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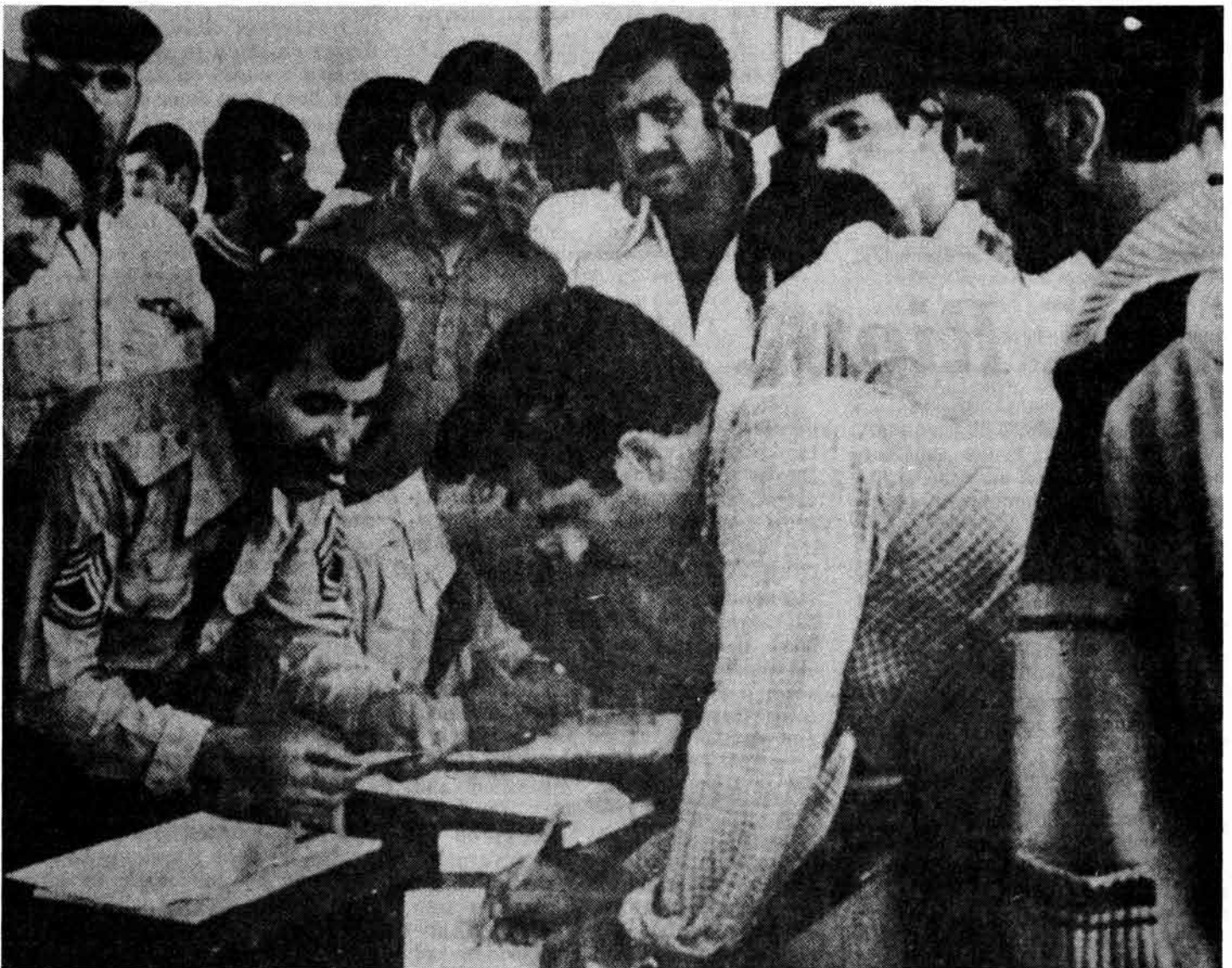
October 6, 1980

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U.S. Threatens to Send Fleet

Iranian Masses Mobilize to Defend Revolution



Iranian youth sign up to fight against Iraqi aggression.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Iranian Masses Mobilize to Defend Revolution

By Janice Lynn

Iranian workers and farmers are mobilizing throughout the country to defend the gains they have won since the February 1979 overthrow of the shah. They correctly view the Iraqi regime's invasion of their country as a direct attack on their revolution.

Reports from socialists in Tehran indicate that throughout the country there have been massive demonstrations and rallies in defense of the revolution.

At first the Iranian government thought it could depend solely on the armed forces to counter the assault by the Iraqi regime. But it soon became clear that this would not be possible.

Workers in factories throughout Tehran began to sign up through their factory *shoras* (committees) to volunteer to fight the Iraqi attacks. The *shoras* published lists of the volunteers, making them available to the government.

Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr asked every mosque throughout the country to sign up twenty-two people to fight the Iraqi military attacks. In Tehran, this request was fulfilled within hours.

The need to build the army of 20 million (referring to the call by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini many months ago for a popular militia to defeat imperialist attacks) was brought to the fore by the Iraqi offensive.

Iranian Students Mobilize

On September 23, the day after the Iraqi attack on Tehran's Mehrabad international airport, a massive demonstration against the imperialist-backed Iraqi invasion took place at Tehran University. Coinciding with the opening day of Tehran's high schools, the young students expressed their determination to defend the revolution. A Reuters dispatch reporting on the rally said, "All the leftist groups have offered to send men to the front."

CBS television broadcasts showed young Iranians signing up at Tehran University to fight the Iraqi invasion. Photographs have confirmed the participation of women in defense of the revolution. One photo showed women in villages in western Iran standing guard at bunkers.

Example of Iranian Revolution

Ever since the masses of workers and peasants in Iran began to mobilize by the millions to overthrow the shah's hated regime, the Iraqi rulers have been fearful that the Iranian revolution could inspire the workers and peasants in their own country.

The Iraqi government's all-out military offensive—with no provocation by Iran—has inflicted serious damage on Iran's oil refinery at Abadan. The Abadan refinery, one of the world's largest, supplies virtually all of Iran's domestic energy needs. In addition to this major blow to the Iranian economy, dozens of cities and villages on Iran's western border have been devastated.

The military assault by Iraq directly benefits the rulers of the world's imperialist powers who would like nothing better than to see the weakening or reversal of the Iranian revolution. The Iranian masses' militant resistance to imperialist domination of their country has inspired anti-imperialist movements in the rest of the Persian Gulf region.

At the same time, the Iraqi invasion is also directly contrary to the interests of the masses of Iraqi workers and peasants. In carrying out this criminal military adventure against Iran, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is responsible for the heavy casualties suffered by the Iraqi masses. With Iraqi oil shipments cut off, it is Iraqi working people who will be the first to feel the effects.

But Hussein's moves against Iran, far from being a demonstration of military and political strength, reflect the vulnerability of the Iraqi regime and its fear of the Iranian revolution. Hussein's invasion is a gamble that may well backfire.

In the military arena, the impressive resistance of the Iranian masses has already prevented the easy victory Hussein hoped for. The longer the fighting goes on, the more the political strains within Iraq will surface. On September 27 the Iraqi Liberation Army, a Kurdish guerrilla group, took credit for blowing up an Iraqi oil pipeline in Turkey near the Iraqi border.

Iranian Resistance

The Iranian masses' ability to resist and effectively counter the Iraqi military offensive has surprised both the Iraqi regime and Western military analysts. The capitalist press continually claimed that the Iranian army and air force was in a shambles and predicted that Iran would not be able to withstand the Iraqi attacks.

But after several days they were forced to admit that the Iraqis had run into stiffer resistance than expected.

In the Iranian port of Khorramshahr, Tehran radio reported, the Iraqi offensive was pushed back due primarily to the massive mobilization of the city's popula-

tion. The report stated that the residents, using small arms and homemade Molotov cocktails, had been able to capture a number of Iraqi tanks that they then displayed in the middle of the city. The radio reported fighting from behind street barricades and on roofs.

Similar resistance was indicated in Abadan where both Iranian armed forces and the *pasdaran* (Revolutionary Guards) were reported to be defending the city.

Street fighting was also reported September 26 in the northern Iranian border town of Qasr-e Shirin, which Iraq had claimed to have captured earlier in the week.

Many of Iran's air force pilots are among the most ardent defenders of the Iranian revolution. And it was the air force technicians (*homafars*) who sparked the February 1979 insurrection that led to the shah's overthrow.

The revolutionary morale among these layers is a factor in the military balance that is overlooked by the capitalist media.

Oppressed Nationalities

Participation by Iran's oppressed nationalities in the mobilizations against the Iraqi attacks has also been reported. In the Azerbaijani city of Tabriz, rallies denouncing the Iraqi invasion have been held. And Bani-Sadr reported that the Kurdish population had begun to mobilize against the Iraqi attacks.

The bulk of the fighting has so far been concentrated in the primarily Arab province of Khuzestan in southern Iran. The response of the Arab masses to the Iraqi regime's attacks will be especially important.

While *New York Times* reporter John Kifner found a total of three Arabs in Khuzestan who he said were fighting on the Iraqi side, a report from socialists in the largely Arab-populated city of Ahwaz indicated that the sympathies of the Arab masses there were overwhelmingly for defense of the Iranian revolution.

The Iranian Pars news agency reported that in Ahwaz the population was building barricades in the streets and preparing homemade bombs of bottled gasoline to fight the Iraqi attackers.

Iraqi President Hussein has attempted to appeal to the Arab population in Khuzestan, which has been struggling for its national rights. But it is unlikely that Arab workers and peasants, after giving their blood in the struggle to overthrow the shah's reactionary dictatorship, will go running into the arms of another.

By bombing oil fields and refineries where the Arab workers are employed and by strafing Arab villages and farms, the Iraqi regime cannot seriously hope to prove its concern for the Arabs in Khuzestan.

Defense of the revolution by Iran's oppressed nationalities can have an important impact on the masses of Persian workers. It will help to increase their

understanding that meeting the aspirations of the oppressed nationalities would strengthen the revolution. It will make it much harder for the present Iranian leaders to claim that the struggles by the Kurdish or Arab masses are counterrevolutionary or Iraqi-inspired.

If the Iranian government had already granted the Arabs and Kurds their national rights, the defense of the revolution would have been that much stronger.

Iraqi Regime's Repression

The Iraqi regime is no friend of either the Arabs or Kurds. The Iraqi rulers stay in power through severe repression and the denial of basic democratic rights. Trade unions are not allowed to organize. Bloody purges, executions, jailings, and arrests are used to stifle any opposition that might develop among Iraqi workers, peasants, or oppressed nationalities. Just last year, twenty-seven alleged communist organizers in the army were arrested and executed.

Hussein's regime is not at all based on the Iraqi masses—which it needs to keep under control—but on the armed forces.

Despite its claims to be the champion of the Arab nation and the most ardent enemy of Zionism and imperialism, the Iraqi regime has turned its power not against Zionism and imperialism but against the only real people's revolution to challenge imperialism in the Middle East in recent years.

Back in April 1979, senior Iraqi diplomats openly spelled out their fears to *Washington Post* reporter Thomas W. Lippman, who reported that they were concerned that the events in Iran "raised the possibility that Iraq's restive Kurdish minority, or its communists or its Shia Moslems or all three, would be stirred into action."

Lippman went on to explain how Iraqi officials were worried that "the revolution is not finished" and that its power might not "stay where it is."

The Iraqi officials admitted to Lippman that a major threat to the Iraqi regime came from the fact that tens of thousands of Kurds and Shi'ites had migrated to the cities forming "a kind of urban proletariat, vulnerable to communist agitation for social and economic, not religious or ethnic reasons."

That is what really lies behind the Iraqi regime's attacks on Iran.

It is openly acknowledged that Iranian counterrevolutionary forces, including former officers under the shah, have been provided bases, money, and military aid by the Iraqi regime in order to overthrow the Iranian government.

According to the September 24 Paris daily *Le Monde*, a U.S. State Department official has revealed that a number of these pro-shah forces—who have consulted with officials in Washington—are serving as advisers in the current attacks against Iran.

April—the same month as Carter's abortive military raid on Iran—was when the Iraqi regime first began to carry out military attacks along the border. In fact, it was only after the shah fell that Hussein began pushing the border dispute.

Christian Science Monitor correspondent David Hirst observed that by his assault on Iran, Hussein "is demonstrating in the most spectacular possible way that, whatever the US Congress and the Zionist lobby may think about it, in straight political terms he is a leader with whom

the US can do serious business."

U.S. policymakers were clearly hoping that Hussein would be able to drive back the Iranian revolution. Now, the growing upsurge of the Iranian masses in defense of their revolution raises the stakes in the fighting for Carter, Hussein, and all the counterrevolutionary forces in the region.

The workers movement around the world should demand an immediate halt to the military attacks against Iran.

Hands off the Iranian revolution! □

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Carter Threatens Military Action Against Iran

By Janice Lynn

Washington has threatened to intervene militarily in the Middle East in a move that is aimed directly against the Iranian revolution.

"Freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf is of primary importance to the whole international community," president Carter declared September 24, as U.S. officials conferred with heads of other imperialist governments to plan possible military action.

Under discussion is an international naval force that would consist of warships from the U.S., French, British, and Australian fleets already in the area.

Carter called for a summit conference of six nations—the United States, Japan, Britain, France, West Germany, and Italy—to coordinate any intervention.

Meanwhile, the U.S. navy's Indian Ocean fleet has begun to concentrate in the Arabian Sea. The aircraft carrier *Midway* is to leave Mombasa, Kenya, and rendezvous with the carrier *Eisenhower*, one of the largest warships afloat.

"At top-level White House meetings over the weekend officials reviewed a range of possible diplomatic and military moves designed to prevent, or at least to prepare for, some spiteful Iranian strike at oil fields in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait or other Arab nations that have supported Iraq politically," Karen Elliot House reported in the September 29 *Wall Street Journal*.

In private, U.S. policymakers admit that there is no imminent military threat to the Persian Gulf oilfields or to the Strait of Hormuz. "U.S. military and intelligence analysts say it's their best guess that neither Iran nor Iraq is capable of blocking the strait physically," Walter S. Mossberg reported in the September 29 *Wall Street Journal*. "What's more, they assert, it's in neither country's interest to even attempt such a move."

But the imperialists are looking for any pretext to strike at the Iranian revolution; they can hardly restrain their eagerness. In the meantime, they hope that the Iraqi regime will be able to carry out their dirty work for them.

Carter's phony claim of neutrality regarding the Iraqi invasion is similar to the "neutral" stance Washington took toward the Chinese regime's invasion of Vietnam in February 1979.

Now, just as then, the disclaimers from Washington cannot hide the hatred the imperialists feel for any genuine revolution, and their desire to strike at the

revolutionary masses by any means possible.

Expressing the hopes of the U.S. ruling class, Henry Kissinger declared September 28 that the Iraqi invasion could have "serious effects inside Iran, which are not necessarily all bad from our point of view."

Kissinger pointed in particular to the possibility of "a change in the regime or a change in the orientation of the regime."

Less well-known figures have also been offering friendly advice to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Ambitious capitalist analysts recommended at the start of the offensive that the Iraqi army would do well to capture the city of Qasr-e Shirin and from there head northeast to Tehran.

Writing in the September 28 *New York Times*, military analyst Drew Middleton recommended that the Iraqis take the three Iranian-held islands in the Strait of Hormuz.

Middleton explained that "British and other Western specialists see no military obstacles to Iraq's taking the islands and control of the Strait of Hormuz. . . ."

Another reporter in the same issue of the

Times hopefully points out that if the Iraqi army captured the Arab city of Ahwaz this "could open the way for the Iraqis to set up the first secessionist administration on Iranian territory. . . ."

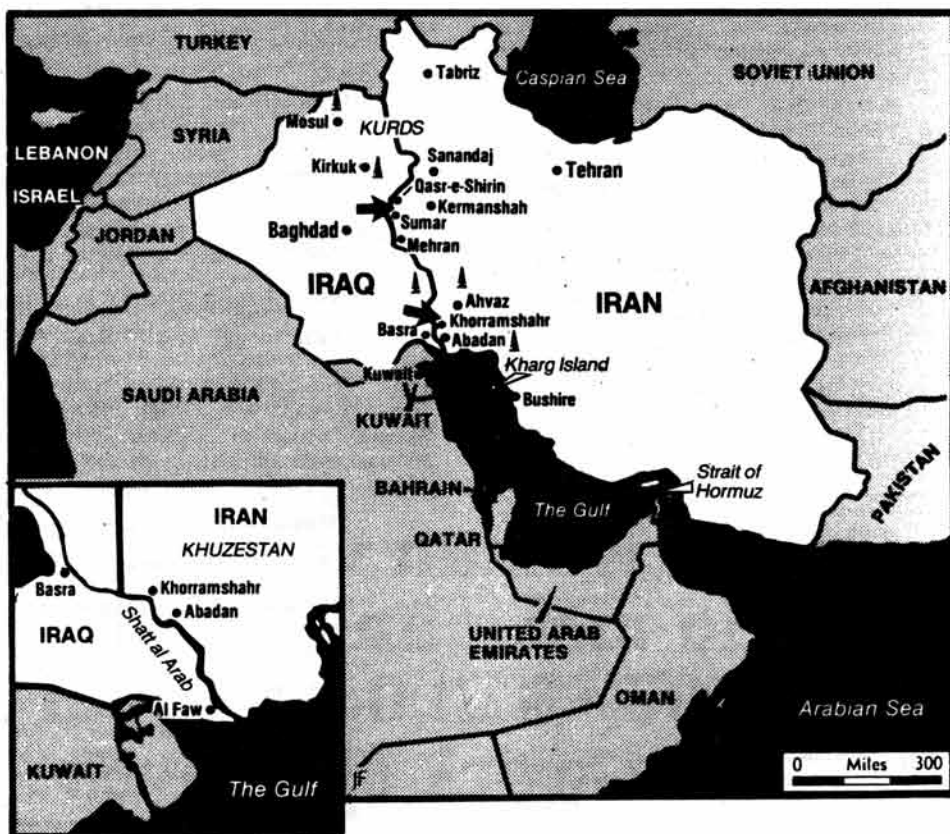
But despite the optimistic reports in the big-business media, Washington is clearly worried that the Iraqi regime, encountering the massive mobilization of the Iranian population, may not be able to accomplish its objectives.

"So far Iraq has not committed its infantry to the sort of classic ground assaults necessary to overrun the key population centers of Iran's oil-producing Khuzestan Province," wrote a *Washington Post* reporter September 28 from Basra, Iraq, reflecting Washington's concern that the Iraqi forces had so far only been able to maneuver in the "vast, empty countryside of southwestern Iran" instead of taking the region's major cities.

Also worried about the inability of the Iraqi forces to accomplish its goals, Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat called for Washington to step in.

"I shall give the United States facilities to reach the [Persian] gulf, to help any Arab state," Sadat said in an interview published September 26. He told reporters that the war between Iraq and Iran provided Washington with the perfect opportunity to support a coup by pro-shah Iranian army officers against the Iranian revolution.

Sadat explained that a coup in Iran would be welcomed by those Persian Gulf states that have been "shivering in their



boots" since the ouster of the shah.

U.S. syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft echoed this theme in his September 28 column. Kraft explained how "this country's best interest would be served by the overthrow of the present Iranian government, and the establishment of a pro-Western regime in Tehran," a goal that coincides with that of Iraqi dictator Hussein.

Pointing out what he called the "disruptive influence" of the Iranian revolution, Kraft enumerated the advantages to imperialism of a "pro-Western regime in Tehran." It could help prop up the reactionary regimes in Turkey and Pakistan, put Egypt in a better position to sell out the Palestinian struggle, and most important, strengthen the grip of Washington and its allies on Persian Gulf oil, he said.

But those urging action by Washington fear that the antiwar sentiments of U.S. workers will prevent Carter from moving militarily against the Iranian revolution.

"For God's sake," Sadat said in remarks directed at Carter, "be vigilant this time and don't lose the opportunity or give it to the Soviet Union without their having to pay a heavy price."

Sadat has good reason to be nervous. By striking at the Iranian revolution, Hussein unleashed a powerful new mobilization of the Iranian workers and peasants, and put the stability of his own regime on the line. If the Iraqi offensive bogs down, affairs in the region will not merely return to their previous state.

A new victory for the Iranian revolution would inspire the Iranian masses, to push forward with their demands. At the same time workers and peasants throughout the Middle East would be encouraged in their struggles against imperialism. The defeat of the Iraqi offensive would also be a blow to all the counterrevolutionary forces in the area, and could well result in further revolutionary upheavals.

It is in this context that Washington's military threats occur. The Iraqi regime is the clear aggressor, having launched an all-out military offensive into Iranian territory. Yet not one word of condemnation has emanated from Washington.

Instead, Washington supports Hussein's call for a cease-fire—a cease-fire based on Iraq retaining its forces in Iran's oil-producing Khuzestan province. There is not one word about the need for the Iraqi aggressors to withdraw.

Iranian president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr pointed an accusing finger at Washington's complicity with the Iraqi attacks. "From the very beginning, they were never neutral," he said.

The Iranians are adamant that Iraqi forces must withdraw from their territory and thus reject the hypocritical cease-fire called by Carter and Hussein. "We are being attacked," Bani-Sadr declared. "It is Iraq which will have to end its aggression."

Using the pretext of the threat to the

"civilized industrial world's" oil supplies, the imperialist powers are beating the drums for their remilitarization drive. They are trying to convince the working people in their countries that more funds must be allocated for greater military weapons and that larger military forces must be built up.

Coinciding with the Iraqi attacks, for example, the *New York Times* ran a seven-part series on the supposedly shoddy state of the U.S. armed forces—all to make the case for greater military spending and to try and reverse the U.S. workers' resistance to any more Vietnam-type wars.

Washington is trying to convince American working people that it must intervene

with military force to preserve the "oil lifeline" of the world's advanced capitalist countries.

Meanwhile, Moscow's stance of neutrality in the face of the Iraqi aggression plays right into the hands of imperialism. By failing to solidify with the Iranian revolution and by refusing to state categorically that it will cut off arms to the Iraqi aggressors, Moscow is making it easier for Hussein and the imperialists to strike against the Iranian masses.

Working people around the world must demand that Washington and its allies keep their hands off the Iranian revolution and that the imperialist forces get out of the Persian Gulf. □

Big-Business Media Aids Cover-Up

Washington's Role in Attacks on Iran

By David Frankel

President Carter and other U.S. officials emphatically deny that the U.S. government had anything to do with encouraging the Iraqi regime's attack on the Iranian revolution. Iranian charges along these lines are dismissed by commentators in the capitalist press as an example of paranoia.

This must have a familiar ring to Iranians. In August 1953 the CIA engineered a bloody coup that restored the former shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, to power in Iran, overthrowing the elected government of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh. At that time, the capitalist media derided charges of CIA involvement as anti-American fabrications.

Today, of course, the CIA's role is a matter of public record. Former CIA official Kermit Roosevelt, for example, bragged about his role in the coup in his recently published memoirs.

But new material about the role of the big-business media in the 1953 cover-up continues to come out, even as the capitalist press brushes off current Iranian charges. On September 25, the editors of *CounterSpy* magazine disclosed how former *New York Times* reporter Kennett Love not only kept the information about U.S. involvement in the 1953 coup from the American people, but actually participated in the overthrow of Iran's legal government.

As the *Times* reporter in Tehran in 1953, Love urged tank commanders loyal to the shah to attack Iranian forces near the prime minister's home.

It was this August 19 attack, supervised by U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson and led by the shah's associate, Gen. Fazollah Zahedi, that led to Mossadegh's arrest and the formation of a military government under Zahedi.

The U.S. government rushed the shah back from Italy, put him onto the peacock throne, and immediately began pouring in military aid to keep him in power—\$45 million just in September 1953, and billions more in the years to come.

Although Love admitted to the actions described by *CounterSpy*, he denied that he was working for the CIA at the time, claiming that he merely acted out of "patriotism." Love also admitted to distributing copies of a decree by the shah naming Zahedi as prime minister prior to the coup.

In a 1960 paper written for a seminar at Princeton University, Love said that a CIA agent, Joe Goodwin, had taken him to a house where he interviewed Zahedi and received copies of the decree. But Love claimed in a telephone interview after the information was made public that in 1953 he did not even know what the CIA was!

He claimed that he failed to report on Washington's role in the coup because of his "misguided patriotism." At the same time, Love said that he did offer articles to the *Times* following the coup, but that the editors showed a "gross lack of interest" in the topic.

That was in 1953, but the *Times* has not changed its spots. In a September 23 editorial the *Times* tries to bolster the U.S. government's latest lies about not being involved in moves against the Iranian revolution. "There is no American 'side' in the widening conflict between a resurgent Iraq and a vulnerable Iran," the editorial piously declares. It voices hypocritical hopes for an early end to the war and argues that the fighting shows "how little control Americans are likely to have over events in the area."

Much remains to be learned about how

the Iraqi invasion was planned. But already there is considerable evidence of U.S. involvement in the current attacks on the Iranian workers and peasants.

It is a fact that Iraqi-based counterrevolutionaries such as Gholam Oveissi, a former top general of the shah, have repeatedly traveled back and forth between Iraq and Washington to meet with U.S. officials.

It is a fact that Washington, for the first time in two decades, began selling the Iraqi regime military equipment this year.

It is a fact that there has been a noticeable thaw in U.S.-Iraqi diplomatic relations, symbolized by Zbigniew Brzezinski's statement that there is "no fundamental incompatibility of interests between the United States and Iraq."

It is a fact that U.S. policy-makers and journalists have been openly speculating about the possibility of an Iraqi move to try to overthrow the Iranian government. As Irving Kristol put it in the April 16 *Wall Street Journal*, "let us assume that, one bright morning, Iraqi troops launch an attack across the border into Iran."

Kristol made it clear that he thought this would be a fine thing. After all, he asked, "Is it really in our national interest that the Ayatollah [Khomeini] continue to rule in Iran?"

Finally, the Carter administration, without the slightest hesitation or vacillation, has picked up on the opening provided by the Iraqi attack. It is again threatening to use U.S. military forces in the area, this

time under the pretext of keeping the Strait of Hormuz open to shipping. The fact that the strait is open, that there has been no interference with shipping in it, and that there has been no fighting there at all has not stopped the drumbeat of propaganda about the danger to the West's "jugular."

Of course, the Iraqi regime has its own reasons for fearing the Iranian revolution and for launching its attack. But in this case, its interests have converged with Washington's, and it is acting in the interests of and in collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

Far from being the product of a fevered imagination, Ayatollah Khomeini's charge that "today the hand of America has come out of the sleeve of Iraq" is a sober statement of the real situation. □

Statement by the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party

'The Toiling Masses of Iran Must Strike as One Fist'

[The following is an editorial from the September 23 issue of *Kargar*, the weekly newspaper of the Hezb-e Kargaran-e Enqelab (HKE—Revolutionary Workers Party) of Iran. It was written before the full-scale Iraqi invasion of Iran on September 22.]

* * *

The attention of the whole country has been focused on the military attacks on Iran from the Iraqi border. Newspaper headlines, various articles, government statements, and radio and television news all speak of sensitive and even critical conditions in the west of the country. This topic has dominated discussions within all circles of the working people and toilers. Among the young Muslim and revolutionary militants in the plants and elsewhere, a wave of opposition against these attacks has arisen.

An Escalating Offensive

The events on the western border are a serious warning, signaling the need to defend the Iranian revolution. There are sufficient facts to show the serious and extraordinary significance of these events.

- A week has passed since the right-wing coup in Turkey.
- The mobilization of the U.S. military strike force continues.
- Movements by the U.S. military strike force in Egypt have been reported.
- Activities of elements associated with the Pahlavi autocracy, such as [Gen. Gholam] Oveissi, [Gen. Ahmed] Palizban, and [Shahpur] Bakhtiar in Iraq—both in the field of news propaganda and of military mobilizations—have continued and expanded.
- U.S. imperialism has not responded positively to the just demands of the Iran-

ian revolution, and with the start of hearings on the hostage question in the Majlis [parliament], imperialism still continues its conspiracies and attacks against the Iranian revolution.

It is in this context that the military attacks by the right-wing regime of [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein and attacks by counterrevolutionaries on the western borders have greatly intensified. Based on various reports, it is now clear that the military offensive against the revolution has escalated, both in the air and on the ground.

After the failure of the [April 24] imperialist attack in the Tabas Desert, and then the disintegration of the [July] coup attempt, the attacks in the west of the country have now opened a new front for extensive counterrevolutionary activities. It is clear to many militant workers and toilers that the struggle of the Iranian revolution against the imperialist offensive is neither incidental nor temporary. This is a conflict that will decide the fate of our struggle to be rid of the imperialist yoke.

The experience of our revolution up to now has clearly shown that imperialism's aim is to exhaust, break down, and demobilize the masses and to destroy and sabotage production and the organization of the nation's economy through both its indigenous and external agents. The experience of our revolution has shown that imperialism's aim is to mobilize repressive and brutal forces in order to suppress the revolution. Washington's entire diplomacy revolves around organizing and mobilizing for counterrevolution.

Tasks Facing Iranian Revolution

What is on the agenda of the Iranian

revolution is: achieving total and genuine independence from imperialism; solving the land problem; emancipating the masses of peasants and farmers from poverty and oppression; and expropriating power and wealth from landowners, millionaire capitalists, the rich, and other indigenous agents of imperialism. As opposed to the planned long-term exploitation of the imperialists, now another perspective is realizable—that of the workers taking authority over the country's production and successfully planning to develop the country's industry and economy. By extending the organizations of the broad masses, instead of SAVAK's repression, that is, by extending shoras [workers committees], various neighborhood organizations, the jihad for reconstruction, and the Camps for Rallying Our Forces [an organization set up by Islamic associations on the universities for the reconstruction of the country], and other mass action organizations, the emergence of a government of the oppressed—a workers and peasants government—will be made possible. This is the only guarantee for breaking all the chains of oppression and exploitation.

Historically, the battle against imperialism has shown that national oppression can be terminated through a victory over imperialism. Iranian women, the vanguard of women in the entire Middle East, have shown the way to get involved in social activities by their unprecedented action in their millions. They are also taking steps toward winning equal rights.

The Iranian revolution is paving the way for social emancipation from painful and barbaric imperialist oppression. The events in the western part of the country have once again clearly shown that in order for this cause to advance, workers

and toilers must fight the mobilization and extension of counterrevolutionary activities.

Danger of Counterrevolution

The advance of counterrevolution in any sphere means losing the freedom we gained with the overthrow of autocracy. It means the peasants being suppressed by the landowners and bankers once again. It means repression returning to the factories. It means monarchist generals commanding soldiers. In one word, the advance of counterrevolution means losing the gains of the revolution and accepting the yoke of exploitation and colonialism once again.

Consequently, a national program of struggle to defend the revolution is of utmost necessity. The discussion and activity taking place nationally regarding the Iraqi invasion shows the preparedness and readiness of the broad masses for all-out action against counterrevolution.

In order to plan and put into action a program of struggle against counterrevolution, there must be the broadest organization and participation by factory shoras, neighborhood organizations, the jihad for reconstruction, the Camps for Rallying Our Forces, and peasant shoras. United action by the *pasdaran* [revolutionary guards] and the armed forces in order to mobilize the army of twenty million should be placed on the top of the agenda. The struggle against counterrevolution does not start from a military program or plan. If the aim of revolution is the victory of the oppressed and the realization of their aspirations, then only the broad masses themselves can really defend the revolution.

Victory Lies in Mass Mobilization

The struggle to defend the revolution should be guided by an irreconcilable anti-imperialist policy. To collaborate with the imperialists and their indigenous agents—the capitalists and millionaire landowners—weakens the active participation of the masses of people. It is this participation that constitutes freedom. Collaboration only encourages the appetite of the oppressors. It encourages the oppressors to rebel against revolution and the people. Victory of the revolution and victory of the people lies in mobilizing and efficiently utilizing the energies of the masses of workers and toilers. Muslim workers and militants understand that we can only trust our own abilities, our own discipline, and our own organized power.

The state's weaknesses in the face of the Tabas conspiracy [Carter's commando raid] and in the face of the plans for the coup d'etat that were neutralized and defeated have so far shown that the state, although enjoying the support of the overwhelming majority of the population in the past as well as the present, has been incapable of fulfilling its most immediate



Iranian women stand guard at bunker in small village in western part of country.

tasks—uprooting the counterrevolution—because it is based on the bureaucracy inherited from the monarchy. In the entire period since the February insurrection, the immediate task of the state has been and still is to uproot the counterrevolution, i.e., to uproot capitalism and the profit-mongering order.

The experience of our own country's history during the Mossadegh era, as well as the experience of revolutions around the world, have shown that government bureaucracies are less than effective in combating the extension of counterrevolution. The only power capable of defending the revolution and preventing counterrevolutionary damage is that power which seeks to carry through the aspirations of the masses of workers, *pasdaran*, soldiers, and peasants, and consequently is immune to the vacillations and impotence caused by pressures from the oppressors and the state bureaucracy.

With the military invasion against this revolution spreading in the west of the country, it must be shown that neither the imperialists, nor the remnants of the Pahlavi autocracy, such as Oveissi, Palizban, Bakhtiar, and their ilk, nor the conspiracies by Saddam Hussein will be able to trample the revolution. No, we can and should show the revolution's capacity to crush to pieces all attempts by the imperialist or capitalist counterrevolution.

National Oppression Must Be Ended

The invasions occurring in the western part of the country reaffirm the special

importance of deepening the revolution through solving the problem of the brothers and sisters of the oppressed nationalities, as an effective weapon against counterrevolution. With counterrevolutionary activities from the Iraqi border spreading, a consistent and revolutionary policy toward the problem of Kurdistan should be adopted.

The national oppression of our Kurdish brothers and sisters was born as a result of colonial imperialist rule of our society. Due to this suppression of national rights, the oppression of nationalities became more painful than that of the rest of the Iranian people. The present reactionary intervention from the Kurdish region explicitly clarifies the axis of mobilization and popular unity against imperialism.

Military attacks by mercenaries and Saddam Hussein's armed forces—supported by imperialism and agents of the former autocracy—have threatened the Kurdish people with a direct danger. Today, even though imperialism and agents of the Pahlavi autocracy are apparently speaking of national rights for Kurdistan, the broad Kurdish masses know these enemies.

Events since the February insurrection have shown the possibilities that exist for extending Kurdish culture, which previously had been repressed. Broad masses of Kurdish people in the provinces, as well as the rest of the peasants of the country, have been attracted by the elimination of the oppressors. A policy calling for the national rights of the Kurdish peoples and advancing affirmative action for economic aid (which was promised by the state) can play a key role in mobilizing the Kurdish people against counterrevolution. In the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, a leadership will materialize which conceives the struggle against imperialism as the precondition for national emancipation.

Now, for the defense of the revolution, it is necessary for the toiling masses of Iran to mobilize for war against imperialism as one united family, to close ranks, and to strike as one fist.

Those forces that toppled the Pahlavi autocracy, those forces that paved the way for overthrowing the influence of imperialism in our society, will not for a moment tolerate the return of reaction and imperialism. In this fight it is necessary for workers and militants, Muslims and revolutionary people to take the initiative.

For the popular military mobilization through rallying and arming the shoras and mass organizations! Let us build the army of twenty million!

For immediate military training through combined mobilizations of the army, *pasdaran*, and armed forces!

For a special program for the people of Kurdistan against counterrevolution by propagating the national rights of the Kurdish people! □

Washington's Drive to Topple the Jamaican Regime

By Ernest Harsch

Early in the morning of July 13, while much of Kingston was still asleep, five gunmen kicked down the door of a house in the poor neighborhood of Greenwich-town. They opened fire on the sleeping occupants, killing seven, four of them women and three men. All of the victims were supporters of the ruling People's National Party (PNP) of Prime Minister Michael Manley.

On August 22, an arson attack destroyed the printing shop where *Struggle*, the newspaper of the Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ), was produced.

At the beginning of September, the mutilated body of a young man, bound hand and foot, was founded dumped on a street corner in a Kingston slum.

Such incidents are becoming increasingly common in Jamaica. Since the beginning of the year, nearly 500 Jamaicans have been killed in the slums of Kingston and other cities. Police stations have been regularly attacked by well-armed gangs. Political activists—and ordinary workers—face the ever-present threat of being gunned down on the streets or in their homes. Prime Minister Manley himself was shot at in the East Central district of Kingston.

These armed attacks are part of a systematic campaign initiated from Washington to destabilize the Manley regime. The aim is to sufficiently terrorize the Jamaican people to facilitate the ouster of Manley, either through the elections projected for later this year—or through a military coup.

In an interview in July, shortly after the presence of fifteen CIA agents attached to the U.S. embassy in Kingston was revealed, Manley affirmed that "anybody who has lived through Jamaica in the last years knows that there is a calculated and deliberate destabilization program at work."

D.K. Duncan, the general secretary of the PNP and a prominent leader of the party's left wing, stated during a visit to the United States in late May: "We in Jamaica have noted an upsurge in political violence directed against PNP supporters. We have noted examples of CIA-type violence. . . . We have noted an attempt to set the security forces against the government."

Duncan accused the proimperialist Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), led by Edward Seaga, of "receiving massive external funding." He declared that "there is no doubt that Jamaica is a prime target of imperialism's Caribbean maneuvers."

Jamaica has been one of Washington's chief targets since earlier this year.

Washington Gives the Order

Citing a State Department source, correspondent Les Payne reported in the January 23 issue of the New York State daily *Newsday*, "The Carter administration has decided that, if Prime Minister Michael Manley does not moderate his pro-Cuba policies within six months, the United States will use all available influence and pressure to drive him from office. . . ."

The Jamaican government did not knuckle under to these threats, and retained its friendly ties with Cuba. On top of that, in March it broke off negotiations with the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund rather than concede to the stringent conditions that the IMF was demanding in return for financial assistance.

At a time of sharpening political polarization throughout the Caribbean and Central America, any such displays of independence by governments in the region are viewed with hostility by U.S. policymakers.

So the White House authorized an escalation of the campaign against Manley in the wake of the Jamaican break with the IMF.

In a series of reports in the May 17, 24, and 31 issues of the New York *Amsterdam News*, correspondent Chauncey Bailey confirmed the existence of a destabilization program to topple Manley, citing sources within the State Department.

"The destabilization plan," Bailey reported, "appears to be two-fold, sources said. The National Security Council is pressing industry and investors to refrain from 'supplying assistance or capital' to the Manley government. Secondly, industrialists are being urged to support the election of Edward P.G. Seaga, who has promised to reinstitute relations with the IMF when he becomes prime minister."

Besides opposing Jamaica's break with the IMF, Bailey reported, the National Security Council was also hostile to the PNP's policy of "democratic socialism," a series of reform measures that have resulted in the partial nationalization of foreign-owned bauxite firms, increased taxation of foreign businesses, and programs to cut unemployment, build housing, eliminate school tuition, improve social services, provide land to small farmers, and subsidize food costs. This policy, the council maintained, "hampers"

foreign corporations operating in Jamaica.

Several Black members of Congress, who have received reports about the destabilization plan, have also pointed to the upsurge in political violence in Jamaica. Bailey reported that they "feel local recent waves of political terrorism may also be linked to 'anti-Manley forces' trying to set a negative tone in the country. Some of the terrorists have kept police at bay with modern weapons which could be coming from Israel or the U.S. . . ."

A Snakepit in Kingston

On July 2, Louis Wolf, an editor of the Washington-based *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, announced at a press conference in Kingston that there were at least fifteen CIA agents in Jamaica, operating out of the U.S. embassy. The August-September issue of the bulletin called it "undoubtedly the largest [CIA] station in the Caribbean, and perhaps the third or fourth largest in Latin America."

The person identified as the deputy chief of the station, William Adger Moffett III, is known to have special training and expertise in liaison with paramilitary groups. While he was posted in Haiti in 1973-75, his assignment, according to the bulletin, was coordination with the notorious Tontons Macoutes, President Jean-Claude Duvalier's private squad of armed thugs.

Besides the CIA agents themselves, the bulletin noted, there were other officials at the U.S. embassy who may also be involved in the destabilization campaign.

In late June, when a plot involving right-wing politicians and some military figures to overthrow Manley was uncovered, "it was discovered that the senior military attache at the U.S. Embassy, one Colonel Gerland E. Lindgren, was meeting outside the Embassy with numerous Army officers, well beyond anything which his official duties might require. He even met with Army officers on the grounds of Up Park Camp, the headquarters of the Jamaica Defense Force, wholly out of keeping with normal diplomatic protocol. As with most military attaches, Lindgren is probably Defense Intelligence Agency."

Yet another indication of direct American involvement in Jamaica was the opening of a new air route into the country by Evergreen International Airlines. The airline, whose connection to the CIA is an open secret, was the one that flew the deposed shah of Iran from Panama to Egypt in March of this year.

Two days after Wolf's news conference in Kingston exposing the CIA presence on

the island, unidentified gunmen were reported to have fired several bullets at the home of N. Richard Kinsman, whom Wolf had identified as the CIA station chief in Jamaica.

The American big-business press and government sought to use this alleged attack to try to discredit Wolf's charges, and to push for passage in Congress of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, which would make it a crime to name CIA operatives. Noting the political campaign that was being waged against Wolf and the *Covert Action Information Bulletin* by the U.S. authorities, as well as the gross inaccuracies and exaggerations about the supposed shooting incident (Kinsman himself did not claim to hear any shots, and did not call the police), the bulletin charged in an editorial, "We were, and are, convinced that the incident was a phoney."

Seaga-'CIAga'

The most visible force in Jamaica striving to topple the Manley regime is the Jamaica Labour Party.

Since its formation in 1943, the JLP has been one of the two major bourgeois parties in the country. It has been in office twice before. Until the 1970s, there was little basic difference between the policies of the JLP and the PNP. Both were bourgeois parties with significant support from sectors of the trade-union movement.

But after the PNP was elected to office in 1972, it came under tremendous pressure from its supporters to institute a number of social reforms and to adopt a more anti-imperialist stance. The left wing of the party grew significantly.

The JLP, in contrast, moved more to the right. The old-line JLP trade-union leaders faded into the background, while members of the Jamaican Manufacturers Associa-

tion and the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica took on increasingly prominent roles in the party. Seaga himself is a businessman, with close ties to North American and European financial circles. Under his leadership, the JLP has taken an openly proimperialist stance on many issues.

The ties between the JLP and Washington are numerous. During the current election campaign, the JLP has received ninety surplus U.S. Post Office jeeps through its Miami affiliate, the Jamaica Freedom League, which includes both Jamaican and Cuban exiles. The bank used by the league is the Bank of Perrine, which was owned until 1976 by Paul Helliwell, a long-time CIA officer involved in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Oliver Clarke, the publisher of the pro-JLP Kingston daily *Gleaner*, is a member of the Executive Committee of the Inter-American Press Association, which has frequently been used by the CIA to plant false "news" reports in the Latin American press. The *Gleaner* previously ran articles from Forum World Features and World Feature Services, until they were exposed as fronts for the CIA and British intelligence, respectively. The *Gleaner* has been conducting a vicious propaganda campaign against the Cuban aid to Jamaica.

Seaga himself appears to have direct ties to Washington. According to an official of the U.S. National Security Council, who was quoted by the London *Latin America Weekly Report*, "Seaga is one of our best intelligence sources."

It is such ties that have won Seaga the popular nickname of "CIAga."

Seaga's JLP first displayed its readiness to engage in terrorist actions in 1976, during a previous attempt by Washington to destabilize the Manley regime.

According to a detailed study by Ernest Volkman and John Cummings in the December 1977 *Penthouse*, the CIA provided financial assistance to the JLP and helped incite strikes and antigovernment demonstrations, as a prelude to the general elections held in December of that year.

Large quantities of sophisticated arms suddenly appeared in the country. Numerous commando-style raids were carried out against PNP supporters. At least 300 persons were killed that year in fighting between armed JLP and PNP members. Manley declared a state of emergency to try to control the unrest and to ensure that the elections could be held.

Despite its public denials—and its efforts to blame the government for the violence—the JLP leadership was deeply involved in this terror campaign. In June 1976, Herb Rose, a top JLP official, resigned from the party; he publicly confirmed that JLP leaders and local organizers were arming and training unemployed youths for the attacks. Peter Whittingham, a JLP candidate, was arrested carrying documents of a secret paramilitary group called Werewolf, which was also the codename for the CIA destabilization program.

The widespread violence notwithstanding, a record 84 percent of the electorate turned out to vote. And they gave Manley's PNP a sweeping victory.

Terror, Slander, Disruption

Having failed to topple Manley in 1976, Washington and the JLP are now trying once again. And the JLP is using the same methods that were employed four years ago—terror, slander, and disruption.

Armed attacks in Kingston's slum areas have become commonplace, often by JLP members, but also at times by PNP supporters carrying out reprisals.

In a report from Kingston in the September 7 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, correspondent Stephen Cook described the atmosphere in the capital:

Soldiers and police point their guns at crowded pavements from their Toyota land cruisers; helicopters rattle overhead at night, shining searchlights into dark side streets; gunfire sometimes wakes you in the small hours. . . .

The overnight death count on the morning radio can be as high as 10. When the crime was at its worst whole households were being wiped out by killers with machine guns and Molotov cocktails.

During the killing of the seven PNP supporters in Greentown on July 13, a JLP campaign jeep was reportedly involved. It took more than two weeks to find a burial site for the seven victims, as well as for four other PNP members murdered around the same time, due to violent attacks on the funeral processions by JLP supporters.

In early July, gunmen shot up the Kingston Public Hospital several times and even threatened to burn down the hospital, which caters to the poor of the Kingston



Graffiti in Kingston during 1976 U.S. campaign to overthrow Manley regime.

area. The Junior Doctors Association noted that "the pattern of attacks indicated a systematic campaign to disrupt the health service."

Foreign doctors working for the various public health services have received threatening letters demanding that they leave the island.

The burning down of the print shop that produced the newspaper of the Workers Party of Jamaica was, according to WPJ General Secretary Trevor Munroe, "another desperate effort by the forces of reaction to prevent communists from making their contribution to the present electoral campaign." The WPJ is supporting the PNP in the elections.

On May 20, arsonists torched the Even-tide nursing home in Kingston, killing 144 elderly women. The fire came almost four years to the day after a May 19, 1976, attack by fifty armed men on a large tenement in Central Kingston, in which the building was set afire and the residents forced back inside by the gunmen, resulting in ten deaths.

In a dispatch from Kingston in the August issue of the Barbados monthly *Caribbean Contact*, Carl Wint reported:

In recent weeks . . . Jamaicans were being killed in shootouts at the alarming rate of seven a day. . . .

Political violence . . . has taken the lives of the old and the infant, men and women. It has maimed some, and robbed others of property. It has driven away many of the skilled and educated people which the nation needs to ensure its development. . . .

Police stations are attacked with alarming regularity, and the men in uniform are gunned down. We hear of the murdered but not of the arrests, and some say the police are out-gunned. . . .

Industry and commerce are affected. There are employees who are reporting for work later and leaving earlier. Night shifts are badly affected, especially in the troubled zones of bloody conflict, creating havoc with lives and property. . . .

The violence seems organized, according to all accounts. And very sophisticated weapons are being used. . . .

Deputy Prime Minister P.J. Patterson has admitted that the weapons being used by the gangs are superior to those of the police.

Toward a Military Coup?

The popularity of Manley's PNP has undeniably slipped since the last elections, due largely to Manley's imposition of an austerity program in 1977 under pressure from the IMF. But while Seaga and the American press claim that the JLP is ahead in the opinion polls, the PNP still has a good chance of winning the elections—if they are allowed to go on unhindered.

Most of the polls predicting a certain defeat for the PNP actually stem from just one poll—the one conducted by the right-wing *Gleaner*. The *Jamaican Daily News*, which supports the PNP, gives the ruling

party a slight edge. Even the *Gleaner*, in a poll conducted in July, admitted that Manley was considered the "most popular" political leader in Jamaica; some 32 percent of those interviewed thought Manley would be the best prime minister, while 29.9 percent favored Seaga.

Since the JLP cannot be confident of an electoral victory, even through intimidation of PNP supporters, the party has been exploring other ways to topple the regime.

The *Gleaner* has made a number of



thinly disguised calls for a military coup. In the June 1 issue, columnist John Hearne declared, "In many other countries, somebody with a disciplined force of men behind him would have long ago taken the Government away from them. . . . In most Third World countries, our Ministers, Ministers of State, Party commanders, heads of statutory boards, among others, would now be in forced exile or buried in common graves."

Just three weeks later, on June 22, an actual coup plot was crushed. Twenty-six officers and soldiers were arrested, along with several civilians, and were charged with plotting to overthrow the government. According to the authorities, they had planned to kidnap Chief of Staff Brig. Robert Neish and Prime Minister Manley, forcing the latter to resign in a radio broadcast under threat of execution.

Seaga and the JLP immediately tried to maintain that the coup bid was nothing more than a joke or a fabrication by the regime, a "comic opera" in Seaga's words. But Brigadier Neish and Police Commissioner William Bowes confirmed that the plot had been real.

The central figure in the coup attempt was H. Charles Johnson, the leader of the small, far-right Jamaica United Front. Shortly after his arrest, the *Covert Action Information Bulletin* obtained a copy of the 1974 trial transcript in which one of the defendants implicated Johnson in a gun-smuggling operation from the United States. The recipient of the arms, according to the defendant, was none other than Edward Seaga.

The June coup attempt was not the only sign of rifts within the armed forces. In late May, Inspector Johnson MacBeth, the chairman of the Police Federation, spoke out at a police meeting, publicly denouncing the Manley regime and calling for the dismissal of Minister of National Security Dudley Thompson, a leading figure in the left wing of the PNP. Another prominent speaker at the meeting was Seaga, who

warned that the JLP would not accept the election results unless they were "free and fair," that is, unless the JLP won.

Several days later, a PNP member of parliament who had complained on television about political harassment of his supporters found his headquarters surrounded by military men who had removed their identification numbers. They forced the PNP members to lie on the ground at gunpoint, while the member of parliament was warned not to go on television again.

Although the evidence points to JLP involvement in plans for a coup, it is Seaga that is accusing the regime of moving toward a "military solution." While Washington is backing up the JLP's terrorist campaign, it is Seaga that is charging the Manley regime with seeking "international involvement," presumably a reference to the government's ties with Cuba.

The JLP is thus trying to prepare a public justification for a military coup. Seaga has already proclaimed that if Manley declared a state of emergency, as he was impelled to do in 1976, the JLP would defy it.

Deputy JLP leader Pearnell Charles, who spent some time in jail for his involvement in the CIA's 1976 Operation Werewolf, has openly vowed that the JLP will attempt to oust the PNP regime by "underthrow or overthrow."

Solidarity With Jamaica!

For working people, much is at stake in Jamaica today.

If Washington is successful in toppling the current government and replacing it with the openly proimperialist JLP or with a military junta, its grip over the island will be greatly strengthened. The Jamaican people will find it even harder to resist imperialist domination.

The burning down of the WPJ's print shop, the shooting of left-wing activists, and the JLP's threat to withdraw the passports of dissidents if it comes to power are just a sample of what the workers' movement could face. The JLP's program calls for stepped-up foreign investment in Jamaica, by making the country more "attractive" to North American and European firms; that can only mean further attacks on the living standards of Jamaican workers. Even the limited gains that working people have won in recent years will be in jeopardy.

The outcome of the struggle in Jamaica will also have repercussions far beyond the country's shores. As Seaga himself pointed out, "We aren't really talking about a Jamaican election; we're talking about a 32-nation Caribbean scenario."

The U.S. drive against Jamaica is part of Washington's offensive against the revolutionary upsurge throughout Central America and the Caribbean. It is linked to the U.S. aid to the bloody junta in El Salvador, the provocations against Cuba, the assassination of Walter Rodney in

Guyana, and the terrorist attacks against the unfolding revolution in Grenada.

A success by Washington in Jamaica would be a major spur to this imperialist offensive.

To effectively fight off the imperialist drive against Jamaica will require a massive political mobilization of the Jamaican workers and small farmers. In face of the terrorist attacks, the masses need to be systematically mobilized to defend themselves through their own organizations, such as unions or neighborhood defense guards.

The Manley regime and the PNP, however, have not done this. While the ruling party has held some large election rallies, its main response to the right-wing violence has been to rely on the police and military. But as the example of Chile showed, even those officers who profess the greatest loyalty to the government may be actively plotting to overthrow it. The signs of disaffection within the Jamaican armed forces are a clear warning of this.

The only real bulwark against imperialist intervention or a right-wing coup is the organized and mobilized strength of the masses themselves. This was pointed to by Cuban President Fidel Castro in his May Day speech in Havana.

"Do you know what really makes us strong—us, and Nicaragua, and Grenada?" Castro asked. "The fact that these are people's revolutions, revolutions with deep roots, with great popular support; and any enemy would have to think that it would be madness to invade a country like this. . . ."

International solidarity is also needed to defeat Washington's campaign against Jamaica. Numerous voices have already been raised to condemn the U.S. destabilization program.

A spokesman for Congressman Ronald V. Dellums, a leader of the Congressional Black Caucus in the United States, said in May that the plan to topple Manley "appears to be the latest example of the U.S. trying to dictate what is best for the Third World. We will not tolerate it. And action must be taken now before negative results occur. . . ."

Ulises Estrada, the Cuban ambassador to Jamaica, reaffirmed Cuba's solidarity with Jamaica in an interview in the September 7 issue of the English-language *Granma*. Pointing to the role of the Cuban technicians, doctors, and teachers in Jamaica, he said, "We came to Jamaica to build, to improve the people's health and educational level, providing them with the basic materials." What counts, he added, was that "the people of Jamaica feel very close to us and we feel that Cubans and Jamaicans are all brothers and sisters."

On August 17, several hundred persons rallied in Grenada in solidarity with the people of Jamaica. Prime Minister Maurice

Bishop condemned the imperialist campaign against Jamaica, pointing to the parallels with the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile.

An article on the rally in the August 23 *New Jewel*, the weekly organ of the ruling New Jewel Movement, concluded:

"The people of Jamaica are battered, but

are still ready to defend their gains! Imperialism must be defeated for the Caribbean to remain a region of peace. The people of Grenada stand alongside the people of Jamaica in the struggle against imperialism and local reaction. Together, the peoples of Grenada and Jamaica will defeat imperialism and local reaction!" □

'New Jewel' Warns of Imperialist Offensive in Caribbean

'The Threat to Grenada Is Real'

[The following appeared as an editorial in the August 23 issue of the *New Jewel*, the weekly organ of the ruling New Jewel Movement of Grenada.]

* * *

During recent months, several disturbing events have taken place in the Caribbean and the close Latin American countries. We should all be conscious of these events and of what they mean for us in Grenada.

In June, just two months ago, attempts were made on the lives of progressive leaders in the English-speaking Caribbean. As we all know, Walter Rodney was killed, the leadership of our PRG [People's Revolutionary Government] narrowly escaped, and a plot to overthrow the Manley Government in Jamaica was discovered just in time!

Most of us would realize that these were attempts by imperialism to get rid of progressive leaders in order to leave the field open for reactionary and opportunist leaders.

What many of us do not know is that imperialism has also been on the move in Latin America. Several literacy teachers have been killed in Nicaragua in the hope of terrifying the people and turning back their magnificent literacy campaign, through which thousands of people have already learned to read.

In El Salvador, the brutal right-wing Government is being assisted in crushing the people—assisted by massive arms and numerous military advisers from the United States and Israel. Despite all this assistance, the regime is losing the war, as the people's struggle for freedom steps up. So the United States is now plotting to invade El Salvador to crush the people. This plan was revealed only a week ago by the West German newspaper *Stern*—a newspaper which is by no means "left wing" or progressive.

Meanwhile, the United States has been spending a great deal of time and money to bring influence and pressure to bear on several Latin American and Central American Governments in order to win their agreement for an invasion of El Salvador.

Mexico is one of the few Governments of the regions which has refused to bow to American pressure. Most countries have moved to the right and in Bolivia, a fascist army coup d'etat has taken place.

Returning to the Caribbean, we find that the United States has used its "partner," Britain, in the person of Lord Carrington, to visit Barbados and other countries of the region. He has not only bad talked Grenada publicly, but has been seeking to influence other regional Governments privately, against Grenada. His aim is to isolate Grenada within the region. Meanwhile, the PRG has evidence that black American mercenaries together with one or two traitorous Grenadians, are now being trained militarily in Miami.

What does this mean for Grenada? It means we have to be prepared to defend our country and our Revolution, with our lives, if need be. It means we have to be alert and vigilant at all times, and quick to report information to the security services. The bomb has shown us that we are not dealing with jokers, but with a ruthless force which believes it has the right to control the lives and destiny of all people in this hemisphere.

We must note Ronald Reagan's stated threats towards Grenada and the fact that he is quite likely to become the next President of the United States. We must note Jimmy Carter's menacing statements towards Grenada, his CIA's use of bombs to kill and terrorize our people and his growing desperation as he sees himself quite possibly losing the next U.S. elections. This may prompt him to take any crazy action against us.

We must not be distracted from the great programmes which we have undertaken—the C.P.E. [Center for Popular Education], Land Reform and Cooperatives and the important community projects being undertaken by our work brigades. *But neither must we be distracted from the building of our Militia.* For only an armed, trained and prepared people can safeguard the freedom of their country. And let us be clear on one thing: the threat to our Revolution is real!

Be vigilant!

FSLN Assembly Discusses New Tasks

By Russell Johnson

MANAGUA—"The time has come to organize the party of the revolution," Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge declared in his opening speech to the Third National Assembly of FSLN Cadres. Borge's words capture the central theme of this important meeting.

The assembly was held in Managua at the meeting hall of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) September 13 and 14. It was attended by FSLN leaders and activists from across the country. They discussed the tasks of the FSLN in advancing the Nicaraguan revolution over the next year.

The assembly marked the culmination of a month-long internal discussion within the FSLN leadership. Its decisions were presented to the Nicaraguan people at a closing rally on September 15, which was broadcast over nationwide television and radio. Several central FSLN leaders addressed the rally.

The FSLN's Third National Assembly showed that the Sandinistas are grappling seriously with the problem of how to build a political instrument that can lead the workers and peasants to deepen their own direct role in ruling the new Nicaragua. This came across most clearly in Tomás Borge's opening speech.

Summarizing the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution, Borge said:

"We have freed ourselves from foreign domination. The ropes and chains that tied us to imperialism have been broken into a thousand pieces.

"From July 19 [1979] on, a revolutionary power has been established, born out of the midst of the people and of the struggle of the oppressed and exploited against the oppressors and the traitors to the nation.

"We have won a new democracy and new freedom for the people. . . .

"The revolution has achieved democracy for the people—the democracy of the Sandinista Defense Committees; of the armed workers, peasants, and students in the Sandinista militias; of the tens of thousands of young people organized in the Sandinista Youth; of the workers in the trade unions; of the women in the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women; of the campesinos organized in the Rural Workers Association; and even of the children, who play happily in the parks beneath showers of smiles."

"But to lead in the defense of these gains," Borge continued, "requires an organized vanguard of the people. In Nicaragua this means the revolutionary organization that Carlos Fonseca founded

nineteen years ago—the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

To Build a Revolutionary Party

The FSLN, Borge explained, was structured above all for military struggle against Somoza. It was not organized as a political party:

"In the early years of the liberation war against the tyranny, the Sandinista Front acquired a great deal of guerrilla experience. But there was virtually no opportunity to set up an organization that could meet all the requisites of what a revolutionary party ought to be."

Once victory was achieved, Borge said, "the vanguard put top priority on organizing the state apparatus." Now, however, the task of building a revolutionary party can no longer be postponed:

"Having completed in large part the organization of the revolutionary state, the time has come to devote a large part of our best efforts to the development of the party of the revolution. We propose to create an organized revolutionary party—guided by scientific principles, conscious of its role as leader, having high morale and a clear political strategy, understanding that it is not a question of fighting for partial reforms alone but of preparing and accumulating forces and energy for the total elimination of exploitation and economic dependence, the revolutionary step to a new society.

"We propose to create a flexible, realistic party, with its feet firmly on the ground but unwavering in its principles. A party capable of intelligently handling political delays and forging alliances at the national and international levels, but that never loses sight of its historical objective.

"We propose to build a party that holds high the principles of internationalism, of sacred duty toward other peoples who are struggling. A party capable of devoting its efforts to humanity in the struggle for peace, and at the same time a party that is the standard-bearer of patriotism and the first to defend the sovereignty and dignity of our nation."

A Workers' Party

"This party will be built in a democratic and critical spirit," Borge continued. "We must create an internationalist party that takes other experiences into account but that approaches them critically, testing out their effectiveness and adaptability to our concrete reality."

Borge went on to outline a number of qualities the cadres of the party should

have. They should be "capable of always telling the truth, of criticizing objectively, of pointing out defects and errors to their brothers and sisters without fear of the consequences, with the clear aim of being constructive and without the least sign of self-importance, conceit, or bad faith."

Party cadres must also understand, Borge said, "that it is the majority that makes the decisions; that, while maintaining one's own viewpoints, it is necessary to submit to party discipline."

Finally, cadres must be "those who never forget their responsibility to stay closely linked to the masses, to the aspirations of the people; those who look to the workers as fish look to water. . . ."

The creation of such a party is "an historic obligation," Borge said. It requires a conscious effort by all FSLN members, since "insufficient preparation in party tasks and lack of skill in organizing are, in general, common to us all."

The party must pay particular attention, Borge said, to the "struggle against the remnants of the past—against the expectations in some sectors that the Sandinista revolution means manna from heaven and not effort, hard work, and sacrifice in a country half-surrounded by bureaucracy and inexperience." It might even be said, he added, "that it is easier to fight against the oppression of the exploiters . . . than against bureaucracy and incompetence."

"Despite all the difficulties we face," Borge concluded, "we are going to build our party. In the final analysis, what is the Sandinista National Liberation Front? It is the unity of the oppressed and the exploited; of the revolutionaries, the workers and campesinos, the anti-imperialists, the internationalists; of the ordinary, honest, and pure men and women, those who are born on their feet and will never get down on their knees. Those who are ready to die for their country, for their people, and for their revolution."

Reorganization

Changes in the FSLN's leadership structure were announced at the September 15 rally that closed the Third National Assembly of FSLN Cadres. A statement read by René Núñez, secretary of the National Directorate, reaffirmed the latter body as "the supreme authority of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Sandinista People's Revolution." But it also announced the creation of a broader leadership body, the Sandinista Assembly. This assembly has sixty-seven members, drawn from cadres throughout Nicaragua with important responsibilities in the government, the mass organizations, and in the FSLN itself. The assembly will act as a consultative body to the National Directorate.

The National Directorate's own subcommittees were also reorganized. Two of them, the Commission of State, headed by Commander Jaime Wheelock, and the

Commission of Defense and Security, headed by Commander Humberto Ortega, are concerned with the tasks of government. A newly formed Political Commission, made up of Wheelock, Humberto Ortega, and Commander Bayardo Arce, will act as the political executive body of the National Directorate. It is to be headed by Bayardo Arce, who will be replaced by Commander Carlos Núñez as head of the FSLN delegation to the Council of State.

Arce has been relieved of all governmental responsibilities so that he can devote full energies to building the FSLN. He will be assisted in this by a reorganized National Secretariat, which will include two other members of the National Directorate, as well as other FSLN leaders.

In a September 17 interview with the FSLN daily *Barricada*, Arce explained the significance of the reorganization: "In the first place, there is something that we pointed out yesterday—revolutions are the work of the people, and cannot be viewed simply as the action of a government. This is a conviction of the Sandinistas."

The FSLN, Arce continued, "is the political organization that guides the participation of all our people in carrying out all the tasks that allow them to concretize their historic objectives. . . ."

"Now, to what extent must this be seen as the classic construction of a revolutionary party? We have always said that it is characteristic of our revolution that on the one hand we are continually learning, both from the experiences accumulated by the peoples of the world and from our own reality."

Democratic Centralism

"We have studied the forms of party organization in other countries, and we have also looked at our own problems. In general terms, all parties are either centralist, democratic, or democratic-centralist. Some of the democratic-centralist ones are more democratic than centralist, and others are more centralist than democratic. . . ."

"As can be seen, we have chosen a democratic-centralist structure. At this stage there is still considerable centralism at the leadership level, but with a series of democratic forms so that the centralized leadership functions better. . . ."

The Sandinista Assembly is "one of the measures taken to democratize further the life of the Sandinista Front as a vanguard political organization," Arce explained.

Likewise, the reorganization of the commissions of the National Directorate is part of "this leap toward more democratic forms of representation inside the Sandinista Front. . . ."

"We are also establishing a collective leadership in specific areas of work, with members of the National Directorate participating alongside other cadres and outstanding militants. . . ."

The final speech at the closing rally of

the Sandinista assembly was given by Commander of the Revolution Víctor Tirado. In a report that *Barricada* headlined, "Austerity, labor discipline, more production, more productivity," Tirado outlined what the FSLN leadership sees as the ongoing national priority—economic reconstruction.

Tirado pointed out that a major economic problem is the continuing pressure from imperialism, which tries to place conditions on aid and loans as a weapon against the revolution. In contrast, he said, Nicaragua has received from Cuba and from the Soviet Union "disinterested aid without conditions."

Reviewing the legacy of Somozaism that the FSLN inherited, Tirado said: "In general, the economy had descended to 1963 levels. To this were added other painful and dramatic facts—40,000 dead, 100,000 injured, a million brothers and sisters living at subsistence levels."

Nicaragua inherited an underdeveloped capitalist economy dependent on export-oriented agriculture, with a small domestic consumer-goods industry, Tirado said. Along with massive unemployment, poor health care, illiteracy, and transport problems, "this was the starting point for the economic reconstruction of the country."

Real progress was made in the first year of the revolution. Tirado pointed to the following areas, among others:

- The foreign debt of \$1.5 billion has been satisfactorily renegotiated, a blow to those sectors of imperialism that have tried to strangle the revolution financially.

- Agricultural, fishing, and industrial production has begun to recover and is expected to reach 85 percent of the 1978 gross domestic product by the end of 1980.

- Unemployment has been reduced from 40 percent in July 1979 to 17 percent. More than 90,000 new jobs have been created.

- In the private sector, commerce has

been reactivated, as has cotton, coffee, and cattle production, although most financing has been provided by the state. The reactivation of private industrial production has lagged, however.

As priorities for economic development, Tirado's report stressed the channeling of investment into productive areas of the economy while not reducing spending on social needs, health, and education. Emphasis will be placed on job-creation in productive areas of the economy.

Import of luxury goods will be sharply restricted, while imports of basic consumer necessities will be expanded slightly. This will improve the trade balance and help to redistribute national wealth more equitably.

Emphasis will be placed on the development of the public sector of the economy. Tirado explained that this will require more labor discipline and greater sacrifices on the part of the workers if progress is to be made toward meeting social needs. It will require acceptance of a general financial austerity policy and improvements in the efficiency of public administration.

Summing up, Commander Tirado said that for the cadres and leaders of the FSLN the central question to be discussed was not the holding of elections, which had already been decided upon, but rather how to resolve the economic and social problems of the Nicaraguan people. The bourgeois forces that have been making the most noise about elections have not shown the slightest interest in this question, Tirado said.

"The FSLN," he concluded, "more vigorous and united than ever, with its face pointed toward the future—always to the future because it does not want to return to the past—calls on all the workers, peasants, students, professionals, patriotic businessmen, to maintain unity, because in that way we will triumph in reconstruction, just as we won in the insurrection." □

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How an Anti-Stalinist Opposition Has Developed in Poland

By Gerry Foley

The level of political and organizational experience achieved by opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland far exceeds that anywhere else in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union today.

Even before the victorious August and September strikes, for example, the samizdat workers paper *Robotnik*, set up by the opposition grouped around the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), had a circulation of 30,000.

The experience of mass struggle against the power and privileges of the bureaucratic caste in Poland was summed up, in a characteristically defensive way, by Lech Walesa, the main leader of the recent strikes:

"Uprisings have occurred in Poland in 1956, 1970, and 1980. This is why the machine has to be repaired. It seems that that is not possible. So, why not try to find another one?"

The Polish workers and activists in the opposition movement also have considerable experience with the dangers of Kremlin intervention to break antibureaucratic mobilizations that the Polish bureaucracy cannot stop.

This threat has hung over all major upsurges against the Stalinist regime, in 1956, 1970, 1976, and the present one. It is something that the Polish people and leaders of the antibureaucratic struggle have had to think about for a long time. In 1956, Polish workers began to arm to face the threat of a Soviet advance on Warsaw. They forced the Kremlin to back off.

During the latest strikes, reportedly, Polish army units in Wroclaw, acting on their own, began taking up defensive positions to counter suspected moves by Soviet army units stationed nearby.

Out of these past experiences, leaders of the workers movement and opposition groups have been challenged to develop a perspective and strategy for advancing and defending their struggle, including tactics to deal with the threat of Soviet intervention.

The disciplined character of the recent strikes and the careful, defensive statements of the free trade union leaders is evidence of substantial political capacity.

Throughout several weeks of intense confrontation between the Polish masses and the forces of the Stalinist regime, there was not one incident of violence by the strikers or their backers. Nor was there any statement by the workers or their leaders that either the Polish bureaucracy or the Kremlin could seize on to rally

support in the world Communist movement or in the Soviet Union itself for an attack on the free trade union movement.

The discipline of the strikes testifies to the development since the 1970 upsurge of a layer of workers' leaders with great authority, as well as political maturity. This could not take place without a conscious political process and the working out of general perspectives and tactical approaches.

Narrow Trade Unionists?

Thus, the tendency in the capitalist press to present Walesa and other Polish workers leaders as narrow, largely nonpolitical trade unionists obviously reflects both political bias and blindness.

In perpetuating this misconception, the capitalist press has the advantage, however, that audiences in Western Europe and North America do not generally appreciate the way in which opposition leaders are obliged to maneuver within the narrow limits of a society that is still under the totalitarian control of a Stalinist bureaucracy. Thus, there is a tendency to accept at face value such statements as the following that Walesa made in an interview with BBC broadcast September 8.

"I am a pure trade unionist," he said, "and I'm not interested in any party."

But Walesa went on to explain:

"I divide our struggle into three stages. The first has been concluded victoriously. We have now reached the second stage, which will be very difficult, and I do not know how it will end."

As for the third stage, he said: "It would be dangerous for me to talk about it. My job is to make known the wishes of the people. One of the things we most want is to have in our hands the land and the factories in which we work."

There is a word for the aspirations of the workers "to have in our hands the land and the factories in which we work"—*socialism*.

The defensive way Walesa poses his perspectives is understandable considering the reflexes of the bureaucracy. It will not, and cannot, tolerate any significant margin for *political* opposition, above all from the left.

Even when it was retreating in disarray in the face of the August and September strikes, the bureaucracy insisted on making the new trade unions agree that they would not form a political party, or challenge the "leading role" of the Communist Party. The ultimate justification that the Kremlin gave for intervening both in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in

1968 was that the Communist parties in both countries were no longer exercising their "leading role."

So, the free trade unions agreed to respect the "leading role" of the CP. Walesa indicated his approach to this question in a speech to a meeting of thousands of workers in Warsaw on September 23: "The workers recognize the leading role of the party, but only so long as the party does not exercise its leading role in the union movement."

Committee for Social Self-Defense

Since 1976 there has been an extensive debate over strategy and tactics in the Polish opposition.

The approach advocated by the KOR, and by Jacek Kuron in particular, calls for developing independent social organizations of all kinds, especially workers' organizations, that could fight for and win concrete objectives without challenging head-on the political power of the bureaucracy.

The primary objective of the opposition, according to Kuron, should be to encourage the various strata of the population to organize and to break out of the totalitarian straitjacket designed by the Stalinist regime to keep them demobilized and atomized.

Kuron explained this basic conception in the first issue of *Glos*, one of the samizdat journals that the KOR helped bring into existence after the June 1976 strikes.

At one time in the 1960s, I thought that we had first to change the political system before we could turn to social action. The independent organizing initiatives associated with the KOR have convinced me that I was wrong. It has been shown that if such an activity drives a wedge into the state's monopoly on initiatives, decision-making, and information, and at the same time wins support in the society, it can be carried on despite the opposition of the rulers.

The KOR began as a group of anti-Stalinist activists like Kuron, nearly all of whom played a role in the March 1968 student demonstrations. It was formed as a defense committee for workers who were victimized during the June 1976 strikes.

In the course of this work, the KOR developed links with the layer of workers' leaders coming out of the 1970 and 1976 upsurges. It also began to encourage other layers of Polish society to organize in opposition to the bureaucracy.

Thus, the KOR promoted the formation of the Student Solidarity Committees and an independent peasant movement. Both played a role in the August and September strikes. The peasant movement issued an

open letter expressing solidarity with the workers. The students collected money for the strikers.

Workers Movement

In a long programmatic article entitled "Thoughts on an Action Program," Kuron tried to generalize the experience of the KOR in the post-1976 period and to establish perspectives based on it.

The first thing that is needed is a workers movement, in particular a movement of industrial workers. In order to achieve its objectives, this movement has to be organized at least at the plant level.

The demands of this movement have to be worked out with the help of experts independent of the government—economists, engineers, jurists, sociologists. These demands have to be made known throughout the country and abroad. And here a link is essential between the workers movement and the movement of the intellectuals and students.

The KOR itself was an example of how such a link could be established:

On September 21, 1976, in Warsaw, the KOR was set up. It took on the task of providing financial, legal, and medical aid to those subjected to repression after June 25. The committee grew out of dozens of groups that had worked in the student and intellectual movement.

But the KOR quickly grouped around it many thousands of persons, who put together the communiques and materials of the committee. The social [mass] action that developed around the committee exposed the extent and the forms of the terror against the strikers and aroused public opinion in the country and abroad. It forced the government to stop the repression.

Kuron went on to explain further the practical political approach taken by the KOR.

This was the first step in the combined activity of the workers and the intellectuals. However, further steps were necessary to achieve this convergence. We needed to create small groups of the workers movement in the work teams and shops. We needed to work out demands in discussion and put them forward.

But solidarity among the workers was much more important than demands. If the authorities yielded, and then deprived the activists of their jobs, the concessions would disappear without a trace, and new actions would be more difficult. If the authorities made no concessions, then at least the workers organization would remain, and sooner or later the workers would win their demands.

Therefore at the time, the most important, and perhaps the only, demand that could be raised was the reinstatement of all those fired after June 25 [1976] . . . and amnesty for all those sentenced for taking part in the demonstrations. We had to get these demands discussed in the work teams and shops and get the real workers leaders to come forward.

As an example of the tactical approach recommended by the KOR, Kuron cited the open letter to the government sent by the workers at the giant Ursus tractor plant:

We think that the reinstatement of all those workers fired for participation in the June 25 strikes and demonstrations is essential in view



Workers in Gdansk discussing strike news.

of the difficult position in which our country finds itself, the atmosphere of tension in the factory, and the difficulties of fulfilling the production plan in the absence of experienced members of the factory team.

The desired convergence, Kuron said, also required building a movement among students and intellectuals:

It is essential to defend the independence of scientific and scholarly thought. We need journalism, political thought, well-trained activists in all the social movements. Therefore, we need a growing movement of the students and intellectuals. Such a movement creates the conditions for its own existence, that is, for independent science and scholarship, journalism, and political thought. At the same time, it assists all the other movements.

Kuron concluded:

The essence of all this is that the society has to be organized in social [mass] movements that act together and express, to the fullest extent possible, the aspirations of all citizens. This is a program, a program for creating the Third Poland based on social [mass] organizations, in reality for creating the only kind of Poland that is possible, the Poland of civic duty and social action.

The "Third Poland" means a new independent Polish state—the first being the medieval Poland destroyed by the partitions, and the second the Polish republic established after World War I. It clearly also means a socialist society run by the mobilized masses, primarily the workers.

Answering Soviet Threat

In his "Thoughts on an Action Pro-

gram," Kuron also took up the problem of intervention by Moscow: "The limits of the movement and the sovereignty of the Polish masses are defined on the one side by the extent of their social activity, and on the other by the readiness of the Soviet leadership for armed intervention."

Kuron stressed the need for caution because of this threat, which understandably is on the mind of most Poles: "No one can say what the upper limit is, and those who say that it is better to stop earlier rather than too late are right."

However, Kuron asked: "Would abstaining from opposition activity now lessen the chances for intervention?" His answer was no:

"I am convinced that the threat of intervention is real, not as a result of the activity of the opposition but rather of its weakness. The most serious danger today—the anarchy that exists in Polish society—is the result of the paralysis of the regime."

Thus Kuron posed the fight against the rule of the bureaucracy in a defensive way. The system of totalitarian rule had led Poland into a social and economic crisis that was constantly deepening and threatened to lead to a total collapse of order in the society.

Role in Recent Strikes

In the period leading up to the recent strikes, as well as during them, the KOR followed a program of action and tactics much like those described by Kuron in "Thoughts on an Action Program."

For example, many of the demands

raised by the Interfactory Strike Committees (MKS) in August were foreshadowed in general form in the "Charter of Workers' Rights," which was issued in Poland in 1979. A number of the initiators were associated with *Robotnik*, a project of the KOR. The list of signers included Lech Walesa and Anna Walentynowicz, both leaders in the Baltic strikes, as well as *Robotnik* editors Bogdan Borusewicz and Jan Litynski.*

The role played by the KOR in the July strikes that led to the August-September upsurge was described in the September 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press* by Cyril Smuga:

On the evening of July 2, the KOR—which has emerged as the main opposition group—put out a short communiqué reporting on the strikes. When members of the KOR and *Robotnik* were not present in a factory, they would go to it to verify the information received and to distribute their declaration as well as issue No. 56 of *Robotnik*, which had come out on July 1, on the eve of the strikes. Ongoing telephone links were established with several Warsaw apartments. The KOR also informed the foreign press about the strikes on a daily basis, providing only information that it had been able to verify.

On July 11, the KOR issued a new declaration, followed the next day by issue No. 57 of *Robotnik*. That issue included the text of the declaration as well as articles related to the unfolding of strikes that were still going on at that time, and it described the demands put forward and the forms of organization that had emerged. A separate article described in a detailed fashion the experience at Ursus, which the opposition activists consider the most advanced to date.

The KOR committed itself to come to the aid of workers repressed as a result of their strike action. It began to collect a strike fund for certain factories.

At the same time, the KOR published a series of immediate demands, including the demand for the introduction of meat rationing as the only egalitarian way, according to the movement, to distribute scarce supplies. . . .

Speaking to us by telephone, Jacek Kuron, one of the main figures in the KOR declared: "We think that in this wave of strikes we can gain in experience and, most importantly, can popularize the most advanced experiences. And since we expect a 'hot autumn,' we think that this autumn will reach the point of spreading self-organization throughout society, but in particular self-organization of the workers."

In an interview published in the August 17 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, the KOR's representative in Sweden, Maria Borowska, stressed that the opposition organization had sought to promote forms of mass action and defensive political tactics. The Swedish newspaper summarized:

"Another sign of the KOR's influence was that the strikes were tightly disciplined, Maria said. In its newspaper *Robotnik*, the KOR has urged the workers to act in organized and democratic forms."

*For the text, see *Intercontinental Press*, September 1, pp. 903-04.

According to the Swedish daily, Borowska also "stressed that the KOR directs its appeals primarily to the left, and is against the return to capitalism."

Borowska explained, "Many of our members are attracted by such forms as workers councils."

Two Approaches

Much of the debate on strategy and tactics in the Polish opposition over the past four years has centered around the question of how to deal with the problem of Moscow's military power, which stands behind the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy and poses the threat of military occupation if the dictatorial regime is overthrown or even decisively weakened.

Two basic approaches have emerged. One is that of the KOR. The opposing viewpoint is exemplified most clearly by the Polish Alliance for Independence (PPN), which argues that the primary objective of the opposition has to be to win real sovereignty for the Polish state. The documents of this group tend to stress the need for moral and patriotic education, a greater role for the church, and changes in the existing institutions, such as the judiciary. Its founding document includes implicitly anti-Russian statements, asserting Poland's historical identification with Western Europe.

Another group that has developed recently within this "sovereignty first" current is the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). One of its founders was Leszek Moczulski, who was also a founder of the Movement to Defend Human and Civil Rights (ROPCiO), the other main opposition coalition besides the KOR. Moczulski has denounced Kuron for his socialist views and his insistence on open work, even suggesting that Kuron is something akin to an agent in the movement.

The sovereignty-first point of view has tended to be represented more strongly in the ROPCiO than in the KOR, but there does not appear to have been a clear political polarization between them.

The samizdat publication *Opinia*, two thousand copies of which were recently seized by the Stalinist authorities, is associated with the ROPCiO. The best known personalities identified with this grouping, besides Moczulski, are Andrzej Czuma, recently arrested and detained for forty-eight hours; and Kazimierz Switon, an activist in Silesia arrested during the strikes.

In "Thoughts on an Action Program," Kuron responded to the points raised by the sovereignty-first current:

The totalitarian system was imposed on the Polish people more than thirty years ago by the armed forces of the Soviet Union. This was done with the agreement of the Western powers, in particular the United States and Great Britain. The guarantee of the stability of this system is the three-times-demonstrated readiness of the Soviet Union to use force against any people that wants to throw it off. . . .

The Polish government is not sovereign. So, it is not surprising that the majority of Poles see this lack of sovereignty as the source of all the evils in our society.

But Kuron challenged the idea that sovereignty can be achieved outside the fight for fundamental democratization of Polish society:

Extending the sovereignty of the people means expanding the sovereignty of the state. The state authorities will be independent [of outside control] to the extent that they are dependent on the public.

Therefore, the struggle against totalitarianism is the struggle for the sovereignty of the people and of the state. It is, however, possible to strive for the sovereignty of the state without the sovereignty of the people.

I stress again that the source of the ills of this society is the totalitarian system, which seeks to deny the people any freedom to breathe. It is this system that is the first cause of the economic, social, and political paralysis we are experiencing. In itself, the fact that decisions were made in Warsaw would change nothing.

In a statement in the first issue of *Głos*, Kuron, Antoni Macierwicz, and Adam Michnik also stressed the danger of xenophobia involved in seeing the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy solely as a Polish national question:

The totalitarian system fosters xenophobia. . . . Without promoting mutual hatred, it would be impossible [for the bureaucracy] to keep the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Poles, and Russians from recognizing that they have a common cause. Our action program therefore is to fight xenophobia and chauvinism among our own people, to promote an understanding of the aspirations for independence of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and Lithuanians, and to promote understanding that we are linked to the Russian democrats by a common cause based on their aspirations for democracy and freedom. That is the realistic road to sovereignty for Poland.

Despite these political differences, Kuron has sought to maintain a united front of the opposition in the fight for democratic rights. He has assessed as positive all activities that tend to break down the totalitarian monopoly of the Stalinist rulers over information and the right to organize. This includes activities of the Catholic church and nonsocialist groups, insofar as they contribute to spreading information and defending victims of the bureaucracy's repression.

Kuron, as well as the KOR, have tried to base themselves on the positive national traditions and feelings of Poles against centuries of oppression and partition. His use of the term the "Third Poland" to describe his goal of a democratic socialist society reflects this concern.

Kuron has also responded to claims that the KOR's perspectives are utopian or provocative since the kind of Poland proposed would be regarded as an intolerable danger by the Kremlin.

The antibureaucratic fighters are not interested in threatening the Soviet Union,

Kuron has argued. The Soviet government has maintained good relations for decades with Finland, which not only has political democracy but is a capitalist country. Why, Kuron asks, could it not live with the "Third Poland of the Mass Organizations," a democratic socialist Poland?

Some of Kuron's sovereignty-first critics argue that the demand for national sovereignty is actually more acceptable to the Kremlin than the sort of democratization he calls for. This argument is more revealing about them than Kuron.

The real question is not what the Kremlin will accept. (Kuron explains that this cannot be determined by any static equation anyway.) The question is how to organize and mobilize the Polish masses who have been atomized by Stalinism, so that they can develop their power and use it consciously so as to take best advantage of the opportunities that arise.

A Chance to Organize

Up until now the workers movement and

anti-Stalinist organizations have not had a chance anywhere in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union to build up their strength on a fight for partial gains. Long periods of total repression have been broken only by sudden great explosions that were smothered in a few months, leaving little in the way of continuous experience and organization.

The fact that veteran oppositionists like Kuron and mass workers' leaders like Walesa have sought to work out an approach for overcoming this problem represents a major practical political advance for the movement against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Their tactical approach showed its strengths in a very intense confrontation.

What seems to be emerging in Poland, then, is a new stage in the anti-Stalinist struggle and in the world proletarian revolution as a whole—a stage of mass revolutionary politics.

The antibureaucratic movement began with the formation of short-lived conspira-

torial grouplets after Stalin's death. These were succeeded by open protest movements of intellectuals and various personalities dedicated to the defense of civil and human rights, movements that were able to survive and win some victories, but which led a rather isolated existence and faced extensive repression.

The link between the working class and opposition currents achieved in Poland is a fundamental political and organizational advance. The mass workers organizations arising out of the recent upsurge, and the concessions won on questions of censorship and other democratic rights, have created a framework in Polish society as a whole for a wide-ranging discussion on perspectives to move the struggle forward.

Therefore, the coming period in Poland should be rich in political lessons, not only for the antibureaucratic movements in the Soviet Union and other East European countries, but for the workers and revolutionary movement throughout the world.

DOCUMENTS

FSLN Paper Discusses Polish Strikes

[The following article by Orlando Núñez Soto appeared in the August 31 issue of the Managua daily *Barricada*, the official organ of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The development of humanity proceeds today through the struggle between socialism and imperialism, in which the former fights against exploitation and the latter fights to maintain it. The workers constitute the most advanced social class in the struggle against imperialism.

But to eliminate imperialism does not mean only to destroy it, but to replace it with another, more advanced and more humane society. The road is not easy and the construction of a new society is full of contradictions. Socialism is attained neither by decree nor by elections. It is attained through the tenacious, organized, and consistent struggle of the working class.

The building of socialism takes place through the struggle against large-scale private property and through the nationalization of great wealth. But history does not end there. "The productive forces do not cease to be capital simply by passing into the hands of the state, but only when they begin to be administered by the workers" (Engels). Participation by the workers is achieved neither by decree nor by the will of an individual or of a party; it

is a process of consciousness, of organization, and of raising technical, political, and cultural capacities. This takes a long time.

The building of workers trade unions, both to defend the interests of the working class and to defend the interests of the nation as a whole, is one of the acquisitions of this long process.

Now then, the life of a union, of a party, and of a state that fights for the construction of socialism is also full of difficulties and limitations. Lenin himself indicated the need for the trade unions to watch over the party and the state, so that the latter would always act in the interests of the working class. What is under discussion here is not the choice between socialism and imperialism, but the tortuous steps of continuing the uninterrupted development of an even more socialist society.

Workers' protests in Poland have a long tradition. They have been the driving force of the most important historical subject of Polish society, the working class. But unlike in the imperialist countries, the workers mobilizations there do not endanger the social form of production but rather enrich it. The strike movement of the workers in the Baltic region of Poland can only mean one thing—more and more steps on the road of workers' participation in the management and administration of enterprises and in the political organs of the society.

The Nicaraguan Democratic Movement

(MDN) presented a motion that the Council of State should express its solidarity with the Polish workers. Nothing is more contradictory than that motion of the MDN. This party fights for a society in which wealth continues to belong to a minority, but the Polish workers are fighting for a society in which wealth and power belong more and more to the majority of organized workers.

The strike of the Polish workers constitutes the exercise of a right recognized by the current Polish leaders, leaders who came to power due to the collective will of the Polish workers (the workers' strikes that replaced Gomulka with Gierek). And the Polish unions never resorted at any time to solidarity from parties abroad that exploit the workers' class brothers in other countries.

In dealing with a capitalist society, it would be an illusion to think that competition among different owners, each one trying to sell his merchandise, means a weakening of the capitalist system. Likewise, when dealing with a socialist society such as Poland, it is an illusion to think that movements among the workers mean the weakening of Polish socialism.

If the gentlemen of the MDN are for democracy and socialism, as they claim, then let them show it in their own enterprises by not putting obstacles in the way of workers participation in watching over, controlling, managing, and administering those enterprises. Another proof of socialism and democracy on the part of the MDN would be for it to take a position in favor of the organized workers and peasants exercising power in this country, since they are the majority of Nicaraguan society. That is to say, the MDN should support the policy of the FSLN in building a new Nicaragua. □

Poland—The Start of a New Era

By Charles-André Udry

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By taking up the slogan, "The emancipation of the workers will be the task of the workers themselves," the Polish workers have caused the bureaucratic caste to vacillate and have shaken all the defenders of stability throughout Europe.

It is now more than two months since the working class began to mobilize to batter down a governmental decision to raise food prices. The workers rapidly won substantial wage increases, and those initial victories raised their self-confidence. The battles gave them a chance to take a step forward in organization. Basing themselves on these gains, the workers then advanced demands that went far beyond the price of meat. The power of the bureaucratic caste itself has been called into question.

A Blow to the Heart of the Bureaucratic System

The Gdansk shipyard workers opened the gates, and the power of the entire working class surged forth. Manual workers, who make up more than 49 percent of the population, are the starting point for an independent workers movement—a development unprecedented in the "people's democracies." These are events of historic scope.

In fact, ever since 1970 and in an accelerated way since 1976, the Polish workers have been gathering their forces in the factories and work places. Since the June 1976 explosion, there have been numerous mobilizations around more and more specific demands. They have centered on the formation of autonomous workers' bodies inside the factories.

This entire molecular process has now borne fruit in broad daylight. The circulation of papers such as *Robotnik* (Worker) has helped to establish links, however tenuous, between the many different experiences of struggle and organization. The various groups of workers have thus been able to refine their demands and tactics.

The actions of the workers of Gdansk, Szczecin, Wrocław, Nowa Huta (steel), and Ursus (tractors), around precisely formulated demands and with a significant level of self-organization, strike at the heart of the bureaucracy's system of domination.

The survival of this privileged layer

depends fundamentally on its ability to keep the working masses depoliticized and thus put a brake on their activity. Repression, the bureaucratic monopoly on information, tight control over institutions such as the trade unions, the one-party regime, organization of all spheres of social and political life (what Kuron and Modzelewski called "the organization of disorganization") make up the bureaucracy's arsenal for preventing any renewal of action and organization by the workers.

Nonetheless, the accumulation of experience in struggles allowed the painstaking formation of a layer of battle-hardened workers, able to utilize both the bureaucracy's weak points and the deepening of the economic crisis (which in turn has repercussions on the bureaucratic leadership). This creates the conditions for beginning to overcome the obstacles erected by the bureaucracy.

The demands for free and independent trade unions and for the abolition of censorship—taken up by all the strike committees—represent an intolerable attack on bureaucratic privileges. Many other privileges, material ones that this caste arrogated to itself, depend on these questions. That is why Gierek was ready to make any number of material concessions, even pledging to erect a statue in honor of the "provocateurs and anti-socialist elements" that his police murdered in 1970, but was not willing to allow effectively free and independent trade unions.

The Organized Workers and Economic Management

Having acquired a great deal of knowledge about the enterprises and having drawn the lessons of the myriad promises of Gomulka, Gierek, and Babiuch, the workers went to the roots of the crisis—the bureaucratic regime. They understood that the "bad economic choices" the government has been forced to acknowledge every time the working class has raised its voice are really the inevitable outcome of bureaucratic mismanagement—in other words, of a planning system in which the motor force is the combination (however contradictory) of the interests of a privileged layer of managers and the needs of those who have the upper hand in an apparatus in which the state is identified with the party. This cannot but augment all kinds of distortions and waste, which in turn are affected by the pressures of the world market and the recession in the capitalist economies.

In an economy where all the major

means of production are state property, where private appropriation of them is constitutionally prohibited, where the state holds a monopoly on foreign trade, and where centralized planning exists, there is no way to achieve optimum functioning of the economy other than through democratic control by the associated workers over planning, production, and distribution. This is what Polish workers instinctively understand when they explain: "The unions must be able to discuss production plans within each enterprise. This is the only means of avoiding such catastrophic errors as the building of a new factory here in Gdansk for prefabricated construction materials when the first two do not function at even 30 or 40 percent of capacity."

There can be no doubt that the most conscious of the workers, after being blackmailed for years over economic difficulties, have realized the precariousness of wage increases or even of a sliding scale of wages. To confront the chronic crisis, they have had to provide themselves with their own instrument, one capable not only of defending their material interests but also of giving weight to their rights and choices at the economic level. The workers want free and independent trade unions, the ability to communicate among themselves and to make their opinions known publicly, especially on the big problems of economic policy and the fundamental choices that it implies.

Faced with economic crisis, the bureaucracy came up with a response diametrically opposed to that of the workers: the workers must work harder, increase labor discipline, and accept the sacrifices "necessary for Poland"—for the Poland of Gierek, Babiuch, and Jagielski!

The radical difference between these two answers to the crisis exposes the dividing line in Poland today: On one side, a minority layer, privileged and parasitic, that pretends to represent the very workers it has deprived of all political rights and independent organization. On the other, the proletariat, whose numerical growth and increasing education and culture have made it the candidate for the economic and social management of the country, and whose current actions reveal at once the will and the ability to take on that task. This is what is really dividing Poland, not the false perspectives from the distorting mirrors of Catholic ideology, and not the reformist speeches of the "Experiences and Prospects" group.

The Question of Power

Once again, the workers upsurge in Poland indicates that every strengthening of the workers movement, every organized action of the working class, points toward the restoration of socialist democracy. This means a regime where political power is in the hands of the proletariat and is exercised through democratically elected workers and people's councils, in which all

viewpoints can be expressed (which requires a multiparty system and freedom of press and assembly) and where planning is subordinated to the strategic choices and democratic control of the workers.

Many things indicate that the underlying dynamic of this broad movement is going in the direction of socialist democracy: the direct mass democracy that has characterized the organization of the strikes, the beginnings of coordination among the different MKSs (Inter-Factory Strike Committees), the discussion of workers' newspapers produced by the strikers, the demands themselves, the workers' concern for preserving the tools of production, and so on.

But the installation of such a regime means doing away with bureaucratic domination—overthrowing the caste in power and putting political and economic power in the hands of the workers. The confrontation under way in Poland places this question—that of the political revolution—on the order of the day.

This is what makes the Giereks and Rakowskis turn pale. This is what is causing a deep crisis in the summits of power of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] apparatus. This is what gives rise to the discontents, petitions, and regroupments in the party ranks. This is what enables the church bureaucracy to eagerly agree to give its support to the party. (It was no accident that *l'Humanité* opened its columns to the Primate of Poland but not to the MKS.)

This is also why the "intellectual experts" have called for moderation—they are neither able nor willing to pose the question of power. And it is why the Schmidts, Carters, and Giscard have made known to the first secretary of the PUWP that they are ready to help—"for political reasons," as the German chancellor emphasized.

It is also because of this that the Western banks have agreed to new and generous credits for the Gierek regime.

This workers' upsurge, just as the "Prague Spring" did in 1968, objectively puts on the agenda the need for a congress of workers committees that could be the mechanism for centralization and action and for expressing the workers' will. Such a congress would be the initial response to the crucial question of power.

The workers have justly declared that the government's incompetence exacerbated the economic crisis. This government does not have the support of the masses. Did not Gierek himself declare that the "links of the party with the working class have been profoundly shaken"? So what could be more logical than the workers making known, after discussion, their own solutions for escaping the snares of the crisis? Wouldn't the most adequate instrument for doing this be the election of workers delegates from the factories and the neighborhood committees

to a congress that could discuss the various solutions proposed by all currents of opinion?

Sooner or later, the workers vanguard in Poland will have to develop an answer to this question of power. To fail to do this would be to allow the bureaucracy—whatever the subterfuges, compromises, and momentary reactions—to impose its solution on the laboring masses in the end.

To Take Advantage of a Favorable Relationship of Forces

For the moment, the workers have the initiative. They have already gotten the MKS recognized and have achieved substantial concessions in a number of other areas, in particular the recognition of their right to form "autonomous self-controlled



Strikers in Gdansk.

unions." The longer such a situation lasts; the more the links develop between Gdansk, Szczecin, Nowa Huta, and the Silesian mines; and the greater the breaches open up in the monopolistic information system, the greater the possibilities then grow for a maturing of the political consciousness of an important layer of workers. This is what all factions of the

bureaucracy fear above all. They have all tried and will never give up trying to keep the movement fragmented. The arrest of members of the KOR to prevent their playing a certain coordinating role among the various arenas of struggle served this purpose. The Polish bureaucracy will try to keep its concessions within the most controllable institutional framework. This will be clear when the draft trade-union legislation is put on the parliamentary agenda. For if the bureaucracy now agrees to accept whatever is necessary in order to obtain a rapid normalization, tomorrow it will immediately launch a counteroffensive. As in the past, it will use a combination of corruption, attempts at division, and, finally, repression against the most intransigent sectors of the movement.

This does not mean that the workers will not be able to take advantage of the unstable compromise that ended the initial confrontation in order to organize their forces. A first plateau has been reached in the overall struggle launched by the Polish working class.

The threat of Soviet military intervention has been used throughout the negotiations. Certainly this had, and will continue to have, an effect on all the strikers and on the Polish workers as a whole, even if it fails to paralyze their capacity for initiatives. (In the latter event, this would hold a very important lesson for the workers in all the "people's democracies.")

Gierek and all the bureaucratic currents have used and will continue to use the Soviet invasion threat. (Not a few of them would admit that this is the final guarantee of their own survival.) In this way they seek to increase the pressure on the masses. *Pravda* has launched war cries against "antisocialist and counterrevolutionary elements infiltrated among the workers." The Rumanian CP organ *Scinteia* has violently attacked the use of strikes. And *Rude Pravo* in Czechoslovakia has called on workers commissions there to be more sensitive to the ranks. This nervousness on the part of "sister" bureaucracies only increases the weight of the threat to call on "friendly armor" for help.

To lift this lead weight off the shoulders of the Gdansk workers, the emergence of mass activity in the other "people's democracies" would be the most effective aid. But more immediately, the development of the broadest movement of workers solidarity, especially in capitalist Europe, remains the most indispensable and most realizable support. Various initiatives to encourage the workers parties and the unions they lead—in particular, the CPs and currents within the CP—to participate in a united front of proletarian and internationalist solidarity represents the most pressing task of revolutionary Marxists. This is what the Fourth International has done and will do.

September 1, 1980

Memories of Trotsky's Last Public Meeting

By Harry Wicks

[The following article is taken from the September 3, 1980, issue of the British Trotskyist weekly *Socialist Challenge*.]

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On the fifteenth anniversary of the October revolution the Social Democratic students of Copenhagen invited Trotsky to

speak. He readily accepted the invitation: here was an opportunity to escape, even for a brief period, from Turkey, his home since Stalin had forcibly deported him there three years before.

From the first moment of his exile Trotsky had stubbornly sought the right of political asylum in Western Europe. The

Labour government of MacDonald, together with the French radical and German social democratic governments succeeded in barring Trotsky's entry into Western Europe.

This opportunity to lecture in Copenhagen made it possible for him not only to meet his co-thinkers but, more impor-

The Left Opposition and Trotsky's Trip to Copenhagen

In November of 1932 the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky traveled to Copenhagen, Denmark, from his exile on the Turkish island of Prinkipo.

On the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution, Trotsky had been invited by Social Democratic students and young workers to give a speech on the historic significance of the Russian revolution.

Trotsky's speech was based on his recently concluded three-volume work, *History of the Russian Revolution*. This was Trotsky's only speech before a large audience in the eleven years of his last exile from the Soviet Union. Around 2,000 people attended the meeting.

Trotsky and his life-long companion and political collaborator, Natalia Sedova, welcomed the opportunity to leave Turkey—the first time in nearly four years (since February 1929 when Joseph Stalin expelled Trotsky from the Soviet Union).

Trotsky had joined with other leaders of the Soviet Communist Party in 1923 to form the Left Opposition. They sought to stem the growth of a privileged layer of party functionaries that was in the process of driving the Soviet workers out of the political arena. And they opposed the incorrect political and economic policies that the Soviet party began to follow as the weight of the bureaucracy grew.

During the 1920s the retreat of the Soviet Communist Party from the revolutionary internationalism practiced under Lenin became deeper and deeper. This retreat was also evidenced in the Communist International—the Third International, known as the Comintern. The Comintern had been organized under Lenin's leadership in 1919, but had come under the control of the Stalinists.

In 1930, following Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union, the International Left Opposition (ILO) was created. Although expelled from the Comintern for their defense of Lenin's ideas, Trotsky and the

ILO adherents were adamant in explaining that their goal was to reform the Communist International and its affiliated parties—not to replace them.

It wasn't until late 1933, after Hitler came to power in Germany, that the International Left Opposition changed its strategy. The Stalinized Communist Party of Germany, following the lead of the Comintern, had denounced the largest German working-class party—the Social Democratic Party—as "social fascist." This policy effectively prevented any united front struggle against the Nazis, thus paving the way for the Nazi's rise to power.

The Comintern refused to acknowledge any responsibility for the fascists' annihilation of the powerful German workers movement without even a fight, or for preventing the joint workers' struggle that could have stopped the Nazis. The executive committee of the Comintern actually reaffirmed the correctness of the policy that had produced the German catastrophe.

This convinced Trotsky and other leaders of the International Left Opposition that the Comintern was finished as a revolutionary force and that a new International—a Fourth International—had to be built.

Trotsky's trip to Copenhagen in 1932 provided an important opportunity for several dozen Left Opposition leaders and sympathizers from a number of European countries to meet directly with Trotsky. They hastened to Denmark, both to ensure Trotsky's security in a city where there was then no Opposition group, and also to discuss with Trotsky the problems they were facing.

To embarrass Trotsky and impede his efforts to get an extension of his visa from the Danish government, the Soviet authorities broadcast a radio report that the Left Opposition was holding a "secret conference" in Copenhagen, in violation of the conditions under which Trotsky was ad-

mitted. Trotsky denied that a conference was being held, explaining that because of the preparatory work that was necessary, a conference could not in fact be held for another two or three months.

But the consultations he was able to hold had been very productive, and "solidly fused the comrades together." All who participated, Trotsky wrote, "took home . . . a fresh supply of strength and confidence."

Shortly after his return to Turkey, Trotsky wrote a report to all the sections of the International Left Opposition about the subjects discussed. This was also used as the basis for the draft Trotsky wrote of the main document to be presented at the ILO preconference that was held in Paris in February of 1933.

Although Trotsky's activities in Denmark were restricted, he made maximum political use of his time there. In addition to these important political discussions and Trotsky's speech on November 27, he also gave several interviews to Danish newspapers, made a radio speech, and gave a short talk that was recorded on film.

The radio speech, broadcast over CBS Radio to the United States, was the first speech Trotsky had ever given in English. It was a short summary of his lecture on the Russian revolution, addressed to American workers.

The film—in French and German—was made with the goal of reaching Communist Party members. In it Trotsky posed a series of questions that could help CP members learn what the Left Opposition really stood for.

One of those present in Copenhagen with Trotsky was the British Left Oppositionist Harry Wicks—a founder of the first Trotskyist group in Britain.

The accompanying article is Wicks's recollection of Trotsky's historic Copenhagen visit.

—Janice Lynn

tantly, to get closer to the battle lines that were unfolding in both Germany and Spain.

Where better to press home his warning to the German working class on the menacing growth of Hitler's fascism than from the very frontier of the Weimar Republic?

To the fury of the Stalinist parties Trotsky's journey across Europe made the headlines of the world's press.

Hardened party functionaries circulated the story that Trotsky was travelling to Denmark to denounce the Russian revolution. The nearer he got to Copenhagen the more strident his opponents became.

Monarchists denounced him as the arch Bolshevik who had been responsible for the fall of the Czar. Stalinists were whipped to a frenzy as the truth of his critique of the Soviet and Communist International leaderships became more apparent.

In such a political climate the responsibility of assuring Trotsky's safety rested with the international left opposition.¹

On arrival at Esbjerg, Trotsky proceeded to a small house on Dalgas Boulevard in the suburbs of Copenhagen. For eight days that house became LT's workshop.

In a box room at the top of the stairs all interviews were held and the final preparations for his lecture and trans-Atlantic radio talk were made. Day and night our small group of Left Oppositionists maintained security.

From the moment of Trotsky's arrival the Communist Party conducted a vociferous agitation.

Capitalising on the widespread interest, they organised a series of anti-Trotsky meetings. To those Stalinist meetings we went. Severely hampered by the language barrier and the absence of any sympathetic Danish group, we published a tiny leaflet and endeavoured to counter their lying campaign.

It became clear that the CP-stimulated hostility was fouling up the political scene and that there was a danger that the meeting would be disrupted. In the circumstances it was decided to bring from Hamburg a group of sympathisers, ex-Red Front fighters, to provide a protective screen in front of the platform and supplement our meagre defence force.

On the night of the meeting a vast crowd had assembled in front of the main entrance. We discreetly approached the building from the rear. It appeared to me that it was some sort of field that we crossed.

Trotsky strode out with firm steps, Natalia hurried to keep pace, one felt tense. Friendly students led us to a small ante room at the rear of the platform, and for a few moments it was possible to unwind.

Trotsky autographed copies of his recently published *History [of the Russian*

Revolution] for a number of officials. The time arrived to step up to the platform. As Trotsky approached the podium and faced the large audience, the loudspeakers played the opening bars of "The Internationale."

It seemed that all the accumulated tensions of the last few days disappeared. What remained was an attentive audience—not a critical voice was raised, hardly a cough—an audience entranced by the speaker they were listening to and by the great theme: the defence of the October revolution.

It was five years since Trotsky had addressed a live audience. Then it was at the grave of his friend Adolf Joffe.² But his opening declaration: "I stand under the same banner as I did when I participated in the events of the revolution" not only nailed the lie of the Stalinist slander campaign, but also showed that he had lost none of his verve as a speaker.

The lecture was a magnificent defence of the Russian revolution as a stage in the historical rise of humanity.

That evening, in little over an hour, the audience heard a remarkable precis of his three-volume study of the Russian Revolution. Trotsky gave me a copy of that speech to bring back to the British comrades. Alas at the time we were too poor to publish it, but eventually it was published by the Independent Labour Party.³

We returned to the house on Dalgas Boulevard excited and enthused by the success of the meeting. The desire to talk well into the night was natural. That household, however, had a strict working regime.

More than once our animated talk was interrupted by Natalia urging us to be quiet because her son Sedov⁴ was on the phone speaking from Berlin. The phone was in the adjacent hallway.

Most evenings after a packed working day Trotsky would join us downstairs for discussion. In the house now were comrades from France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Britain, which indicated that

the Left Opposition was taking shape on an international level.

Trotsky in the few days that remained for him in Denmark was anxious for us to concentrate our thoughts and work on the priorities. He was deeply concerned with the critical situation that faced our movement in both Germany and Spain.

Only months separated Hitler from power, yet it was clear that what we fought for, the united front of the German working class, was being blocked by the leaderships of the Communist Party and Comintern. The small circulations of our press and pamphlets were in themselves an alarming indicator.

To consolidate our weak but growing forces, to mobilise all our efforts and members for a concerted drive to aid our German section was Trotsky's repeated advice. One of his major concerns in those evening meetings was to find a way to strengthen our international leadership.

Soon after the lecture the Stauning⁵ government made it clear that they were in no mood to allow Trotsky to prolong his stay in Denmark, not even for a week. With Natalia, his life companion, they commenced the long journey back to Prinkipo, their place of exile.

But the movement was infinitely richer for that journey. The voice and message of Trotsky reached tens of thousands.

I have been privileged in my life to hear many revolutionary orators: C.L.R. James, Arthur MacManus, Bukharin, Togliatti, Saklatvala, and Felix Cohn, the old Polish communist, to name a few. But, allowing for my political partiality, Trotsky's Copenhagen speech was the most impressive.

It represented not only a defence of the October revolution but a classical exposition of the role of revolution in class society. It is worthy of a prominent place on any worker's bookshelf. □

son and closest collaborator. He joined the Left Opposition and accompanied his parents to their exile to Turkey. He then went to Germany where he lived from 1931 to 1933 and then to Paris. It was in a Paris hospital that he died at the hands of Stalin's secret police.

5. Thorvald Stauning was a Danish Social Democrat who was Prime Minister of Denmark in 1924-26 and then was returned to office in 1929 as head of a Social Democratic-Radical-Liberal coalition.

The Danish Social Democratic government granted Trotsky a visa for eight days. Because of the Stalinist campaign whipped up around Trotsky's visit, Trotsky was only able to get his visa extended for an additional two days.

In a statement on Trotsky's journey, the Left Opposition explained that Trotsky was given authorization to come to Denmark only because the government felt "it would be awkward to deny the request made by its own students and young workers."

1. See accompanying article. The International Left Opposition was the forerunner of the Fourth International, which was established in 1938.

2. Adolf Joffe (1883-1927) joined the Russian Social Democracy in the 1890s. He later joined the Bolsheviks with Trotsky and was elected to the Central Committee. He was a member of the Petrograd Revolutionary Military Committee during the October revolution. After the revolution, he became one of the ablest Soviet diplomats, participating in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations in 1922-23.

A Left Oppositionist, Joffe committed suicide when the Soviet bureaucracy prevented him from receiving adequate medical treatment. The speeches at Joffe's funeral proved to be the Left Opposition's last articulate public demonstration in the Soviet Union.

3. The Independent Labour Party was founded in 1893. It played a major role in the founding of the Labour Party, left it in 1932, and then returned to it in 1939.

4. Leon Sedov (1906-1938) was Trotsky's eldest

Trotsky on the Place of the October Revolution in History

[We are reprinting below the conclusion of Leon Trotsky's November 27, 1932, speech to the students and young workers of Copenhagen. Trotsky's speech, summarizing the major points in his monumental *History of the Russian Revolution*, was devoted to the defense of the October revolution and of the Soviet Union.

[Complying with the conditions of his visa, Trotsky kept his lecture strictly historical and scientific in character. But as historian Isaac Deutscher wrote, "Nearly twenty-five years later members of the audience still recalled the lecture with vivid appreciation as an oratorical feat."

[Trotsky began his speech by thanking the Copenhagen organization of the Social Democratic student body for the invitation, at the same time making clear the irreconcilable struggle of Bolshevism against Social Democracy.

[He dealt with the questions of why the proletarian revolution took place in one of the most backward countries of Europe and briefly summarized his theory of the permanent revolution "formulated by me in 1905 and since then exposed to the severest criticism under the name of "Trotskyism.'" He also discussed the combined character of the Russian Revolution and the historical prerequisites necessary for the October Revolution, including the existence of the Bolshevik Party.

[The entire speech is available in the book *Leon Trotsky Speaks*. It can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. The cost is \$5.45. Add \$.75 for postage and handling.]

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Let us now in closing attempt to ascertain the place of the October Revolution, not only in the history of Russia but in the history of the world. During the year 1917, in a period of eight months, two historical curves intersect. The February upheaval—that belated echo of the great struggles which had been carried out in past centuries on the territories of Holland, England, France, almost all of Continental Europe—takes its place in the series of bourgeois revolutions. The October Revolution proclaims and opens the domination of the proletariat. It was world capitalism that suffered its first great defeat on the territory of Russia. The chain broke at its weakest link. But it was the chain that broke, and not only the link.

Capitalism has outlived itself as a world system. It has ceased to fulfill its essential mission, the increase of human power and human wealth. Humanity cannot stand still at the level which it has reached. Only a powerful increase in productive forces and a sound, planned, that is, socialist organization of production and distribution can assure humanity—all humanity—of a decent standard of life and at the same time give it the precious feeling of freedom with respect to its own economy. Freedom in two senses—first of all, man will no longer be compelled to devote the greater part of his life to physical labor. Second, he will no longer be dependent on the laws of the market, that is, on the blind and dark forces which have grown up behind his back. He will build up his economy freely, that is, according to a plan, with compass in hand. This time it is a question of subjecting the anatomy of society to the X ray through and through, of disclosing all its secrets and subjecting all its functions to the reason and the will of collective humanity. In this sense, socialism must become a new step in the historical advance of mankind. To our ancestor, who first armed himself with a stone axe, the whole of nature represented a conspiracy of secret and hostile forces. Since then, the natural sciences, hand in hand with practical technology, have illuminated nature down to its most secret depths. By means of electrical energy, the physicist passes judgment on the nucleus of the atom. The hour is not far when science will easily solve the

task of the alchemists, and turn manure into gold and gold into manure. Where the demons and furies of nature once raged, now rules ever more courageously the industrial will of man.



Trotsky at the podium in Copenhagen.

But while he wrestled victoriously with nature, man built up his relations to other men blindly, almost like the bee or the ant. Belatedly and most undecidedly he approached the problems of human society. He began with religion, and passed on to politics. The Reformation represented the first victory of bourgeois individualism and rationalism in a domain which had been ruled by dead tradition. From the church, critical thought went on to the state. Born in the struggle with absolutism and the medieval estates, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and of the rights of man and the citizen grew stronger. Thus arose the system of parliamentarism. Critical thought penetrated into the domain of government administration. The political rationalism of democracy was the highest achievement of the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

But between nature and the state stands economic life. Technology liberated man from the tyranny of the old elements—earth, water, fire, and air—only to subject him to its own tyranny. Man ceased to be a slave to nature, to become a slave to the machine, and, still worse, a slave to supply and demand. The present world crisis testifies in especially tragic fashion how man, who dives to the bottom of the ocean, who rises up to the stratosphere, who converses on invisible waves with the antipodes, how this proud and daring ruler of nature remains a slave to the blind forces of his own economy. The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling

them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind. Only on this new social basis will man be able to stretch his weary limbs and—every man and every woman, not only a selected few—become a full citizen in the realm of thought.

But this is not yet the end of the road. No, it is only the beginning. Man calls himself the crown of creation. He has a certain right to that claim. But who has asserted that present-day man is the last and highest representative of the species *homo sapiens*? No, physically as well as spiritually he is very far from perfection, prematurely born biologically, feeble in thought, and without any new organic equilibrium.

It is true that humanity has more than once brought forth giants of thought and action, who tower over their contemporaries like summits in a chain of mountains. The human race has a right to be proud of its Aristotle, Shakespeare, Darwin, Beethoven, Goethe, Marx, Edison, and Lenin. But why are they so rare? Above all because, almost without exception, they came out of the upper and middle classes. Apart from rare exceptions, the sparks of genius in the suppressed depths of the people are choked before they can burst into flame. But also because the processes of creating, developing, and educating a human being have been and remain essentially a matter of chance, not illuminated by

theory and practice, not subjected to consciousness and will.

Anthropology, biology, physiology, and psychology have accumulated mountains of material to raise up before mankind in their full scope the tasks of perfecting and developing body and spirit. Psychoanalysis, with the inspired hand of Sigmund Freud, has lifted the cover of the well which is poetically called the "soul." And what has been revealed? Our conscious thought is only a small part of the work of the dark psychic forces. Learned divers descend to the bottom of the ocean and there take photographs of mysterious fishes. Human thought, descending to the bottom of its own psychic sources, must shed light on the most mysterious driving forces of the soul and subject them to reason and to will.

Once he has done with the anarchic forces of his own society, man will set to work on himself, in the pestle and the retort of the chemist. For the first time mankind will regard itself as raw material, or at best as a physical and psychic semifinished product. Socialism will mean a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom in this sense too, that the man of today, with all his contradictions and lack of harmony, will open the road for a new and happier race. □

South African Revolutionists Hail Salvadoran Struggle

[The following statement is taken from the June 1980 issue of *Islandwana*, a journal published by the Islandwana Revolutionary Effort of Azania (South Africa), which reflects the views of one of the currents within the Black Consciousness movement of South Africa.

[Archibald Gardner Dunn, the South African ambassador to El Salvador, was kidnapped on November 28, 1979, by a unit of the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL). He is still being held.]

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The intensification of mass struggle by the El Salvadoran people, particularly since the second half of 1979, has brought victory in sight. The pressure of the Socialist-Worker-Peasant-Student alliance led to contradictions within the murderous junta of the despot, General Carlos Humberto Romero and hence the coup that followed. Imperialist interests, particularly that of the U.S., were threatened. The large land owners, the businessmen and top military officers, true representatives of imperialism, created a reformist "5 man junta," which included 3 civilians.

The promise of social reforms, economic concessions for the workers, a better land deal for peasants was not realised. This semi-civilian junta [was] exposed to be a continuation of old rule in disguise. Hundreds of political prisoners were not released and there were also attempts to cover up the crimes of the former regime. A dozen or so revolutionary and popular organisations set up a coalition to co-ordinate efforts and consistently expose the sell-out nature of the new junta. Their demands were for a democratic people's government.

This mass pressure led again to the collapse of the 5-man junta. The right-wing

Christian Democratic Party filled the political vacuum by offering their services to plots against the continuation of the revolution. However, the demands of the masses were not realised.

Once more the universal imperialist strategy of robbing people of their victory by installing their puppet structures had been crushed! The correctness of the Salvadoran mass struggle was truly reflected by the defection of the government minister of education to the guerrilla forces.

The fascist rule in El Salvador is one of a client state of the U.S. In similar fashion, the fascist settler-colonial regime in South Africa is receiving millions [of dollars] of investments and also military equipment from international imperialism. This is because the Apartheid regime serves as a guardian of imperialist economic interests in that part of the world. The Apartheid rule is being progressively isolated by workers' organisations, student unions, [women's groups] and cultural bodies of the freedom-loving peoples of the world. This has also included calls for withdrawal of foreign investments from racist South Africa.

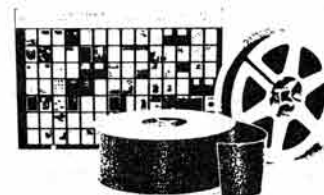
In response, the racist tyranny is attempting to open new channels of friendship with the fascist regimes of Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentine, Chile and El Salvador. They are exchanging S.A. agricultural products for "pampas" beef. There are also plans to transfer hardcore white racist farmers from Southern Africa to settle in these Latin American countries. This will bolster these military states and strengthen ties with racist S.A. with sophisticated weapons through the medium of these regimes.

The similarity of oppression and exploitation in South Africa and Latin America

calls for closer cooperation between Azanian and Latin American revolutionaries. In this background, we hail the action by the El Salvadoran guerrilla group, the Popular Liberation Forces, who are holding hostage S.A. racist representative Archibald Gardner Dunn in San Salvador. This is a revolutionary act consolidating the natural alliance of the Black Azanian masses and El Salvadoran masses. The seizure of this racist criminal is a shining example of unity in struggle on the base of the common enemy, international imperialism.

Azania—El Salvador/Latin America, one people and one struggle!

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'Granma' Interviews Guerrilla Who Infiltrated Lucas Regime

Washington, Guatemala Plot El Salvador Invasion

[The following article by Orestes Valera is reprinted from the September 21 issue of the weekly English-language edition of *Granma*, official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.]

* * *

Elias Barahona Barahona, 37, hails from Zacapa department and has been a member of the Guatemalan guerrilla movement since it came into being. He talked to us candidly and with conviction about his role in Guatemalan political affairs.

At the age of 13, while in junior high school, he was already a member of organizations opposed to the regime. Later he joined the New Revolutionary Organization (NOR), the name of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) before it made itself known publicly.

Although his revolutionary and clandestine activity was not known, of course, he had distinguished himself as a student and labor leader.

Barahona was a leader of the Association of Journalists of Guatemala and a founding member and the first general secretary of the Mass Media Workers Trade Union.

"The Romeo Lucas Garcia regime, and all other capitalist governments, often try to buy or corrupt leaders of the masses.

"They made me several offers to work with them. I consulted my organization and was told to accept a government post.

"I was head of public relations and press chief of the Ministry of the Interior.

"Among other things, the EGP instructed me to find out exactly who controlled the Anticommunist Secret Army (ESA) and the Death Squad, two paramilitary organizations that commit the most horrendous crimes in the country.

"The Minister of the Interior himself, Donaldo Alvarez Ruiz, made things a lot easier for me. One day he asked me what we could do to justify so many deaths and then suggested some ideas."

Barahona said that the minister told him, "You should say that the extremists are killing each other off in order to distort the real meaning and origin of the revolutionary struggle and making it appear to be a battle between the 'extreme left' and the 'extreme right,' not a genuine confrontation between the revolutionary popular forces and the murderous Guatemalan regime.

"Minister Alvarez took several sheets of paper from his briefcase printed with ESA and Death Squad seals. They contained a list of 36 names. Then he cynically told me, 'This means that ESA is back in action and has sentenced these people to death.'

"After President Lucas reviewed the list, he ordered Héctor Montalván, head of the presidential general staff, to have the people killed.

"I know who belongs to ESA and the Death Squad. The Death Squad is made up of members of the secret police, that is the political police of the national police force, and ESA is made up of army, security, intelligence and counterintelligence officers who are trained in Israel, Chile and Argentina.

"ESA has murdered many journalists. I was able to save Byron Barreras and other journalists when the killing started."

The minister of the interior and the president review the lists and give the order to kill opponents, Barahona asserted.

He also charged that Somoza's National Guard is being organized in Guatemala. "I had firsthand knowledge of the organizational and logistical backing provided by the United States and Israel to the Somozas, who are also getting financial aid from Somoza himself. At least 5,000 of them are undergoing military training on farms in northern and southern Guatemala, disguised as peasants, to prepare for an invasion of El Salvador and Nicaragua. That is their main objective."

The killings and disappearance of Nicaraguan citizens in Guatemala are part of "the same struggle which the regime has begun against the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua."

Regarding imperialism's plans for an attack on El Salvador, Barahona said,

"Top-ranking military sources assured me that Lucas ordered his defense minister, General Aníbal Guevara Rodríguez, to draw up a plan to pool the two armies for an invasion of El Salvador and that the invasion would have the covert backing of the United States." The EGP member added that there is a secret agreement between the junta in El Salvador and the Government of Guatemala on military intervention, allegedly to fight off "a communist invasion and the intervention of powers from another hemisphere."

The Argentine intelligence service is training Somozaist forces in Honduras who are being coordinated with those in Guatemala for the invasion, Barahona stated.

Regarding the massacre by the Guatemalan regime at the Spanish embassy when it was taken over by peasants from El Quiché, Barahona said that he was with the minister of the interior and with Foreign Minister Castillo Valdés. They both refused to answer the telephone call the Spanish ambassador made asking that the police leave the area. Meanwhile, on another phone they ordered the police to "Get them out of there, no matter how." Those orders were issued by Lucas himself.

Regarding Belize, Barahona said that Guatemala has always done what the United States has asked, namely accepting a piece of Belizean territory, allowing Belize to set up military bases and preventing the establishment of a democratic and popular government there.

Barahona concluded by saying that the people of Guatemala support every operation against the military regime and that the majority of the population, made up of Indians, have joined the guerrillas and know what they are fighting for. □

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