned through the experience of their own shoras who is for and who is against continuing the militant anti-imperialist course. The road forward is through the continuation of the struggles of the broad masses, who have shown their capacity through their own actions to eliminate the waverers.

Today in many Imam's Committees and in the Revolutionary Guard, those activists who are determined to see the revolution triumph are being attracted to the perspective of uniting the organizations of the working people.

If we are to prevent the imperialists and their local agents from creating divisions among the toiling masses of the city and countryside, the factory shoras, the Imam's Committees, and the peasant shoras must be linked together in struggle. The downtrodden in the cities must find ways to link up with the shoras.

Every militant who supports the shoras not just in words but in deeds must realize that the extension of the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed through the shoras is going to lead to increasing the power of these bodies. Unquestionably there are elements of dual power in this extension of the revolution.

The U.S. military attack in Tabas made every revolutionist realize clearly how far the factory shoras, the Revolutionary Guard brothers, and the brothers in the army are from having a coherent network of organizations uniting them for struggle.

If we want to talk seriously about achieving the unity of the broad masses of the people—not "unity" among the government leaders but a fighting unity built and tempered in the struggles of the broad masses against the enemy—there is only one road we can look to.

That road is to build the links between the factory councils, the institutions of the Jihad for Reconstruction, and the units of our brother Revolutionary Guards and the army. This has to be done with the perspective of extending the control of the masses over production, spreading the network of organization, extending military education, and building the army of twenty million people.

These needs can be denied only by those who believe in conciliationism rather than defending the interests of the intransigent masses, those who instead of immersing themselves in the ferment going on among the broad masses of millions of people look rather to the higher strata of society for a solution. □

'Kargar' Hails Gains of Tehran Conference

[The following editorial was published in the June 10 issue of *Kargar*, the weekly newspaper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

With the issuance of its final commu-

niqué on June 5, the Conference to Investigate U.S. Interference in Iran ended its work. This was the largest meeting of delegations from around the world in Iran since the Tabas events.

Not only did this final communiqué

demand the extradition of the shah to Iran, but in the name of delegations from many countries it demanded an end to the imperialist economic boycott against Iran.

Coinciding with the opening of this significant conference, an important discussion began among several of our country's leaders about what policy to adopt to build international solidarity with Iran. For example, *Jomhuri-e-Eslami*¹ in a headline over an editorial made a play on the name of Ramsey Clark, suggesting that he was acting as an imperialist agent.² Focusing on Clark, the editorial made a negative assessment of the conference.

On the other hand, newspapers like *Enqelab-e-Eslami*³ hailed this conference as an important and positive development. If for a few moments we put aside the questions involved in this dispute, some points about the conference stand out clearly.

It was beneficial to have such a gathering of delegations from many countries—from both West and East Europe; from Latin America, including Grenada and Cuba; from Islamic countries and neighboring countries in the Middle East; from the Palestine Liberation Organization; and East Asian countries.

American imperialism and the other countries it controls have been trying to isolate the Iranian revolution and make it look isolated. This conference showed that the opposite had happened. The weight of world public opinion is against the robbery and violence that U.S. imperialism has carried out against Iran.

It was this role of U.S. imperialism and the counterrevolutionary plans and wrecking operations, directed from the Den of Spies, that created the question of the hostages. The nature and objective of this struggle are expressed by the demand for the extradition of the shah. By supporting this demand of the Iranian people, the conference increased its reverberations around the world.

By taking a position against the economic blockade and the imperialists' constant threats against our revolution, this conference put the blame for these hostile acts squarely on those responsible, the politicians in Washington.

In particular, this conference had a very positive effect on American public opinion, which is decisive for blocking Carter's aggressive threats. By means of their travel ban, Carter and the bunch of gangsters in Washington are building a wall of silence around what is really happening in Iran. They are trying to win over Ameri-

can public opinion with a campaign of lies.

Thus, the participation of an American delegation in this conference showed that at least some leaders of American public opinion consider the U.S. government's threats and sanctions against Iran to be unacceptable. This delegation's coming to Iran, in the face of threats and possible penalties, only benefitted our revolution and exposed Carter more.

The international conference in Tehran did not take a position on the question of the hostages. To be sure, a lot of delegates from the various countries were opposed to the occupation of the Den of Spies and the taking of the hostages. Ramsey Clark and some other members of the U.S. delegation were among them.

The criticisms raised by *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* were based on such positions held by Clark and other delegates. Other forces, such as the Tudeh Party, focused their attacks exclusively on Ramsey Clark.

The important thing is not whether or not we agree with all the views of a person like Ramsey Clark. Probably we would have had a hard time in finding anyone else at the conference with whose views we would have agreed entirely. Moreover, it's no secret to anyone that *Kargar* is totally opposed to the policies of American imperialism with respect to Afghanistan. (And Ramsey Clark hotly defended these policies at the conference.)

What is important is that the holding of such conferences that take a stand supporting such basic principles as the extradition of the shah, the return of the wealth he stole, and the payment of reparations to Iran by U.S. imperialism give us a pivot for isolating the U.S. imperialists in world public opinion. On this basis, even the participation of capitalist politicians such as Ramsey Clark creates no difficulties, so long as they agree with these principles.

Obviously the question is whether support for holding the hostages must be made a condition for participation in such conferences and in building solidarity with

the Iranian revolution in other countries, especially West Europe and North America.

It is true that the taking of the hostages was forced on Iran by Carter. It is true that this revolutionary act by the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line played a decisive role in extending the struggle against the Great Satan. But it would be an isolating, divisionist, and wrecking policy to make explicit agreement with the taking of the hostages a condition for solidarity with the Iranian revolution.

The struggle of the Iranian people has raised the demand for the extradition of the shah. It has raised the demand for an end to the threats of the imperialists against the Iranian revolution. It has raised the demand for the imperialists to pay reparations for their long years of crimes and robbery in Iran.

These specific demands form a coherent, principled basis for solidarity with our revolution. The Conference to Investigate U.S. Interference in Iran showed no signs of violating these principles. The results of the conference should be put to use immediately, and a revolutionary propaganda offensive launched against Carter's gang of robbers and criminals.

The response of the militant and Muslim workers, of revolutionists, and revolutionary socialists to the holding of such conferences is clearly positive. Conferences such as this one strengthen the struggle to keep the hostages until the shah is extradited and the threats of U.S. imperialism are ended.

In conclusion, it should be noted that *Kargar* wanted to offer its readers detailed reports on the positions of the various delegations. However, those in charge prevented our reporters from attending, and so it was impossible for us to do this. The conference is now over. But it should be repeated that keeping *Kargar's* reporters out in no way aided the struggle against American imperialism. □

Grenadian Leader: 'We Support Iran'

Kendrick Radix, Grenada's ambassador to the United Nations, spoke in New York City June 8 after returning from the Tehran conference on U.S. intervention in Iran.

"We support the Iranian revolution," Radix said. "I was able to see with my own eyes that the Iranian people were happy to be rid of the shah just as we are happy to be rid of Eric Gairy."

Radix said that conference documents proving U.S. crimes against Iran show how the capitalist media sup-

presses facts and distorts the news. "Did you ever see these documents?" he asked the audience.

Referring to the U.S. government, Radix said, "The same people that talk so much about 'human rights' installed a government in Iran that killed and tortured hundreds of thousands of people."

Radix said that he had conveyed the thanks of the Grenadian people to the government of Iran for its decision to cut off oil supplies to the racist regimes in Israel and South Africa.—Steve Clark

1. The newspaper of the Islamic Republican Party.—IP/I

2. In Persian "ramz" means "secret" and "Kalak" means "trick." The headline meant both "the Ramsey Clark of the Imperialists," and "the secret of the imperialists' trick."—IP/I

3. The paper that supports President Bani-Sadr.—IP/I

CAUS Shifts Away From Confrontationist Course in Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN), a sectarian pro-Moscow group, has begun to shift away from its confrontationalist stance toward the revolutionary Sandinista-led government here.

The ultraleft course pursued by the PCN and the union federation it controls—the Confederation of Trade-Union Action and Unification (CAUS)—had resulted last March in public denunciations of both organizations by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and a series of jailings of PCN and CAUS leaders. All those arrested at that time have now been released.

To understand the evolution of the dispute between the FSLN and the PCN, it is useful to review the history of the Stalinist movement in Nicaragua.

A Stalinist Sect

The PCN arose out of a 1967 split in Nicaragua's traditional pro-Moscow party, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), which had been formed in 1944. Most of the PSN's founding leaders were expelled in 1967, owing basically to their long-standing sectarian opposition to any collaboration with the FSLN.

The original leaders of the PSN were hostile to the perspective of the armed overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, a task they considered hopeless. At various points, especially in the 1944-46 period, they even collaborated more or less openly with Somoza in exchange for token economic concessions. Their excuse was that Somoza and his Liberal Party represented a "lesser evil" than the opposition Conservative Party, which was based on the land-holding oligarchy and was labelled "fascist" by the PSN. (Later, the Conservative Party came to be headed by Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, who was assassinated by Somozaists in 1978. It remained the major bourgeois opposition party to Somoza.)

The PSN leaders expelled in 1967, along with a few younger followers, first set themselves up as the Nicaraguan Socialist Labor Party (POSN). By 1970, the older leaders found themselves expelled once again, this time by a grouping headed by Eli Altamirano. Altamirano took over the POSN and changed its name to the Communist Party of Nicaragua.

Under Altamirano, the PCN continued the anti-Sandinista, reformist course set earlier, this time with an even more sectarian stance and with a personality cult around Altamirano. The PCN gained the

leadership of some textile unions in Managua and eventually organized the CAUS on that basis.

The extreme sectarianism of Altamirano's PCN could be seen clearly in a resolution adopted by its Central Committee in October 1977. The broad, antidictatorial front just beginning to take shape at that time was denounced as "an oligarchic and antipatriotic movement." What was then the "Tercerista" faction of the FSLN was accused of "falling into the antiquated rightist positions of Conservative reaction."

The PCN always made a special point of its unconditional loyalty to Moscow, often filling its official organ, *Avance*, with lengthy extracts from documents prepared by the Kremlin's propagandists. (In recent times, the latter centered mostly on attacks on "Trotskyism.")

Despite the PCN's ardent overtures, Moscow never responded in kind. Its ties were always with the main pro-Moscow party, the PSN.

Altamirano's group did not remain entirely immune to the mass upsurge that swept Nicaragua in 1978-79. By mid-1978 it was offering some collaboration to the FSLN by taking part in the United People's Movement (MPU). The MPU was initiated by the Sandinistas as a united front of unions, popular organizations, and workers parties; it played an important role in organizing the urban insurrections. But the PCN often falsely tried to present itself as the leading force in the MPU.

Lurch to the Left

After the July 19 victory brought a workers and peasants government to power under FSLN leadership, the PCN made an abrupt shift and began trying to build its own organizational base by outflanking the Sandinistas "to the left." To justify this, it called into service the traditional Stalinist theory of "revolution by stages"—but with a special twist.

The FSLN, Altamirano's theory held, was indeed leading the revolution, but it could only do so in the "bourgeois-democratic stage" owing to the limitations of the "bourgeois nationalist ideology" of Sandinism. The task of leading the "socialist stage" fell to the true "communists" of the PCN. Armed with "Marxism-Leninism," they had to prepare to lead the working-class revolution against the FSLN and its "bourgeois" government.

This line soon led the PCN into provoca-

tive actions that complicated the FSLN's task of promoting working-class consciousness and organization to move the revolution forward.

Seeking to broaden its own influence among the masses at the FSLN's expense, the PCN resorted to ultraleft verbiage and activities. In the countryside, it called for the immediate distribution of individual plots of land to the peasants and tried to organize land seizures to put this into practice. This was at the same time the FSLN and the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) were stressing to the peasants the advantages of large-scale production and trying to organize them into cooperatives.

In the workplaces where they had influence, the PCN and CAUS called for a campaign to demand immediate wage increases of 100 percent for all workers. This ran directly counter to the FSLN's efforts to explain to employed workers that the economic devastation left by Somoza precluded big wage hikes if the overall conditions of the masses—especially of the tens of thousands of poor and unemployed—were to be improved. Through the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation, the FSLN was explaining, "social wages" could be raised by providing free medical care and education, food-price subsidies, and similar measures. Sharp hikes in money wages at a time when production levels remained quite low would only force the revolutionary government deeper into debt and create inflationary pressures.

Of course, the demands promoted by CAUS could easily seem just to some workers who had long been subjected to landlordism and subsistence wages. The PCN and CAUS thereby aided the political disorientation of some sectors.

Besides the irresponsible nature of the demands being advocated, the CAUS's wage campaign also cut across the FSLN's efforts to strengthen trade-union unity. The campaign was launched shortly after the CAUS had joined with the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and the PSN-led Independent General Workers Federation (CGT-i) to form the National Inter-Union Commission (CNI), or Intersindical.

The founding statement of the Intersindical had pledged the three union federations "to support . . . the achievement of each and every one of the goals of the [1980] Economic Reactivation Plan. . . ." Once having signed this, however, the CAUS leaders proceeded to act directly counter to such a perspective. In early

February they organized a demonstration of several hundred outside the Ministry of Labor to back the 100 percent wage-hike demand. On February 25, the 800-member CAUS union at Fabritex, a nationalized textile plant, halted production, demanding a 100 percent raise in pay. The CAUS organized solidarity strikes at some eighteen smaller workplaces in Managua. Some 2,000 workers in all downed tools.

The FSLN's immediate response to the strikes was to try to convince the ranks of the CAUS that their demands cut across the needs and strategic interests of the Nicaraguan working class as a whole. The main method employed was a series of marches by CST unions and Sandinista Defense Committees that went to Fabritex and other workplaces out on strike. Workers and neighborhood activists discussed the issues involved with the strikers and encouraged them to return to work. This effort generally succeeded after several days.

Negotiations between the Fabritex union and the Ministry of Industry produced an agreement on a 10 percent wage increase and other measures aimed at improving working conditions and the "social wage" at Fabritex.

Part of 'Destabilization' Plan?

After the strikes ended, the FSLN launched a propaganda campaign against what it called the "pseudoleaders" of the "Altamirano group." (If the PCN was referred to by name at all, it was only as "the so-called Communist Party.")

The CAUS strikes coincided with revelations that private capitalists were engaging in economic sabotage and "decapitalization." The strikes also came shortly after secret sessions in the U.S. Congress that heard CIA reports on Nicaragua.

The central theme of the Sandinistas' attacks on the PCN and the CAUS was that by organizing and encouraging production halts, they were "playing the game of the counterrevolution" or "objectively aiding" it.

"It is quite significant to us," Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce said in a February 29 speech, "that while the CIA is trying to sabotage U.S. financing so that we cannot increase production in the country . . . simultaneously pseudoleaders infiltrated in the CAUS are launching an offensive to destabilize our process with utopian demands. . . ."

A feature article in the March 8 edition of the CST fortnightly *El Trabajador* entitled "The CIA and Its Objectives" explained the irresponsible nature of the CAUS's demands and actions and then concluded: "We do not believe the leaders of the CAUS adopt such positions out of ingenuousness or ignorance. Leaving that possibility aside, we are forced to arrive at the conclusion that those gentlemen are acting in full accord with the CIA in its plans to prevent reconstruction, create a

climate of tension, and destabilize the country."

After an anti-imperialist demonstration of some 20,000 people on March 5, leaders of the CST led a section of the crowd in a march to the CAUS's headquarters in eastern Managua. The union's offices were sacked. Later, soldiers from the Sandinista People's Army took custody of the building and prevented CAUS leaders from recovering it.

Similar takeovers of CAUS or PCN headquarters took place in León and Matagalpa.

The detention of some fifty-five CAUS or PCN members was announced by Sandinista security chief Lenín Cerna at a March 17 news conference. No formal charges had yet been brought, Cerna said, but he made a series of allegations that the PCN and the CAUS had been "sabotaging production," "boycotting the literacy campaign," encouraging unauthorized land seizures by peasants, and in general "conspiring against the Sandinista state." Altamirano was accused of having met with Somozaist officials in the past and on at least one occasion with a CIA agent from the U.S. embassy.

The evidence presented to back up these serious charges was limited. Pistols and ammunition said to have been found in the CAUS offices in León were displayed, along with two military helmets with hammers and sickles painted on the sides.

The most incriminating item presented was a numbered copy of a clandestine PCN bulletin, *El Partido*, which carried an article dated August 1979 that called for "cautious infiltration of the Sandinista People's Army" as part of the preparation for the "proletarian revolution." It was necessary, the document added, for the PCN to begin the initial steps toward organizing an "armed wing." Thus, a group that had done next to nothing to support the armed struggle against Somoza was discussing taking up arms against the FSLN-led workers and peasants government!

Security chief Cerna said that some fifteen of the PCN and CAUS leaders would be held for trial and that the rest would be released upon completion of the investigation. However, only six PCN members from León were ever tried; these were sentenced in early April to one year at public works for illegal possession of weapons.

By mid-April the public campaign against the PCN and the CAUS had subsided. On April 13, at a gathering of more than 2,000 trade-union members in Managua sponsored by the Intersindical, CAUS leader and veteran PCN militant Manuel Pérez Estrada was among the speakers. He called for overcoming past differences and strengthening trade-union unity.

When the Junta of National Reconstruction announced the composition of the

Council of State on April 21, the CAUS was included with one representative. Responding to a journalist's question about this, junta member Moises Hassán stated that the CAUS was a "workers organization, and as such has a right to a seat in the Council of State." (Three other non-FSLN-led unions were also given seats.)

The PCN, Hassán added, had placed itself "outside the law" and thus would have no representation in the council.

At the huge May Day celebration in Managua sponsored by the Intersindical, a contingent of workers from the CAUS was present, along with activists bearing red banners with the insignia of the PCN. Again, Manuel Pérez Estrada of the CAUS was given a place on the May Day speakers' platform; he addressed the crowd briefly.

Another important indication that the FSLN had reassessed its initial approach to dealing with the ultraleft sectarianism of the CAUS and PCN came with the release of all remaining prisoners of the two organizations between May 14 and May 31 (See *IP/I*, June 23, p. 648).

Among those released was CAUS President Allan Zambrana. Several days later, on June 8, Zambrana addressed an assembly of workers at the CAUS Managua headquarters, which had been restored to the union by the revolutionary government. According to a report featured on the front page of the June 9 FSLN daily *Barricada*:

Zambrana said that his organization must overcome "sectarianism" for the sake of the revolutionary process and the nation's future. . . .

At the workers' meeting, the CAUS's work plan was discussed. Zambrana emphasized the phenomenon of "factionalism" that had arisen in CAUS-organized workplaces and had provoked "internal disputes" He also pointed out that his organization was not anti-Sandinista, "otherwise we would not be struggling to see the fruits of workers unity," he said.

The CAUS's work plan includes support for and promotion of the Sandinista People's Militias in the workplaces; strengthening of ties with the country's union federations—the CGT, CST, and ATC [Rural Workers Association]—and the reorganization of the executive and provincial committees of the CAUS.

While the FSLN has not yet drawn any public balance sheet on the handling of the problems that arose with the PCN and the CAUS, it is now clear that in practice the Sandinistas have recognized the right of this current in the workers movement to exist, to organize, express itself, and participate in the revolution. For their part, PCN and CAUS leaders have pulled back from their sectarian and politically dead-end course of encouraging confrontations with the revolutionary government.

On the whole, the outcome of the Sandinistas' experience with the PCN and CAUS bodes well for the continued strengthening of working-class unity in revolutionary Nicaragua. □

The Massacres in Northeast India

By Ernest Harsch

Some of the worst fratricidal fighting in India in decades is sweeping the northeastern states.

Villagers massacring villagers, attacks against left-wing political activists, police atrocities against the civilian population—all have become increasingly frequent features of the political turmoil in Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, Manipur, and other states in the region. All have followed in the wake of a months-long campaign of chauvinist agitation for the expulsion of all "foreigners"—that is, Bengali-speaking residents of those states.

As a result, thousands of poor peasants and workers have been brutally murdered. Hundreds of thousands have been left homeless.

The worst single incident so far took place in the village of Mandai, in Tripura state, over the weekend of June 7-8. During those two days, nearly all of the Bengali residents of the village were massacred and their huts burned down by bands of youths armed with guns, spears, swords, and scythes.

In a dispatch from Mandai in the June 16 *New York Times*, correspondent Kasturi Rangan reported, "An Indian Army contingent that reached here Monday [June 9] found no one alive. The soldiers found at least 350 bodies of men, women and children stacked in heaps along the narrow strip of road."

Army sources reported that about an equal number of villagers, most of them Bengalis, were known to have been killed in attacks in other parts of the state. One Indian journalist put the death toll in the thousands.

Similar massacres have taken place in neighboring Assam, which has been at the center of the agitation against "foreigners."

In a report in the May 17 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*, Nirupama Bargohain described the carnage in the North Kamrup area of Assam, which she visited:

"The burning and looting started from January 5 and hooligans indulged in the looting and pillage with gay abandon. It is difficult to ascertain the number of dead; some say it is in hundreds while others claim it reached a thousand. But there can be no doubt that a very large number of Hindu and Muslim people of this region have been killed. On the January 17, we visited Khsudiya and Dhamdhama, where we saw a number of burnt-out houses which had belonged to Bengalis."

The central government's armed forces,



which were sent into Assam to maintain "order," responded to the unrest in their typically brutal fashion. In an article in the same issue of the *Bombay Weekly*, Vibhuti Patel reported that many villagers had been beaten by the Central Reserve Police and that scores of women had been raped. "Even small girls and 80-year-old women were not spared," she reported, "nor were mothers of newly-born children."

"This is not the story of Assam only," Patel continued. "In Meghalaya, Manipur and Nagaland too, atrocities of the State's repressive machinery under the guise of various Disturbed Areas Acts have been common."

The social turmoil and political repression in northeastern India are rooted in the region's severe economic underdevelopment and its complex nationality problems.

Like the rest of India, the northeast is a mosaic of nationalities and tribal groupings. There have long been conflicts between the Assamese and Bengali ruling classes. The various tribespeople of Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, Manipur, Meghalaya, and Arunachal have been oppressed by other Indians. The region in its entirety has been neglected or discriminated against by the central authorities in New Delhi.

The northeast, which is physically connected to the rest of India by just a narrow strip of land between Bangladesh and Nepal, is one of the most economically

backward regions of the country. It is primarily rural. Unemployment is very high, and class conflicts in the countryside are sharp. In Assam, for instance, fully 77 percent of all peasants either own no land or own plots that are too small to subsist on. Many peasants, whether tribespeople, Assamese, or Bengalis, are kept in perpetual debt to usurers and moneylenders.

Such conditions have provided plenty of tinder for social upheaval.

The Naga and Mizo tribespeople have for years been carrying out an armed struggle against the Indian army, fighting for the independence of Nagaland and Mizoram. The various regimes in New Delhi have responded with the most brutal counterinsurgency measures, killing thousands of insurgents and villagers.

Since 1979, mass demonstrations have been sweeping Assam, in some cases involving hundreds of thousands of participants. But unlike the struggles in Nagaland and Mizoram, which are directed primarily against the capitalist government in New Delhi, the leaders of the upsurge in Assam have channeled it in a chauvinist and right-wing direction. Rather than aiming their fire at the Indian ruling class and its government, they have sought to turn the anger of the Assamese masses against the Bengalis, several million of whom have settled in the area over the past three decades.

This has had an influence among some tribespeople in Tripura, Manipur, and Meghalaya, leading to attacks on Bengalis in those states as well.

The official demand of the campaign in Assam has been for the disenfranchisement of all "foreigners," a euphemism for Bengalis from Bangladesh, but which in popular usage includes all Bengalis, even those who are Indian citizens. Demands for the physical expulsion of the Bengalis have become increasingly frequent.

According to a report in the April 19 *Economic and Political Weekly*, The killing and looting was thoroughly organized. School and college going students, teachers and professors set the example for the villagers. The Assamese peasants had been told that once they forced the Bengalis to leave, their lands would automatically come to them."

In some cases, the campaign against Bengalis has provided an opportunity for Assamese landlords to evict Bengali peasants.

Political activists of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) have also come under attack, as have members of other leftist groups and trade unionists opposed to the chauvinist campaign. The CPI(M) is the ruling party in Tripura and has been growing in strength recently in Assam. Its leaders charge that one aim of the movement has been to weaken the party's influence.

The Indian capitalists view the agitation against Bengalis in the northeast as an

opportunity to keep working people divided and weak. Local leaders of the two main bourgeois parties in India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress Party and the opposition Janata Party, have declared their support for the disenfranchisement of "foreigners" in Assam.

Meanwhile, leaders of those same parties in West Bengal have sought to initiate an equally chauvinist campaign by Bengalis in that state *against the Assamese*. The CPI(M), which is also the ruling party in West Bengal, has denounced this campaign.

The Gandhi regime, at the same time, has sought to contain the ferment in the northeast within certain limits. The ruling

class is concerned that the mass movement in Assam and other states could alter political direction or that it could heighten regionalist or nationality conflicts in other areas, further weakening the cohesion of the Indian state.

In a report on the campaign against Bengalis in Meghalaya, the January 5 *Economic and Political Weekly* commented that "even though such disruptive agitations have been known to be covertly encouraged by the State itself with a view to sowing confusion and divisions among the working people, beyond a certain point, it is also considered necessary to suppress such agitations ruthlessly."

Under the guise of acting to restore

"peace," Prime Minister Gandhi has not only stepped up government repression in the northeast, but has also seized on the unrest there to press for a strengthening of her government's repressive powers in general. Preparations are being made for the possible dismissal of the CPI(M) governments in Tripura, West Bengal, and Kerala. Various laws have been pushed through allowing the authorities to prohibit strikes and to detain political activists without trial.

With the memories of Gandhi's repressive 1975-77 state of emergency still fresh in everyone's mind, the dangers facing working people throughout India are clear. □

Opponents of Olympic Boycott Ask Release of Six in USSR

[On June 25 a delegation made up of opponents of the Olympic boycott delivered a letter to Oleg Troyanovsky, the Soviet Union's ambassador to the United Nations. The letter appealed for the release of six young left-wing dissidents from Leningrad. An account of their imprisonment appeared in the February 25, 1980, issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Below is the text of that letter.

[The delegation also delivered a petition along the same lines signed by sixty-three auto workers from United Auto Workers Local 980 in New Jersey.]

* * *

Dear Mr. Troyanovsky:

We are deeply concerned over the persecution of six young people sentenced in Leningrad to terms in harsh forced labor camps and in psychiatric hospitals because they organized to express their views.

Three of these youth—Arkady Tsurkov (twenty years old), Aleksandr Skobov (twenty-one years old) and Aleksei Khavin (twenty years old)—were leading figures in the "Left Opposition" grouping in Leningrad. Aleksei Stasevich (twenty-three years old), Vladimir Mikhailov (twenty-eight years old), and Alevtina Kochneva (twenty-one years old) were part of the Movement of Revolutionary Communards in Leningrad.

The "Left Opposition" and the Movement of Revolutionary Communards were groups of young people who sought more democracy and social justice for workers and students in the Soviet Union and abroad. The "Left Opposition" from its beginning in 1977 defined itself as socialist and anti-imperialist. In August 1978, just before the police broke up the group, it passed a resolution in support of the Nicaraguan revolution. Both the "Left Opposition" and the Movement of Revolutionary Communards sought to organize other youth to read and discuss the ideas of

prominent social thinkers like Karl Marx, Georgy Plekhanov, Peter Kropotkin and August Bebel; to discuss the history of the Russian revolution; and to print leaflets and journals where they could freely express and exchange their views.

The ideas of the leaders of the Russian Revolution of 1917 were formed and tempered through long, intense, and open debates over ideas of thinkers such as these youth sought to study. Are we to believe that to read, discuss, and express interest in such ideas today is a crime? We must reject such a claim.

These young people are anticapitalist and loyal to the principles of communism.

Signers of the Appeal

[In the list below, organizations are listed for identification purposes only.]

* * *

Eqbal Ahmad, Institute for Policy Studies; **Paul Avrich**, Professor, Queens College; **Elias Ayoub**, Palestinian fighting deportation from the United States; **Norma Becker**, War Resisters League; **Philip Berrigan**; **Noam Chomsky**; **Ruth Gage-Colby**; **Richard Falk**, Professor, Princeton University; **James Grant**, one of the Charlotte 3 defendants; **Edward F. Gray**, President, Region 9, United Auto Workers; **James Haughton**, Harlem Fight Back; **Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick**, Chairman, Black Theology Project of America; **Kate Millet**; **George Novack**; **Bertell Ollman**, Professor, New York University; **Grace Paley**; **James Petras**, Professor, State University of New York; **Stuart Schaar**, Professor, Brooklyn College; **Paul Siegel**, Professor Emeritus, Long Island University; **Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker**, Secretary-General, International Freedom Mobilization.

Moreover, they were only exercising their fundamental democratic rights. Yet Tsurkov was sentenced in April 1979 to a term of five years forced labor and two years internal exile; Skobov was sent in April 1979 to an indefinite term of compulsory psychiatric treatment; Khavin was sentenced to a six-year term in a forced labor camp in August 1979; and in December 1979, Mikhailov and Stasevich were sentenced to three-year terms in harsh forced labor camps and Kochneva to a labor camp term of one year and three months.

We, who support those fighting for democratic rights and against oppression around the world, who support the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua which overthrew U.S.-backed dictatorships, who oppose Washington's war machine whether it be directed against these or any other revolutions, and who oppose efforts to organize a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, must condemn the persecution of these six young activists. It is not in the interest of socialism and democracy for young people such as these to be imprisoned. They should be free to read and to discuss their views and to organize to make their views known to the Soviet people.

We call upon you, and upon all those who support the fights for social justice and democratic rights the world over, to join us in calling for the immediate release of Tsurkov, Skobov, Khavin, Mikhailov, Stasevich and Kochneva. □

Vladimir Borisov Expelled From USSR

Dissident trade unionist Vladimir Borisov arrived in Vienna June 23, after being expelled from the Soviet Union. Borisov was forcibly removed from a Soviet airliner at Vienna Airport.

Borisov reported that the Free Inter-Trade Association of Workers (SMOT), which he was associated with, had 200 members divided among eight or ten groups.

DOCUMENTS

Nelson Mandela's Message from Robben Island

'The First Condition for Victory is Black Unity'

[The following is a statement by Nelson Mandela, a central leader of the African National Congress (ANC), who is now serving a life sentence on the South African regime's notorious Robben Island prison. He has been imprisoned there since 1964.

[In recent months, there has been a stepped-up campaign, both within South Africa and internationally, to win Mandela's release. The apartheid regime has made it clear that it has no intention of freeing him.

[The statement was written more than two years ago, to commemorate the second anniversary of the June 16, 1976, uprisings in Soweto. Because of the tight security at Robben Island, however, it was only recently smuggled off the island and publicly released by the ANC.]

* * *

The gun has played an important part in our history. The resistance of the Black man to white colonial intrusion was crushed by the gun. Our struggle to liberate ourselves from white domination is held in check by force of arms.

From conquest to the present, the story is the same. Successive white regimes have repeatedly massacred unarmed, defenceless Blacks. And wherever and whenever they have pulled out their guns, the ferocity of their fire has been trained on the African people. Apartheid is the embodiment of the racialism, repression, and inhumanity of all previous white supremacist regimes. To see the real face of apartheid, we must look beneath the veil of constitutional formulas, deceptive phrases, and playing with words.

The rattle of gunfire and the rumbling of Hippo armored vehicles since June 1976 have once again torn aside the veil. Spread across the face of our country, in Black townships, the racist army and police have been pouring a hail of bullets, killing and maiming hundreds of Black men, women, and children.

The toll of the dead and injured already surpasses that of all past massacres carried out by this regime. Apartheid is the rule of the gun and the hangman. The Hippo, the rifle, and the gallows are its true symbols. These remain the easiest resort, the ever-ready solution of the race-mad rulers of South Africa.

In the midst of the present crisis, while our people count the dead and nurse the injured, they ask themselves: What lies



NELSON MANDELA

ahead? From our rulers, we can expect nothing. They are the ones who give orders to the soldier crouching over his rifle, theirs is the spirit that moves the finger that caresses the trigger.

Vague promises, tinkering with the machinery of apartheid, constitution juggling, massive arrests and detentions—side by side with renewed overtures aimed at weakening and forestalling the unity of us Blacks and dividing the forces of change—these are the fixed paths along which they will move. For they are neither capable nor willing to heed the verdict of the masses of our people.

The verdict of June 16 is loud and clear: Apartheid has failed. Our people remain unequivocal in its rejection. The young and the old, parent and child, all reject it. At the forefront of the 1976/77 wave of unrest were our students and youth. They come from the universities, high schools, and even primary schools. They are a generation whose whole education has been under the diabolical design of the racists to poison the minds and brainwash our children into docile subjects of apartheid rule.

But after more than 20 years of Bantu [segregated] education, the circle is closed and nothing demonstrates the utter bankruptcy of apartheid as the revolt of our youth. The evils, the cruelty, and the inhumanity of apartheid have been there from its inception. And Blacks—Africans, Coloured and Indians—have opposed it all along the line. What is now unmistakable, what the current wave of unrest has

sharply highlighted is this: That despite all the window dressing and smooth talk, apartheid has become intolerable. This awareness reaches over and beyond the particulars of our enslavement. The measure of this truth is the recognition by our people that under apartheid, our lives, individually and collectively, count for nothing.

We face an enemy that is deep-rooted, an enemy entrenched and determined not to yield. Our march to freedom is long and difficult. But both within and beyond our borders the prospects of victory grow bright. The first condition for victory is Black unity. Every effort to divide the Blacks, to woo and pit one Black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed. Our people—African, Indian, Coloured, and democratic whites—must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. Our struggle is growing sharper. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity. At all levels and in every walk of life, we must close ranks. Within the ranks of the people, differences must be submerged to the achievement of a single goal—the complete overthrow of apartheid and race domination.

The revulsion of the world against apartheid is growing and the frontiers of white supremacy are shrinking. Mozambique and Angola are free and the war of liberation gathers force in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The soil of our country is destined to be the scene of the fiercest fight and the sharpest battles to rid our continent of the last vestiges of white minority rule. The world is on our side. The Organization of African Unity, the UN, and the anti-apartheid movement continue to put pressure on the racist rulers of our country. Every effort to isolate South Africa adds strength to our struggle. At all levels of our struggle, within and outside the country, much has been achieved and much remains to be done. But victory is certain!

We who are confined within the grey walls of the Pretoria regime's prisons reach out to our people. With you we count those who have perished by means of the gun and the hangman's rope. We salute all of you—the living, the injured, and the dead, for you have dared to rise up against the tyrant's might. Even as we bow at their graves we remember this: The dead live on as martyrs in our hearts and minds, a reproach to our disunity and the host of shortcomings that accompany the oppressed, a spur to our efforts to close ranks, and a reminder that the freedom of our people is yet to be won. We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun.

Between the anvil of united action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule. □

Britain: Growing Sentiment to Get Out of Ireland

[Some 250 people attended a "Voices for Withdrawal" forum in London June 14 in solidarity with the struggle against British occupation of Northern Ireland. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for Withdrawal from Ireland (CWI), and speakers included several members of Parliament, and union leaders.

[The June 19 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Challenge* featured an article by Geoff Bell on perspectives for building an Irish solidarity movement in Britain. Bell, a member of the International Marxist Group, was a speaker at the June 14 forum. He urged collaboration between the CWI, the Troops Out Movement (TOM), and the Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI) on a national demonstration to oppose the Tory government's plans for continued British occupation of Northern Ireland and to support self-determination for all Irish people.

[Parallel to the developing movement for British withdrawal has been the launching in Britain of "Charter '80," a campaign seeking human rights for Irish political prisoners facing horrible conditions in the H Block at Long Kesh Prison and in the women's prison in Armagh.

[The June 19 *Socialist Challenge* also carried a statement by Ireland's Provisional Republican movement on how a solidarity movement can be built in Britain. Below we are reprinting that statement.]

* * *

The leaders of the national liberation struggle in Vietnam always recognised the importance of a broad-based movement against the war being developed in the Imperialist heartland itself.

They did not find it pointless or impossible to build a troops out movement in spite of widespread support in America for the war—including among the trade unions.

The Vietnamese leaders always appealed for unity in action among the various anti-war organisations in America.

Xuan Thuy, ambassador to the Paris peace talks, put it like this:

Facing the serious situation as it presents itself now, I call upon the progressive American people and all anti-war organisations in the United States to unite closely, to associate all forces and strata of the population irrespective of their skin colour, religion and political trend, thus making a united and strong movement so as to curb in time new military adventures by the US administration, to demand an end to their war of aggression in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, to demand the withdrawal of all American troops from Indochina and let the Indochina people settle their own internal affairs.

The principle is that an anti-war movement in an imperialist country must unite the broadest possible forces behind the basic demands of "troops out" and "self-determination."

The stress of the American anti-war movement was always on action, rather than, for example, on working in Congress.

So there were huge demonstrations against the war over a number of years, such as the 800,000 who marched in Washington in [April 24] 1971. There were protests, teach-ins, and mass mobilisations up and down the country throughout the war, especially after the draft was introduced.

This movement had two main principles. First it had a non-exclusionary line, in other words anyone who supported the basic demands was free to participate.

Secondly, it was a single-issue campaign, which did not include in its programme points on broader political issues.

If these principles are applied in Britain what is the result?

If the Young Liberals or [Liberal Party leader] Cyril Smith or a number of Labour MPs say "troops out of Ireland," but take reactionary positions on other issues, then clearly this conflict is their problem and not that of activists in the troops out movement, so long as their actions help in some way to build a troops out movement.

It is always the danger in building an anti-war movement in a hostile situation of making [itself] politically factional. Republicans would obviously like to see hundreds of thousands marching through London calling for the withdrawal of British troops on a principled, anti-imperialist basis.

But it may well be more likely that a "Bring the Boys Home" movement will develop based on British self-interest and chauvinist sentiment. This would seem to be what the *Daily Mirror* has been advocating. In a purely objective sense this could unwittingly result in action against British interests.

While a progressive anti-imperialist movement would be the more welcome, Republicans cannot ignore the prospect of a movement saying "troops out" for its own chauvinist reasons ("let the Irish sort themselves out").

Protest action is what is wanted, no matter what the basis. However, within this movement the radicals should, of course, try to educate people around the issues raised in the war.

The trade unions in America were mainly favourable to the war in Vietnam. This was basically on a pro-imperialist basis, and purely for self-interest because

the war meant more jobs. Building workers in New York, the "hard hats," even violently attacked anti-war demonstrations in the streets.

Gradually, the building of a mass movement against the war, mainly supported by students and black people, turned the tide in the trade unions, and many came out against the war.

In Britain, it would seem the situation is more favourable for building a "troops out" movement within the organised labour movement. Support for the Chile Solidarity Campaign (set up after the bloody military coup in 1973) was, for example, quite widespread among trades councils and unions.

On Ireland, most trade unionists seem to be not so much hostile as ignorant of the situation here.

It is for those active in the troops out movement to decide themselves how best to pursue their activity. But the prospects look good, if a principled yet flexible approach is adopted, based on the "non-exclusionary" and "single-issue" principles. □

Leader of H-Block Protests Murdered

Miriam Daly, a well-known Irish fighter against repression, was assassinated in Belfast on June 26. Daly had been elected to the National H-Block Committee only a few days before her murder.



MIRIAM DALY

Daly was the second prominent anti-imperialist leader to be assassinated in Northern Ireland in three weeks. On June 4, John Turnley was ambushed, taken from his car, and gunned down. He was a leader of the Irish Independence Party, many of whose leading figures have played a prominent role in the H-Block protests.

These killings point to the danger that rightist gangs in Northern Ireland may have started a murder campaign to stop the growing mass protests against the British government's repression. The murders also show the need to focus world attention on the H-Block.

The British imperialists and ultra-right terrorists they collaborate with will stop at nothing. Miriam Daly was the mother of small children. Her nine-year-old daughter found the body when she came home from school. Miriam's legs were tied and she had been shot in the head several times. —Gerry Foley

Building the Workers Party in Brazil

By Daniel Ben Said

The Brazilian working class has never been deeply or massively organized on an independent basis. And the fifteen years of military dictatorship certainly have not helped matters. While the old Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), a populist organization led by Leonel Brizola, was becoming a shadow of its former self in the opposition movement and in exile; and while the Communist Party (CP) and the armed organizations were becoming discredited, a massive urban proletariat was arising—a proletariat that would have to find its own forms of political expression.

Thus, it was not surprising that in late 1978 and early 1979, the idea of forming an independent labor party—the Workers Party (PT)—was initiated by militant trade-union leaders for whom the legal limits of the official state-controlled trade-union structure were becoming an insurmountable obstacle.

Since the beginning of this year, the movement for the Workers Party has definitively taken off. It comprises unionists from all different generations: those who went through the epoch of anarchosyndicalism, such as the octogenarian Mario Pedrosa—a founder of the Left Opposition at the beginning of the 1930s; those from the postwar period; those who went through the movement against wage freezes in the 1960s; those who have gone through the latest struggles; far-left currents that are emerging from underground; peasant leaders, such as Manoel da Conceição; and major religious currents, including well-known priests.

A Workers Party, a Party Without Bosses, a Democratic Party

The provisional political basis of the Workers Party, which has not yet had its founding congress, is summarized in three documents. These are its Charter of Principles; the Political Declaration adopted at its October 1979 gathering; and the February 10 Political Platform laying out the Workers Party's demands.

The Charter of Principles clearly defines the Workers Party as "a party solely of workers," whose struggle "for effective trade-union autonomy and independence, which is a basic workers' demand, is an integral part of the struggle for political independence."

The charter states that the Workers Party "seeks to win political power and establish a workers government based on representative bodies created by the working masses themselves in order to have fundamental direct democracy." It would

thus be a "workers party, a party without bosses" that would "put an end to exploitation of man by man," a party that is for a democratic, socialist society.

"Thus the Workers Party will be built," the charter continues, "by respecting the rights of minorities to express their viewpoints. It will respect the right to form factions and tendencies, even though one joins the Workers Party only as an individual."

This general programmatic definition was largely confirmed by the October 1979 Political Declaration, which explicitly mentions the need to struggle for a united workers federation, built from the rank-and-file. The definition was further confirmed and developed by the Political Platform adopted at the February 10, 1980, national gathering.

In the section on democratic rights, this platform demands "free trade unions that are independent of the state"; the "legalization of factory commissions and delegates that are democratically elected by the workers"; a "united workers federation that is democratically elected by all workers"; the "unlimited right to strike"; an "unrestricted general amnesty"; the "formation of a free, democratic, and sovereign national Constituent Assembly"; and "a workers government."

In the section on better living and working conditions, the February 10 Political Platform calls for "a single national minimum wage"; a "cost-of-living escalator clause providing pay increases each time there is a 5 percent rise in the cost of living or through automatic quarterly readjustments"; a "forty-hour workweek with no reduction in pay"; a "collective labor contract"; and "extension of all gains won by urban workers to rural workers as well."

In the section on the national question: "elimination of the unproductive latifundias and distribution of the land to landless workers"; "encouragement of cooperatives"; "nationalization and state control over all foreign enterprises"; "nationalization of all public utilities (transportation, education, health, energy production and distribution)"; "nationalization of all large enterprises, banks, mining companies, and of the basic infrastructure"; "people's control over public funds"; and "respect for the cultural characteristics of each region and for the rights of racial minorities."

The initial draft that the Workers Party interim leadership presented to the February 10 national gathering was inspired by a group of well-known sociologists and it was clearly more moderate. But the dele-

gates supported a much more radical orientation.

Right away, the bourgeoisie began to conduct a big campaign through the newspapers and radio, charging that the eminently respectable Lula (Luís Inácio da Silva, leader of the São Paulo metalworkers and the Workers Party) had already been outflanked by extremist elements.

Inside the Workers Party itself, similar concerns were raised. For example, sociologist Francisco Weffort wrote in the February 22 issue of the *Jornal do Estado de São Paulo*: "We want a democratic mass party. Certain people want to transform the Workers Party into a cadre party. This illustrates the differences that exist regarding building the Workers Party."

A Mass, Working-Class Party—Not a Parliamentary Machine

The issue was deliberately falsified. Up to now no one inside the Workers Party has called for a small cadre party. Every political current has stressed just the opposite—that there are real opportunities to build a mass party, a party of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. The real differences are over what the class character of such a party should be, that is whether it should be a party "without bosses" as the Charter of Principles unambiguously emphasized.

If it were just a matter of constructing a mass electoral machine, the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) could have served this purpose. The PMDB brought together the democratic opponents of the dictatorship, with all classes mixed together.¹

The uniqueness of the Workers Party is that it strives to be exclusively a party of workers and an activist party. Those who adhere to the idea of a "mass party" will have great difficulty trying to show that a mass party and a class party are two contradictory concepts. Everything tends to prove just the opposite: that the workers are ready to turn massively towards a party that is really theirs and where they feel they are in control.

1. In November 1979 a political party "reform" law dissolved the two legal parties, the government's Alliance for National Renewal (ARENA) and the official opposition Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). Since then, several new parties have arisen, including the PMDB, which retained most of the old MDB elected officials, and the so-called Social Democratic Party, which is basically the old ARENA.—IP/I

Only a party that does not trail behind one or another wing of the bourgeoisie can unconditionally defend the interests of the exploited. And for this reason, such a party is the only kind that can unite all the exploited.

Defending the "class struggle" character of the Workers Party is therefore on the agenda. In the face of its first successes, it is not out of the question that the bourgeoisie—unable to crush it in the egg—will try to infiltrate it and divert it from inside. There are always rumors that certain modern and enlightened employers who belong to the PMDB would like to ask to join the Workers Party. This would be in flagrant contradiction to all the basic documents of the Workers Party.

Another problem is posed by the fact that some members of parliament have come over to the Workers Party. It is difficult to know how much of this is sincere and how much is careerism. Almost overnight, by joining the Workers Party, these unknown PMDB deputies were promoted as spokespersons for this fifth national political force. It is clear, however, that the role of these elected officials (six deputies and one senator) in the party is already a bone of contention.

The Workers Party national congress, originally scheduled for April 12, was rescheduled because of the metalworkers' strike. But the procedures for choosing delegates had already been laid out by the eleven-member national interim leadership. A majority of the leadership decided that these elected officials would be invited to the local, regional, and national congresses, and given the right to vote, without having to be elected as delegates.

This issue is not as harmless as it might appear. For example, in the state of Goiás, a deputy named Santilho brought with him more than 100 *vareadores* (city council members) to the Workers Party. These 100 council members, given the right to vote at the national conference, would themselves have more representation than the delegates duly elected by 6,000 rank-and-file workers in their local meetings. This is how the British Labour Party works.

In this regard, an editorial in the newspaper *Em Tempo* was completely justified in raising the question of the "Bionics." In Brazilian political parlance, Bionic senators are those whom the dictatorship directly appoints in order to be assured of a comfortable majority in the Senate. A democratic workers party should have nothing to do with a system of Bionic delegates with divine right. Even though these elected officials may have won enough popular votes to be elected to parliament, they should show that they are also capable of winning enough votes from the members of their own party to be elected as delegates.

This question must also be viewed in relation to the still contradictory situation of the Workers Party. The interim leader-

ship has clearly rejected the regime's proposed reforms that lay out how a political party can get legal status, exposing these reforms as an additional obstacle to democratization. However, the need to fight to legalize the Workers Party is a dominant theme among rank-and-file members. This results in a dual organizational structure.

On the official level, the Workers Party must comply with the regime's official registration requirements. These are legal



Em Tempo
Metalworkers union leader Luís Inácio da Silva ("Lula") is a leader of the Workers Party.

organizational requirements for political parties, which the law is trying to make into simple electoral machines. Each party must have an electoral committee, based on lists of voters, with eleven public members.

On the unofficial level, the real organizational structure of the Workers Party is the local branches, each of which contains anywhere from twenty-one to 100 members. These branches are organized by neighborhoods and by occupation, and less frequently by workplace.

It would not be very complicated to arrange for this unofficial organizational structure of activists to be the sovereign structure of the party and to control the public structure that complies with the legal registration requirements. For example, it would just be a matter of the registered leaders being put under the control of the regional branch assemblies.

But some people are putting forward the opposite idea—aimed at trying to dissolve the activist branch structure into the electoral structure for registration. This assumes that branches of several thousand members could exist. Then the members of parliament and the professional politicians would just manage the electorate the way they do in the big Social Democratic formations.

This discussion on the character of the

Workers Party raises three major questions as to its political orientation.

The first is around the question of alliances. There is the possibility that although class independence is spelled out in the Workers Party's program, it could be completely negated by a policy of making alliances with the bourgeois opposition. One important contribution submitted to the discussion prior to the Workers Party national congress speaks about a "broad mass front against the dictatorship." This formulation is vague enough that it could open the door to various interpretations. There should be no objection to participating in concrete mobilizations with bourgeois opposition forces around the right to strike, for trade-union rights, and for a Constituent Assembly. The most important thing is for the action to be correct.

But it is another thing entirely to negotiate a minimum electoral program or an ongoing "democratic front" with the PMDB or the PTB. Accepting these kinds of alliances or pacts would only result in chasing the bosses out the door, but letting them back in through the window. This would be flouting the whole idea of class independence just as soon as it had been declared.

The second crucial question is that of the connection between building the Workers Party and the struggle for a united workers federation. Here, too, there is a danger that a goodly number of trade-union officials who helped to found the Workers Party would prefer a party that remains outside the workplace, without dealing with day-to-day class struggle issues and without a worked out position on the question of trade-union orientation. Such a conception would inevitably result in the Workers Party being relegated to a mere electoral machine and would create an artificial barrier between trade unionism and politics.

It is not just a matter of calling for a united workers federation, but of understanding how to build such a federation. It would have to involve those unions under the control of militant unionists, as well as groups of trade-union oppositionists, and embryos of trade-union committees and commissions that could arise in the workplaces.

Right now, the trade-union movement is quite heterogeneous. Already some of the most important unions are led by people who have a class-struggle perspective. In some trades there are exceptional cases of unions that are not officially recognized, but have been set up as an alternative to the corrupt legal unions. There are groups of opposition unionists that are quite varied. And there may also be forms of independent organization that have survived to one or another degree from some of the big struggles within the workplaces.

In a later phase of the movement, all these formations together could play a part in the struggle for a national congress to

establish a united trade-union federation that is independent of the state apparatus. The beginnings of coordination between unions in different trades at the regional and national levels could constitute a first step toward this goal.

The third crucial question is the Workers Party's program. The program must clearly call for dismantling the state apparatus (doing away with the political police and the repressive military and paramilitary apparatus). It would not be sufficient to only raise democratization as the axis of struggle, without specifying how this battle should be waged.

To Legally Construct the Workers Party and Defend a Revolutionary Marxist Program

Today Brazilian revolutionists are faced with the question of how best to advance the building of a mass independent party of the Brazilian working class—how to take a step forward on the road to working-class political independence.

In a country where the organizational traditions of the workers movement are still quite weak and fragile, the situation is comparable to what existed in Europe at the end of the last century or the beginning of this century.

In a December 28, 1886, letter to the American socialist Florence Kelly, Frederick Engels wrote [in English]:

“... It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat than that it should start and proceed from the beginning, on theoretically perfectly correct lines. . . . The great thing is to get the working class to move as a class; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist. . . . will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own.

“Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *alleinseligmachendes Dogma* [the only kind of dogma that can bring salvation], and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. . . .

“... What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory. . . . to go in for any real general working-class movement, accept its *faktische* [actual] starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme: they ought, in the words of the *Kommunistischen Manifest* [Communist Manifesto]:

in der Gegenwart die Bewegung die Zukunft der Bewegung zu repräsentieren [to represent in the movement of the present the future of that movement].

“But above all give the movement time to consolidate; do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand, but which they will soon learn.”

In a November 29, 1886, letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Engels developed the same ideas:

“The Germans do not know how to use their theory as lever to set the American masses in motion; most of them do not understand the theory themselves and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learned by heart. . . . To them it is a credo and not a guide to action.”

The Workers Party comes out of the young, seething Brazilian working class, which because of its inexperience is characterized by awkward, trial-and-error methods. The Workers Party is the living product of a working class in formation, in far more difficult conditions than at the beginning of the century. Today the international workers movement is divided and, for a long time now, has been composed of antagonistic forces and currents. These forces will inevitably cast their shadow on the Brazilian workers movement and will push it toward splits.

However, the future of the Workers Party remains totally open. Inside the party there have not yet developed crystallized material interests or bureaucratic privileges linked to either the state apparatus or to the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In the coming months, its fate will depend as much on the course of the class struggle as on the conscious intervention of a revolutionary Marxist vanguard that is able to draw the lessons of this experience.

If the bourgeoisie manages to subdue the workers' struggles and control the electoral process, this could strengthen the tendencies inside the Workers Party who are pushing for it to be transformed into an electoral and parliamentary machine. For now, the dictatorship continues to block the path towards its legalization.

But, on the other hand, if the working class continues to radicalize, given the austerity that exists, and if it continues to draw lessons from its experience, then in actual practice the Workers Party could play a revolutionary role.

But nothing is gained from building castles in the air. The important thing is for the Workers Party to be loyally built as a mass party for workers. The most conscious revolutionary militants must all get involved in the Workers Party. This is not at all a form of entryism into a hardened reformist party that has to be destroyed.

Rather, revolutionists participate in the Workers Party in order to help it develop and grow, while openly defending their political ideas.

Even if moderate positions were to temporarily gain sway inside the Workers Party, this would mean an open political battle is needed inside the party, which may or may not involve organized currents. It would not indicate the need for an automatic break with the party. During the process of its development as a mass party, the Workers Party will go through various ups and downs. It will experience internal differentiations and changes in the relationship of forces.

But it will take a long period and big events to prove that the party has undergone a definitive degeneration and has adopted consolidated reformist positions.

As Engels said, it is not a question of trying to force a worked-out program down the throat of the Workers Party, but of developing this program in light of practical experiences. What this means is that revolutionaries do not have to function right away as a tendency or faction inside the Workers Party based on their entire program. Rather, they should defend step by step the measures that would make the Workers Party a class party: measures against allowing bosses in the party, against electoral support to bourgeois candidates, for a united workers federation. As the problems come up they can help lead the necessary battles along with those other Workers Party members who base themselves on its founding principles.

The precondition for everyone's loyalty inside the Workers Party is that in its functioning the party respect the right of minorities, as the founding declaration specifies. The Workers Party also must take into account the very different experiences in a country as large as Brazil and be based more on a federated than a centralist democracy.

Distinct political currents, organized as such, are helping to build the Workers Party. In order that these different currents can function out in the open, while respecting democracy within the Workers Party, without trying to force their positions on the Workers Party or form secret factions that would poison the atmosphere, these political currents must be able to continue to exist as separate organizations with their own newspapers. In this way, they would be able to carry out their own campaigns based on their own programs.

The need for these organizations to retain their identity and to not completely dissolve themselves into the Workers Party is based not only on the fact that they have a political program with a more defined strategic character, but especially on the fact that the Workers Party is still in the process of being built and is not yet programmatically or organizationally defined. And, it certainly will not develop in a straight line.

This is the main reason for maintaining an organization that remains independent of the Workers Party.

An equally important reason is for each organization to test out in actual practice its activity inside the Workers Party. This is the one way to verify their commitment to building the Workers Party, as opposed to carrying out maneuvers.

Day-to-day intervention and activities should be worked out by the branches of the Workers Party as such. This should not prevent the vanguard parties who belong to the Workers Party from maintaining their own press and independent presence. Their separate existence in fact will make it much less likely that their members would try to force the Workers Party to adopt their positions when those may not yet correspond to the Workers Party's practices or experiences. Their separate existence will also make it possible to demonstrate that their members who are helping to build the Workers Party within the framework of its democratic statutes, are doing so not as individuals, but in line with a collective political position.

This will constitute proof that the Leninist concept of organization is not at all incompatible with respect for the greatest workers democracy—in struggle, in the unions, and in a mass workers party.

If one were to think of the Workers Party as a coalition of political forces, this would only lead to vertical divisions and paralysis. This is why activists join the Workers Party as individuals. But viewing the Workers Party as an organic unity and an instrument for politically uniting the working class does not mean that revolutionary Marxists should dissolve themselves into the Workers Party. Rather, because of their program they should be its best builders, at the same time that they openly defend their own program. After all, building a mass workers party is a major part of their program.

Although the future of the Workers Party remains an open question, its last important meetings provided some insight into its actual dynamic. The February 10 national gathering confirmed the overwhelming weight of the radical positions vis à vis the more moderate positions.

Although the national congress scheduled for April 12 was postponed, certain state congresses took place in preparation for the national gathering. They confirmed the tendencies noted February 10. For example at the Minas Gerais state congress, the slate with positions close to the majority positions of February 10 carried 75 percent of the votes, against 25 percent for the minority slate.

Of the 113 delegates at that congress, held in Belo Horizonte, 55 represented working-class neighborhoods (especially metalworkers and oil workers); 14 represented branches in the banks and administrative offices; 23 represented the health professions, newspapers, and urban



Em Tempo

At Minas Gerais state conference, radical positions were reaffirmed.

planners; and 21 represented the university. A special quota had been established so that students could take part in the Workers Party, but with a system of underrepresentation giving hegemony to the workers.

The April congress that took place in the state of Rio Grande do Sul confirmed these trends and adopted a draft program that was particularly advanced.

The February 10 national gathering brought together popular leaders from numerous states and the most important cadres from the workers movement, well-known figures in the peasant movement, and the leadership of the Catholic workers movement, which already represents more than 12,000 workers from eighteen states. Since then, the solidarity movement with the strikers in the ABC suburbs of São Paulo (Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano), and the active preparation for the Workers Party congress, has produced new breakthroughs.

Day after day the Workers Party presents itself as a real national political force.

On the Eve of Decisive Struggles

Already, Planning Minister Delfim Neto is trying to change the cost-of-living wage adjustments by revising the price index on which wage increases are calculated. This is to assure that the capitalists get a more advantageous split between profits and wages. Given the present rate of population growth, it is estimated that to maintain the present level of employment, 1.5 million new jobs must be created each year. The economy would need to grow at a rate of about 7 percent each year to provide these jobs.

An independent survey suggests that job offers have already fallen off by 20 percent in the last year alone. Opposition economists state that unemployment among the urban industrial work force has jumped from about 10 percent to 25 percent over the past three years.

The future is even more bleak, especially since the government plans to reduce growth even further this year, from 6.4 percent to about 5 percent. Yet the savagery of its present economic squeeze, if kept up, could cut growth right back to 3 percent. (*Economist*, May 17, 1980.)

Brazil's rulers increasingly doubt their capacity to get to the 1982 elections unscathed. Senator Passarinho, leader of the ruling so-called Social Democratic Party, is worried about a "possible confrontation" taking place before then that "will not help the attempt to build a democracy."

The Popular Party's leader Senator Tancredo Neves—who is considered the representative of Brazilian private industry—fears that Brazilians will take to the streets this autumn to protest against the economic recession.

These concerns carry a strong dose of blackmail: a not-so-subtle appeal for responsibility and submissiveness on the part of the trade unions and political parties, so that the liberalization process can be consolidated. The Communist Party has indicated that it is particularly agreeable to this appeal and is ready to collaborate as best it can to assure the gradual transition and institutionalization of democracy. It intends to take its usual and subordinate place in the alliance with the national bourgeoisie.

However, the formation of the Workers

Party has considerably reduced the CP's maneuvering room. The CP's policy of open collaboration, remaining comfortably snuggled inside the PMDB, paves the way for the Workers Party to be the sole bearer of the working-class banner.

This contradiction is leading the CP's current leadership to negotiate the legalization of their party. In exchange for their moderation, they may be able to get the dictatorship to legally recognize the CP, allowing it to occupy the electoral arena before the Workers Party.

But it would still be necessary for the CP to win some standing in this arena. A celebration to launch its new, semiofficial weekly, *Voz de Unidade*, in São Paulo April 1 did not attract more than 3,000 people. The Brazilian CP is not at all comparable to what the Spanish CP or even the Portuguese CP were when they were underground.

These contradictions have already begun to tear apart the Brazilian CP. At the beginning of April, Luís Carlos Prestes, the octogenarian historic leader of the CP, wrote an open letter to the membership calling on them to rebel against the Central Committee. He denounced the Central Committee's steps to legalize the CP as an inadmissible concession to the dictatorship.

But this seeming intransigence is a cover for a traditional right-wing policy. What he really is saying is that in this present stage of democratic demands, instead of begging to be legalized, the CP would be wise to keep its place within the PMDB. Everything in its own good time.

Although the majority of the CP's Central Committee is often characterized as Eurocommunist, things are far from being that clear. Prestes adheres to orthodox Stalinism, and he forges a fusion with the ex-guerrilla organization, the Movimento Revolucionário do 8 de Outubro (the MR-8) which has become ultra-Stalinist. But the majority of the Central Committee supported the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. They have tried to launch some publicity around some of their own old-timers, such as Gregorio Bezerra, as a counterweight to Prestes's public image.²

Given an economic situation that will undoubtedly grow worse in the coming months, it appears very difficult for the scenario of a controlled liberalization conceived by General Golbery do Couto e Silva (who is rumored to run Brazil from behind the throne of president Figueiredo), to unfold without any hitches.

There is no doubt that one hard-line wing of the army thinks it could declare a state of emergency in order to confront a rise of the mass movement. This solution would just throw Brazil back in time without offering any solution. But it would

not be sufficient for the military dictatorship to return to the situation of the 1970s. At that time, although the repression was strong, it was carried out selectively, because the dictatorship was not confronted with a powerful workers movement. Today the repression would need to be incredibly more massive and much more socially costly.

The other solution, already being discussed by figures like Social Democratic Party leader Tancredo Neves, is the creation of a government of national unity,

'Don't Mourn—Organize!'

Thousands Commemorate Walter Rodney

Since the June 13 assassination of Walter Rodney in Georgetown, Guyana, thousands of people have turned out to protest the murder and to pay tribute to the fallen activist and scholar.

Rodney, who was thirty-eight years old at the time of his death, was well-known throughout the Caribbean for his outspoken opposition to imperialist domination of the region and his support for the struggles of the oppressed.

He was killed when a bomb exploded in his car. The Working People's Alliance (WPA), of which Rodney was a key leader, accused the government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of being behind the assassination.

Protest rallies and all-night vigils have been held, involving members and supporters of the WPA, as well as of the People's Progressive Party, another major opposition party. On June 17, students from the University of the West Indies marched to the WPA offices in central Georgetown to protest the assassination. They were attacked by riot police using tear gas and bayonets.

Condemnations of the murder also came from other countries.

The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada declared June 16 an official day of mourning in that country, stating that the fourth anniversary of the massive Black uprisings in South Africa was an appropriate day to commemorate Rodney, who had been especially active in building solidarity with the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, who was one of the first to react to the killing, described it as a brutal assassination.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe sent a personal message of condolence to Rodney's family, stating that he was "upset and shocked" by the murder. Rodney had been invited to Zimbabwe's independence day celebrations in April; although the Burnham regime tried to prevent Rodney from going, he managed

which would include representatives of the opposition, the employers, and the trade unions. But implementing this perspective will encounter some difficulties—particularly in so far as it would mean breaking the political monopoly of the military-technocratic bureaucracy and allowing some semblance of democratic legitimacy.

In either case, a strong independent Workers Party is a weapon that is urgently needed by the workers—a party that will uncompromisingly defend their economic and political class interests. □

to slip out of the country and reach Zimbabwe, where he met with Mugabe. (Burnham, who also attended the ceremonies, was unable to gain an appointment with Mugabe.)

In addition, several trade unions and parties in Trinidad and Tobago denounced the assassination and sent protest messages to Burnham. In Barbados, the Barbados Workers Union declared that the "violent removal of political dissenters is a method against which the trade union movement must protest most strenuously." The People's Progressive Movement of Barbados sent a cable to Burnham stating that "as head of government you must bear full responsibility for this brutal act of terrorism. . . ."

More than 2,000 persons packed into a cathedral in Georgetown on June 21 to pay tribute to Rodney. Placards proclaiming "Don't mourn—organise" were displayed, and supporters of the WPA wearing red head bands chanted "Hail Walter Rodney—hail!"

Among the speakers who paid tribute to Rodney was George Lamming, the well-known Barbadian author. "The struggle for humanity in this region," Lamming said, "will always be linked with the name of Dr. Walter Rodney."

Other representatives at the memorial included Vincent Noel, a leading Grenadian trade unionist and the secretary for home affairs of the People's Revolutionary Government, and Raffique Shah, the president of the Island-wide Cane Farmers Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago.

Shah and other persons attending the memorial reported that they were harassed by airport officials upon arrival in the country.

June 24, the day of Rodney's funeral, saw one of the largest outpourings ever held in Guyana. Despite heavy rains, an estimated 30,000 persons, about one-fifth of the capital's entire population, turned out.

The mourners chanted, "Walter lives! Walter lives!" □

2. According to the June 17 *Le Monde*, Prestes was removed from his position as general secretary on May 17.—IP/I