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## **WORKERS' STRIKES CHALLENGE POLISH REGIME**



*Interview With  
P'eng Shu-tse*

**The Struggle  
for Democracy  
in China Today**

*Grenadian Leader Addresses U.S. Solidarity Rally*

**'CUBA, GRENADA, NICARAGUA  
WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!'**

## U.S. Workers Deal a Stunning Blow to Draft Plan

By David Frankel

During the last two weeks of July the U.S. ruling class's pervasive drive to further the militarization of American society and prepare for new imperialist wars ran straight into the reality of the American working class. The result was a stunning blow to the rulers' plans.

Some four million American youth had been ordered to register for the draft at local post offices. But instead of the show of strength intended by President Carter, the registration plan turned into a huge fiasco. It was a convincing demonstration of the depth of antiwar sentiment among the American working class.

Government officials had confidently predicted that at least 98 percent of those affected would comply with the registration order. After the first week of registration, however, they said that it would take sixty days to tabulate the results of the sign-up. Sixty days in this age of the computer, when election results are calculated in hours!

After the second week of registration, Selective Service Director Bernard Rostker told reporters that the figures on registration would take *ninety days* to compile. Not even the U.S. post office is that slow.

Although the government is trying to hold up the embarrassing figures and the capitalist media clamped a lid of silence on the story after the first two days of registration, antidraft activists across the country gave similar reports.

At post office after post office antidraft demonstrators held discussions with young men coming to register. Many put protest stickers on their registration forms, and others decided not to sign up.

On northern Minnesota's Iron Range, thirty-four people registered on the first day and six changed their minds. A majority signed a petition against the draft, and four joined the picket line.

At one Washington, D.C., post office on July 22, fifteen registered and five returned home.

Of the 30,000 required to register in mid-Ohio, 15,000 were supposed to sign up in Columbus. One hundred showed up on the first day.

It was estimated prior to registration that 800 to 1,200 would sign up in Morgantown, West Virginia. Patriotic advertisements and warnings of penalties for non-compliance were repeated in the media throughout the registration period.

But by the end of the first week antidraft activists staffing tables at Morgantown post offices had counted only 220 regis-

trants, including many who signed "registration against the draft" cards.

In Portland, Oregon, 238 registered on July 21 at thirty-five post offices. Twice as many demonstrated. After that nothing more on registration figures appeared in the Portland newspapers.

Seventy-five youth turned up to register at a small post office in a white working-class neighborhood in Minneapolis, Minnesota. About fifty decided not to register after talking to antiwar leafleters.

In St. Paul, Minnesota, eighteen-year-old John Jay Tilsen kept a running total of those who came to register at a post office where he picketed over a four-day period. Tilsen said that seventy-four persons registered after talking to leafleters, while thirty-six decided not to register and went home.

## Bolivian Junta Carries Out Reign of Terror

By Will Reissner

While Bolivia is no stranger to military coups, the regime installed by Gen. Luis García Meza on July 17 is already one of the bloodiest and most vicious in Bolivian history.

Gen. García Meza, who seized power with the help of the Argentine military dictatorship, is openly comparing himself to Chilean dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet, who overthrew Salvador Allende in 1973 and instituted a reign of terror against the workers movement.

According to García Meza, his regime will stay in power "as long as is necessary to eliminate the Marxist cancer, be it five, ten, or twenty years."

Independent sources place the number of prisoners being held by the military at over 2,000, while the army itself admits to holding 500 people. Col. Luis Arce Gómez has stated that political prisoners now in custody will be placed in forced labor gangs to build roads in Bolivia's eastern jungles.

There have been widespread arrests of trade-union and political leaders as well as journalists, church figures, and teachers. According to church leaders in La Paz, summary executions have been carried out against captured opposition figures.

Mary Helen Spooner, a U.S. journalist who was held by the military for seven days for her reports that some of the top officers were involved in the lucrative cocaine trade, described the techniques

"Of those who registered, about 80 percent did it out of fear of prosecution," Tilsen told the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.

Following the registration period, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) was able to obtain registration figures from postal officials in Seattle, Phoenix, Boston, Chicago, and Atlanta. Based on these figures, CARD estimated that 31 percent of those expected failed to register in Seattle. The figure in Phoenix was 20 percent, in Chicago 33 percent, in Boston 40 percent, and in Atlanta 44 percent.

Government officials estimated in comparison that 10 percent of draft-age youth failed to register during the Vietnam War.

Just how unpopular the idea of a draft was indicated August 14 when Carter bragged in his speech at the Democratic Party convention that "we moved quickly" in response to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and "called for draft registration." Even in that crowd of handpicked hacks, loud boos greeted this remark.

The response to Carter's draft sign-up clearly shows that the imperialists have a long way to go before they can drag American workers into any new war. □

used in interrogation. "I was warned," she said, "that if I failed to give them what they wanted I would be killed or mutilated." Spooner was freed on August 12 due to international pressure.

*New York Times* correspondent Warren Hoge gave an example in an August 14 article of how those without Spooner's international connections are treated by the junta. According to Hoge:

A shoemaker from the hillside slum of El Alto Norte was picked up, for no stated reason, by the army one recent Sunday and taken to the city's new soccer stadium. There he was beaten with rifle butts and forced into a dressing room so packed with other prisoners that the men had to sleep standing up and relieve themselves in place.

After two days, soldiers pinned left-wing party legends on the chests of 15 of them, took them in a truck to a nearby cliff, and lined them up. The shoemaker, tumbling into a crevice below the precipice in the midst of the ensuing murderous fury, was the only one to live to tell what had happened. The Government reported that 14 men had died trying to storm a garrison.

Priests and nuns throughout the country have seen houses and church centers searched and ransacked by military patrols. According to one nun in Cochabamba, "anyone who works with peasants is on the blacklist."

The Bolivian military seized power to prevent Hernán Siles Zuazo from taking office following his victory in the June 29

presidential elections. Siles Zuazo, a former president of Bolivia, headed a reformist electoral coalition—the Democratic People's Unity (UDP)—which included the pro-Moscow Communist Party.

Following the coup, in which Argentine security forces played a big advisory role, Argentine military dictator Jorge Rafael Videla promised the new Bolivian regime \$200 million in financial assistance, including an immediate loan of \$50 million.

Videla was quite open in stating his reasons for backing the coup. In his words, "the formally correct thing would have been for a government resulting from the election to have taken power, but this represented for us a high degree of risk because of the possibility that it would spread ideas contrary to our way of life and the permanence here of a military government."

According to the August 8 *Latin American Weekly Report*, the Brazilian military regime also had advance notice of the coup and gave its approval to Argentine participation.

The Argentine-backed coup was met by a general strike in the cities and by armed resistance from Bolivia's tin miners, who were joined in some areas by peasant forces. The military was, however, able to decapitate much of the resistance by staging a lightning raid on the headquarters of the powerful Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), capturing many working-class leaders. The COB had been instrumental in leading the successful resistance to a coup last November.

Although Hernán Siles Zuazo escaped and remains in hiding inside Bolivia, Juan Lechín Oquendo, who is the leader of the COB and of the miners union, was among those captured in the raid.

Lechín was paraded before television cameras on July 22 to call upon workers to end their resistance to the coup, but has not been seen since. The August 4 *New York Times* reports that Lechín is "presumed by many to be dead."

Resistance to the coup lasted for more than two weeks in the mining areas of Oruro, Huanuni, Siglo Veinte, Catavi, and San José. In Catavi miners and peasants stormed army barracks with shotguns and dynamite on July 23, fighting a five-hour battle before retreating.

There were a number of reports of soldiers refusing to fire on civilians. About eighty members of one army regiment were shot for refusing to fire on striking mineworkers in Corocoro. Near La Paz, three truckloads of soldiers deserted after killing their officers.

In addition, because of the large number of individual desertions, the lower ranks of the armed forces have been refused leave, adding to unrest in the ranks.

Although open resistance to the García Meza coup has largely ended, there are signs that it continues underground. On August 6, the day he would have been

inaugurated as president, Hernán Siles Zuazo declared from the underground that he was assuming the presidency "in clandestinity as the only and legitimate representative of the Bolivian people."

In addition to trying to crush the Bolivian masses, the new regime has signaled its willingness to do whatever it can to smash the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. Its first diplomatic move was to break relations with the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

However, the Bolivian junta remains isolated internationally. Besides the South American dictatorships of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, the only governments that have extended recognition to it are those of South Africa, Taiwan, Israel, and Egypt.

The junta is well aware of this isolation and is worried about it, as was indicated by the release of Spooner. Further international pressure can help to save the lives of the junta's other prisoners. □

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## Massive Strikes Shake Polish Regime

By David Frankel

For the third time in the past ten years the Polish working class has moved into the political arena through massive strikes. These actions have shown the entire world the gulf between the workers and the regime that rules in their name.

Spurning the government-controlled official unions, workers have elected their own strike committees. On northern Poland's Baltic seacoast a committee representing 100,000 striking workers in the cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot has raised a platform of political and economic demands that is a direct challenge to the existing regime.

Among the demands raised by the strikers are freedom of expression and the abolition of censorship; release of all political prisoners; recognition of the right to strike and to form free trade unions; abolition of privileges for police and party officials; automatic salary increases to make up for increases in prices or currency devaluations; and steps to inform "the public fully about the socio-economic situation of the country. . . ." (See box.)

Simply to summarize these demands indicates how far removed the Polish regime is from the working class and from the declaration of Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* that genuine communists "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole."

### Workers 'Antisocialist'?

Speaking on Polish television August 18, Communist Party chief Edward Gierek charged that "anarchist and anti-socialist groups" were involved in the strikes. "Actions that are aimed against the basic foundations of the socialist system will not be tolerated, and nobody can count on compromise on this issue," he declared.

Workers in Poland and other East European countries have risen up again and again over the past twenty-five years, fighting for their right to exercise control over basic economic and political policies. In every case the ruling bureaucratic regimes have charged that the working masses were antisocialist and in favor of the restoration of capitalism.

If this were true it would be a damning indictment of supposedly socialist governments that have performed so badly that the toiling masses prefer a return to capitalism. But the demands of the Polish workers today, and of similar upsurges in the past, are clear. It is not capitalism that the workers want—it is an end to political

repression, social inequality, and economic privation.

Per capita productivity in Poland is only a shade less than in Italy. A government that cannot meet the demands of the workers for political freedom and a decent standard of living under those circumstances is unfit to rule.

The massive working class upsurge that is shaking Poland was sparked by a sharp increase in meat prices July 1. From the beginning the anger of the workers was fueled by the gross inequality and bureaucratic privilege that is rampant in Polish society.

Although the regime tried to defuse the strike wave by granting wage increases, new layers continued to be drawn into the struggle. On August 15 Gierek was forced to rush back to Warsaw from the Soviet Union, where he had been meeting with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

Gdansk, a major port city on the Baltic Sea, was paralyzed by a general strike. More than 50,000 of the city's 500,000 residents were refusing to work, led by the workers at the Lenin Shipyard.

"About 10,000 of the 16,000 workers stayed in the Lenin yard overnight, posting their own guards at the gates, and they remained in total control of the yard today," *Washington Post* correspondent Dusko Doder reported in an August 15 dispatch.

Describing the atmosphere in the shipyard, *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton reported that workers "milled about restlessly, listening to the reports of negotiations barked out over loudspeakers, hoisting Polish flags and occasionally bursting into choruses of the revolutionary anthem 'Internationale.'"

According to Doder, two other Gdansk shipyards went on strike August 15. "Streetcar and bus drivers in Gdansk and the neighboring cities of Gdynia and Sopot were also on strike as were four factories supplying the shipyards." Dock workers walked off the job as well.

In Gdynia, the Shipyard of the Paris Commune, with more than 10,000 workers, also joined the strike.

By August 18 there were 149 workplaces reportedly closed by strikers in Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot. Moreover, there were reports of strikes in the Baltic ports of Szczecin and Elblag as well, and of the arrest of coal miners in Silesia after they had organized strike committees.

In Warsaw itself bus and streetcar drivers, garbage collectors, and factory workers had been on strike. In Lodz, 10,000

textile workers walked off the job, and in Wroclaw workers at a factory making industrial equipment went out.

"In the countryside south of Warsaw," Michael Dobbs reported in the August 18 *Washington Post*, "a meeting of peasants agreed to strike Monday in solidarity with the Gdansk workers."

"The peasants are to refuse to sell their products to government purchasing agencies."

Among the dozens of strikes reported prior to the upsurge in the Baltic area was an action by rail workers in the eastern city of Lublin. They used locomotives to block the main rail lines to the Soviet Union. During the strike all transport and services in Lublin were halted, and the city had to be supplied by the army.

On July 20, inspired by the victory of the Lublin strikers the day before, 5,000 workers walked off their jobs at the Stalowa Wola steel mill. Thirty thousand steelworkers in southeastern Poland won a 15 percent wage increase.

In the southeastern town of Swidnik, 20,000 workers at a helicopter factory struck August 6 for the second time in a month after there was an attempt to deny them the 15 percent wage increase they had been promised.

### 'Only So Much Beer in the Barrel'?

Premier Edward Babiuch had the gall to tell the Polish workers August 15 that they were raising "slogans and demands contrary to the interests of the nation and far removed from the strivings of the working class."

Insofar as they try to raise rational arguments against the economic demands of the workers, the bureaucrats claim, in the words of one official quoted in an August 12 Associated Press dispatch, "There's only so much beer in a barrel. All we can add is just foam."

This is the same argument used by capitalist regimes to justify cutbacks in social services. It begs the question of how the wealth of society should be utilized, and of how such decisions should be made.

In early 1965, Polish oppositionists Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski pointed out that according to the regime's own statistics 42 percent of working-class families in Poland were forced to exist on a less than adequate diet, and 23 percent on an absolutely insufficient one. No increase in real wages was planned by the regime in the 1965-70 five-year plan.

When the government tried to raise food prices in December 1970 workers in Gdansk and Szczecin revolted. Tanks were called in to put down the insurrection, and some 200 workers were killed. (Two of the demands put forward by the Lenin Shipyard workers in the current struggle were for the reinstatement of leaders fired after the 1970 strike, and the construction of a monument in memory of the workers killed in that rebellion.)

It was the 1970 revolt that led to the downfall of Wladyslaw Gomulka and his replacement by Gierek. But a new face at the top did not make much difference. In June 1976 Gierek tried to carry out the same kind of price rises that had ended with Gomulka's downfall. Once again, massive strikes forced the regime to retreat.

#### Workers Kept in the Dark

Of course, Poland does face real economic problems. The rapid inflation that began throughout the capitalist world in the early 1970s pushed up the price of the imports needed by Poland, while the capitalist economic crises of 1974-75 and of 1980 have cut deeply into the demand for Polish exports. Poland currently owes some \$20 billion to capitalist financial institutions.

But there is not the slightest reason for Polish workers to accept the claims of the bureaucratic regime that the only way out of this situation is for the working class to sacrifice. The regime keeps the workers completely in the dark about the real facts on the economy and the real alternatives. One of the demands of the Baltic workers is for publication of such information and open discussion about the economic crisis.

Moreover, even if some sacrifices by the workers were unavoidable, the rulers currently in power would not have the slightest moral authority to make such demands.

Workers know that party officials and factory managers buy imported delicacies, wine, and liquor in special shops that ordinary people are excluded from. They see the bureaucrats living in fancy vacation houses and driving new cars. And then they are told that they have to sacrifice, that the needs of the economy demand higher food prices—a measure that hits the lowest paid workers the hardest.

It is this kind of inequality and bureaucratic privilege that underlies the crisis of the Polish regime. The Polish government and Communist Party defend the interests of a privileged bureaucratic caste—interests which are opposed to the needs of the workers and of the nationalized economy.

Since the bureaucracy is a privileged minority, it is unable to allow workers democracy. It identifies its defense of privilege with "socialism."

Under such conditions, the workers naturally view the regime as an alien force. This is reflected in low productivity, high rates of absenteeism, and other forms of resistance that deepen the economic crisis. Thus, the regime is unable to effectively run the economy without democratic participation by the workers and peasants, but would not be able to stay in power with such participation. The result is constant promises of reform and resort to police repression every time the toiling masses

actually attempt to take a hand in resolving the impasse.

If it were not for the threat of Soviet intervention, the Polish regime—and almost all the others in the East European workers states—would be rapidly swept aside by their own people. On August 15, shortly after Gierek left Moscow, the Soviet news agency, Tass, pointedly noted that Warsaw Pact forces will be holding maneuvers in the Baltic area during the first half of September.

The ultimate argument of the defenders of the status quo in Eastern Europe is that uprisings by the workers weaken the workers states in the face of imperialism. This argument ignores the real crisis of these societies. It measures security in terms of surface tranquility rather than by the strength and confidence of the toiling masses.

#### Imperialists Back Gierek

The imperialists themselves are well aware of the fact that they have nothing to fear from regimes such as those in Poland and Czechoslovakia, which do not even try to inspire the masses with the vision of a socialist world, and which do not offer any substantial support for revolutionary struggles internationally.

An indication of the attitude of the imperialists was the decision by West German banking interests August 12 to loan the Gierek government another \$674

million. American and British banks are currently negotiating an additional \$300 million loan. As *New York Times* reporter Bernard Gwertzman said in an August 16 article, "in general the United States regards the hierarchy headed by Edward Gierek as friendly."

So bad is the situation in Poland, so apparent is the dead-end that the society has been led into, that even significant sections of the bureaucracy were beginning to speak out just before the current upsurge.

A recent report entitled "How to Get Out of It" was signed by 141 authors, including 51 members of the Polish Communist Party. These liberal members of the ruling bureaucracy warned that unless the regime acted "to regain the trust of society and release its creative instincts," that "the negative changes will progressively grow and may reach the avalanche stage, which would threaten open social conflict."

But the creative forces of society can only be released from below, by the masses of workers and peasants taking things into their own hands. That is what the workers in Poland are trying to do today.

As Jozef Przybylski, a shipyard worker in Gdansk, said August 18 of the situation that led to the current strikes: "It was an abcess that was growing and growing. It just had to explode." □

## Striking Polish Workers List Demands

[Following is a list of sixteen demands issued by striking Polish workers. The list was issued by the Committee for Social Self-Defense/Committee to Defend the Workers (KSS/KOR) and published by Associated Press.]

\* \* \*

- Reopening of all telephone and telex communications in the Gdansk area.
- Guarantee of the right to strike and security for all strikers.
- Guarantee of freedom of expression in word and print and abolition of censorship.
- Release of all political prisoners.
- Respect for the International Labor Organization conventions, which include the right to establish free trade unions.
- Access by all religious groups to the mass media.
- Abolition of administrative interference in trade union matters.
- Realistic steps toward leading the country out of the recent crisis by informing the public fully about the socio-economic situation of the country,

and making it possible for all classes and sections of the Polish community to discuss the program of reforms.

- Abolition of privileges for security services by granting equal family allowances to all. Liquidation of special shops [open only to police and party officials].
- Abolition of commercial prices [the system under which quality meat is sold only in special shops at high prices].
- Full supplies on the domestic market. Only surplus commodities should be exported.
- Introduction of meat rationing to make the market stable.
- Salary increases by an average of 2,000 zlotys [\$66] for everyone as compensation for higher prices.
- Vacation pay for those on strike.
- Guarantee of automatic salary increases following increases in prices or devaluation of the currency.
- Publication on radio, television, and in the newspapers of news about the strikes and the establishment of the strike committee.

## **U.S. Socialists Rally in Solidarity With Caribbean Revolution**

By Harry Ring

OBERLIN, Ohio—A cheering, chanting crowd of 1,300 rallied here August 3 in solidarity with the rising revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean. The rally pledged to mobilize mass opposition in the United States against moves by Washington to intervene with military force in the area.

Speakers included a representative of the Guatemala solidarity movement, a representative of the revolutionary forces in El Salvador, a Nicaraguan revolutionary, and a member of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada.

The rally was chaired by Barry Sheppard, a national chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party.

This meeting was a high point of a week-long socialist educational and activists conference sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Inspired by the revolutionary victories in the Caribbean and Central America over the past year, participants voiced their enthusiasm at every opportunity.

Prolonged chants of "No draft! No war!" from the audience throughout the rally showed how deeply they felt the connection between the antiwar and solidarity movements in this country and the popular struggles in Central America and the Caribbean.

As the speakers assembled on the stage, they were greeted with resounding applause. A Spanish-speaking section of the audience began chanting, "Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, jamás serán vencidas!" [Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua will never be defeated!]

Adding to the high spirits was the fiasco of Carter's draft registration in the preceding weeks. The rejection of the draft by American youth was seen as a powerful aid to liberation fighters in Latin America and around the world.

In his introductory remarks opening the rally, Barry Sheppard recalled that after their victory in World War II, the capitalist rulers of the United States boasted that this was the "American Century" and that they would reign supreme in the world.

But, Sheppard declared, "We said no!" The Socialist Workers Party had recognized that the global extension of U.S. imperialist domination would embed it in all the world's revolutionary powder kegs.

The stunning defeat suffered by Washington in Vietnam, Sheppard said, "changed the face of the world." Fettered by mass working-class opposition at home to new Vietnam-style wars, U.S. imperialism has been unable so far to use its

military might to crush the revolutions in Iran, Grenada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

The relation between anti-imperialist battles abroad and the struggles of the U.S. working class, he said, is particularly close in the case of Central America and the Caribbean. The liberation movements there, Sheppard said, "are our struggles as well."

"We reach out to these comrades in revolutionary solidarity," he declared. "We have the same enemy."

The deadly nature of that enemy was underlined when Sheppard told the rally of news that three young teachers in Nicaragua's literacy crusade had been murdered by forces from ex-dictator Somoza's National Guard, who had crossed the border from camps in Honduras.

The meeting voted unanimously to send a message to the revolutionary government in Nicaragua denouncing this murderous act by the U.S.-sponsored mercenaries and vowing "to redouble our efforts" in solidarity with Nicaragua.

John Fried of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala read a message from the Democratic Front Against Repression in Guatemala, which unites 160 national and regional organizations in Guatemala.

The message told of the right-wing kidnappings and murders of peasants, students, priests, and unionists, as well as assassinations of journalists in Guatemala.

The message also included a concrete request: "Don't permit the government of

the United States to be an accomplice of the government of Guatemala in these massacres. Demand no aid to Guatemala."

An analysis of the present stage of the explosive struggle in El Salvador was presented by Andrea Granados, who was speaking on behalf of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), an umbrella organization of most of the forces opposed to the Salvadoran junta. Granados is a member of the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR)—a 100,000-member organization that is part of the FDR and that includes unions, peasant federations, student groups, and others in El Salvador. She has been in the United States for the past year organizing solidarity with the struggle in her homeland.

"At this historic moment," Granados declared, "we are taking a jump of decades in the history of our country."

It had taken only a brief time, she said, for the junta installed last October with U.S. backing to come to the point of deep crisis. It has been stripped of its initial false veneer of reform and exposed at home and abroad for the repressive regime that it is.

As it becomes more and more isolated, the dictatorship, prodded by Washington, has increased its murderous repression. But with the recent unification of the principal opposition forces, the struggle against it has also mounted.

Granados warned of the danger of Washington trying to crush the revolution by organizing a military invasion from neighboring Honduras and Guatemala.

This danger, she said, underscores the



Lou Howort/IP-1

Part of crowd at August 3 rally in Oberlin, Ohio.

vital need to mobilize opposition among working people in the United States and around the world to any aggression against the Salvadoran people.

Granados pointed to the working-class character of the Salvadoran revolution. She quoted the great Cuban liberation fighter, José Martí: "When history cannot be written with a pen, it should be written with a rifle!"

The same revolutionary determination was voiced by Noel Corea, coordinator of Casa Nicaragua in New York.

"Our fight in Central America is your fight. Your fight here is our fight down there. We have a common enemy," he said.

Reiterating the danger of a U.S.-organized intervention against the Salvadoran revolution, he repeated the stand of the Nicaraguan government, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN): "Rest assured, compañeros, that Nicaragua won't stand for that."

He added: "But the first cry has to be heard here in the United States. That cry is: No draft, no war!"

Corea told the rally that participants could be proud of the historic contribution they had made in building solidarity with Vietnam, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. "Keep doing the work that you are doing," he told the cheering audience. "We'll keep the arms in our hands."

A rousing reception was also extended to Liam James, a leader of the Grenada revolution.

He thanked the Socialist Workers Party and the people of the United States for the support they have given to free Grenada.

Applause reverberated throughout the gathering as James pointed to the worldwide decline of imperialism and the advances of the world liberation forces.

James told of the poverty and repression in Grenada under the dictatorship of Eric Gairy. He recounted how the New Jewel Movement gained support among working people and led thousands of Grenadians in toppling Gairy on March 13, 1979.

But the tasks of consolidating the revolution, increasing production, raising living standards, and defending the country from imperialism are "a million times more difficult than the seizure of state power," he said.

The top priority of the New Jewel Movement today, he explained, is raising political consciousness among the masses of Grenadian workers and farmers and "getting our people more and more involved in the revolutionary process."

The audience came to its feet as he concluded with the battle cry of the New Jewel Movement: "Forward ever! Backward never!"

The spirit of the rally was captured in its final moment. To the cheers of the audience, the representatives of the revolutionary forces on the platform stood shoulder to shoulder, with their hands clasped aloft in unity and solidarity. □

## Speech by Nicaraguan Representative

### 'Our Fight in Central America Is Your Fight'



Charles Ostrofsky/IP-1

NOEL COREA

[Following is the speech by Noel Corea, a leader of Casa Nicaragua in New York, at the Oberlin, Ohio, rally in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in the Caribbean and Central America.

[Corea grew up in a poor family in Nicaragua. His mother, the only breadwinner, worked as a domestic servant.

[While in high school Corea was active in struggles against the Somoza dictatorship. When he finished school he went to work picking cotton.

[Like tens of thousands of other Nicaraguans, Corea was driven by the poverty and oppression in his homeland to make his way to the United States.

[He arrived in San Francisco with only five dollars. He worked at a number of jobs, including selling fish at Fisherman's Wharf.

[As the Nicaraguan revolution developed, Corea became a leader of solidarity work in San Francisco's big Nicaraguan community, helping to build one of the most effective support groups in the country.

[Today, as coordinator of Casa Nicaragua in New York, he is playing a central role in organizing the Nicaraguan community in the United States behind the FSLN-led revolution in their homeland and in rallying broad solidarity with the Nicaraguan people.]

\* \* \*

[Standing ovation.]

Compañeros y compañeras, I would like you to stand for one minute of silence in

memory of those who have fallen while trying to teach our countrymen in Nicaragua to read and write.

[Audience stands for a minute of silence.]

Muchas gracias.

Compañeros y compañeras, my presence here tonight as a free Nicaraguan is in great part due to the solidarity work that you have been doing here in the United States.

The people of Nicaragua know very well that our victory wasn't won exclusively on Nicaraguan territory. The victory of Nicaragua was won in the streets of Washington, D.C., in the streets of New York, in the streets of San Francisco, thanks to the solidarity work that you have been doing.

The cry for solidarity that our vanguard, the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front], made in early 1977 was heard by you.

The same cry that Sandino made in the 1920s.\* Solidarity around the world. Solidarity of the workers then. Solidarity by the workers now. That solidarity has helped bring the revolution in Nicaragua to the point where it is now.

We know very well that imperialism doesn't rest. They try by every means to stop our revolution. First, militarily. And now, by economic means and even by sending Somoza's National Guards from the area of Honduras, on the frontier with Nicaragua, to kill our people in Nicaragua.

We ask you to keep working, wherever you might be. Spread the word about Nicaragua. Spread the word about the Nicaraguan revolution and the revolution in Central America.

The solidarity work that you have been doing for Nicaragua is also very much needed for the people of Grenada, much needed for the people of Cuba. It is very much needed for the people of El Salvador and Guatemala. And more than ever, it is very much needed for the people of Bolivia.

It is important to keep in mind that, as Sandino said in the 1920s, my struggle, the struggle of my people, is the struggle of all oppressed people in the world.

Our fight in Central America is your fight. Your fight here is our fight down there. We have a common enemy.

United we have been. United vencere-

\*Gen. Augusto César Sandino, the "General of Free Men," led the struggle in the 1920s and early 1930s to defend Nicaragua's sovereignty against military occupation by U.S. Marines. He was murdered in 1934 by Somoza's National Guard, which was then being established to run the country in the interests of Washington and Wall Street.

mos [we will win].

It is important to note that many people are dying in El Salvador, while the press in the United States presents little of the reality of what is going on down there. At this moment they want to present the situation as a stalemate. They would like to have an intervention in El Salvador. But rest assured, *compañeros*, that Nicaragua won't stand for that. [Applause.]

But the first cry has to be heard here in the United States. That cry is: No draft, no war! [Applause.]

In Nicaragua as well as in Latin America, our hope is that you understand that. Our hope is that you keep doing the work that you have been doing so far.

You here have helped the Cuban revolution in the 1960s, are helping the Cuban people now, helped the heroic people of Vietnam, helped the Grenadian revolution, helped the Nicaraguan revolution, and are now helping the Salvadoran revolution. I'm sure that you are quite proud of what you are doing. And let me assure you that you are living a moment of history that will be remembered for time to come.

*Compañeros*, I repeat again, your struggle is our struggle. Keep doing the work that you are doing. We'll keep the arms in our hands. [Applause and chants of "Se siente, se siente, Sandino está presente!"—"You can feel it, you can feel it, Sandino is present."]

*Compañeros*, that's right. Sandino está presente hoy más que nunca [Sandino is present today more than ever].

Yes now more than ever, Sandino is present. Sandino is present in El Salvador. Sandino is present in Guatemala. Sandino is present at the barricades that the mine workers of Bolivia are making. [Applause.]

Let me finish up by saying that as the Cuban revolution, as the Grenadian revolution, as the Nicaraguan revolution, El Salvador vencerá, y Guatemala también vencerá! [El Salvador will win and Guatemala will also win!]

*Patria libre, compañeros!* [Free homeland, *compañeros!*]

[Standing ovation.]

## Speech by Grenadian Leader

### 'The World Revolutionary Movement Is Growing'

[Following is the speech given by Grenadian leader Liam James to the August 3 Caribbean solidarity rally in Oberlin, Ohio.]

[Liam James was born into a farming family in Grenada. As a student, he became active in the 1973-74 upsurge that nearly toppled the dictatorship of Eric Gairy. James joined the New Jewel Movement shortly after it was founded in 1973.]

[Before the revolution he was a dock worker and leader of the dock workers' union, as well as a leader of the New Jewel Movement youth organization. He was an active participant and leader in the March 13, 1979, insurrection that overthrew Gairy and brought the NJM to power.]

[Liam James is today a member of the twenty-three member People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada and a member of the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement.]

\* \* \*

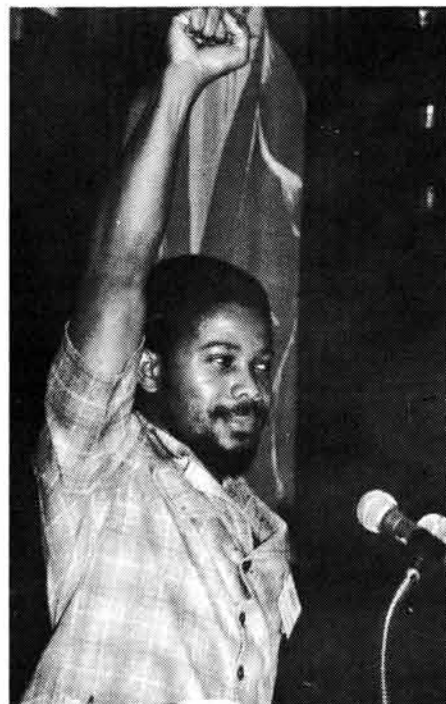
[Standing ovation.]

Thank you, comrades, for this very, very warm welcome.

Comrades, I bring the warmest and deepest fraternal revolutionary greetings to you, revolutionary people of America, from our people of Grenada and from our revolutionary party, our vanguard party, the New Jewel Movement of Grenada. [Applause.]

I also want to thank you and your party, the Socialist Workers Party, for the deep solidarity and support that you have given us since our March 13 revolution. We deeply appreciate all this. We can honestly say that the support and solidarity you have given us have been a great help to us in our developing revolutionary process at home. Thank you once more.

Comrades, I feel particularly pleased to



LIAM JAMES

Lou Howort/IP-I

be here with you tonight in this important forum. I feel particularly pleased because this is no gathering of schoolmates. This is no gathering of ordinary friends. This is no gathering of business associates. [Laughter and applause.]

This gathering is a gathering of serious revolutionary people who are committed to the liberation of the international working people. Serious people who are committed to putting an end, once and for all, to exploitation of man by man. [Applause.]

Comrades, for all these reasons, I feel very, very pleased to be with you here.

Today we find ourselves in the era of the decline of imperialism and the growth of the world revolutionary movement. We have seen the growth of the socialist world. We have seen the victories and advances of the world liberation forces. We have seen the growth and maturity of the international working class and their respective parties. All of this indicates the world revolutionary movement is growing stronger and stronger, day by day. [Applause.]

We must never, never underplay the importance of all of this. We must understand that there would have been no revolutionary Cuba if there was not a Soviet Union in 1959. [Applause.]

And there would not be today a revolutionary Grenada and a revolutionary Nicaragua if there was not a revolutionary Cuba. [Applause.]

Given the decline of imperialism, we as serious revolutionaries have two important tasks ahead of us. First, we must prepare ourselves to fully exploit this growing weakness of imperialism. We must also prepare ourselves to stand up and fight down imperialism.

Because the other side of the coin is that imperialism, becoming weaker and weaker every day, may in the future become desperate and attempt to turn all its weaponry, all its nuclear power, against the whole of mankind. And we must be prepared to stand up and fight against this. [Applause.]

Comrades, I speak of the *weakening* of imperialism. However, we must never illusion ourselves into believing that imperialism is today *weak*. Although imperialism is losing the battle, they are still a very powerful enemy. Only the most serious struggle, only the most serious efforts on our part can bring about the eventual



defeat of imperialism.

The examples of the people of Iran, the people of Nicaragua, the people of Cuba, and the heroic people of Vietnam [applause] show us that imperialism can and will be defeated.

Our Grenadian revolution would not be properly understood if we do not see it from this perspective. Our Grenadian revolution stands on this background of the weakening of imperialism and the growth of the world revolutionary movement.

In Grenada, before our March 13, 1979, revolution, the most terrible conditions of poverty existed in our country. Malnutrition was rampant throughout our country.

Side by side with this, we had brutal repression by the Gairy dictatorship. In Grenada we had the famous secret police, which became known as the Mongoose Gang, who rounded up Grenadians who dared to speak in the open against the Gairy dictatorship.

Our [current] prime minister, for example, had to pay the price of losing his father in the struggle against Gairyism. In the 1973-74 upheaval, which we refer to as the 1973-74 revolution, Comrade Maurice Bishop lost his father [Rupert Bishop] in battle. Many other comrades involved in our revolutionary movement at home lost their own lives or their families in struggle.

But all these losses, all these sacrifices, never once daunted our spirits. They did the very opposite. They formed our mettle, they fired our determination, they firmed our commitment to struggle more resolutely against Gairyism and against imperialism. [Applause.]

Comrades, the New Jewel Movement, the vanguard party of the revolutionary forces in Grenada, was formed in 1973. In the years between 1973 and 1979 our party consistently took up all the battles of the working people at home. Whether it was the fishermen, poor farmers, the urban working class, the youth, the unemployed—all people who are on the side against imperialism, all people who suffered one way or another from imperialism, were supported to the fullest by our party.

And as a result of this, the confidence of the working people of Grenada in our party, the New Jewel Movement, grew and grew over the years.

And so, on the morning of March 13—when a vanguard of our party attacked the [True Blue] army barracks, burnt it to the ground, seized the radio station, and called upon our people to come out and arrest the brutal elements of the secret police, of the police force, of the army, and the corrupt and brutal leadership of government—our people rallied and came out by the thousands in the streets.

In one single day the complete seizure of power took place. [Applause.]

This, however, was only the first stage of our revolution, the seizure of state power.

Today we have the second stage, that which we refer to as the period of consolidation, the period of building our revolution. We have learned that this task, the task of consolidation, is a million times more difficult than the seizure of state power. We have learned this in practice.

Today we have ahead of us many difficult tasks. The three fundamental tasks are:

First, the building of our people's political consciousness, the building of our people's political understanding of what we struggle against, of who our number-one enemy is, of what we struggle for, and of what tactics and strategy we must work out and follow to guarantee the success of our revolution. That is our number-one task.

Also, getting our people more involved in the revolutionary process at home so that they no longer see building a revolution as the task of the leadership of our party, but as the task of every single Grenadian who is committed to building our country so that the working people in the future may inherit a better Grenada, so that all of them shall participate in all the processes and activities of the Grenadian revolution. [Applause.]

The second major task we have ahead of us today is that of building our economy, producing the goods for our people of free Grenada.

Our people have suffered under slavery, have suffered under colonialism, have suffered and are still suffering today under imperialism. Our people have had a long history of suffering, and obviously our March 13 revolution brought with it great expectations on the part of our people.

Hence we see the task of producing the goods, providing more jobs, improving our health facilities and conditions, improving our educational facilities and opportunities, building our economy, as a very important and fundamental task.

We understand only too well that our revolution in Grenada can fail not only if our enemy was to undermine it, but also if we in the revolutionary movement should fail to do what we have to do.

The third fundamental task that we have ahead of us in free Grenada today is that of developing our military and security forces, preparing ourselves for the defense of our revolution. We see this as of enormous importance.

Since our March 13 revolution, we have had two serious attempts by reaction aimed at turning back the revolution.\*

\*In October and November 1979, a number of counterrevolutionaries were arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the government.

In April 1980, Grenadian authorities uncovered a second plot, involving some members of the army with ties to large-scale marijuana growers and possible links with the CIA.

A few weeks later, on June 19, persons associated with these plotters carried out a terrorist bombing against a mass rally in St. George's,

These attempts have not surprised us. We understand only too well that revolution always breeds counterrevolution.

We expect in the future many more attempts by reaction, by those who figure that they have lost too much in the revolution, and by those who feel that in the future their interests will be threatened. But we are confident that just as we have been able to defeat these two attempts at turning back our revolution in free Grenada, so too we shall be able to defeat any future attempts. [Applause.]

Comrades, this third task, the task of developing our military and security forces, has particular relevance to you, revolutionary people of the United States of America.

I say so because today, at this very point in time, there are a few people in New York, Grenadians, who are counterrevolutionary. There are a few of them in New York who are today raising funds and recruiting reactionary Grenadians and mercenaries with the aim of launching an attack, an armed invasion of free Grenada. This is taking place on your soil here in the United States of America.

But we at home in free Grenada have a song which our revolutionary people daily sing, and the chorus of that song runs like this: "Let them come, let them come, we shall bury them in the sea!" [Applause, standing ovation.]

Given the political advancement of our people over the years and particularly since our March 13 revolution, given the militancy of our people, given the great response there has been to our building of a people's militia, given the mood of our people at home, given the commitment, the firmness, the mettle of our people at home, we are confident that we shall be able to defeat any attempt by reaction aimed at turning back our revolution.

Comrades, to end, I want to say:

Long live the revolutionary people of Cuba and Nicaragua! [Applause.]

Long live the revolutionary people of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras struggling for their liberation too! [Applause.]

Long live the world socialist movement! [Applause.]

Long live the world liberation movements! [Applause.]

Long live the international working class and their respective parties! [Applause.]

Comrades, long live the revolutionary people of the United States of America! Forward ever! Backward never!

[Standing ovation and chants of "Forward ever! Backward never!" and "No draft! No war!"]

the Grenadian capital. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other top government and New Jewel Movement leaders, targets of the assassination attempt, escaped uninjured, but three young women were killed and dozens of people wounded.

# Iranian Students in U.S. Win Release

By Harvey McArthur and Janice Lynn

One hundred and ninety-two Iranian students were released from prison August 5 after ten days in federal prisons in Washington, D.C., and New York. The 172 men and 20 women had been arrested July 27 after a vicious attack by Washington police on their legal demonstration in defense of the Iranian revolution.

Attempts by the Carter administration to whip up sentiment against the arrested Iranians and its manipulated media campaign to try and discredit the Iranian revolution backfired. The government was compelled to release all the Iranian students, to drop the fraudulent "disorderly conduct" charges that had been leveled against them, and to back down on its deportation threats.

The July 27 demonstration had been called to counter a march by the right-wing, pro-shah Iranian Freedom Foundation. It took place on the same day the hated Shah Reza Pahlavi died in exile in Egypt.

Abbas Esfahani of the Muslim Student Association—one of three groups sponsoring the counterdemonstration—explained that the action was to protest continued U.S. intervention in Iran. He cited Carter's April 24 military raid, the recently discovered plans for a coup, and Washington's connections with the Iranian Freedom Foundation.

"We were protesting that the United States was trying to organize those people. We thought this was another conspiracy against the revolution in our country," Esfahani said.

As television cameras rolled, club-swinging cops moved in to attack the pro-Khomeini demonstrators. One reporter likened the police violence to scenes from southern civil rights demonstrations in the early 1960s.

TV crews filmed shots of cops surrounding small groups of Iranians, beating them to the ground. One man was picked up and slammed head first into a nearby car. Many were repeatedly beaten about the head after they had been knocked down by police. Some policemen removed their badges to avoid being identified.

At least thirty-five persons injured in the cop attack required hospital treatment.

After the police riot, the victimized Iranian students were arraigned on disorderly conduct and assault charges. They were jammed six to eight at a time into small cells designed to hold two people. They report that police continued to beat them while in jail. Some were sprayed with a "chemical irritant."

Antidraft and peace groups in the Washington area, as well as the National Lawyers Guild, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, and others protested the police brutality. Under this pressure the police department announced it would investigate whether excessive force was used. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) pointed to the need for an independent public investigation and ACLU attorneys vehemently protested the flagrant violations of free speech and assembly.

Glenn White, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for Washington, D.C., City Council, called for the immediate release of all the arrested students and demanded prosecution of the police involved in the attack.

To avoid deportation, the Iranian students refused to give their names. They began a hunger strike.

Under the growing pressure, all charges against the Iranians were suddenly dropped on August 1. But the students were still held in jail.

Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) then took over. Following high-level discussions with the Justice Department, the INS was ordered to begin deportation proceedings—an attempt to intimidate participants in political demonstrations.

During the night of August 1, the INS secretly moved the 172 Iranian men to a federal prison in Otisville, New York, and the 20 women to a federal jail in New York City. In a particularly racist display, the men and women were shackled in leg-irons and handcuffs—despite the fact that there were no longer any charges against them!

The students continued their hunger strike, and prison officials brutally forced some of them—shoving tubes down their throats and noses.

As news of this savage treatment reached Iran, some quarter of a million Iranians responded to a call by the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line at the occupied U.S. embassy. On August 5, the streets in front of the embassy were filled in a four-hour protest.

In the early morning, men and women textile workers staged a sit-in outside the Vatican's diplomatic mission in Tehran, calling on the pope to intervene on behalf of the arrested Iranian students.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini upbraided the pope for his hypocritical refusal to condemn the treatment of the students.

Fifty youth began a hunger strike in a Tehran mosque to show their support for the arrested students while several

hundred others held a sit-in outside.

Messages of solidarity with the "victims of the savagery of the American police" were issued from Iranian president Bani-Sadr's office, the Foreign Ministry, and other government offices.

Solidarity demonstrations took place in London, Beirut, Manila, and at the Vatican in Rome, as well as in U.S. cities. In London, sixty-three Iranian demonstrators continue to be held in jail and most are on a hunger strike. Fifty members of the Muslim Student Association conducted a two-week hunger strike in front of the White House.

Instead of intimidating supporters of the Iranian revolution and halting the demonstrations in its defense, the victimization of the Iranian students was having the opposite effect. Washington was forced to back down.

On August 5 the students were released after giving their names to the INS. Undaunted, they traveled to Washington for two days of demonstrations August 7 and 8. They were joined by American Black Muslims, supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and other backers of the Iranian revolution.

The demonstrations coincided with another outpouring of hundreds of thousands in Iran in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and against Israel's annexation of Jerusalem.

Organized right-wingers showed up for the Washington demonstrations. They were encouraged by a scurrilous article in the August 7 *Washington Post* claiming that anonymous "law enforcement officials" had discovered a secret "\$5 million fund" that was being used by the Iranian government to orchestrate demonstrations in its behalf. The *Post* also claimed that a terrorist group, called the "Islamic Guerrillas in America" had been uncovered. This was a transparent attempt to smear defenders of the Iranian revolution as terrorists.

One inflammatory talk show on a major Washington radio station quoted the *Post* story and exhorted citizens not to put up any longer with the Iranians.

The right-wingers heckled the more than 700 demonstrators, throwing eggs, tomatoes, and bottles. The racism was blatant. Flag-waving whites directed racial taunts against the Blacks marching with the Iranians. A group of white counterdemonstrators chased a D.C. resident for three blocks just because he was Black.

"We saw many people with Nazi or Ku Klux Klan insignia and jewelry" one antidraft leader said.

But as SWP candidate Glenn White pointed out, "These few racists do not represent the opinions of most Americans, contrary to the image the press is trying to create."

"The real sentiment was shown by the thousands and thousands of young men who refused to register for the draft, or

who did so under pressure, declaring that they would refuse to be sent into a war against Iran."

Iranian students vehemently denied the vicious rumors circulated by the media. "Our money comes from contributions and donations by our members," one student leader said. The students held a press conference to refute the charges, and even *Newsweek* magazine was forced to admit that "evidence was scanty" on charges of manipulation by Tehran.

Nevertheless, the capitalist media has continued its attempts at discrediting the

Iranian revolution.

An August 15 item in the *New York Times* again quoted anonymous "law enforcement officials" charging that after the unsuccessful coup attempt was uncovered in Iran last month there was "a coordinated international effort to eliminate foes of Ayatollah Khomeini."

Evoking images of an international terrorist conspiracy, the *Times* cited the July 18 attempt on the life of the shah's former prime minister, Shahpur Bakhtiar (who has publicly announced the formation of a movement to crush the Iranian revolution) and the July 22 shooting of the shah's

former Washington embassy press attaché, Ali Akbar Tabatabai. Then, in the tradition of true gutter journalism, it linked these actions with the July 27 demonstration.

But, as more and more people have begun to realize, it is the U.S. government that is the real international conspirator. It was Washington's CIA that conspired in 1953 to reinstall the hated shah in a bloody coup. And it is Washington that continues to conspire against the Iranian revolution and against the Iranian people's right to run their own country. □

## Haydée Santamaría: A Heroine of Cuban Revolution

[On July 28 Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado—a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and of the Cuban Council of State and the director of Casa de las Américas, the Cuban publishing and cultural organization—committed suicide. The following is the address given the following day by Major of the Revolution Juan Almeida at the state funeral held for Santamaría, which was attended by Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro, and other leaders of the Cuban party and government. The text is taken from the August 10 issue of the English-language *Granma*.]

\* \* \*

Dear Comrades:

We couldn't have a more painful and sad task than the one we are faced with this afternoon. We have come here to pay our last respects to a person who, from the earliest and most difficult times, was a fervent fighter for our Revolution; to a comrade who was loved by all of us and by all our people; to a figure of incalculable international prestige who on her own merits and through her tireless efforts became an outstanding representative of revolutionary Cuba's history, fighting spirit and feelings of solidarity.

Haydée Santamaría holds, in her own right, an ineffaceable place in the Cuban Revolution. Hence, the circumstances under which her death has taken place are doubly painful.

Haydée was one of the young people who immediately after the coup d'état of March 10, 1952, began seeking a new way to free Cuba and found it at Fidel's side. At a time when we still lacked everything, when we had neither weapons nor money and were unknown, when all we had really was our dreams and our will to fight, she, along with her brother Abel, became a pillar of the nascent revolutionary movement. As we all know, she took part in the attack on the Moncada Garrison, and there she withstood with insuperable courage one of the hardest tests any revolutionary ever had to go through when the henchmen of the tyranny vented their fury on her by

showing her the bloody remains that were mute evidence of the savage assassination of Abel and other equally beloved and close comrades. She was imprisoned and when she was released she devoted herself fully, along with Comrade Melba [Hernández], to carrying out the instructions and tasks issued by Fidel from his prison cell for the reorganization of the revolutionary movement. Among those tasks was the publication and distribution of the first edition of *History Will Absolve Me*.

As a fighter in the underground she took part, with Frank País and other comrades, in organizing the November 30 uprising in Santiago de Cuba and in many other tasks in the cities. She was a founding member of the National Leadership of the 26th of July Movement. She joined the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra in spite of the fact that her health was impaired, and remained in the mountains until Fidel ordered her to go abroad to carry out a series of important missions for the Revolution. She distinguished herself at all times, everywhere, for her total dedication to the cause, her revolutionary stoicism and her fighting spirit.

After the triumph of the Revolution on January 1, 1959, she devoted herself with the same spirit to the new tasks facing our country. She spared no effort in the struggle to consolidate our socialist homeland and make it advance. She was a bulwark of our Party and belonged to the Central Committee from its inception. Her work for 20 consecutive years as head of Casa de las Américas constitutes an exceptional contribution to friendship, solidarity and culture and to the development of indestructible bonds between Cuba and its sister nations in Latin America, the Caribbean and other parts of the world. As a result of this, she also contributed greatly to raising the prestige of our country and to making it possible for Cuba's example and the truth of our reality to be known in spite of the blockade and slander of the Yankee imperialists and the fascists and reactionaries of our continent.

On principle, revolutionaries do not approve of suicide. The lives of revolutionar-

ies belong to their cause and their people, and they must devote themselves to serving them down to their last atom of energy and their last second of existence.

However, we can't judge Comrade Haydée coldly. It wouldn't be fair.

Those of us who were close to her knew that the wounds of the Moncada had never healed. Above all, Comrade Haydée's health had deteriorated steadily in the past few years. In addition to this, she was involved in a car accident a few months ago that almost killed her and which further aggravated both her physical and mental condition. Only these circumstances, which no doubt led her to lose her self-control, can account for the fact that a figure of such historic and revolutionary stature, of such merits with respect to her country and socialism, a figure whose mettle was put to the test in the most difficult and heroic moments of our struggle, should take the tragic decision to put an end to her life.

This is why such a painful end cannot in any way diminish her virtues, the power of her revolutionary example or the legacy she leaves to our new generations and, especially, to the women of Cuba.

Let us not remember her during the last tragic moment of her life. We will always remember her as working with Abel and Fidel in organizing the revolutionary movement.

We will remember her as the heroine of the Moncada, as the fighter in the Sierra Maestra and in the cities. We will remember her as a builder of our new homeland. We will remember the example of her fighting spirit, laboriousness, modesty and complete devotion to the cause of socialism and internationalism. Those of us who must go on carrying out our duties toward our country and the Revolution will draw even greater strength from her example.

Dear comrades, on behalf of Haydée Santamaría's family, the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of State and the board of directors of Casa de las Américas, we thank you for your company in this hour of sorrow.

Thank you very much. □

# How to Fight the Ku Klux Klan

[The following are excerpts from a recent speech given in Los Angeles by Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States.]

\* \* \*

Most people in the United States are not particularly interested in who is running for United States Congress outside their own district. Many people couldn't care less who's running inside their own district. It's understandable why they feel that way.

But when the Democratic Party in the San Diego area chose Thomas Metzger as its candidate in the 43rd Congressional District—the biggest congressional district in the United States—it sent shock waves throughout southern California and the entire country.

Democratic Party candidate Metzger is a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. He is an up-front, out-of-the-closet Ku Klux Klanner. He's not the type who wears only three-piece suits or blue [police] uniforms. He's the type who wears white sheets. That is the way he is pitching his campaign for Congress.

The Socialist Workers Party hit the news in San Diego and Los Angeles when we announced that we are running Mark Friedman against Metzger.

Friedman is a twenty-eight year old machinist, a member of the International Association of Machinists, and an anti-racist fighter.

### Metzger's Theme

Metzger has been quoted in the San Diego press as saying that Blacks, Mexicans, and Chicanos are subhuman. He wants to wipe women's liberation activists, antinuclear activists, gays, and socialists off the face of the earth. Metzger's campaign has one simple theme: The economic crisis is caused by Mexican undocumented workers, by Blacks rebelling in Miami, by Cubans, by Iranians.

To show you how he proposes to solve this "problem," he wears a miniature noose hanging from his belt loop.

The Socialist Workers Party says no! The people that Metzger says are the problem are not the problem. They are a big chunk of the solution to the problem.

Metzger says he's sticking up for whites. He has pretensions of leading white workers and farmers. He thinks whites are an oppressed race today.

Metzger's road would lead white workers and small farmers into a death trap. He wants to pit them against everybody who

has dark skin, everybody who doesn't speak English, everybody who doesn't buy his racist ideas—in other words, against the overwhelming majority of the human race.

He's preaching race hatred against American Blacks, Chicanos, and Latinos, and war against other countries. White



MARK FRIEDMAN

Mark Satinoff/IP-I

workers have nothing to gain and everything to lose on this road.

The theme of our campaign is exactly the opposite. You can put it in one word. Solidarity. Labor solidarity and solidarity with the most oppressed.

### Labor Party

That's why we put the proposal for the unions to launch a labor party at the center of our anti-Klan campaign. We say that working people need to unite against our real enemies—the profiteering corporations and the government they run—and against the racist scum of the Ku Klux Klan, who serve the capitalist rulers by attacking unions, Blacks, and Latinos.

The Democratic Party was having some image problems before Metzger won. It was having a harder time passing itself off as a party of workers, Blacks, Latinos, and women.

And then something crawled out from under a corner of the Democratic Party rug. It was a type of lizard—a big, ugly, Grand Dragon. That was very bad for the

image of the Democratic Party. All kinds of Democratic Party politicians are embarrassed now. They're trying to wriggle out of the association.

But what is Metzger saying that is so different from what the other Democratic Party politicians are saying? Stripped of its Ku Klux Klan mumbo-jumbo, Metzger's message is very familiar.

Who's responsible for unemployment? Mexicans, Cubans, Japanese, Metzger tells us.

Why do we have inflation? Those thieving Arabs, he says in chorus with the big oil companies.

Who's depriving Americans of a secure, prosperous future? Those nasty revolutionaries, not quite white, who are kicking Americans around.

That's not only Metzger's line. It's not only the line of a lunatic right fringe. It is the official political line dished out in the newspapers and on television every single day. The racism is sometimes disguised and sometimes open. It is blatant in the case of anti-Arab and anti-Iranian cartoons, especially the ones that feature Khomenei.

There was a headline in the San Diego *Union* a few days ago that read, "Aliens Gouge Huge Holes in Border Fence."

As if Mexican workers are some kind of animal that burrows through fences, or as if they came from another planet.

This racism is shown in the characterization of angry Black youth—whether in Miami or South Africa—as "rioters," "looters," or "hoodlums."

### Democrats and Klanocrats

President Carter is the head of a party that has as its standard bearer in the 43rd Congressional District the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. President Carter has said nothing about this. He brushed it off. He said, "I'm opposed to the Klan. Everybody knows that."

Can you imagine what would happen if some racist dog like Metzger suddenly announced that he was running for Congress as a Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 43rd Congressional District? I'll tell you. No matter where we were, [SWP presidential candidate] Andrew Pulley and I would be on the first plane out here to explain to the people of California that we did not consider Metzger even a member of the same biological species with us, much less of the same political party.

Metzger is not the first or the only Klansman to be a Democratic Party politician. If he is elected, he will not be a Klan caucus of one in the United States Congress.

But he is the most open "klanocrat" to come out in a long time. The Democratic Party and the Ku Klux Klan have been tight for over a century. During its early days, the Ku Klux Klan was organized out of Democratic Party clubs in the South to lynch and terrorize Blacks as well as white

workers and small farmers who had worked with Blacks during Radical Reconstruction. The alliance between the Klan and the Democrats has never been broken.

Malcolm X used to say, "If you scratch a Democrat you'll get a Dixiecrat." Sometimes you don't even have to scratch. You just have to take a whiff.

#### More Metzgers

Metzger's not the only one. There's a guy who's running for the United States Senate in Georgia, J.B. Stoner. His name may sound familiar. The reason is because Stoner was recently convicted of a racist church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama in 1958. It took twenty-two years to convict him because the cops and the FBI covered for him. But he was finally convicted.

Last week in Illinois I was talking to Linda Jenness, who was our candidate for president in 1972. She told me that she ran against J.B. Stoner for Governor of Georgia. Stoner went on television and said, "I don't want any Jew votes, I don't want any nigger votes, I only want white supremacist votes." He's running in the Democratic party primary now for the U.S. Senate.

I don't think we can leave it to the Democrats and Republicans to stand up to the Klan. No more than we can leave it to the cops to stop racist terror. We saw what happened in Greensboro, North Carolina, last November, when the cops stood by while Klan and Nazi thugs shot down five members of the Communist Workers Party in cold blood.

The Democrats aren't doing anything about Metzger. They didn't try to stop him from winning, and they aren't doing anything about him now. Some of them are mumbling about a write-in campaign. Some of them are recommending that people vote for the Republican candidate, who is an out-front representative of California agribusiness.

#### Fighting the Klan

You cannot fight Metzger by saying to white workers, as the Democrats and Republicans do, "Well, of course, Metzger has a point. The problem is Blacks, Mexicanos, Cubans. But please don't lynch them."

You can only fight Metzger by telling the truth. That we're losing jobs because it's more profitable for the corporations to lay off millions of us and force the rest to work harder and longer hours. That our schools and communities are falling apart because the government spends our tax dollars on the Pentagon instead of human needs. That prejudice and discrimination only help the capitalists and hurt working people.

To fight Metzger you have to explain the solutions that working people need to fight for—white, Black, and Latino together. Solutions like a shorter work week with no cut in pay, like spending government

funds for jobs, like nationalizing basic industry in this country.

The only ones who are standing up to Metzger in this campaign are the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Mark Friedman is campaigning to build a movement that can stop the Klan. He's going to be out there in the 43rd Congressional District, and he'll be touring up and down the state of California explaining that unionists, farmworkers, Blacks, and Chicanos have a stake in beating back the Klan. He's going to urge the labor movement throughout California to respond to the threat that Metzger poses.

## Klan/Nazi Murderers Get All-White Jury

[The following is a recent statement by Douglas Cooper, candidate of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party for Governor of North Carolina.]

Nine months ago, the nation and the world were shocked by the cold-blooded murder of five Communist Workers Party members at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro. They were gunned down by a goon squad of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members. The shooting occurred in broad daylight, in front of TV cameras, at a public housing project in the heart of Greensboro's Black community.

Today six men—a small fraction of those known to be involved in the attack—await trial on charges of murder and rioting. An all-white jury has been agreed to by the killers' defense lawyers, the judge—and the prosecution. Unless a massive public outcry is heard it is entirely likely that these six racist thugs will be acquitted or convicted on greatly reduced charges.

Why is it that in 1980, after civil rights and equal justice have been supposedly guaranteed us by law, racist forces such as the Klan feel they can get away with murder?

The answer is becoming clearer every day. The state of North Carolina has no intention of seriously prosecuting the murders or preventing further acts of racist violence. But it is pressing to turn some of the surviving victims into "criminals." Six of the surviving anti-Klan demonstrators have been indicted on frame-up charges of incitement to riot.

These indictments are intended to give credence to the assassins' claim of "self-defense."

Mounting evidence is confirming that the Greensboro police and state and federal authorities have conspired to shield the racists and aid and encourage their acts of violence.

Immediately after the shooting, serious

If ever there was proof that we need a labor party now, Metzger gives us that proof. He is antiunion to the core. And he is welcomed in the Democratic Party.

It hurts the union movement to be tied to the Democratic Party. The whole purpose of the trade union movement is to unite workers—Black workers and white workers, immigrant and native-born workers, male and female workers—to represent their common interests. But the policies of the Democrats try to divide us.

The labor movement in California should get out of Metzger's party and build a party of its own. □

questions were raised.

- Why did the cops not stop and search the armed Klan and Nazi motorcade, which they had had under surveillance since it entered the city?

- Who was the police informer who was present in the Klan group on November 3, and what role did he play in the shooting?

- Why were no cops present on the scene until after the shooting was over—and why were all police cars ordered to the Winsor Community Center rather than to Everett and Carver Drive, the scene of the shooting?

These questions still have not been answered.

Nor have they explained the July 14 revelation that Bernard Butkovich, an agent of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, was active in the local Nazi Party. He attended meetings where the November 3 confrontation was planned. Butkovich not only urged the Nazis to carry guns to the Greensboro demonstration, but repeatedly offered to supply them with explosives and automatic weapons, to help them set up a commando training center!

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- Prosecute all the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi murderers.

- Drop all charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators.

- Open the files on Bernard Butkovich and all other government agents in the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

On February 2 my party participated in the demonstration of 7,000 demanding justice for the slain anti-Klan activists. We believe that only more protests like this one can force the government to bring these murderers to justice. I am calling for an independent commission of inquiry organized by Black groups, civil liberties organizations, and trade unions, to look into the real role of the Greensboro police and state and federal authorities in the November 3 murders.

## 'The Main Enemy of Eritrea Is Imperialism'

[The following interview with Ahmed Nasser, head of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), was obtained by Ignacio González Janzen earlier this year. González Janzen, who heads the Palestine Liberation Organization's press office in Mexico, is a former member of the editorial board of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*, published in Managua, Nicaragua. He is also the author of several books, including *Esto Pasó en Vietnam* (This Is What Happened in Vietnam); *La Revolución Palestina* (The Palestinian Revolution); and *Esto Pasó en Nicaragua* (This Is What Happened in Nicaragua). The interview is scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of the U.S. Spanish-language fortnightly, *Perspectiva Mundial*. The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

For years the Eritrean nationalists confronted the regime of Haile Selassie and built a true social revolution in the liberated territories of Eritrea. However, the revolution that overthrew Selassie's dictatorship in Ethiopia brought forth a new regime—aligned with the socialist camp. This regime not only rejected the self-determination for which the Eritreans were fighting, but launched a prolonged war of extermination and annexation, which has inevitably been accompanied by a toll of martyrs and inexplicably, also by silence.

Ahmed Nasser, commander-in-chief of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) describes the current state of the struggle that his people are engaged in to win their self-determination.

"It is necessary to make two elements clear: our position and that of the Ethiopian regime. We have carried out twenty years of armed struggle in defense of our national rights, our self-determination and independence, and we will continue fighting until we obtain these objectives. For its part, the Ethiopian regime has not modified its attitude and is trying to militarily crush the independence movement, to annex our country to its territory, and to destroy the Eritrean revolution."

*Question. What is the concrete reflection of this confrontation in 1980?*

*Answer.* A constant political-military conflict throughout Eritrea; a "silent" war in many respects because to some extent it prevents contacts with the outside; a war that flares up every day. Not a single day goes by in Eritrea without a battle—large or small—between our forces and those of the annexationist Ethiopian army.

Ethiopian propaganda claims that its armies have routed our forces. The truth is very different. The Ethiopian army is only able to hold the big cities—among them Asmara, the capital, and the port of Massawa on the Red Sea—but it has been unable to control the western plains, much less the mountainous region. The majority, the immense majority of the country remains under our control; more than 90 percent of Eritrea is liberated territory.

The Ethiopian troops remain billeted in various cities that they have fortified. They cannot leave them, and they are supplied by air. When they try to patrol the principal routes, they are systematically destroyed. In the last three months the Eritrean Liberation Army (ELA), as well as the self-defense militias, have eliminated more than 1,300 Ethiopian combatants, have caused several thousand wounded among the enemy forces, and have destroyed hundreds of armored vehicles, among them many Soviet tanks.

*Q. How frequent are the big battles?*

A. Excuse me for insisting on one fact: In Eritrea there is constant fighting. Now then, in respect to big battles, we could say that they take place irregularly, in time as well as in locale. In the first place, because the enemy avoids big battles by remaining in its positions; in the second place, because, owing to our guerrilla tactics, we do not engage in confrontations except when we are sure of winning.

However, it is a fact that there are big battles. Let me explain: For us it is a big battle when we attack a military convoy of more than 500 men, a regiment, for example.

Thus, we consider big battles—also as an example—the recent fights in the Dankalia region, to the north of the Sahel, in the vicinity of Asmara, and in the western plains, where we recently destroyed entire battalions of the Ethiopian army.

*Q. Recently?*

A. From January 1980 to date. And I am very much afraid that in Latin America nothing is known of this. We are aware that the Ethiopian regime—with the support of its allies—covers up this information. At the same time, we have neither the human resources, nor the technical capacity, nor the economic capacities necessary for effective counterinformation.

*Q. Has the military situation resulted in rolling back the gains of the Eritrean revolution?*

A. No, on the contrary. We are secure in the knowledge that these gains (the distribution of the land and the organization of the peasant masses, the literacy campaign and educational efforts, the functioning of our public health organs, etc.) are one of the guarantees of our victory. And for that reason we put our greatest efforts, a permanent, constant effort, into carrying out the concrete tasks of the revolution, as we have been doing since we started fighting Haile Selassie's empire. These tasks are the armed struggle and the political education of the people—the driving force of a war of liberation and the basis of organization and of people's power.

Although it appears paradoxical, I believe that the war in Eritrea is turning back the gains of the Ethiopian revolution.

*Q. How would you explain this phenomenon?*

A. It is pretty clear that Ethiopia is being bled by its war of annexation. Instead of channeling all of its resources to the social and economic transformations that its country needs, the Ethiopian military regime is diverting important resources to its policy of aggression against Eritrea. This outlay cannot even be compensated for by any economic return from this territory, since the regime does not control it. In terms of an "investment" (although it is unfortunately in armaments and human resources) the annexationist war is a very bad "transaction" for the Ethiopian leaders.

*Q. Are any negotiations with the Ethiopian regime going on?*

A. No. We have said that we are willing to begin negotiations with the Ethiopian regime, and we continue to hold this position, but they have not even acknowledged receipt of our formal proposals for a dialogue. At this time there are no negotiations in progress.

*Q. Have you tried to initiate negotiations by means of third parties, other political organizations or other countries?*

A. Yes, of course. That is a normal measure in politics, in diplomatic circles. We have done that and we will continue doing it.

*Q. Who have these unsuccessful mediators been?*

A. Some socialist countries, among them the Soviet Union and Cuba. Arab countries, national liberation movements that maintain good relations with both parties.

*Q. What factor do you think is preventing negotiations?*

A. In the first place, obviously, is the attitude assumed by the Ethiopian military regime, with its annexationist aims. In the second place—and this cannot be overlooked—is the strategic importance of our territory, with its coasts on the Red Sea, astride the lines of communication and the maritime traffic between East and West.

There are a number of very important factors. The most recent are the Iranian revolution and—this is clear—the events in Afghanistan. All the powers that have interests in this region are trying to consolidate them and to widen their spheres of influence. This, logically, affects us inasmuch as in the face of these powerful interests, we have nothing but the strength of our small people and our will to struggle.

*Q. What do the Eritreans think of the Soviet Union's aid to the Ethiopian regime?*

A. With respect to Soviet solidarity with the Ethiopian people, political solidarity, material solidarity, and so on, we believe that such aid is valuable and necessary. And of course, we think of it as something very positive.

Now then, with respect to military aid, we cannot have the same opinion, since the attacks on us involve Soviet-built armor. It is paradoxical—the Ethiopian regime is carrying out its war of annexation against Eritrea with Soviet and American arms.

There are, for example, the Soviet tanks that we have destroyed; hundreds of Soviet-built armored vehicles. At the same time, there are cluster bombs—"Made in USA" fragmentation bombs—the same as those used by Israel in its bombardment of the Palestinian refugee camps and the Lebanese population.

*Q. Do you have relations with the Soviet Union?*

A. Yes. We have good relations with the Soviet Union. I headed an Eritrean Liberation Front delegation that visited Moscow [in February of this year]. It was my second visit. I had already been there on an official invitation in June 1978 and had various conversations with the Soviet leaders.

*Q. What is the Soviet attitude in regard to the conflict?*

A. It is evident that they have better relations, or closer relations, with the Ethiopian side than with the Eritrean side. But they share our judgment that war is not the best recourse for overcoming the conflict. The Soviet leaders reiterated to me, in Moscow, that they advocate the necessity of beginning peace negotiations.



Eritrean liberation fighters

*Q. But they keep up their military aid to Ethiopia.*

A. Yes, that is a fact. The Soviets indicate that they do not interfere in the internal affairs of Ethiopia, nor do they wish to, and that there is very little that they can do to modify the annexationist policy of their allies.

The problem is very complex, and principled policies are not always imposed—at least immediately—on the contradictions in particular cases, precise moments, specific interests.

*Q. Detractors of the Eritrean cause maintain that the liberation movement is no more than a Saudi Arabian puppet, and that it is financed by reactionary, oil-rich regimes trying to destabilize the Ethiopian revolution. How do you answer these assertions?*

A. It is necessary to recount a little history. When we Eritrean revolutionaries received training in Cuba and political and material support from socialist countries, Emperor Haile Selassie denounced the Eritrean liberation movement as a communist conspiracy. Now, owing to the differences that we have with forces that helped us generously in the past, we are accused of being "anticommunists."

This is a very opportunistic game, a propaganda campaign designed to cause

confusion. I am not going to enter into that game by reiterating our political positions, because we demonstrate our political positions through action, and they figure in all the documents that we put out.

What I would like to make clear is that we are not counterrevolutionaries. Not even against the Ethiopian revolution. We began to develop a socialist revolution in our liberated territories in Haile Selassie's time, when the Ethiopians were not yet even dreaming of overthrowing the imperialist dictatorship.

We are not the ones who have to establish a revolutionary "record."

At the same time, I believe that it is evident that we do not identify with reactionary regimes, nor are such regimes able to identify with us. We are their enemies, they are our enemies.

*Q. Is Ethiopia the main enemy of Eritrea?*

A. No, Ethiopia is not the main enemy of Eritrea. The main enemy of Eritrea is imperialism, which objectively benefits from the Ethiopian war of aggression. We are at war against the Ethiopian armies, but the day that we confuse the Ethiopian people with our true enemies, we will make the same mistake as the Ethiopian leaders who consider the Eritrean revolution their enemy. □

## 'The Whole Countryside Is Under Our Administration'

[The following is an interview with Issayas Afewerki, the deputy secretary-general of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). It was obtained by Lynne Barbee, an editor of *MERIP Reports*, and is reprinted from the July issue of the London monthly *Middle East*.]

\* \* \*

*Question. In 1977 most of Eritrea was under the control of the liberation movement, but in 1978 you suffered some severe setbacks. This year the EPLF launched a major counteroffensive. What is the present military situation?*

*Answer. Even though the balance of forces has shifted in our favour, the stalemate still exists and we feel that it will take some time to change totally.*

*Q. What presence does the EPLF now have in the area formerly under your administration?*

A. We only retreated from the big cities. The whole countryside is under our administration as it was before this strategic retreat.

*Q. Could you describe the recent military confrontation you had with the Ethiopian forces?*

A. The aim of the last counteroffensive on our side was to extend the situation of stalemate, to give us the chance to totally change the balance of forces. Before our counteroffensive the Derg [the Ethiopian military junta] had prepared to undertake its biggest military offensive. The hardware was ready; psychological and political preparation in the army were at their highest level. Unfortunately for the Derg our counteroffensive destroyed its plans for a big confrontation. Its losses in hardware and manpower were the biggest since its main strategic offensive began in 1978. This has totally paralysed the Derg now. In particular it has paralysed those units which were supposed to be the most effective in Eritrea.

The counteroffensive covered a dense line of about 70 kilometres along the northeastern and Nakfa fronts. There were some 40,000 soldiers in five task forces of the Ethiopian army with about 150 tanks and armoured cars and a total of 400 light and heavy artillery units. Their positions were reinforced with very well prepared trenches, and they also had air superiority. Yet we estimate their losses in men and artillery to be half the total number they had before the counteroffensive.

*Q. What other outside help does the*

*Ethiopian Derg now receive? Do you see any signs that the Derg is opening up to the West?*

A. Militarily the Derg is relying on the Soviet Union. Financially and economically most of its aid is coming from the EEC [European Economic Community] countries and the US.

*Q. Are the Cubans still involved in Eritrea?*

A. There has never been much Cuban involvement in Eritrea from the beginning of the offensive, and we don't see any Cuban involvement in Eritrea at present.

*Q. The past few months have seen some purges inside the Derg. Is this a sign of instability or further consolidation of power by Mengistu?*

A. I think it's both. When you have an unstable political situation you try to stabilise and to consolidate the position of one faction within the ruling junta. The Derg has had this problem since its birth. All these purges are intended to consolidate the position of Mengistu, and he will continue until he himself is the victim of a purge.

*Q. What are the EPLF's relations with the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front, the Oromo Liberation Front and the Western Somali Liberation Front?*

A. All our relations with democratic liberation forces in Ethiopia are based on the principle of support for the right of self-determination of all peoples. On this basis we make relations with all democratic forces within Ethiopia.

*Q. What is the nature of the Soviet involvement in Eritrea and Ethiopia?*

A. The EPLF has never denied or tried to hide the fact of Soviet involvement in Eritrea. This involvement is the result of their political commitment to the Derg. Our position has been to totally reject this involvement. Many times we have asked through our Central Committee's regular meetings, decisions and statements that the Soviet Union should correct its position.

*Q. Has Moscow's involvement in Afghanistan affected its involvement in Ethiopia?*

A. There has been little change in this involvement in Eritrea.

*Q. How will the improved relationship*

*between Sudan and Ethiopia affect Eritrea?*

A. The Sudanese have the right to take any initiative which will serve their national interests. We don't have any objection to the Sudanese Government taking the initiative to normalise its relations with the Ethiopian Government. When it comes to the Eritrean question, we are confident about the Sudanese Government's position, and this has been made clear through the declarations and statements of President Nimeiri. He has never tried to impose any political solution. He is exerting all his efforts to bring the Eritrean revolution and the Derg to the negotiating table, and we support this initiative from the Sudan.

The Derg, of course, is manoeuvring to exploit the position of the Sudan and is trying to use it as a psychological weapon against the struggles of the Eritrean and Ethiopian people. We feel that all the sincere attempts by Sudan to normalise relations with Ethiopia will fail because the Derg's manoeuvres are temporary.

*Q. During the SSU [Sudanese Socialist Union] Congress last January, President Nimeiri advocated a peaceful solution to the Eritrean conflict and offered to mediate. Regional autonomy has been suggested as a possible solution. What is your view of this?*

A. If one is preparing to negotiate one does not make premature proposals. Neither the Sudanese nor the parties concerned should suggest any concrete solution. We have made it clear that we are ready for unconditional negotiations with the Derg. This does not mean that we have denied the right of our people for self-determination. We just want to come to the negotiating table with a third party present. The negotiations themselves will produce a just solution for our cause and a peaceful solution for the conflict.

We are not putting forward any solutions, because we feel it would be premature. Any proposal for regional autonomy by a third party trying to bring parties to the negotiation table is also premature and will only complicate matters. We feel that a third party playing the role of mediator should bring the Derg and the representative of the Eritrean revolution to the negotiating table, and that's all.

*Q. In the past the Derg has suggested a peaceful settlement based on regional autonomy. Do you feel there is any possibility of negotiating with the Derg on this basis?*



A. Time and again we have shown that the Derg uses the slogan of a peaceful solution as a tactical manoeuvre to give time for military preparations. The Derg has proved through its practices that it is not ready for any negotiation. The policy of regional autonomy proposed by the Derg has been totally rejected by the EPLF. It is an empty proposal and has nothing to offer the Eritreans, who have their own politico-economic background. It is not even a solution for other minority nationalities and ethnic groups within Ethiopia. We will not negotiate on this basis.

*Q. Unity talks between the ELF and EPLF are continuing. What are the real future prospects for unity?*

A. The unity talks have been going on as usual, and the progress we have made is satisfactory, even though the process is very slow. For us, coming to unity gradually and establishing a strong basis is preferable to a hasty unity which would lead to division and factions again. We expect to face some obstacles and setbacks, but we are prepared psychologically for that and we are convinced that finally there will exist one democratic national front.

*Q. Are there joint activities now being undertaken by the ELF and the EPLF?*

A. There is nothing new to be said about joint action. We have been taking joint action in all spheres—military, political, propaganda, social welfare. Some have been progressing well, some have not.

*Q. ELF leader Ahmad Nasser recently visited Moscow. Do you see this as a positive development, or is it an attempt by the ELF to negotiate a separate peace agreement?*

A. I don't have any idea about what has been going on, and it is very difficult to comment at this time.

*Q. Sudan has declared 1980 as the year of the refugee and is planning an international refugee conference for June. Of Sudan's some 400,000 refugees, the vast majority are from Eritrea. Are there also displaced persons, internal refugees, under your care in Eritrea?*

A. The Eritrean Relief Association has shown that there are refugees and displaced people within Eritrea and along the Sudanese borders. As to the 1980 international refugee conference, if it is going to solve the problem of the refugees inside Sudan then the refugees must have a say in that conference themselves.

*Q. Has the EPLF set up any educational or other programmes in the refugee camps?*

A. It raises many political questions with the Sudanese Government, with international agencies, and among the Eritrean fronts. There is a pressing need for

## One Year After the Revolution

### Nicaragua: An Example for Workers of the World

[The following greetings were sent by the Fourth International to the July 19 celebration of the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.]

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The Fourth International sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and the revolutionary fighters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) on the occasion of the first anniversary of the heroic victory over the imperialist-backed Somoza tyranny.

Since July 19 last year the Nicaraguan revolution has continued to deepen with major advances being made to reconstruct the country in the interests of the Nicaraguan toilers. Under the leadership of the FSLN, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants have taken big steps forward in strengthening their class organizations, increasing their participation in the control of the factories, enlarging the agrarian reform, and strengthening the institutions for the defense of the revolution—such as the militias and the Sandinista Defense Committees. Among the most significant of the social measures taken to improve the lives of the working masses is the literacy campaign being waged to teach more than half the population to read and write.

The revolutionary overthrow of Somoza and the social advances made by the Nicaraguan people since then have aroused the hostility and hatred of the Nicaraguan exploiters and their imperialist masters in Washington. They fear that Nicaragua will become a "second Cuba," by which they mean that it will become the second country in the Western Hemisphere to free itself of capitalist exploitation, oppression, and imperialist domination. They are alarmed that the courageous example of the Nicaraguan revolution will inspire the other oppressed peoples of the rest of Latin America to rise up and throw out the dictators imposed on them by Yankee imperialism.

In response the imperialists have sought to strangle and blackmail the Nicaraguan revolution by withholding the massive material aid needed to overcome the devastation left by their henchman Somoza. In striking contrast to the meager aid given to Nicaragua, the Yankee imperialists have shown no hesitation in sending millions of dollars worth of arms and

schools, as a whole generation of Eritreans is now lacking an Eritrean education. The EPLF will set up schools only where it can have full independence and control. □

hundreds of military advisers to the blood-stained junta in El Salvador. They are trying to lay the groundwork for sending in their own troops to El Salvador under the figleaf of the Organization of American States. They have sought to whip up a hate campaign against the Cuban revolution and staged aggressive military maneuvers in the waters around Cuba. In Jamaica they have launched a CIA "destabilization" program like that used to bring down the Allende government in Chile in 1973. And most recently they have attempted to murder the leaders of the Grenadian revolution. The Fourth International calls on the workers movement throughout the world to mobilize to resist these aggressive moves by imperialism, and to aid the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean in their struggles for freedom and socialism.

The Fourth International has set as its central international campaign the building of the broadest movement of aid and solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. The building of a massive international campaign would be a powerful weapon against the criminal maneuvers of imperialism. We call on the mass parties and organizations of the workers movement in all countries to mobilize in support of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The struggle of the Nicaraguan people and the FSLN has set an inspiring example for workers, anti-imperialist fighters, and revolutionists throughout the world. The Fourth International pledges to do all it can to aid and defend your revolution.

Immediate aid to Nicaragua!

Imperialist hands off Central America and the Caribbean!

Solidarity with the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran Revolutions!

Long live the FSLN and the people of Sandino!

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## The Chinese Dissident Movement Today

[The following interview with P'eng Shu-tse was obtained by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* in June. P'eng, who joined the first Communist organization in China in 1920, was a member of the Chinese Communist Party's Politburo and of its five-member Standing Committee during the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

[Along with Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the founder of the CCP and its first general secretary, P'eng repudiated the disastrous policies that led to the defeat of the revolution and opposed the Stalinization of the Communist International. Expelled from the CCP in 1929, P'eng and Ch'en were founders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. In the 1930s, P'eng spent five years in prison under Chiang Kai-shek. He was forced into exile by the Maoists in 1948. (Other Trotskyists who remained in China were imprisoned without trial for nearly thirty years.)

[Articles and interviews by P'eng covering the period from the CCP's taking of power in October 1949 to the aftermath of the death of Mao Zedong have recently been published as a book. *The Chinese Communist Party in Power* by P'eng Shu-tse is available for \$9.95, plus postage and handling, from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

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*Question. Since the end of 1978, the media in Europe and the U.S. have reported the activity of many young intellectuals and workers who put up posters on Democracy Wall and published underground magazines in major cities across China. These young people called for democracy and attacked the bureaucratic leadership in China. The movement flourished until the trial of one of the most well-known dissidents, Wei Jingsheng, editor of Explorations, an antibureaucratic Peking publication. Wei was arrested in April 1979, tried, and in October of the same year sentenced to fifteen years in prison.*

*Since then, it appears that the dissident movement has diminished. What is the situation of the dissidents today? What is the political direction of this movement and why was it suppressed?*

*Answer.* It is necessary to step back and look at the evolution of China since the purge of the "Gang of Four" in October 1976 because this laid the foundation for

the dissident movement.

In the struggle for control of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the government, the new leadership headed by Hua Guofeng denounced the "Gang of Four" and their "counterrevolutionary" crimes. Supporting Hua were Political Bureau members Wang Dongxing, commander of the guards responsible for Mao's personal security for almost forty years; Chen Xilian, commander of the military in the Peking area; Wu De, vice-chairman of the People's Congress and mayor of the Peking Municipality; and Ji Dengkui, vice-premier.



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Hua's authority, however, was challenged by a strong group of old leaders who backed the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, a former general secretary of the CCP, follower of Liu Shaoqi, and purge victim during Mao's so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

A struggle developed between the Hua group and Deng supporters that lasted for several months. Deng found support among powerful provincial leaders such as Xu Shiyu, commander of the army in Guangdong; Wei Guoqing, military political commissioner in Guangdong; and other old members of the Political Bureau and the Military Commission. The latter demanded the reinstatement of Deng to his old posts in the party, the government, and the military leadership. They used the weight of the growing dissident movement to futher their cause, encouraging the use of Democracy Wall for attacks on members of the ruling Hua clique.

Under this pressure, Hua's faction was

forced to make concessions. At the Eleventh Congress of the CCP in August 1977, Deng was rehabilitated and elected to the Central Committee, Political Bureau, and as third chairman of the party, and was reinstated as vice-premier and chief of staff of the military. At this congress he regained every post he had lost, thus marking Deng's formal return to power.

Hua still occupied the most important positions: chairman of the CCP, premier, chairman of the Military Commission, and minister of the secret police—more titles than Mao Zedong had held!

Members of Hua's clique were able to retain their crucial positions of power in the political center of China, including the mayoralty of Peking, command of the military in the Peking region and command of the 8341 Security Regiment—the hated secret police. The fight within the Central Committee continued for more than a year.

Deng continued to build support in the provinces. He sent his followers into Sichuan, Anhui, Guangxi, and Guangdong to function as provincial leaders—actions he could now undertake because of his seat on the Political Bureau.

At the same time, he engineered the rehabilitation of many other leaders and cadres purged by Mao during the Cultural Revolution. Those cleared of past denunciations included some important former members of the Political Bureau such as Chen Yun, former minister of heavy industry, and Peng Zhen, former mayor of Peking. All owed their return to power to Deng's faction whose forces rapidly increased thereby.

Because Hua and especially Wang Dongxing had appointed themselves as the real heirs to Mao Zedong they tried to prevent any actions that challenged Mao's prestige. They insisted that "all of Mao's directives must be obeyed" and that "all decisions made by Mao must be carried out."

Neither could Deng Xiaoping afford to lead an outright attack on the deceased "Great Helmsman." Years before, Deng had allied himself first with Liu Shaoqi, then with Zhou Enlai in an attempt to cleanse the party of the worst abuses of Maoism. In 1956, three years after Stalin's death, Khrushchev proposed to the Twentieth Congress of the Russian CP that the glorification of Stalin be dropped. Under the influence of the Russian "de-Stalinization," the majority at the Eighth Congress of the CCP in the same year agreed with Liu and Deng's proposals to downgrade Mao's "cult of the personality" and to strike out "Mao Zedong Thought" as the sole guiding principle of the CCP.

To win support among the masses, Deng continued with similar measures in 1978. These were bureaucratic self-reform measures however, not openly revolutionary changes that explained the materialist reasons for Mao's "errors" in the existence

1. The "Gang of Four"—Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, and Mao's wife, Jiang Qing—were members of the Political Bureau and Mao's most trusted supporters. They were purged after Mao's death.

of a privileged bureaucratic caste whose leader Mao had been.

But criticism of Mao was inherent in the rehabilitation of the many leaders who had been purged by Mao during the Cultural Revolution and, fearing an open confrontation, Deng formally continued to pay obeisance to the cult of Mao, seeking merely to ameliorate its worst aspects.

Deng began his critique in a back-handed way, issuing the slogan: "Practice is the only criterion of testing the truth." Thus, Mao's ideas were to be tested through practice and his mistaken acts reviewed. This critique was first raised in the May 1978 publication of the *Guang Ming Daily*, a newspaper controlled by the party.

This opened the floodgate. The *People's Daily* (the party organ), *Liberation Army Daily* (the organ of the army), and many others enlarged upon this train of thought.

The open discussion in the press invited participation throughout the party. The *Red Flag*, controlled by Wang Dongxing, showed its disapproval by disdaining to participate in the critique.

Under pressure from the growing Deng faction and the rising dissident movement, Hua Guofeng held tightly to the support of Wang Dongxing and the other Mao loyalists since his prestige flowed entirely from Mao. But the exposure of Mao's "errors" chipped away at Hua's own claim to legitimacy.

Hua's base of power had been restricted from the beginning. In 1976 when Mao chose Hua as the new premier to replace Zhou Enlai, he was a relative unknown in Chinese politics. Under Mao's direction, he had quickly advanced from provincial administrator to the head of the secret police, and finally to premier under Mao.

The impact of the wall posters attacking those seen as responsible for the previous excesses of the regime was so deepgoing and all pervasive, however, that Deng was able to force the removal of Hua's three key supporters, Wang Dongxing, Chen Xilian, and Wu De. They kept their membership in the party and the Political Bureau, but they lost their military commands. What posts they retained were empty formalities.

These demotions cleared the way for Deng. He was able to assess his strength at a working meeting of the Central Committee held in November 1978 which was attended by more than 1,000 cadres from the provinces. On the strength of the proposals approved at this meeting, the "rehabilitation" of the Tiananmen Square incident<sup>2</sup> was proclaimed by the Peking

2. On April 5, 1976, people gathered in Peking's Tiananmen Square to show their respect for Premier Zhou Enlai who had died earlier that year. The turnout included thousands who carried wreaths adorned with poems and slogans attacking Mao's faction. In response to Mao's order to remove the wreaths, more than 100,000 demonstrators gathered at the square. When the



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Municipal Committee. All the resolutions of the November meeting were adopted at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Congress in December. The Central Committee formally admitted that serious—even disastrous—errors had been made during the Cultural Revolution.

*Q. What affect did these proclamations have on the dissident movement?*

A. The top leadership of Hua Guofeng's clique, Wang Dongxing, Wu De, and Chen Xilian were formally responsible—under orders from Mao—for the brutal suppression of the Tiananmen demonstrators. The masses had already expressed their hatred for the regime's repressive actions in the wall posters. The rehabilitation of the Tiananmen incident encouraged the further venting of anger on the walls of China.

Of course, Deng gained political capital from this. He openly defended the incident as part of the revolutionary movement, inviting more criticisms of Mao's inheritors. The dissident movement flowered as hundreds of new wall posters were put up.

*Q. Is this the first time that such placards were used in China?*

A. The right to hang proclamations on the walls has been reaffirmed many times

crowd dwindled, thousands of soldiers attacked the protestors. Several hundred were killed or wounded and many more arrested. Deng, who was then premier, was blamed by Mao for the Tiananmen incident and dismissed from all his posts. Mao then appointed Hua as premier.

since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution when they became a powerful weapon. They were used by Mao's Red Guards to attack his opponents, and Mao himself hung a poster attacking Liu Shaoqi in the meeting hall of the August 1966 plenum. At the Tenth Congress in 1973, a statute was included in the Constitution guaranteeing the democratic right to post public placards.

Following the purge of the "Gang of Four," Deng supporters had demanded his rehabilitation by means of such posters. Then they used similar means to bring about the purge of Hua's right-hand men. After Deng took power, he in turn became the object of attack in such wall posters. With each new bureaucratic struggle, the placards became a means of attacking the opposing clique.

*Q. Then is it only recently that dissidents used public proclamations to attack the bureaucratic regime?*

A. In 1974 a group of dissidents in Canton under the collective name of "Li Yizhe" penned a long poster criticizing Lin Biao and calling for democracy. This was a veiled attack on Mao Zedong since Lin had already fallen from power.

But "Li Yizhe" did more than attack a single bureaucrat, they aimed their criticism at the CCP bureaucratic system as a whole. For this they were arrested and jailed. Only after the purge of the "Gang of Four" were they released. Their case became internationally well-known and their manifesto was translated into several languages.

*Q. Before this period, had magazines*

critical of the bureaucracy appeared in the People's Republic of China? Since wall posters had been legalized in the Constitution and a freer atmosphere established during the Hua-Deng faction struggle, were dissident magazines also legal?

A. The legality of the wall placards was not extended to magazines, therefore they had to be published secretly. Because of the disunity within the bureaucracy, publication was tolerated for a period. Beginning in November 1978, dozens of independent magazines were published. More than ten appeared in Peking alone, and others in Tianjin, Qingdao, Shanghai, Wuhan, and Guiyang (capital of Guizhou).

In Changsa (capital of Hunan), two magazines were published, and in Canton four. For the first time since the 1949 revolution, dissident magazines appeared in major cities across China. This had not occurred even during the Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom period in 1957.<sup>3</sup>

During the Cultural Revolution, such magazines were published, but they only supported Mao in his factional fight against Liu Shaoqi. The character of the publications during the recent period is very different. They attack the bureaucracy as a whole, not just one faction of it.

Q. Was there a formal relationship between the magazines? Did they express a common political line?

A. At first it was the wall posters and later the magazines that expressed the ideas of these radical young workers and intellectuals. The writers aimed their fire at the privileges of the bureaucracy and called for democratic rights: freedom of the press, of speech, and of assembly. This common political thread ran throughout the publications, but there were no organizational ties between them.

Each magazine had its own circle of supporters and writers. Numerically, the strongest group was around *This Generation*, a magazine published by students at thirteen universities, including Peking University, Wuhan University, and Nanjing University. Several thousand students in these universities aided the publication. Unfortunately only one issue was published before the bureaucracy effectively banned the magazine.

Q. Did the periodicals take up issues

3. In April 1957, Mao launched a campaign around the slogan "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let One Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," inviting everyone to criticize the so-called Three Harms—bureaucratism, commandism, and subjectivism. Two months later Mao cracked down on the critics, labeling them "rightists" and "counterrevolutionaries." More than 50,000 were expelled from the party and youth organizations and were not rehabilitated until 1978.

other than the lack of democracy in China?

A. All the magazines harshly criticized the bureaucracy and demanded democratic rights for the people, but they also published many articles on different theoretical and political questions. I will focus on three articles to give an idea of the breadth of the subject matter covered.

Once Deng had consolidated power, he attacked the dissident movement that he had initially encouraged in his fight against Hua Guofeng's faction. He recognized that the movement had a life of its own, a dangerous situation for the bureaucracy as a whole. So he dropped his reformist cloak and took a hard line in opposition to the dissenters.

In an address to a meeting of leading cadres in March 1979, he openly defended Mao Zedong saying that "Without Chairman Mao there is no new China" and that "Mao's weaknesses and mistakes were not important." He attacked the young people whose criticisms of Mao he called "exaggerated."

The dissident magazine *Explorations* rebuffed the criticism. In an article entitled "Do You Want Democracy or a New Dictatorship?" Wei Jingsheng said there are two roads in China today. One is to proceed toward democracy, the other to continue a Mao Zedong-type dictatorship. To pursue the democratic road, the criminal actions committed by Mao will have to be investigated. Wei wrote that Deng Xiaoping will not take that step.

Wei called on the people to be on guard against Deng's rule evolving into a dictatorship. Wei wrote that in the early days after his rehabilitation, Deng had respected the people and the people had welcomed him and expected him to fulfill his promises. Wei pointed to the Tiananmen incident as proof that the people were willing to spill their blood in support of Deng. Today Deng has doffed his democratic mask. He now opposes the interests of the people and is no longer worthy of any trust or support. These were the ideas expressed by Wei Jingsheng. For this "crime" he was tried and sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

In another article entitled "Struggle for a Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat," published in the July 1979 issue of the Canton magazine, *Voice of the People*, Wang Xizhe wrote that the Chinese regime is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship of the party which developed into a dictatorship by one leader who proclaimed himself to be above all mortals, i.e., a god. This allowed Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" to develop the cult of Mao into a new religion. Wang pledged to fight this new worship. He held that this new faith must be replaced by a class dictatorship of the proletariat based on democratic elections and the right to recall—a Paris Commune-type of dictatorship.

In another article entitled "The Present Situation and Our Understanding," printed in the *April 5 Forum* in November 1979, the editors posed the question of the origin of the bureaucracy:

"The bureaucratic tendency was produced by the functionaries who were working in the party and the state apparatus which controlled the means of production. These bureaucrats organized themselves as a caste.

"The bureaucracy at present is the most fatal sickness of our society. It is a social power that can be fought only by another social power.

"In October 1956 a mass movement emerged against the bureaucratic dictatorship in Poland and Hungary. In Hungary, the events escalated to an insurrection that wrote a splendid page in the history of the communist movement.

"The April 5 demonstration at Tiananmen was the preview performance of the proletarian democratic revolution. But first one must understand the revolution, then one can practice the revolution."

This was the first time in China that the record was set straight on the character of the Hungarian revolution. The writers recognized that only a mass revolution can destroy the bureaucracy. This is a very important ideological development. Their analysis is very close to that of the Trotskyists though apparently they have never read any Trotskyist literature.

Q. Were the writers of these articles newcomers on the political scene?

A. We don't have much information about the authors, but we have enough to suggest that some have been in opposition to the bureaucracy for years. For example, Wang Xizhe was one of the "Li Yizhe" dissidents who authored the 1974 wall poster I spoke of earlier. All the authors were arrested and imprisoned.

While he was in prison, Wang studied many classical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and today is considered one of the theoreticians of the dissident movement. As a member of the CCP, he makes his remarks cautiously and with some reservations. Recently, he made a speech at Sun Yat-sen University in Canton criticizing figures of the new bureaucracy. Since then he has been denied work but says that he will continue to express his opinions.

Wei Jingsheng, editor of *Explorations*, had been a Red Guard. Following the Cultural Revolution, he became disillusioned in Mao and was imprisoned for several years.

The editor of *Peking Spring*, Han Zhixiong, was a hero of the Tiananmen struggle. For his participation in the demonstrations, he was imprisoned and tortured. He is well known because he took a sharp stand against the bureaucracy, even while in prison. It was this type of young rebel that made up the writing staff of the



Mark Friedman/IP-I

'Since early last year, the dissidents held many demonstrations and meetings along Democracy Wall.'

magazine.

*Q. Since the dissidents apparently have no connection with the Trotskyist movement, why do you think their ideas are so close to Trotskyist views?*

A. The dissidents' ideas flowed mainly from a big change in the objective situation. The events following Mao's death have shaken up all the people in China. The "Gang of Four" and others loyal to Mao have been crushed. Mao Zedong Thought has been shown to be completely bankrupt. The people, especially the young workers and intellectuals, have been liberated from the fetters of Mao's cult. Many of them returned to Marxism, that is, to the methods of Marxism to analyze and judge the events. That is why the ideas expressed by the dissidents have been so close to the Trotskyists who continue to embody the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

Trotskyists long ago came to the conclusion that the regime controlled by the CCP is not a dictatorship of the proletariat but one of the bureaucracy that can be changed only by a political mass revolution. Now the dissidents are coming to the same conclusions.

*Q. What measures were taken by the bureaucracy to halt the publication of the dissident magazines?*

A. The bureaucracy first arrested the editors. Later they formally prohibited their sale and confiscated the issues.

*Q. It must have been very difficult for the writers to defend themselves. Without any organization, they would have little power to resist the suppression. Were they able to organize active support?*

A. Since early last year, during the height of the wall poster writing, the dissidents held many demonstrations and meetings along Democracy Wall and at Tiananmen Square in Peking and in Shanghai.

The most important meeting, held at Tiananmen on September 13, 1979, was attended by more than two thousand. The sentiment of the participants was expressed by one speaker who said, "The Gang of Four was elevated to high posts directly by Mao Zedong who must be held responsible for their actions."

Another insisted, "The system of the CCP is irrational because it is a system of bureaucracy and privilege. A part of the privileged caste enjoys luxurious living conditions despite the miserable life of the poor."

Following Wei Jingsheng's sentencing, the editors of the *April 5 Forum* printed leaflets containing a transcript of Wei's trial, which had been kept secret until then. They circulated the leaflets among the people at Democracy Wall, making known the trial proceedings to thousands, including foreign correspondents. Those passing out the leaflets were arrested by the secret police.

The dissidents protested the arrests and attacked the trial as a sham. Many magazines published a declaration protesting

the trial and foreign magazines criticized the proceedings. Even in Hong Kong several magazines generally in support of the Deng faction broke with the bureaucracy on this question. This was a heavy blow against the regime because the protest is an open defiance of the new Deng dictatorship.

The writers have continued their struggle to win freedom of the press, a right that is guaranteed in the Constitution. The editors of three Canton magazines, *Life*, *Road of the People*, and *Breaking Wave*, sent a letter to other publications throughout the nation, calling for a unification of all the dissident periodicals. As part of their campaign, they proposed also to register the magazines with the government.

*Q. In China, following the purge of the "Gang of Four," many novels, plays and poems appeared. What is the political nature of this literature?*

A. Many literary works have been published over the last two years, and almost all have exposed the corruption, inefficiency and arbitrariness of the bureaucrats. It would take too long to describe the content of all, so I will focus on one representative work that is known across China.

*The Line Between Men and Devils*<sup>4</sup> is the first Chinese novel to examine the

4. Published in the September 1979 issue of *People's Literature* magazine.

roots of the postrevolutionary bureaucratic system. The main character, Wang Shouxin, is an accountant in a coal firm. The story reveals her cynical use of her position and her sexual attractiveness to climb up the bureaucratic ladder.

During the Cultural Revolution she organizes her own rebellious clique. Later she woos the local army political commissioner who, in turn, elevates her to manager of the enterprise. In control of company money, she bribes party officials, such as the secretary of the county branch of the party and the heads of the revolutionary committees, as well as the provincial officials, so she can amass more coal to build "her" company. Finally, she becomes boss of the whole enterprise—a small dictator.

This is a microcosm of the Chinese bureaucracy as a whole. This theme runs throughout much of the new literature.

Hundreds of thousands have been able to read this and other dissident literary works since, unlike the dissident magazines, literary publication is legal.

Like some of the other writers I have mentioned, the author, Liu Pingyen, has a long history of opposition to the bureaucracy. During the Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom period, as editor of the magazine of the Communist Youth League, *Chinese Youth*, he wrote articles criticizing the bureaucracy. For this he was purged and sent to a labor camp in the countryside. He was not released until the purge of the "Gang of Four" twenty-two years later.

*Q. How has the bureaucracy responded to the campaign of the dissidents for freedom of the press?*

A. Under the pressure of the demands, Deng Xiaoping has moved against the dissident movement as a whole. This is clearly stated in Deng's "Report on the Present Situation and Tasks" delivered at a meeting of senior leaders and cadres of the party, government, and army—well over 10,000—held on January 16, 1980.

In this report, he laid out the three major objectives of the 1980s. First, to prevent a third world war, China must fight the hegemony of the Soviet Union.

Second, to achieve unification of the "motherland," the return of Taiwan must be achieved.

Third, economic reconstruction must be accelerated, that is, the achievement of the Four Modernizations.<sup>5</sup>

The kernel of the three objectives is the economic plan, and that cannot be fulfilled without establishing a political situation of stability and unity. Unfortunately, Deng said, now there is a new factor threatening "stability and unity."

5. The Four Modernizations were proposed by Zhou Enlai to the Fifth People's Congress in 1975. They emphasized progress in industry, agriculture, defense, and technology.

"At present there are some social ideas, especially the ideas of the young people, that are worth paying attention to. For example, many things appeared on Hsi Tang's wall that, if allowed to freely develop, would stop who knows where? . . .

"There are also the so-called democratic faction and the so-called dissidents like Wei Jingsheng. . . . Their banner is relatively clear. Despite the fact that they sometimes support Chairman Mao and the CCP, in reality they are against the leadership of the CCP and socialism. . . . The tendency and real aims of the so-called democratic faction and the 'dissidents' must be clearly recognized. Don't be naïve: they also involve the anarchists and other extreme individuals. All these factors threaten stability. In spite of the different character of these people, under certain conditions they will unite to become a destructive influence that can become a tornado. . . .

"It is necessary to adopt legal measures toward these criminal elements. Some regions have adopted a weak stance toward such people, but we cannot be soft. We have to learn to use legal weapons. If our attitude toward such criminals is soft, it will endanger the interests of the majority of the people and endanger the modernization plan. . . .

"The communists—the party cadres and especially the leaders—must be unhesitating in this struggle against this criminal element. . . .

"Absolutely do not give permission for the distribution of propaganda. Freedom of the press and assembly for the counterrevolutionaries is banned. Absolutely do not permit anyone to meet with these people behind the party's back. . . .

"Some underground publications were professionally printed. Where did they get the paper? In what factory or printshop were they produced? These people have no printshop. Are there communists in the shops where they were printed? Members of the Communist Party support this activity and they are not rank-and-file cadres either. We must say clearly to these members that their policies are completely wrong and dangerous. If they don't change thoroughly, they must be punished under party discipline. In a word, the permissive attitude toward the counterrevolutionary destructive and criminal elements must be terminated completely. We cannot be uncertain or confused and wavering."

Deng also expressed himself very clearly on the bureaucracy's attitude toward the new literature.

"We have already said what should be written and how to write. It is not necessary to interfere with them, that is, we put the responsibility upon the writers in the literary field. . . . We do not insist on

6. Hsi Tang wall was baptized "Democracy Wall" by foreign correspondents.

continuing [Mao's] slogan that 'literature and art must be subordinated to politics.' However, this is not to say that literature and art can be separated from politics. Literature and art cannot be separated from politics. Any progressive and revolutionary writer in the literary field must consider the social influence of his or her works, that is to say, consider the influence of the work upon the interests of the people, the state and the party."

Regarding the posters, Deng said, "We insisted on the development of democracy and legality [but we] cannot use the method of the 'big contend' and 'big bloom.' That is to say, it is necessary to take steps and assert leadership or else allow the precipitation of disturbances. The 'four bigs,'<sup>7</sup> which have been written into the Constitution, now must be reconsidered based on historical experience. The 'four bigs' as a whole have never brought forth anything productive [hence] the Central Committee is preparing to demand that the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and the National People's Congress delete [the 'four bigs'] from the Constitution."

In this malicious attack on the dissidents, Deng thus clearly expressed his intention of eliminating the movement as a whole.

*Q. Were Deng's reactionary views on the dissident movement adopted by the CCP as a formal position?*

A. That is not yet clear. The Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee held in February this year adopted Deng's rejection of the "four bigs," that is, the prohibition of the posters. As for the dissident magazines, it seems that the plenum made no decision. There are obviously differences between the old bureaucracy and the Communist youth.

This was clearly reflected in an April meeting called by the provincial branch of the Communist Youth League (CYL) of Guangdong that discussed the results of the plenum. Invited participants included the editors of the *Voice of the People*, *Road of the People*, *Breaking Wave*, *Life* and the delegates from the Canton universities, other youth organizations, and trade unions. They even invited dissidents like Wang Xizhe, Chen Yiyang and Li Zhengtien (the so-called Li Yizhe grouping).

Thus despite Deng's thunderings against the dissidents, the Guangdong provincial branch of the CYL invited the dissidents to take part in a discussion on the party's decisions! At the meetings, the dissident magazines were not only not prohibited, but were recognized de facto as

7. The "four bigs" are the "big contend" and "big bloom" from the Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let One Hundred Schools of Thought Contend period; and the "big poster" and the "big debate" from the recent period.

legal publications by the invited presence of the dissident writers.

The opinions expressed by the participants are worth repeating. Almost all expressed disagreement with the Fifth Plenum ban on the "four bigs." One of them even said, "Democracy is very weak in our country. Why don't we use the 'four bigs' as a weapon to deal with the bureaucracy?" The students agreed with the plenum's rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi. Some of them thought that the main aim of Mao's Cultural Revolution had been the downfall of Liu.

Others expressed concern that the plenum had not adequately explained the criminal acts of Hua Guofeng's men—Wang Dongxing, Wu De, Chen Xilian and Ji Dengkui—who had been forced to resign from the Political Committee and their posts in the party at the Fifth Plenum.

Before the meeting of the Guangdong youth, the provisional committee of the party in Guangdong dealt with the question of the "people's magazines." It did not prohibit them. Li Zhengtian of the "Li Yizhe" proposed that the committee raise the question of the legality of the publications with the party Central Committee. He insisted that democracy and the Four Modernizations cannot be separated.

These opinions were widely accepted at the youth meeting and show that, at least in Guangdong, the people disagree with the center.

*Q. It appears from Deng's long report on tasks and from recent news reports that Deng has finally gained control of the party, the government, and the army. Were the decisions of the Fifth Plenum decisive in the outcome of the Hua-Deng faction struggle?*

A. Deng's faction forced the four central Hua supporters to resign from the Political Committee and from their positions in the government, thus completely destroying Hua's faction. Deng also reorganized the Standing Committee, appointing Hu Yaobang as its head—a position Deng had held before Mao abolished the committee in 1956.

So the Fifth Plenum totally wiped out Hua and left Deng in firm control. Exactly as Wei Jingsheng claimed, Deng Xiaoping is truly the new dictator.

*Q. Besides the oppositionist views expressed by the Guangdong youth, were there any other reactions to the decisions of the Fifth Plenum?*

A. There has been no other news of reactions to the Fifth Plenum or to Deng's report. However, on May 20 a French news agency reported from Peking that eleven groups had published a joint declaration calling for a united front to struggle for human rights and democracy.

The manifesto was signed by authors of the main publications that had emerged in



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the past year in Peking, Canton, Shanghai and other cities. They demanded that the Peking authorities release the editor of the *April 5 Forum*, Liu Qing, who had been arrested for circulating the records of Wei Jingsheng's trial. They protested the April 1979 arrest of Ren Wangding, leader of the Human Rights League, who had not yet been tried.

You can see that the dissident movement has not ceased. On the contrary, it continues to advance.

*Q. From the different opinions expressed by the participants at the meeting of the CYL can we assume that there is a serious new opposition to the leadership of the CCP?*

A. We cannot be sure that a new organized opposition against the Deng leadership already exists, but one can certainly say that there are serious differences between Deng's faction and especially some of the older leaders of the Communist youth as reflected in the discussion at the youth meeting. That the Guangdong provisional branch of the CCP permitted the youth to hold such a meeting indicates support for the new ideas.

Of course there is widespread antibureaucratic sentiment of an explosive character among the masses. Under these conditions, it is probable that some old leaders and cadres will advocate a moderate stance in order to appease the dissidents, thus providing a favorable climate for the development of the movement.

*Q. But will Deng countenance a permissive attitude toward the dissidents by some of the old leaders?*

A. According to Deng's report, he will not tolerate any moderate attitude toward the dissidents, but at the same time he cannot resolve any of the important problems facing China today.

For example, despite the propaganda about the so-called Four Modernizations, there have been no real achievements over the last three years. The modernization plan exists only on paper because the corruption and inefficiency of the bureaucracy itself, as well as its privileges, are the biggest obstacle to the development of the economy. The bureaucracy as a whole is rotten to the core and cannot be reformed.

Deng intends to turn back the wheels of history, but he and his followers will be crushed. The future will belong to the dissidents, the representatives of the new generation in China today.

Kung Liu<sup>8</sup>, a dissident in the literary field, sensitively observed, "The new generation is a meditative generation. But they will not only meditate; if necessary, they will stand up and fight. The Tiananmen incident that shook the whole world is powerful proof of that."<sup>9</sup> □

8. Kung Liu was purged as a "rightist" during the One Hundred Flowers Bloom campaign and was released only after the purge of the "Gang of Four."

9. From "New Subject," by Kung Liu, in the Hong Kong magazine, *The Seventies*, June 1980.

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# Iran: The Contradictions of a Bourgeois Nationalist Leadership

By Michel Rovere

[The following is the conclusion of a three-part series on the situation in Iran and developments in the Iranian revolution. The first article, which argued that there has been a rightward shift by the Khomeini leadership, appeared in the July 21 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

[The second article, dealing with events at the universities and the social crisis, appeared in the August 4 *IP/I*.]

\* \* \*

"The overthrow of the shah's regime opened a process of permanent revolution in Iran—the Third Iranian Revolution," explained the statement adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International more than a year ago.

Fifteen months after the revolution there has been no ebb nor stabilization in the mass movement. On the contrary, the radicalization of the mass movements of the workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities continues to deepen.

However, the present situation and recent events in Iran, pose a series of questions about the policies being carried out by the Khomeini/Bani-Sadr bourgeois-nationalist leadership.

1. We see the radicalization of mass movements. Workers are organizing into factory *shoras* (committees) and are beginning to go through experiences of workers' control. Peasants are more and more massively beginning to occupy land. One after another, the oppressed nationalities have been going into motion and fighting harder and harder for their rights. And, the Iranian masses are raising more and more radical demands against imperialism.

Given these processes, why have we not seen over the last year a *regular, linear* swing to the right by the Khomeini leadership? Why have there been instead oscillations, like the swing of a pendulum, alternating between rightist turns accompanied by repression at home, and then periods of confrontation with imperialism?

2. Why has this pendular movement taken precisely the form of alternating between counterrevolutionary offensives within Iran—against the left, the workers movement, and the oppressed nationalities—and on the other side, mobilizations against imperialism? And as a corollary to this, within this bourgeois-nationalist leadership, why have elements like the Islamic Republican Party (IRP)—who want to totally destroy the Kurdish resistance and who organized the sacking of the universi-

ties—at the very same time been those who are the least willing to compromise with American imperialism about freeing the hostages at the U.S. embassy?

3. What is the meaning of the divisions within the Khomeini leadership between the "populist fundamentalist" sectors (like the IRP) and the "liberals" (like Mehdi Bazargan and Ayatollah Kazem Shariat-Madari previously and Abolhassan Bani-Sadr today)? Does this division reflect a division between a "right wing" and "left wing"? How far could the radicalization of the so-called left wing go?

These are not purely formal questions. They are in fact at the heart of the discussions within the workers and revolutionary movement in Iran. The tactics, or the successive tactics of the main centrist groups and the Stalinist Tudeh Party flow from the answers they give to these questions. It goes without saying that the answers to these questions are also important for Iranian Trotskyists in deciding on the most effective course of action in the Iranian revolution.

### Behind the Zigzags of the Iranian Regime

It would be wrong to think that the oscillations, these abrupt turns in the bourgeois-nationalist leadership's policies—plunged into the crucible of a revolutionary crisis—reflect solely the sociopolitical and military relationship of forces at a given moment between the Iranian ruling class and the exploited and oppressed classes.

Such a simplification would lead to the conclusion that Khomeini took responsibility for the U.S. embassy occupation only because he had just suffered a defeat in his first military offensive against Kurdistan. It would provide a somewhat shortsighted analysis that would not take into account the specific characteristics of the colonial revolution. Among other things, it would not take into account the difference between a semi-colonial bourgeoisie and an imperialist bourgeoisie in this present situation—above and beyond their common features.

We are familiar with the struggle Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition led against Stalin and Bukharin on China. All the way up to the 1927 disaster, Stalin and Bukharin attributed revolutionary qualities to the Chinese bourgeoisie and its leadership—the Kuomintang—that they did not have.

But Trotsky also denounced with the same vigor the overgeneralizations of the

opposite sort that Stalin and Bukharin came up with after the defeat in China.

If yesterday the Chinese bourgeoisie was enrolled in the united revolutionary front, then today it is proclaimed to have "definitely gone over to the counter-revolutionary camp." It is not difficult to expose how unfounded are these transfers and enrollments which have been effected in a purely administrative manner without any serious Marxian analysis whatever.

It is absolutely self-evident that the bourgeoisie in joining the camp of the revolution does so not accidentally, not because it is light-minded, but under the pressure of its own class interests. For fear of the masses the bourgeoisie subsequently deserts the revolution or openly displays its concealed hatred of the revolution. But the bourgeoisie can go over "definitely to the counter-revolutionary camp," that is, free itself from the necessity of "supporting" the revolution again, or at least of flirting with it, only in the event that its fundamental class aspirations are satisfied either by revolutionary means or in another way (for instance, the Bismarckian way). Let us recall the history of the period of 1848-1871. Let us recall that the Russian bourgeoisie was able to turn its back so bluntly upon the revolution of 1905 only because the revolution gave it the State Duma, that is, received the means whereby it could bring direct pressure to bear on the bureaucracy and make deals with it. Nevertheless, when the war of 1914-1917 revealed the inability of the "modernized" regime to secure the basic interests of the bourgeoisie, the latter again turned towards the revolution, and made its turn more sharply than in 1905.

... To tell the Chinese communists today that their alliance with the bourgeoisie from 1924 to the end of 1927 was correct but that it is worthless now because the bourgeoisie has definitely gone over to the counter-revolutionary camp, is to disarm the Chinese communists once again in face of the coming objective changes in the situation and the inevitable Leftward zigzags of the Chinese bourgeoisie.<sup>1</sup>

The theory of the permanent revolution has never denied that there are conflicts of interest between the bourgeois nationalists in semi-colonial countries and imperialism, contrary to the Stalinist slanders that pour out against the theory of permanent revolution or the oversimplifications of the sects. To deny these conflicts of interest would keep us from understanding the numerous upsets that have taken place in the colonial world in the last century, starting with decolonization. What the theory of permanent revolution says—and this has since been borne out in practice—is that in the triangle of protagonists, the nationalist bourgeoisie in a semi-colonial

1. Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), pp. 176-177.



state does not stand in the middle—on the median—but rather stands closer to imperialism than to the proletariat.

Bourgeois nationalists can of course come into confrontations with imperialism. It is imperialism that expropriates for its own profit a portion of the wealth produced and shoves the bourgeois nationalists aside to a greater or lesser degree. The nationalist bourgeoisie can take advantage of a revolution or a national liberation struggle in order to gain a bigger piece of the pie. But it shares a concern with imperialism that it does not share with the proletariat and poor farmers of its own country—defense of private property and the bourgeois state, which assures the accumulation of capital and integration in the world capitalist market.

Holding this position on the role of the nationalist bourgeoisie has immediate consequences for the intervention of revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International in Iran and throughout the world. We do not attribute to the Iranian national bourgeoisie, in particular the Khomeini leadership, all sorts of revolutionary virtues. We stand up to this leadership, fighting in the front ranks in defense of the rights and demands of the workers movement, the peasant movement and the movement of oppressed nationalities—including when these movements are opposed to this leadership. But we absolutely refuse to equate the Iranian bourgeoisie or the regime that resulted from the shah's overthrow, to imperialist bourgeoisies or to Western regimes.

With regard to imperialism we do not take a neutral position. We continue to differentiate between "oppressor nations" and "oppressed nations"—an essential distinction that Lenin laid out at the Comintern's Second Congress.<sup>2</sup> We denounce and fight against every measure of political isolation; the economic blockade; and the slightest threat of military intervention directed against the Iranian revolution, even while the Iranian government remains a bourgeois government.

In the event of imperialist military intervention in Iran or a military coup fomented by the former regime's henchmen, the task of the revolutionary Marxist vanguard would be to call on the workers, peasants, and the oppressed to come to the defense of the regime with their own methods of action and organization, as long as they are not strong enough to establish their own regime.<sup>3</sup>

2. V.I. Lenin, "Report to the Second Congress of the Communist International on the Thesis on the Colonial Question."

3. See United Secretariat of the Fourth International statements "Hands Off the Iranian Revolution," *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, May 26, 1980, p. 536 and "By Defending the Kurdish Revolution We Defend the Iranian Revolution," *IP/I* July 14, 1980, p. 735.

In no way does this political position imply that we would give up one iota of our convictions or give up the actual defense of our program. On the contrary, we would continue to hold the position that this government, because it is a bourgeois government, is incapable of accomplishing, or even beginning to resolve the tasks facing it. This includes the bourgeois democratic tasks that are objectively put on the agenda by the growth of the revolutionary process. We do not stop fighting to create the objective and subjective conditions for this regime to be replaced by a workers and peasants government—a dictatorship of the proletariat.

This implies that at no time do we remain quiet or downplay our program and our proposals for action when faced with counterrevolutionary operations undertaken by the Iranian bourgeoisie and this nationalist leadership.

In a succinct formula, Trotsky summarized the different parameters that allow us to grasp the framework and limits within which the national bourgeoisie of a semi-colonial country operates:

The question of the nature and policy of the bourgeoisie is settled by the entire internal class structure of a nation waging the revolutionary struggle; by the historical epoch in which that struggle develops; by the degree of economic, political, and military dependence of the national bourgeoisie upon world imperialism as a whole or a particular section of it; finally, and this is most important, by the degree of class activity of the native proletariat, and by the state of its connections with the international revolutionary movement.

A democratic or national liberation movement may offer the bourgeoisie an opportunity to deepen and broaden its possibilities for exploitation. Independent intervention of the proletariat on the revolutionary arena threatens to deprive the bourgeoisie of the possibility to exploit altogether.<sup>4</sup>

The failure of the shah's "White Revolution" and the inability of his partial industrialization projects to solve the problem of Iran's underdevelopment or allow Iran to escape from imperialism's hold, were what undermined the foundations of the Pahlavi regime. This is the background to, the basic explanation for, the outbreak of the Third Iranian Revolution.

Above and beyond the broad common features that link the Iranian economic situation and Iranian society to its counterparts in the colonial and semi-colonial world, important particularities exist that are effecting the course of events.

There is the way industrialization occurred, based on the construction of large and medium-sized assembly plants (made necessary by the country's specific features) that manufactured for internal consumption. There is the political and economic role that the Pahlavi state was able to play, having been rebuilt on the basis of

4. Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin*, p. 172.

a defeat dealt to certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie—the fall of Mossadegh. This state played a major role in the economy, benefitting a tiny fraction of the Iranian bourgeoisie—the "forty-five families" who were involved in modern industrial development. The state intervened in the economy through the agricultural reform, customs policies, and especially its capitalization of oil income.

All this brought about a very deep polarization and a large division between the most modern sector of the bourgeoisie and the more backward (such as the bazaar merchants and manufacturing industrialists). Table I shows the scope of the differences between the various enterprises.

These layers of the bazaar traders and small and medium-sized traditional industrialists received no direct benefits from the country's huge oil revenues. They were deprived of any political role by the Pahlavi dictatorship. Nevertheless they continued to occupy a decisive place in the economy, twenty years after the shah's "White Revolution" began (which indicates how limited this industrialization was). It was these layers who served as the economic and social base for the Shi'ite clergy and the religious movement in its struggle against the regime.

Recognizing this distinct polarization within the Iranian bourgeoisie does not at all imply that the factions of this backward bourgeoisie—the bazaaris and traditional industrialists are independent of imperialism. First of all, the entire Iranian economy, not just the most modern industrial sector, is a dependent economy as a result of its integration in the world market. Just look at the decisive role that oil exports have for the entire economy in bringing in foreign currency and the growing need for imported foods.

Second, seventy percent of the nonpetroleum import and export trade is still controlled by the bazaar.

And third, light industry, by reason of its distorted character and the nonorganic growth of capitalism in Iran, depends on the world market for imports of raw materials as well as producers goods. It is hard to believe it, but there is not one single factory in Iran that produces screws or bolts!

Although these sectors have no fewer ties with imperialist economies than do the modern industrial sectors, the relationships are not the same. The former have essentially commercial relations, while the modern industrial sectors are associated with multinational firms in "joint ventures."

The Iranian masses did not fight against the Pahlavi dictatorship only in order to regain the civil and political rights they had lost or only in order to reverse a hated regime, propped up by imperialism. The Iranian masses heroically confronted repression because they believed that one of the decisive stakes in the Iranian revolu-

TABLE I

Size of Industrial Enterprises	Number of Enterprises	Average Number of Employees	Total Number of Employees	Percentage of Industrial Jobs
Less than 10 employees	869,000	2	1,800,000	81.5
Between 10 and 49 employees	6,431	25	161,000	7.3
Between 50 and 99 employees	520	68	35,000	1.5
Between 100 and 499 employees	355	190	67,000	3.0
More than 500 employees	138	1,050	148,000	6.7
TOTAL	876,444	2.5	2,211,000	100.0

The total number of medium-sized enterprises (between 50 and 500 employees) represents only 4.5 percent of all industrial jobs  
Source: Saber Nickbin, *Iran the Unfolding Revolution*, p. 13 (pamphlet published by the International Marxist Group)

tion was the possibility of changing their lives and satisfying their just aspirations.

The Iranian bourgeoisie is firmly holding back in this area—stalling with respect to satisfying the economic, social, and political demands.

This was seen regarding the land question. Even the most reformist agricultural reform plan was blocked and diverted, confirming in the final analysis the social character of this national bourgeoisie which is linked to the landlords and wealthy landowners by a thousand and one family, commercial, and speculative ties. For example, the bazaar merchants and agricultural middlemen play a role in the system of usury. And investment in land along with real estate speculation, has always been one of the main outlets in Iran for the excess capital that piles up in the industrial sector.

The implementation of a real urban reform, was also blocked, even though all observers have agreed that this is one of the keys to resolving the social crisis. This can be seen by looking at the scope of migration from the rural areas (1.5 million persons last year) and the role of construction both in spurring economic activity and creating jobs (675,000 jobs were created between 1976 and 1978).

At the industrial level, in response to significant wage increases that have been decreed, large sections of small and medium-sized employers still refuse to invest, when they don't just shut down their enterprises using such pretexts as a lack of raw materials or that the system of banking credits is paralyzed.

Iran's traditional petty-bourgeoisie and middle class, who as a whole supported the new regime, backed the "anti-imperialist movement" from the very beginning. During the days of the massive mobilizations in front of the "spy nest" the bazaar merchants came and distributed food, refreshments, and snacks to the demonstrators, either free or for a very low price.

This is because nationalism is very high among the bazaar merchants. It is rooted, of course, in the way of life and the social and economic relations that were never much affected by modernization.

This nationalism is kept alive by the memory of how the dictatorship was in-

stalled by overthrowing Mossadegh. These traditional layers were systematically excluded from political power and even from directly receiving any of the oil income. In fact, faced with the economic crisis, particularly inflation, the shah tried to use the bazaar as the main scapegoat.

This is why the bazaar moved into action against the shah's regime. And this is also why they fell in line behind the political leaders of the Islamic Republic in denouncing the "Great Satan" America and demanding the extradition of the fallen monarch.

We must also recognize the limits that this Iranian national bourgeoisie and its leadership are determined not to exceed.

#### A Ridiculous Economic Response

The confrontation with imperialism following the U.S. embassy occupation involved primarily economic warfare and a partial blockade. Therefore, since Tehran failed to take any real anti-imperialist measures, it was never able to take the initiative in response to the offensive by the Washington and U.S. business circles.

On November 12, Carter made the decision to stop the shipments of Iranian oil to the United States.

It was the president of the United States who two days later beat the Iranian leaders to the punch by freezing all Iranian assets deposited in U.S. banking institutions—assets that represented a minimum of \$5 billion to \$7 billion.

It was also Washington, through large Wall Street banks, that took the initiative in cutting off most long- and short-term credit lines, that had provided the basis for commercial exchanges between the Iranian bourgeoisie and its Western trade partners. (Thus, in London, the "Department for the Guarantee of Export Credits" stopped covering any transactions with Iran. Trade could no longer take place except by resorting to cash payments or certified letters of credit.)

Given these measures and the economic blockade effecting certain strategic products needed by Iran (in particular, parts and equipment for the oil industry), Iran's response remained extremely weak. There was no radical plan of anti-imperialist measures.

In June and July, 1979, the Bazargan

government, in order to prevent a total collapse of the economy, found itself forced first to nationalize the entire banking sector and the insurance companies, and then in turn to nationalize 75 percent of the modern industrial sector that was being threatened with bankruptcy and factory closings.

But these nationalizations have not been a very big blow to imperialism's interests. And despite the demands of the Iranian masses for nationalization of all foreign capital without compensation, which they have expressed on many occasions, nothing at all like this has taken place.

The aborted plans to nationalize foreign trade can also be cited. In response to the strong threats of an economic blockade last January, Bani-Sadr, who was then finance minister, announced that foreign trade would be nationalized. One week later, following a marathon session of the Islamic Revolutionary Council, the trade minister announced that only the warehouses were being nationalized.

Without even talking about nationalizing foreign trade, the government decided to impose import quotas on certain "luxury" items, in particular automobiles. With the combined effect of Iran's declining production and the growth of a flourishing black market for used cars and spare parts, the Iranian government decided to grant new import quotas of automobiles rather than get at the root of the problem by planning to convert the industry or taking steps to curb the black market.<sup>5</sup>

And then there are the whole series of advances (followed by action) made to the imperialists in Europe and Japan.

In the past several weeks a tone of cautious optimism has reappeared in the financial columns in the newspapers and magazines devoted to the Middle East. This optimism reflects a two-sided reality.

That is, the Iranian revolution affected the volume of trade, but not its basic structure. In fact, there is an increased movement by European and Japanese

5. An agreement has just been signed between Iran and Romania for converting only one of Iran's seven automobile assembly lines—General Motors. But the agreement predicts that it will take six years for a utilitarian automobile to be manufactured.

capital. They are capturing a more and more important share of trade, to the detriment of their American rival. This already started several years ago.

Tables II and III show both the reduced volume of Iran's imports and the lack of any structural changes.

As a matter of fact, over the last few months commercial exchanges between Iran and its Western trade partners, at least its European partners, have picked up.

In 1978, exports to Iran from member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), represented an average of \$1.3 billion per month. During the first three months of 1979 exports from these countries were barely one-fourth this 1978 figure. But during the last three months of 1979 this figure rose to an average of \$600 million and this upturn in trade has continued since then.

This upturn is equally clear in the case of each country.

For the entire 1979 year, Japanese exports to Iran reached \$925 million, as compared to \$2.7 billion the year before. But this year, for the month of March alone, Iran imported \$238 million worth of Japanese merchandise. The Japanese have also resumed construction of the giant petro-chemical complex at Bandar-e Khomeini—a "joint-venture" of the Mitsui trust and an affiliate of the National Iranian Oil Company—which represents an investment of \$3.2 billion.

Exports from the European Economic Community come to £500 million per month (£1=U.S.\$2.3). In Great Britain, the Talbot company—which itself accounts for 10 percent of all Britain's exports to Iran—will be supplying Iran with spare parts for the manufacture of the popular Peykan automobile. In 1980 this will mean some £150 million worth of exports as compared with £20 million in 1979!

One can understand Iranian president Bani-Sadr's melancholy observation at the beginning of June, when he announced that after fifteen months of the "Islamic Revolution" Iran had hardly modified its economic dependence on the West. This shows the limits of this "anti-imperialist movement," which for a time drew large sections of the population around the bourgeois-nationalist leadership, but has none-

theless not been able to resolve the crisis inside the Khomeini movement in any lasting way.

#### The Islamic Republican Party's Strengths and Weaknesses

The Islamic Republican Party looms today as the most organized, dynamic, and aggressive force inside the constellation of groups, organizations, networks, and cliques that constitute the Khomeini movement. Although its candidate was resoundingly defeated by Bani-Sadr in the presidential elections, the IRP won a majority of seats in the new Majlis (parliament). Inside the Islamic Revolutionary Council, the IRP's general secretary, Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti seems to be able to command enough of a majority to effec-

TABLE III  
Iranian Foreign Trade  
(In Billions of U.S.)

Exports to Iran	1977	1978	1979
United States	2.87	3.87	1.03
West Germany*	3.26	3.80	.96
Japan	2.01	2.82	.93
Britain	1.37	1.64	.49
France	.81	.96	.44
Soviet Union	.66	.69	.15
<b>Imports from Iran</b>			
United States	2.94	3.02	2.82
West Germany*	2.21	2.35	1.64
Japan	4.46	4.46	4.34
Britain	1.64	1.77	.51
France	1.28	1.32	1.05
Soviet Union	.44	.37	.15

\*For nine months

Source: French Trade Ministry in Iran, reproduced in the April 4-17, 1980 issue of *L'Expansion*.

tively counteract all of president Bani-Sadr's initiatives. This was seen around the nomination of a future prime minister and before that, around the various attempts—endorsed by Bani-Sadr or Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh—to secure the release of the U.S. embassy hostages.

The IRP is based on the large Shi'ite hierarchy and as a result has at its disposal the organizational network of the mosques. The IRP has hegemony among the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards), so much so that it was able to force the resignation of Arbas-Agha Zahani (better known as Abu Sharif)—the man Bani-Sadr had appointed as commander of the Pasdaran.

The IRP also has at its disposal powerful networks in the state apparatus: the Islamic courts, the *mostazzafin* (the disinherited) foundations, and the Jihad for Reconstruction.

Especially in the countryside and in the principal cities in Iran, the IRP is based on the network of Imam's committees and on the Imam's representatives—on religious figures like Ayatollah Madani in Tabriz. This constitutes an apparatus parallel to the legal civil authorities.

The IRP also has a solid foothold in the press, radio, and television.

Aside from the adventurers, profiteers, and crooks that this type of formation inevitably attracts in any revolution, the IRP draws its strength from the political and material support it receives from large sections of the traditional petty-bourgeoisie and middle class. In the eyes of "declassed" sectors of the population and large fringes of the mass of urban poor, the religious leaders of the IRP embody the prestige acquired by Khomeini for his intransigent struggle against the dictatorship.

The IRP leaders' political speeches are a mix of the strictest religious dogma with official devotion for the "Nation's Guide"—the Imam. Their phraseology is both nationalist and populist. They promise to fight to the end against the imperialist "Great Satan" and talk about a future egalitarian Islamic society—without classes (Towhidi). This is how they are forced to respond to the social aspirations of the urban poor who are becoming involved in political activity for the first time. For these layers Islam is their only world view.

To complete this description of the IRP's base it is important to add the powerful patronage network that exists around the social services performed by the mosques and the *mostazzafin* foundations. They secure the loyalty of declassed layers by providing in exchange a small job or social assistance. The recruitment of bands of *hezbollah* (followers of the party of god) by the most fundamentalist sectors of the IRP rests on this type of patronage. These *hezbollah* are the ones who attack left-wing opposition demonstrations.

However, behind this appearance of strength resides several important weaknesses.

Although the IRP or other religious parties that revolve around the IRP are well established in certain centers of the Persian provinces—especially in the most religious cities like Qum, Mashad, Dezful, Isfahan, and Shiraz—it carries much less weight in the outlying areas, above all in the areas of the oppressed nationalities.

In the countryside, the mullahs played a decisive role in rallying the small landholders to the side of the new regime in the period immediately following the shah's overthrow. These small landholders, despite their poverty, essentially owed their land to the shah's "White Revolution." But new antagonisms arose as the IRP identified itself more and more with the new authorities, and even authorities from the former regime who took over a majority of

TABLE II  
Percentage of Iranian Imports

Country of Origin	1978	1979*
United States ...	24.0%	22.6%
Japan .....	17.4	13.2
West Germany ..	21.0	23.9
Britain .....	9.3	8.6
France .....	5.7	8.6
Italy .....	6.9	6.4

\*First nine months

Source: Iranian Trade Ministry

the village neighborhood committees. The IRP appeared as the main political force that was opposed to the agrarian revolution.

The IRP—and more than the IRP, the Shi'ite hierarchy backing Khomeini—still has considerable influence among large sectors of the working class. Here and there, militant workers who are IRP members lead and control one or another Islamic shora. However, the IRP has not really been able to gain real organizational control over the working class masses.

In fact, there have been a series of victorious struggles to break the stranglehold of the Khomeini forces over the shoras. And, these struggles are continuing. For example, there are struggles around electing the leadership of the shoras rather than having them be proposed and then imposed by a member of the clergy on the basis of loyalty to the regime.

The other essential weakness of the IRP—and the whole Khomeini leadership—is situated precisely on the opposite end of the scale. That is, its relatively weak ability to fully use the enormous bureaucratic, economic, and military machine left over from the Pahlavi government.

Since Iran's revolutionary crisis began, every observer has stressed that the Khomeini movement—this bourgeois nationalist leadership—was confronted with two major, but divergent choices on how to contain, and then repress, the mass revolutionary movement.

First was the option chosen by the "populist fundamentalists." This was essentially to confront the revolutionary process by using their ability to organize certain sectors of the plebian masses into a strike force against the movements of the workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities.

On the other side are those sectors characterized in the Iranian press as "liberals". From Bazargan to Bani-Sadr today, and Shariat-Madari previously, their first priority was to rebuild a legal state apparatus revolving around the bureaucracy and military machine inherited from the former regime.

The obvious weakness of this "liberal" wing and the ups and downs it experienced over the last year and a half can be accounted for by the weight of recent and former history: the political formations of the Iranian bourgeoisie were greatly discredited because of the ignominious, non-combative failure of the Mossadegh regime. Twenty-five years of dictatorship and police terror directed against any opposition reduced this "liberal" wing to tiny grouplets or small coteries of exiles both inside and outside the country.

To this must be added the discredit they gained through their various attempts from 1977 to October 1978 to achieve a compromise with the regime based on

making the monarchy a "constitutional" one.

The "liberals" were dealt a series of rebuffs and partial defeats by the political current embodied by the IRP. The most well known are the following: the muzzling of the so-called bourgeois opposition press last August; the prohibition against, and then the banning of the Democratic National Front and its leader Dr. Matin Daftari; followed by a series of actions against the chairman of the National Iranian Oil Company, Hassan Nazih, who was an associate of Mehdi Bazargan.

It was then Bazargan's turn. At the beginning of November he and his government were dismissed by the Revolutionary Council for having conferred with Carter's representative in Algiers. And, in December there was the test of strength with Ayatollah Shariat-Madari which resulted in the obliteration and dissolution of his party—the Muslim People's Islamic Republican Party. To this must also be added the obvious wearing down of the country's current president and the partial paralysis of any action on his part.

However, in terms of the relationship of forces between the "populist-fundamentalist" currents and the "liberal" currents, it is surprising that the liberals had not been ousted from power more quickly and more completely.

Of course, Khomeini himself is performing a kind of balancing act, one day presenting Bani-Sadr as his heir apparent, and then in the next legislative elections, calling for a massive vote for the IRP candidates. But this balancing act corresponds less to the Machiavelianism of a leader who is trying to create divisions in order to rule, than to a real contradiction confronting the entire Khomeini leadership.

How will they mold and utilize a state apparatus in order to contain the revolutionary advances and stabilize the situation, when that state apparatus remains openly hostile to them?

This is not a minor problem when one takes into account the weight of this state. In 1978 there were more than 1.7 million government workers. And, following the nationalization of banks and a large part of Iranian industry, it was necessary to add tens of thousands of new government employees. In January, 1980, employees of all nationalized companies were given civil service status.

This year, 90 percent of the current budget expenditures are earmarked for paying government employee's wages, the military's wages, and the wages of employees in the nationalized sectors! This will represent a sum of \$23 billion—more than double what Iran will receive from its oil exports, if they are maintained at the first five months' level.

Just as in the rest of the semi-colonial world, the all pervading power assumed by

the state under the Pahlavi monarchy, is a reflection of the intrinsic weakness of the Iranian bourgeoisie.

It was the Iranian state that played the primary role over the decades in propping up the bourgeoisie. It contributed directly to the country's partial industrialization, and even to the formation of the forty-five large industrial dynasties tied to the former regime.

The state intervened in the country's economic life. It facilitated the primitive accumulation of capital by capitalizing oil income. Then the "White Revolution" and the "agrarian reform" continued to stimulate this accumulation. These policies helped to broaden the domestic market and contributed an important industrial reserve army of labor that would hold down wage levels. Meanwhile the political and social atomization of the working class, reinforced by police repression, facilitated the maintenance of a high level of surplus value. But the Iranian state also made direct investments. Its investment expenditures grew by 48 percent per year in the 1972-76 period. This represented between 50 and 60 percent of Iran's total investments. Private investments also depended in large part on the state—on subsidies, low interest industrial loans, tax breaks, etc.

On the political plane, the Pahlavi state's strength also represented the Iranian bourgeoisie's weakness—its failure to complete the historical tasks incumbent upon it. The 1921 coup, organized by British imperialism in the interests of the ex-shah's father, was intended to guarantee imperialism's own interests and establish an effective bulwark against the Bolshevik revolution in the Soviet Union. But in Iran itself, this coup and then the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty, confirmed the Iranian bourgeoisie's inability to effectively lead the 1905 constitutional revolution against the autocracy of the Qajar dynasty and against the stranglehold the English and Tsarist colonial powers had over the country's economic and political affairs.

With the Second World War, American imperialism took over from its British cronies the task of rebuilding this state—a state that had been shaken by Reza Shah's abdication and by the Allied occupation of Iran. The destruction of the autonomous republics of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan; the repression of all workers' strikes; declaring the workers movement illegal; and then the August, 1953 military coup that overthrew Mossadegh's moderate nationalist government constituted the milestones of a process opening up the way for the establishment of the dictatorship and the imperial system.

The present revolutionary crisis has reached into the Iranian state's institutions. Certain categories of government workers in the ministries, and employees of the nationalized sectors (such as Iranair,

oil, and steel) were in the forefront of the strikes that brought down the regime.

At the other extreme are the army and SAVAK who remained the last ramparts protecting the Peacock Throne from the masses' assaults. The Khomeini leadership did what it could—both during the February insurrection and during the following weeks—to preserve this state apparatus. The purges only affected a few limited circles of top general staff officers, police, the most notorious torturers, and several officials of ministry departments. Within the administrative bodies, the ministries, and especially in the army and police force there is a certain hostility or a wait-and-see attitude towards the leaders of the Islamic Republic. Most often these attitudes are based on a nostalgia for the former regime, especially the higher up in the hierarchy one is.

But even among those sectors who participated in the struggle against the shah, there often exists distrust and discontent with this nationalist leadership—a leadership that doesn't seem able to lead the country, nor able, above all, to live up to the hopes that were placed in it. In this regard, the continuing attacks on democratic rights, the campaign around morality, and the vague denunciations of Western influences on the way of life, are particularly resented along with the contradictions and other gaps in the regime's policies.

Men like Bazargan and Bani-Sadr—by emphasizing the need to preserve this tool of the Pahlavi state, by appearing as the partisans of moderation, common sense, and a realism in both economic options and domestic and foreign policy, and by also extolling a certain number of formal democratic rights—very much express the aspirations of these sectors (aspirations that are both formulated and not yet formulated). As a result they have the ear of these sectors more than those who follow a "populist-fundamentalist" line.

From this situation, can it be concluded that the "liberals" are more right wing than the IRP members? This is the position that the Stalinist Tudeh Party has consistently taken over the last fifteen months. It gives complete uncritical support to the Shi'ite hierarchy and the IRP leadership, reserving its fire and attacks for the representatives of the "liberal bourgeoisie" who it accuses of being in league with imperialism.

Using the same method of choosing between black and white, groups like the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen supported the Khomeini forces during the Tabriz events last year against the Azerbaijani nationalist movement that was grouped around the "pro-Western liberal" figure of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari. But last year these same two groups made a block with Bazargan, then with Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleghani, and then with Matin Daftari's Democratic National Front, just as they are



Randy Goodman/MERIP Reports

Shantytown in South Tehran. Workers, peasants, and urban poor fought against shah's regime in order to improve their social conditions.

doing now with Bani-Sadr. Faced with the attacks they are suffering at the hands of the "populist-fundamentalist" sectors, they present these "liberals" as natural allies. These about-faces carried out in the name of "realism" and the theory of the principal enemy, have a great deal to do with the political confusion rampant within the mass movement and the difficulties that result for a revolutionary alternative emerging.

The point of departure for any analysis must be recognition that at the decisive moments in the big class struggles in Iran, the different sectors of this bourgeois-nationalist leadership have made the same fundamental choices. This can be seen whether it is a question of crushing the Kurdish resistance last August and then in April, opposing the unauthorized land and factory occupations, or being concerned with rebuilding the same bourgeois state (just using different methods). Even if they are judged on the yardstick of their anti-imperialism, it would be very difficult to really distinguish the "conciliators" from the "radicals". The IRP is the most firmly opposed to the release of the American hostages and is for putting the hostages on trial. This would then heighten the confrontation with Washington a peg or two. But in the area of economic measures, it was the leaders of the IRP within the Revolutionary Council who opposed Bani-Sadr's proposals for nationalizing foreign trade.

#### What Attitude Should be Taken Toward the Khomeini Movement?

In order to justify its opportunist policy of tail-ending the bourgeois-nationalist leadership of Khomeini and his cohorts, the Tudeh Party has developed a dual explanation.

First, they apply the classical, Stalinist theory of revolution by stages and the block of four classes to the situation in Iran. The Iranian Stalinists explain that the essential axis of struggle for this entire stage remains the liquidation of all remnants of the dictatorship and the breaking of all ties with American imperialism. In

order to accomplish this they propose that all religious and nonreligious forces form "a broad, popular, anti-imperialist front."

The second explanation advanced by the Stalinists attempts to justify this policy of subordinating the interests of the Iranian proletariat and other oppressed layers to the interests of the Iranian bourgeoisie. Since the Khomeini leadership itself exercises a very important, if not predominant influence on these layers, then in some fashion, the "popular," "worker and peasant" base of the Khomeini movement constitutes an additional guarantee of the validity of the alliances. This is the same viewpoint that in various degrees leads organizations like the Mujahedeen to give a kind of critical support to the Khomeini/Bani-Sadr leadership, or one or another of its components.

This is without a doubt, an important and decisive question for the future of the Iranian revolution.

No one believes that the future socialist transformation of the Iranian revolution will take place without, or even more so against, the millions of workers, peasants, and elements of the urban poor, who today continue to follow and have confidence in this leadership.

It is necessary to realize that the positions of organizations like the Tudeh Party, and the Mujahedeen are exactly the wrong positions to take to accomplish these ends. Their positions combine a sectarian and divisive policy as regards the mass organizations (especially, the shoras) with a policy of tail-ending one or another section of the Khomeini movement.

In spite of the IRP's preponderant weight, there does not exist a single structured and centralized Khomeinist party, like the Kuomintang was for the Chinese bourgeois nationalists.

The Khomeini movement is made up of a certain number of organized political groups (ranging from simple clubs to parties) who have made the choice to support, or at least not to challenge, the basic strategic decisions on the political and social level, the institutions, or leaders of

the Islamic Republic. This movement is obviously quite varied. In addition to the fundamentalist IRP members, it includes the Students Following the Imam's Line from the occupied U.S. embassy. One might think that the differentiations within this movement would grow—not so much between the different sectors, but between the rank-and-file and the leaders of these groups.

But it would be a criminal mistake to approach these political groups only from the point of view of their social base, thinking that the character of the top ranks—the Khomeini leadership—is only an element of secondary importance, quickly consigned to second place by the simple dynamic of class confrontations and political radicalization.

Trotsky carried out a long polemic against such an approach with Stalin and Bukharin regarding the Kuomintang:

The "high" summit of the Kuomintang of whom Bukharin speaks so ironically, as of something secondary, accidental, and temporary is in reality the soul of the Kuomintang, its social essence. Of course, the bourgeoisie constitutes only the "summit" in the party as well as in society. But this summit is powerful in its capital, knowledge, and connections: it can always fall back on the imperialists for support, and what is most important, it can always resort to the actual political and military power which is intimately fused with the leadership in the Kuomintang itself. It is precisely this summit that wrote laws against strikes, throttled the uprisings of the peasants, shoved the communists into a dark corner, and, at best, allowed them to be only one-third of the party, exacted an oath from them that petty-bourgeois Sun Yat-senism takes precedence over Marxism. . . . To consider the Kuomintang not as a *bourgeois party*, but as a *neutral arena of struggle for the masses*, to play with words about nine-tenths of the Left rank and file in order to mask the question as to who is the real master, meant to add to the strength and power of the summit, to assist the latter to convert ever broader masses into "cattle," and, under conditions most favorable to it to prepare the Shanghai *coup d'etat*.<sup>6</sup>

#### In Whose Interests Do the Students in the Embassy Act?

During the last few weeks in June the political differentiations inside the Khomeinist movement became apparent on several occasions.

During the sacking of the universities in the name of an Islamic cultural revolution, progressive students and members of centrist organizations were assassinated by the hezbollah and in certain cases by the Pasdaran. This led certain sectors of the Islamic societies on the campuses to publicly disassociate themselves from these actions. On certain outlying campuses, they intervened to prevent the two camps from engaging in confrontations. Afterward, certain Islamic students explained on television that their intention had not

been to forcefully expel the far-left organizations from the campuses.<sup>7</sup>

But what took place on the day of the biggest confrontations in Tehran shows the limits of these disavowals. In order not to be confused with the hezbollah who were beginning to attack the universities where the far-left groups had taken refuge, certain Islamic societies decided to leave the universities and organize a demonstration.

But the demonstration went to Khomeini's Tehran residence. And the Imam went out on his balcony and word for word repeated exactly the same speech he had already given—namely, that the universities must be closed so they can be purged and Islamized. The definitive closing occurred on June 5.

The example of the group of Students Following the Imam's Line who occupied the U.S. embassy can also be cited.

A whole number of facts show that despite the radicalism of their speeches, including on social questions, because they "follow the Imam's line", these students are in fact acting on behalf of the IRP. On June 19, Dr. Hassan Ayat made official what everyone in Iran already suspected, namely that the IRP leadership had gotten a hold of a good portion of the secret documents found at the U.S. embassy. Ayat threatened to publish them. This Dr. Ayat is one of the theoreticians of the IRP and he played an important role in the campaign that prepared the sacking of the universities. President Bani-Sadr had just accused Ayat of organizing a plot to overthrow him.

The complete independence of the students occupying the embassy vis-à-vis the IRP was already called into question around the role played on their behalf by Hojate'islam Asghar Moussavi Khoeni, Hojate'islam Sayed Ali Khameini (the "Friday Imam" of Tehran), and the entire religious network at the prestigious theological school in Qum. To this can be added the fact that when the hostages were transferred to various cities outside Tehran, their care was entrusted to the Pasdaran, from which a number of the Students Following the Imam's Line came. And, several of the students from the occupied embassy participated in the meetings of the Islamic societies where plans for the Islamic cultural revolution were laid out. All this reveals exactly where the problem lies regarding a possible radicalization of such a current. In order for elements among them to definitively come over to the side of defending the workers and the oppressed (whose struggles they say they support) the moment will come when they will have to make a choice. The choice will be precisely—whether they will "follow the Imam's line" or not—not in a religious sense, of course, but in a political and social sense.

That is, will they continue to defend the political and social program and the institutions and leadership of the Islamic Republic when that program, those institutions, and that leadership will be more and more openly opposed to granting the just demands of the workers, poor peasants, and oppressed nationalities throughout Iran?

#### The Working Class Radicalization

But this will depend in large measure on subjective factors, not to mention the objective developments in the class confrontations within Iran. The subjective factors include the pace of growth, centralization, and politicalization of an independent and centralized workers movement, as well as the intervention of a revolutionary Marxist vanguard.

The separate May Day demonstrations this year throw some light on the processes at work within the Iranian working class and help identify the next steps that must be taken.

In the morning, the main demonstration in front of the "spy nest"—called by the federation of Islamic shoras in Tehran as well as by all the religious groups and figures, including the IRP, the Pasdaran, the Jihad for Reconstruction, and others—barely attracted 40,000 people. At the same time, two other demonstrations were taking place in the two main industrial areas of Tehran. These were called by "independent" shoras that exist in each of these areas and in which "independents" and centrist organizations participate.

In the afternoon, three other demonstrations took place. One demonstration of 5,000 people was organized by the Maoist-Stalinist organization Peykar (which has a rather large industrial base). The two other demonstrations, attracted tens of thousands of people each. One, called by the Mujahedeen, was held near the railroad station in South Tehran; and the other, called by the Fedayeen, was held in Azadi (freedom) Square. These two demonstrations were attacked by the hezbollah. The confrontations became so violent near the railroad station that the Mujahedeen had to suspend its meeting. (The meeting they organized in mid-June at the stadium in the middle of Tehran, which was also attacked by the hezbollah, attracted more than 100,000 people.)

The first conclusion to draw, simply by looking at these figures, is that the centrist organizations, that is the Mujahedeen, seems to have won over a certain portion of those forces within the working class who are politically radicalizing. This phenomenon is quite significant, so much so that over the last several months, the Fedayeen has almost disappeared from the central political scene. Moreover, neither the Mujahedeen nor the Fedayeen have any real strategy for political intervention in the working class. Apart from stressing the importance of the shoras, they provide

6. Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin*, pp. 217-218.

7. See *IP/I*, August 4, 1980, pp. 833-39.

no real perspective for any of these shoras.

This is especially true from the point of view of building an independent workers movement and calling for the political centralization of this movement. They say nothing about the need for regional and national assemblies of workers shoras, and nothing about constituting a national workers' plan (coming out of the discussions and platforms of different shoras) in order to fight against the economic crisis, the imperialist blockade, and capitalist sabotage.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is necessary to go back and look at the characteristics of the working class's politization and radicalization to see how this affects what is happening today in Iran.

At the end of September, 1978, at the same time that the Iranian workers and employees were conducting a general strike, they were also raising their own demands. These were, first of all, for wage increases, and at least in certain industries, there were demands for nationalizations and for breaking all ties with imperialism.

However, during this entire period, the main slogan was for overthrowing the dictator. This served to deter the possible satisfaction of the workers' material demands. Moreover, it is for this reason that the Iranian working class, along with other sectors of the Iranian population in motion, found itself in line behind Khomeini. Khomeini did not even have the beginnings of a social program, but he seemed to be the best political instrument and the most realistic possibility for carrying through the decisive victory of the day: the overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy.

Following the February 1979 revolution and especially with the growth of shoras in the June-July period of that year, there were several essential factors contributing to the working class politization and the radicalization of advanced workers. These were the accumulation of workers' control experiences, the resumption of production, and the formation of a plan for industrial reconversion. As these experiences develop, the class nature of this government is being revealed. The government protects the private employers who lock out the workers. And in the nationalized sectors where the government has control (which comprise 75 percent of the industrial sector) it opposes the workers' day-to-day demands. These demands are often based on the government's own statements, such as the need to end all dependence on imperialism or to satisfy the needs of the "disinherited." As these confrontations take place, in the eyes of these advanced workers the government appears more and more clearly as what it is: a capitalist government that is absolutely opposed to any new deepening of the revolutionary process.

This process of differentiation is uneven and varies from one factory to another,



Randy Goodman/MERIP Reports

Tehran Metalworkers. Working class is undergoing process of radicalization.

and from one region to another. Often this distrust of the government or its local agents is combined with a remaining confidence in the Khomeini leadership and especially in the Imam himself. "He doesn't know everything that is happening"; "He cannot concern himself with everything"; "He is not being well-advised" are the "mutterings" frequently heard in the factories.

But it is necessary to look at the general direction of the process—a process that includes both the politization of the working class and the important gain of independently organizing factory shoras. This opens unprecedented possibilities for building an independent and nationally centralized workers movement.

#### Leadership, Sectarianism, and Division

On the road toward building such a workers movement lies a number of obstacles, especially the question of unity.

The Islamic sectors are building their own shoras (and often expel members of far-left organizations). These leftists, in response, then build their own shoras and their own federations, and they anathematize the "Islamic" shoras and accuse them of being exclusionary. The phenomenon of the separate May Day demonstrations resulted from this. The call by the federation of Islamic shoras opened the possibility to struggle for a united May Day demonstration involving the entire working class in Tehran. But the Mujahdeen and Fedayeen adopted a sectarian position. Instead of calling on their supporters or their "independent" shora federations to participate in a single demonstration with their own slogans and in their own contingents (even though they would have had to conduct a preventive battle and would have had to take measures to insure the respect of workers' democracy in the face of foreseeable attacks by the hezbollah), the Mujahdeen and Fedayeen decided to have their own demonstration—but in the afternoon, so as not to appear to

conflict with the morning's action.

All this means that today, in addition to struggling for the coordination of the shoras, the struggle for unity of the shoras is one of the most important tasks of revolutionary Marxists. The struggle should be around the theme: one shora per factory, but a shora for all the workers, one that would defend the best program of demands and action. In order to be real—even if it is just a beginning—this struggle must be accompanied by an intransigent defense of workers' democracy. It is necessary to fight uncompromisingly for respect for ideological pluralism within the working class. It should be explained that it is around the questions of demands, tasks, and forms of struggle and action that revolutionary workers are distinguished, and not on the basis of a priori ideas. The actions of revolutionary Marxists are indispensable because they are the only ones able to unconditionally defend such a program for unity and independence of the working class, no matter how numerically weak they are or how limited their resources.

Revolutionary Marxists are the only ones who are able to provide answers to all the big programmatic questions posed by the advance of the Iranian revolution. They have the solution to the national question—recognizing the right of self-determination; the solution to the peasant question—a radical agrarian reform; nationalization of all imperialist products; workers' control and expropriation of the property of the big capitalists; the implementation of a national plan for industrial reconversion; the formation of an independent trade-union movement; for the massive arming of the workers, the urban poor, and the peasants in order to prevent any right-wing coup or imperialist intervention; the intransigent defense of democratic rights; and the fight for a workers and peasants government based on the shoras.

June 20, 1980

# Salvadoran General Strike a Success

By Will Reissner

A three-day general strike protesting repression and U.S. involvement in El Salvador, organized by the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) on August 13-15, achieved a high degree of success despite a murderous repression throughout the country and threats that strikers would be fired.

The August 14 issue of the Nicaraguan daily *Barricada* reported that the first day of the strike was marked by "simultaneous confrontations, large numbers of civilian and military casualties, bombs and barricades, and an atmosphere of general tension."

The strike closed down 80 percent of industry and idled 70 percent of public transport, while having a lesser impact in stores, government facilities, banks, and offices, according to *Barricada*. A dispatch from the Spanish news agency EFE reported that although some 60 percent of the stores eventually opened their doors, often under military and government pressure, they had few customers. Many stores were again closed by early afternoon.

In an attempt to undercut the strike, the ruling military/Christian Democratic junta militarized urban transport in the capital and occupied the bus terminals, forcing buses and taxis into the streets. The junta tried to point to the open stores and operating buses as evidence that the strike had been a failure.

In addition, government forces continued their armed attacks against the Salvadoran population. During the course of the three-day strike, at least 129 persons were killed.

Residents of some neighborhoods around San Salvador reported seeing U.S. soldiers in Salvadoran army uniforms during military operations against strikers.

Since the beginning of the year, the American-backed junta has gunned down more than 4,500 Salvadoran workers, peasants, and youths.

The insurgent forces, however, have been gaining in strength. For the first time, uniformed guerrilla and militia forces entered San Salvador and other cities.

Revolutionary forces attacked a number of military posts and set up barricades in many areas of San Salvador. During the course of the strike they were able to cut the roads linking San Salvador with San Miguel, Santa Ana, and Aguilares.

Many neighborhoods in and around the capital were in the hands of revolutionary forces at some point during the strike. These included San Ramón, Soyapango, San Marcos, Miralvalle, Ciudad Satélite,

Ayucatepeque, Mejicanos, San Jacinto, Vista Hermosa, Santanita, Colonia Ivu, Plan del Pito, and El Coro.

The largest battle took place in El Coro, on the outskirts of San Salvador, where guerrillas ambushed a military convoy,

## Cut Off the Hands of Reaction in El Salvador!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on July 18.]

\* \* \*

The rising mass struggle in El Salvador culminated in a successful June 28 and 29 general strike that paralyzed the entire economic and administrative life of the country.

In the face of the advancing struggles, the Salvador junta and the extreme right have unleashed a wave of bloody terror—the most horrible ever seen in Latin America—in order to prevent a second Nicaragua in El Salvador.

Since the junta rose to power, nearly 5,000 people have been massacred. Just since the beginning of this year, the number of victims—men, women, and children—reached 4,500. It is clear that this terror is escalating. According to accounts from Catholic sources, teachers are beaten in front of their pupils and children are tortured in front of their parents.

These crimes are perpetrated because imperialism and the Latin American capitalists continue to provide increased financial, economic, technical, and military aid to these assassins. American imperialism especially, continues to increase its arms shipments and continues sending "advisers" to aid the Salvador junta.

A large section of the international workers movement—especially the mass Communist Parties in Western Europe, the West German Social Democracy, and the British Labour Party—have come out publicly against the terror of the junta and extreme right. However, in reality not very much has been done to halt the massacre of Salvadoran workers, peasants, students, and their children.

It is high time to put an end to this inaction. It is high time for these assassins of the Salvadoran people to be outlawed by all of humanity. It is high time for the international workers movement to throw all its weight behind the effort to prevent the junta from carrying out its crimes.

engaging in a three-hour battle with government troops.

The cities of San Miguel, Sonsonate, and Acajutla had no electricity following walk-outs by power workers. In addition, the San Salvador metropolitan area was without water after pumping stations were blown up.

During the strike the Mexican Foreign Ministry announced the withdrawal of its ambassador to El Salvador. Mexico will henceforth be represented in the country by a chargé d'affaires. This was a diplomatic blow against the junta. □

We must demand that every government immediately break diplomatic relations with the junta and halt all military and economic aid to it. We must especially demand that all political parties in the workers movement and those who participate in the governments of their country, immediately raise the demand for a total economic blockade against the junta and the Salvadoran reactionaries.

At the same time the trade unions and workers parties must organize a massive public campaign to denounce the crimes committed against the Salvadoran people and to provide political and material support to the revolutionary organizations joined together in the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses, which are organizing and working together to defend the Salvadoran masses against the terror.

Not one penny for the Salvadoran reactionaries!

Down with the murderous junta!  
For an action campaign to defend the Salvadoran masses!

Imperialists: Hands off El Salvador!

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