

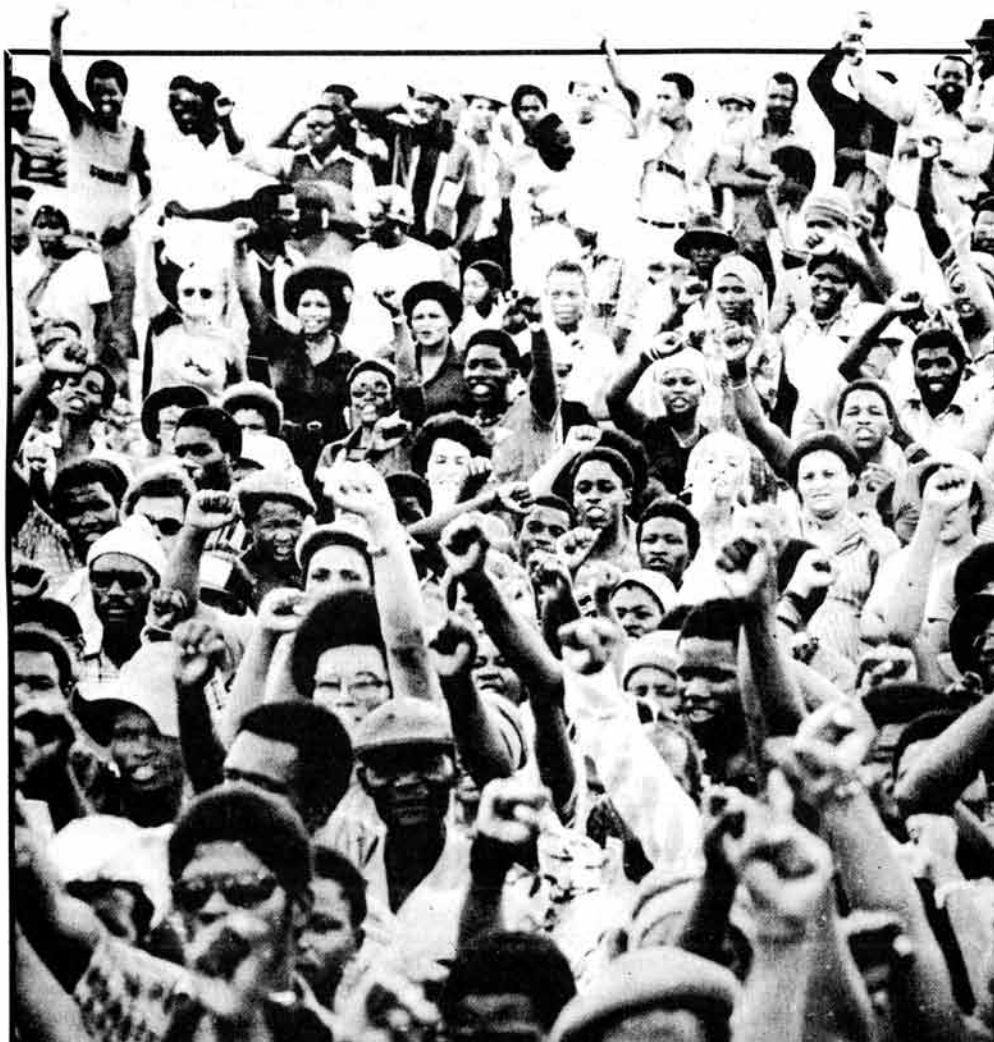
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SWAPO supporters rally for Namibian independence.

Reagan Targets African Freedom Struggles

**British Workers
Protest Tory
Austerity Policies**

Workers Unity Party Resolution

**Theses on the
Iranian Revolution**

Reagan's Nicaragua policy—arm terrorists, blame victim

By Fred Murphy

Washington's campaign against the Nicaraguan revolution has been stepped up another notch.

On June 2 the *Washington Post* carried a front-page story headlined "Nicaraguans Said to Get Soviet Tanks." State Department correspondent John M. Goshko served as the conduit for an "intelligence leak" similar to the ones that launched Reagan's hue-and-cry over "communist interference in El Salvador" back in February.

"U.S. officials believe that several Soviet T55 heavy tanks recently were shipped secretly to Nicaragua," Goshko wrote, "as the first step in a long-rumored plan to equip the Nicaraguan armed forces with Soviet weapons including tanks and Mig jets."

The *New York Times* joined the bandwagon the following day, reporting the State Department's acknowledgment "that it had received unverified reports that Soviet T-55 tanks might have been shipped from Cuba to Nicaragua."

Other administration officials cited by the *Times* admitted that "there was no hard evidence." Nonetheless, they said, "Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig was convinced that the reports were accurate."

The allegations about Soviet tanks, jets, and other armaments were followed up on June 3 with a more general blast at both Cuba and Nicaragua. Addressing the Council of the Americas, a group of top U.S. businessmen with investments in Latin America, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders charged that "Cuba is now attempting to build up Nicaragua as a forward base of operations with a large army and intelligence apparatus already in place, supported by 600 to 800 Cuban military advisers."

Enders accused Cuba of having "declared covert war on its neighbors—our neighbors." He then threatened "to bring the cost of that war back to Havana."

In Nicaragua, the revolutionary government responded sharply to the escalation of Washington's threats. "We do not have to render accounts to anyone," Defense Minister Humberto Ortega told a news conference June 4, "much less to those who are campaigning against us."

Ortega explained that the revolution had been under attack ever since the overthrow of the Somoza regime on July 19, 1979. Now, he said, the enemies of the revolution are openly preparing for a military invasion and even have training camps on U.S. territory. Therefore, Ortega said:

"We have the sovereign right and the revolutionary and patriotic duty to arm our people and to defend the country and the revolution.

Yes, we are strengthening our defense. Our fighters are learning how to handle various kinds of arms. We have an army; we need to strengthen our army and we know we need tanks, artillery, and planes.

"Which tanks, which planes? Are they already here? That would be to violate a military secret and make the imperialists' intelligence work here in Nicaragua easier. We aren't going to facilitate the work of our enemies."

Humberto Ortega pointed out that at the time of the revolutionary victory, Nicaragua was a poor, destroyed, and looted country. The new government thus was determined not to spend any of its scarce resources on arms. The Sandinistas approached a number of countries—including the United States—in an effort to obtain military aid.

"So we have not spent a single centavo. We have obtained arms from those who have made their own sovereign decisions to support our process. We do not have to render accounts to anyone; we do not have to ask permission from anyone."

Ortega answered the State Department by emphasizing that Nicaragua's military concerns are strictly defensive: "What we want is to create a solid wall—not only military but political and moral as well—against which those who venture to attack our sovereign country or try to destroy our revolution will be shattered."

Washington's portrayal of Nicaragua's de-

fense effort as a sinister Cuban-Soviet plot is thoroughly hypocritical. The aim is to distract attention from Reagan's own preparations for counterrevolutionary action against Nicaragua.

A key role in the imperialists' plan has been assigned to the military regime in Honduras. Nicaragua has suffered nearly 100 military attacks this year from across its northern border. These have been carried out by gangs of Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen, who operate with impunity from camps in southern Honduras. Units of the regular Honduran army have participated in such attacks as well.

During a visit to Honduras in mid-May, State Department aide Gen. Vernon Walters announced that Washington was doubling military assistance to that country to \$10 million in fiscal 1982. That will make Honduras the third largest recipient of U.S. military aid in Latin America. Some 7,000 tons of weapons, vehicles, radar, and other sophisticated hardware have already been delivered by the Pentagon.

Honduras also recently received sixteen British Scorpion tanks. It has the best air force in Central America, including six Israeli-modified French Super-Mystère jet fighters. Nicaragua, on the other hand, has virtually no air force at all.

As Humberto Ortega noted, Washington also tolerates—and probably aids—armed Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries that operate training camps in southern Florida.

On June 2, Dean Fischer of the State Department held out the possibility that Washington might resume economic aid to Nicaragua. All that was required, he said, was for the Sandinistas to stop their alleged aid to Salvadoran revolutionaries and halt Nicaragua's "involvement in international terrorism."

The Nicaraguans can be excused if they are

Letelier killers go free

Two of the terrorists who killed Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier in Washington in 1976 have been set free after less than two years in jail.

Guillermo Novo Sampol and Alvin Ross Díaz—both members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement, a front for the gang of counterrevolutionary killers known as Omega 7—were convicted by a U.S. court in 1979 for their role in bombing Letelier's car and killing both Letelier and an aide, Roni Moffitt.

Also convicted at that time was Michael Townley, a U.S.-born member of the Chilean secret police. For a reduced sentence, Townley admitted planting the bomb and named Novo and Ross as accomplices, as well as two other Omega 7 members who are still at large.

Novo and Ross were sentenced to life imprisonment, but last September an ap-

peals court ordered a new trial. The court claimed testimony by their prison cellmates had been improperly used, but it admitted that the evidence showed the killers were guilty as charged.

On May 30 a jury acquitted the two Cuban terrorists and they were released.

Last September's court decision came four days after members of Omega 7 had assassinated Félix García, a member of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

And three days after that military authorities in Venezuela announced plans to release four terrorists who blew up a Cuban plane in 1976, killing more than seventy persons. Two of the four were Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles.

The freeing of Novo and Ross is a new signal that, as far as Washington is concerned, anything goes in its reactionary war against the government of Fidel Castro.

skeptical about the offer and consider Fischer's second condition a vile slander. He was, after all, speaking for a government that shelters terrorists on its own soil, is about to resume aid to the terrorist dictatorship in Guatemala, has just allowed the killers of Chilean leader Orlando Letelier to go scot free, and embraces the generals who have terrorized the Argentine people for more than five years. □

U.S.-backed exiles train for invasion

By Nelson González

[The following article appeared in the June 12 issue of the U.S. revolutionary-socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

In Miami, Florida, Cuban exiles and followers of the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza are openly operating terrorist training camps.

Noticias del Mundo, the right-wing daily put out by Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, published an exclusive story on the training camps in a May 20 special supplement.

The exiles are publicly preparing for what they call "zero hour"—the signal to participate in a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua or Cuba.

Their operations obviously have the go-ahead from the U.S. government, despite the fact that the camps are clearly in violation of U.S. law. The organizers formally deny CIA ties. Similar denials were made by similar types before the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. Afterward, the invaders admitted having been organized, trained, supplied, and directed by the CIA.

Noticias del Mundo describes a very large, well-equipped, and sophisticated military camp.

The reporters describe being taken to "the vast and dangerous training camps where scores of Cubans and Nicaraguans . . . have been receiving training for some time at the level of 'Special Forces,' that is, training as sub-officers and officers in order to lead . . . platoons and companies."

Commander-in-Chief Jorge González declares, "Things are in our favor," and "zero hour is a lot closer than anyone imagines."

The article reports that most of the arms found in the training camp have been obtained "legally." González says they don't use explosives at the camp, but promises that "we will not be without them" when "zero hour comes."

"We are using the same arms that the Green Berets used in Vietnam," boasts González. Where do the arms come from? The *Noticias* reporter was too polite to probe further.

Noticias reports that the hundreds of trainees are specialists in "self-defense, demolition, explosives, communications, etc. . . ."

Many Cuban terrorist groups are involved in

the operation, including Brigade 2506, Internal Front of Anticommunist Liberation, and Martí Insurreccional Movement.

The Reagan administration's loud threats to Cuba and moves such as the cutoff of aid to Nicaragua are signals to such counterrevolutionary outfits to become more bold in their crimi-

nal actions. Washington's attacks on the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions carry the threat of a new Vietnam or worse for the American people.

These terrorist camps, which violate U.S. law, should be shut down now and the participants prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

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Hundreds of thousands demand jobs

Workers fighting back against government offensive

By Janice Lynn

A month-long People's March for Jobs culminated in London May 31 with an estimated 125,000 to 150,000 people packing Trafalgar Square. Thousands upon thousands of working people, many carrying their union banners, greeted 500 unemployed workers who had marched across Britain demanding jobs for all.

In cities and towns along the march route, tens of thousands of workers had turned out to show their anger at the rising unemployment rate in Britain and to demonstrate their solidarity with the marchers. The march became a national focus for all workers struggling against spiraling unemployment.

In the city of Sheffield, some 10,000 workers poured into the streets to join the march. They were led by 500 South Yorkshire miners.

More than 2,000 workers joined the Manchester to Stockport leg of the march.

In Chesterfield, 3,000 local people joined the march. And so it went.

The march was organized by several regional units of the Trades Union Congress, Britain's principal labor organization, and supported by the Labour Party.

British government figures put the official unemployment rate at more than 2.5 million. This is 10.3 percent of the working population, the worst unemployment since the depths of the Great Depression of the 1930s. But nearly another million must be added to the official statistics to take into account those who do not register—primarily women.

Since 1975 there has been a disproportionate increase in unemployment among women workers, rising 207 percent as compared to 61 percent for men. An important focus of the London rally was support to the right of women to work.

Youth were also hit exceedingly hard. During 1980 there was a 73 percent increase in the number of youth under twenty-five who became unemployed.

"Workers in Britain today are being deprived of one of the most fundamental human rights—the right to work," pointed out an editorial in the May 28 issue of *Socialist Challenge*, weekly newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

"But unemployment doesn't just affect those without jobs," the editorial continued. "For those in work it is a weapon used by the bosses to hold down wages, attack trade union rights and working conditions."

The huge turnout for the London demonstration and the support received along the route of



Part of the crowd at Trafalgar Square on May 31.

the People's March for Jobs is a reflection of the anger felt by British workers. They are showing they are ready to fight back against the British government's attacks.

This was reflected in the popular slogan chanted throughout the march: "Maggie, Maggie, Out, Out, Out!"—referring to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher has been leading a relentless campaign aimed at trying to break the British workers movement.

But as the jobs march showed, Thatcher is running up against strong working-class resistance. This was also shown in the two huge Labour Party demonstrations against unemployment (150,000 in Liverpool in November 1980 and 100,000 in Glasgow, Scotland in February 1981); in the October 1980 demonstration of 80,000 against Thatcher's war drive and her government's plans to place nuclear missiles in

Britain; and in the leftward movement of the Labour Party. The Labour Party attracted 80,000 new members in 1980.

These developments were also an important factor in the victory won by British miners in February 1981. Threatening a national strike, the miners forced Thatcher to back off from plans for massive pit closings and layoffs.

Since the beginning of 1981 other militant strike actions against redundancies (layoffs) and threats of plant closures have taken place. They have adopted the successful tactics used by workers from the Gardner diesel engine plant in Manchester. In 1980, these workers conducted a seven-week factory occupation that succeeded in forcing management to drop plans for immediate layoffs.

One of the most militant of these new factory occupations has occurred at the Lee Jeans factory in Greenock, near Glasgow. The most-

ly young women workers have been occupying their factory since February 5, protesting plans for the plant's closure.

"Women's jobs are as important as any other," the Lee Jeans workers explain. "And we aim to prove that women can fight for them."

In May, the 250 sit-down strikers at Lee Jeans won important support from British dockers who announced they were refusing to handle Lee Jeans products coming into the country.

A delegation from the Lee Jeans strikers led off the London leg of the jobs march.

Another sit-down strike has been carried out by 650 workers at Laurence Scott Electromotors in Manchester.

In a message to the May 31 London jobs demonstration, these workers said, "We'll be with the People's March because we endorse the fight for the right to work. We're currently in a five week occupation for precisely that, to save jobs and keep 650 workers off the scrap heap."

Autoworkers at the British Leyland SD1 Rovers plant in Solihull are also discussing necessary measures to resist the closing of their auto plant.

The May 28 issue of *Socialist Challenge* declares its support for these struggles and calls for "massive trade union support for those plants in struggle against unemployment," and for "a call by the leaders of the movement for occupations to meet the threat of closure."

Socialist Challenge also calls for a fight by the whole trade-union movement for a thirty-five hour workweek with no loss in pay in order to create hundreds of thousands of jobs; and for "continuing the fight to return a Labour government committed to socialist policies."

More and more British workers are looking

to the Labour Party as the answer to the present economic crisis. One of the most enthusiastically received speakers at the London demonstration was Tony Benn, the most prominent leader of the Labour Party's left wing.

Peking arrests democratic activists

New attempt to stifle dissent

Since early April at least ten prominent activists in the movement to democratize Chinese political life have been arrested by security forces. These arrests mark a further clamp down on the dissent that emerged in China following the death of Mao Zedong.

The current repression began with the removal of posters from "Democracy Wall" in Peking, and continued with the jailing of Wei Jing-sheng in October 1979 for "counterrevolutionary activity."

The latest victims of the repression were by and large connected with the unofficial magazines that have sprung up throughout China. The first two arrested—Xu Wenli and Yang Jing—were taken into custody on April 10. Both were connected with the Peking unofficial magazine *April 5 Forum*, which was the most influential journal of the democratic movement in north China, with a circulation of several thousand.

April 5 Forum began publishing on December 10, 1978. Seventeen issues appeared before its suppression in March 1980. But it reemerged with two issues this year before the arrests.

The arrests came shortly after the publication of Document No. 9 of the Central Com-

As *Socialist Challenge* declared, "The People's March is an important beginning. Let's make sure that the militancy and enthusiasm of the march gets turned into action to throw the Tories out!" □

mittee of the Chinese Communist Party, which listed measures to be taken against "illegal journals and organizations."

Another prominent critic, Wang Xizhe, was arrested on April 20 for "antirevolutionary offenses." Wang had been one of the authors of the famous 1974 wall poster issued by three people under the collective name Li Yizhe. He was also the editor of the unofficial magazine *Learners' Bulletin* in Canton.

The Li Yizhe wall poster condemned bureaucratic privilege in China and called for socialist democracy. Its three authors, all former Red Guards, were jailed for several years until their release in December 1978.

Among other figures arrested since April are Fu Sheuqi, editor of *Voice of Democracy*; He Qiu, editor of *Road of the People*; Sun Feng, editor of *Upsurge*; Zhang Yu Lin, editor of *Outcry*; Zhong Yue Giu, editor of *People's Voice* and *Northern River*; Wang Yong Qing, associated with the magazine *Zhi Jiang*; and Tao Sen, a student leader at the Changsha Teacher Training College.

Tao organized a strike last year during the local elections for People's Deputies, charging violations of the election rules by the school authorities. □

Our Iran coverage—a matter of money

In this issue of *Intercontinental Press* there are ten pages of coverage on the Iranian revolution—articles describing the April 25 marches by hundreds of thousands of women on Iran's Women's Day, the statement distributed by the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) at these demonstrations, and the programmatic document adopted by the Workers Unity Party (HVK) at its founding convention in January.

This kind of material is simply not available in any other English-language magazine in the world. And this is the kind of coverage that *IP* has been providing since the beginning of the Iranian revolution, starting with the massive demonstrations and strikes against the monarchy in 1978.

IP correspondents were on the scene during the February 1979 insurrection that toppled the shah. In the following months *IP* correspondents filed firsthand reports on the struggles of Iran's oppressed nationalities, interviews with workers on the class

struggle in the factories, and recorded the development of the revolutionary socialist movement in Iran.

Following the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, *IP* carried on-the-spot reports describing the massive anti-imperialist mobilization of the Iranian people, as well as the development of workers committees (*shoras*) in the factories.

When the U.S. government sought to whip up a war hysteria against Iran, stepping up its economic and military pressure against the revolution, we analyzed and exposed the imperialist moves week by week, describing the reaction among U.S. workers and explaining the stakes involved.

With the Iraqi invasion of Iran, *IP* again informed readers of what was happening and laid bare the class forces behind the events.

Today *IP* continues to report on developments in the class struggle, both among the

urban workers and in the countryside, to keep our readers abreast of events in the Iraqi-imposed war, and to make key documents of the Iranian revolutionary socialist movement available in English. Hardly any of this material can be found in the capitalist press.

One reason why we are unable to provide even more coverage on the Iranian revolution—and on all the other key areas of the class struggle around the world—is that our present financial difficulties have forced us to print more twenty-four-page issues of *IP* and fewer thirty-two-page issues.

But our readers can make a big difference. You can help *IP* to continue providing the kind of in-depth coverage that has become known around the world by sending a contribution. Help get out the truth about the Iranian revolution.

Please send whatever you can afford today. Mail it to: *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Reagan targets freedom struggles

New steps to cement South African alliance

By Ernest Harsch

"Constructive engagement" is the phrase the Reagan administration has adopted for its new policy toward South Africa.

In more everyday language, that simply means that the long-standing alliance between Washington and the barbaric apartheid regime has been brought out into the open. It also marks the first step in a new U.S.-South African offensive against the liberation movements of southern Africa.

Although this is a key part of Reagan's "new direction" toward Africa, it is only one aspect of it.

Reagan's target is the entire African continent. As in Latin America and the Caribbean, his administration is acting to bolster the most brutal proimperialist regimes and is seeking ways to intervene against struggles for national liberation and social progress.

War against Namibia

The announcement of the policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa came on May 16, after two days of talks in Washington between South African Foreign Minister Roelof "Pik" Botha and various White House officials, including Reagan himself. The talks were officially described as "friendly."

At the heart of the discussions was the Namibian independence struggle.

The demands of the more than one million Namibians are straightforward: They want an end to the apartheid regime's racist and oppressive colonial rule and they want the establishment of a genuinely independent state.

But rather than accede to these widespread demands, the apartheid regime in Pretoria has sent in more than 60,000 troops to terrorize the Namibian population and to strike at the main proindependence group, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

While previous U.S. administrations at least felt obliged to criticize Pretoria's continued occupation of Namibia, Reagan has decided to drop such condemnations.

According to administration documents and interviews with White House officials cited by Leslie H. Gelb in the June 1 *New York Times*, a central aim of Reagan's policy toward Namibia is to meet Pretoria's "major concerns." This includes stalling on independence for as long as possible.

A February 7 memorandum drafted by Chester A. Crocker, Reagan's appointee as assistant secretary of state for African affairs, and subsequently approved by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, stated that Pretoria and its white allies in Namibia "need 12 to 18

months, they believe, to get into a better position to compete with Swapo."

The way Pretoria "competes" with SWAPO is to carry out massive terror against Namibia's overwhelmingly Black population. Much of the country has been placed under martial law, giving the South African troops complete freedom to shoot anyone they please.

Tens of thousands of villagers have been driven out of their homes, particularly in the northern region of Ovamboland, which accounts for nearly half of Namibia's population and from which SWAPO draws much of its support. Public demonstrations are frequently met with police attacks and mass arrests. Political prisoners are routinely tortured.

According to a letter in the *Windhoek Observer*, one of the main newspapers in Namibia, "Today's stories from the north are incredible, they tell of villagers being rounded up and men and women of all ages made to lie on their stomachs in long queues for hours on end, innocent people being beaten up mercilessly and houses burnt down to ashes."

'Independence' à la Reagan

As a diplomatic cover for supporting such actions, the Reagan administration has floated new proposals for negotiations on its stunted version of Namibian independence.

Key to the new proposals is that Namibia achieve its independence only after a new constitution has been drawn up and elections have been held—both while Namibia is still under direct South African control. The constitution would include political and economic "guarantees" for the white minority in Namibia and for Pretoria itself.

Under the conditions proposed for the elections, Pretoria would be in a very strong position to push forward the main pro-South African formation, known as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, and to hinder SWAPO from mobilizing its supporters. This is especially important for the apartheid regime, since even some South African officials have admitted that SWAPO would easily win free elections.

These proposals, which were first raised by Crocker during a tour of southern Africa in April, are aimed at preventing SWAPO from coming to power and at setting up a quisling "independent" government that will still be subservient to Pretoria.

The White House has met with widespread African opposition to these proposals. According to Theo Ben Gurirab, the head of the SWAPO observer Mission to the United Nations, "What the Americans are proposing represents a big shift towards the South Africans

whose aim has always been to impose a solution on the people of Namibia. We can determine our own constitutional future without them."

When Crocker toured southern Africa, he also faced opposition from most of the independent Black governments in the region.

Targeting Angola

Of particular importance has been Angola's position. The Angolan government has given significant political support to SWAPO and allows Namibian refugees and freedom fighters to use Angola as a sanctuary (Namibia and Angola have a long common border).

In a May Day speech, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos reiterated his government's backing for the struggle of the Namibian people, as well as for the South African liberation movements. He specifically rejected the Namibia proposals Crocker had presented during his stopover in Angola.

In response to the Angolan government's refusal to bow before Washington's dictates, the Reagan administration has escalated its threats against Angola—and against the thousands of Cuban troops who are still based in Angola as a deterrent to a new South African invasion.

Summarizing Washington's stance in his *Times* article, Gelb reported: "Angola is to be asked both to obtain a withdrawal of Cuban forces from its territory and to share power within Angola with Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Western-backed Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]."

The February 7 memorandum drawn up by Crocker stated that U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Angolan government "is out unless the Cubans leave and they cut a deal with Savimbi." It then warned, ominously, that "if they won't play, we have other options."

These U.S. demands are outrageous. They are an arrogant violation of Angolan sovereignty and are aimed at undermining the Angolan government itself.

The Cuban troops first arrived in 1975, at the invitation of the Angolan government, after South African forces had invaded the country. The Cubans were decisive in helping to drive the South African troops out.

Since then, however, Pretoria has continued its attacks on Angola, sending in bombers against Namibian refugee camps and destroying Angolan roads, bridges, and villages. Thousands of Angolans and Namibians have been killed in these actions.

Although the Angolan government has decided to rely on its own forces to try to repulse

these almost daily incursions, it has asked the Cubans to remain in Angola as a safeguard against another massive South African invasion.

That is exactly what concerns Reagan. The very presence of the Cubans in Angola makes it much more difficult for Washington and Pretoria to pressure the Angolan regime, or to try to overthrow it. It also gives political encouragement to the Namibian freedom fighters based in Angola.

One of the "options" that Crocker's memorandum alluded to was stepped-up support to the proimperialist UNITA. The Reagan administration has already asked Congress to repeal legislation that bars open U.S. aid to UNITA.

Contrary to White House claims, UNITA has little popular support left within Angola. Following its defeat in the 1975-76 civil war, the group moved its main bases into South African-controlled Namibia. It has survived only thanks to substantial South African assistance and military back-up. In fact, many of the attacks within Angola that are claimed by UNITA are actually carried out by South African forces.

Thus the Crocker memorandum's proposal that steps be taken to "lend political support and legitimacy to Savimbi" actually amounts to giving a green light to further South African attacks on Angola.

Embracing the 'polecat'

The Reagan administration's closer collaboration with the apartheid regime goes far beyond the adoption of joint policies toward Namibia and Angola. The White House is seeking to strengthen Pretoria against its own rebellious Black majority, and to enable it to intervene elsewhere in southern Africa in defense of imperialist interests.

One White House document, cited in the May 29 *Washington Post*, stated that the aim of the Reagan administration is to "work to end South Africa's polecat status in the world and seek to restore its place as a legitimate and important regional actor with whom we can cooperate pragmatically."

Reagan has already taken a number of steps to help Pretoria lessen its "polecat status."

In March, five senior South African military officials were allowed to visit the United States and hold talks with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick. This was a violation of the UN arms embargo on South Africa.

More concrete steps are also in the offing. The Crocker memorandum proposed the easing of restrictions on U.S. exports to South Africa, the "normalization of our military attaché relationship," and "moving ahead on our stalled nuclear relations."

In addition, the May issue of the London monthly *Africa* magazine reported that the National Security Council "is actively reconsidering the idea floated a few years ago of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) in which South Africa would be a dominant force in an alliance including conservative Latin American members of the Organization of American



States (OAS). These would include Brazil, Argentine, Paraguay and Uruguay with which South Africa is already on friendly terms."

Dissension in Paris

The Reagan administration's new policy toward southern Africa has caused some concern among its imperialist allies. They fear the kind of opposition throughout Africa that a more open alliance with Pretoria would arouse.

Gelb reported in his June 1 *Times* article, "Britain, France, West Germany and Canada, which together form the so-called 'contact group' that has been working with Washington on southern Africa, are said to be skeptical of the new approach and somewhat annoyed that it was formulated without consultation."

With the election of Socialist Party leader François Mitterrand as president of France, the differences between Paris and Washington toward southern Africa are becoming particularly sharp. Claude Cheysson, the new French foreign minister, declared at an anti-apartheid conference in Paris May 25 that his government would support African liberation movements and back economic sanctions against South Africa.

This would mark a major shift in French policy, with far-reaching repercussions throughout Africa. The former government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing had promoted trade and major arms sales to South Africa, and sent French troops into Chad, Zaire, the Central African Republic, and other countries to put down popular uprisings and safeguard imperialist domination.

As the Reagan administration sees it, the fact that it will not be able to rely on Mitterrand as it had on Giscard underscores the need for Washington to step in more directly itself. It had begun moving in that direction even before Mitterrand came to power.

Intervention and destabilization

Since Reagan's inauguration, Washington has taken major steps to build up its military facilities in Africa and to bolster various proimperialist regimes. These steps include:

- The sale of tanks and jet fighters to the Moroccan monarchy of King Hassan, who is seeking to put down the independence struggle of the people of Western Sahara, a territory

unilaterally annexed by Morocco in 1975.

- The allocation of \$106.4 million for renovation of the Ras Banas military base in Egypt for use by Washington's Rapid Deployment Force.

- Improvements at the Berbera naval base in Somalia, and the provision of \$20 million worth of arms to the Somali dictatorship.

- The granting of \$100 million worth of military assistance to the Sudanese regime, and consideration of the development of the Sudanese port of Sawakin as a U.S. naval facility.

- The sending of 100 Green Berets to the West African country of Liberia for a month of military maneuvers with the Liberian forces, the first such joint maneuvers since World War II.

In addition, the Reagan administration has been seeking to destabilize independent African governments that are critical of U.S. policy.

Near the top of the list is the Libyan regime of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi. Accusing the Qaddafi regime of being a "patron saint of terrorism," Washington announced on June 2 that it would give aid to any African regime that opposed Qaddafi. This was tantamount to a call for a direct attack on Libya.

What really concerns the Reagan administration is the Qaddafi regime's support for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Western Saharan independence struggle, the Nicaraguan and Grenadian governments, and other forces that are in conflict with imperialism.

Besides the recent moves against Angola and Libya, the White House has cut off food aid to Mozambique in reprisal for its expulsion of several CIA agents and has ended \$4.7 million in economic assistance to the Republic of Benin, which has been critical of U.S. policy.

The arms aid to the Somali regime, moreover, is another direct threat to the Ethiopian revolution. (The Somali regime invaded Ethiopia in 1977-78, with U.S. encouragement and backing.)

The Reagan administration's "new direction" toward Africa is a serious threat to the sovereignty of the African peoples, and can cause considerable suffering.

But it will not go unchallenged. Reagan's moves have already aroused important opposition within the United States. And despite the new imperialist threats and attacks, the African masses have not been intimidated.

Just as the U.S. and South African regimes were drawing closer together, the apartheid authorities were facing new strikes by Black workers and a series of demonstrations and boycotts around the country to protest the twentieth anniversary of South Africa's proclamation as a white supremacist "republic."

Summing up the Reagan administration's prospects on the continent, the May *Africa* commented, "Twenty years ago the US embarked on a course of collision for identical reasons in Latin America. It was defeated on the shores of Cuba. Reagan may face his own diplomatic Bay of Pigs in Africa." □

Socialists rest their case

Government's defense of political police in trouble

By Tom Martin

NEW YORK CITY—Socialists who are putting the United States government on trial in the federal courthouse here wound up the presentation of their case on May 29.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) are demanding \$40 million in damages for illegal acts against them by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other government agencies; an injunction against such activity in the future; and a ruling that the undemocratic laws cited as a basis for investigating them are unconstitutional.

The trial, originally expected to last only a few weeks, has already dragged on for two months. Key leaders of the SWP have spent up to a week on the stand as government lawyers have cross-examined them from every possible angle.

Judge Thomas P. Griesa has grown increasingly impatient with what he frequently describes as "nitpicking." After the first exchange in the government's cross-examination of SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters on May 29, the judge told defense attorney Edward Williams: "We knew that before you even asked the question . . . Let's not spend that much time."

Later the courtroom erupted in laughter when Griesa interrupted Williams to say that he wanted the SWP and YSA lawyers to be able to rest their case that evening—so Williams had six minutes left!

Judge Griesa's irritation reflects the size of the government's problem. Its approach was summed up in the opening statement by defense attorney Peter Salerno: "Contrary to the SWP's statement, we believe that the evidence will show that the public statements are a sham, that they do not reveal to the public everything that they believe. We believe that this is very important."

In other words, the defense case is that the SWP and YSA leaders are accomplished liars. The idea is that sooner or later they will let something slip under cross-examination, revealing their true colors as a "terrorist" support group or worse. The problem is that after eight weeks the government is still waiting. And the judge is getting restless.

A class in revolutionary Marxism

Of course, this line of argument reveals more about capitalist politics than anything else. SWP member Mel Mason, an elected city councillor in Seaside, California, neatly turned the tables on the government when asked whether his party membership didn't mean that

he was under the control of the SWP rather than the voters who elected him.

No, said Mason, that's not a problem, explaining that the political discipline of the SWP relates to its program. "Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, I'm fighting for the same program in office as the one I was elected on."

That is what the case is all about. The Trotskyists are quite open about their politics because they have nothing to hide. Which leaves the government guilty of disrupting the SWP and YSA simply because of their revolutionary ideas.

This has allowed the Trotskyists to go into these ideas in some detail. At times the courtroom has almost turned into a class in revolutionary Marxist politics. On most days the benches—which in any other case would be practically empty—are packed by SWP and YSA members, many of whom have brought along co-workers from the mines, railroads and auto

Who's for violence?

It's hard on the U.S. government, but real life has a way of backing up key points in the trial testimony of SWP and YSA leaders.

For instance, they have explained over and over again that it's not the socialists who want to take up arms and use violence. But they predict that the minority ruling class will "seek to overthrow with force and violence" any free expression of the majority will, and they advise the working class to prepare itself accordingly.

The court hasn't seemed too convinced about this. After all, the judge is himself part of the capitalist state apparatus. But what happens in the midst of the trial? A secret Masonic lodge is uncovered in Italy which includes cabinet ministers, members of parliament, generals, bankers, judges, journalists and other leading members of the ruling class.

Its purpose? The May 28 *New York Times* quoted "a ranking Western diplomat" as saying: "If the membership list is even partly true, the organization seems to have been created as a contingency structure to prevent the Communists from coming to power the way Allende did in Chile."

Allende came to power through an election, and he was ousted by a bloody military coup.

Makes the socialist position seem pretty sensible, doesn't it?

plants to help spread the word about the socialists' fight.

Those attending the trial have certainly been able to learn plenty about the realities of capitalist rule. While the Trotskyists have explained in depth their commitment to socialist democracy, the testimony of government officials called by the SWP and YSA has shown that there is nothing democratic about what goes on in Washington. As FBI agent Charles Mandigo put it, the agency bases itself not on the laws adopted by any elected body but on "independent authority underneath the President of the United States."

The "totalitarian" tag which the defense has tried so hard to pin on the SWP and YSA is actually an apt description of the methods employed by the government.

Defense based on 'national security'

How the government hopes to regain the initiative when it moves on to present its defense case this week is not clear. A sign of its present thinking came on May 26, however, when Judge Griesa announced his ruling on a secret affidavit submitted by Mandigo which the SWP and YSA lawyers had not been allowed to see.

The secret affidavit was prepared in an attempt to substantiate an assertion by the defense in a pre-trial hearing that SWP leaders had engaged in "loads of illegal activities." And as the rest of the government case crumbled—including a public affidavit from Mandigo which was exposed as a tissue of lies, distortions, and half-truths—the secret affidavit became more and more crucial to its defense.

The judge's ruling, which in part represents an agreement with the government, now declares that the material in the affidavit cannot be considered as evidence in the case—either in this court or at appeal. All that is left to the government is the right to move dismissal of the case on the grounds that it was unable to put up an adequate defense because of the "necessary secrecy of certain evidence."

This would be an extraordinary development. It would mean saying that the government is untouchable—that "national security" can be used to trump any accusation, no matter how damning. The fact that the government is already giving open consideration to this option is a startling admission of the weakness of its case.

Yet this development in the trial, like others before it, has been studiously ignored by the media. Too much is at stake for a ruling class whose policies face a growing tide of resistance today, summed up in the popular slogan "Jobs not War." Far from being apologetic about the FBI's past role, the government is now busy preparing to pick up where it left off in disrupting its opponents' activities.

FBI files still there

The FBI investigation of the SWP and YSA was publicly terminated in September 1976. The reason given was the new guidelines imposed at the time for intelligence investiga-

tions. But as Justice Department official Robert Keuch has testified, U.S. officials did not think the SWP and YSA had changed. The FBI, indeed, saw no reason not to carry on under the guidelines. And they weren't the only ones.

As Keuch testified in relation to the termination of the SWP and YSA investigation: "I am not going to leave you with the impression that that was a unanimous decision. There were many people who looked at this record, who looked at the activities and statements and the loyalties of the organizations and their members, who made a contrary determination."

The decision was that of the Attorney General alone—and of course it had nothing to do with the fact that the SWP and YSA were putting the FBI on trial!

Any investigation which can be turned off like that can just as easily be turned on again. They still have the files. Indeed, the government even claims the right to continue disseminating information from them. Fifteen socialists were recently fired by Lockheed in Georgia after the firm's security officer contacted the FBI for information about their affiliation with the SWP.

The NASSCO frame-up

An even clearer indication that the "guidelines" are a fake can be seen in another court case which is coming to an end. Here the victims are three union activists at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO) in San Diego.

These three, two of them members of the Communist Workers Party, took a lead in fighting for better health and safety conditions. So NASSCO, the FBI, and the local police got together to set them up.

A suitable fink was found and given \$5,000



MEL MASON

Andy Rose/Militant

in "expenses" by the FBI. Wired for sound, he repeatedly argued with the unionists that only bombs would make the company listen. He gave them an instruction manual; then he himself, using his "expenses," purchased the ingredients, oversaw the construction of the bombs, and supervised their testing.

The bombs were never used. Without the FBI they would never even have existed. But it

is the trade unionists who are being charged with "conspiracy."

The NASSCO case is a sign of what government agencies would like to do to anyone who opposes capitalist rule, or who even stands up against its worst abuses. That is why the SWP/YSA case is so crucially important for the struggles of all working people.

May 31, 1981

Statement of the Fourth International

[The following are excerpts from a statement passed in early May by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The SWP and YSA lawsuit has played a central role in uncovering some of the crimes of the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies within the U.S. The suit forced the U.S. government to release tens of thousands of pages of hitherto secret documents.

Among other revelations, the SWP and YSA lawsuit uncovered:

- Documented proof of FBI burglaries of SWP national headquarters;
- Extensive spying directed not only against the SWP, the YSA and other left political parties, but against the Black, the antiwar, the women's liberation, and the Chicano movements;
- FBI visits to landlords, employers and relatives leading to loss of jobs and housing;
- The use of informers to spy on people, steal records and instigate provocations;
- Bugging of telephones;
- Opening and copying private correspondence;
- Using bomb threats and physical violence;
- The existence of an "SWP Disruption Program"—a specific government program started in 1961 to spy on and try to disrupt the political activities of the SWP and the YSA.

The documents show how the FBI plotted against the Black movement, how it tried to drive union militants from their jobs, and how it tried to prevent the rise of the movement against the war in Vietnam.

Documents have disclosed how the Immigration and Naturalization Service maintains a blacklist used to harass, exclude and deport non-U.S. citizens. It was shown how the INS acts in collusion with the secret police agencies of other governments, including the racist regime of South Africa, and has had a special relationship with police agencies in Canada and Mexico. The SWP and YSA lawsuit in addition brought to light many of the U.S. government's international operations. In 1976 the CIA was forced to hand over to the socialists

hundreds of documents on its secret operations around the world, although this was only a small portion of its massive file on the world Trotskyist movement and was of course heavily censored before being delivered to the socialists' attorneys.

The lawsuit has effectively exposed the real content of the policy of the American government vis-à-vis democratic rights—its use of informers, electronic surveillance, interception of mail, burglaries, blacklist, etc., all directed against legal political organizations solely on the basis of their political ideas. This extensive use of the secret political police in the United States shows that this type of massive, undercover repressive apparatus is not just restricted to police states and military dictatorships but, on the contrary, is part and parcel of capitalist rule, even in the bourgeois democratic countries.

Through their battle with the U.S. government, the comrades of the SWP and the YSA also have been able to take advantage of the courtroom confrontation to explain and popularize their political ideas and positions, answer the government's slanderous charges concerning "terrorism" and "subversion," and openly assert the revolutionary Marxist program to "educate and organize the working class to establish a workers government in order to abolish capitalism and achieve socialism." In this sense, the trial is also one of Marxism and the basic ideas of scientific socialism and an important instrument in fighting the attempts of the U.S. government to present the defense of these ideas and the activities based on them as criminal activities.

The legal argumentation of the U.S. government and its attempts to resurrect the McCarthy period witch-hunt legislation aimed at suppressing socialist ideas and activities is part of a broader drive by the U.S. government against democratic rights and the opposition of the working people to imperialist remilitarization.

The SWP and YSA lawsuit represents an important fightback against the U.S. government's policies and for the political rights of all working people.

A victory would be a victory for every trade unionist, Black activist, feminist, and opponent of the U.S. government's policies.

Mothers of martyrs meet

1,000 women at militant Sandinista gathering

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Close to a thousand women whose sons and daughters were killed by Somoza's National Guard gathered here Sunday May 24 for the First National Assembly of Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs.

They came in buses from every part of Nicaragua. Overwhelmingly, they came from the poorest classes—campesinas, tobacco and textile workers, domestic servants, women from the working-class barrios of Managua and other cities.

A number of the martyrs of the Sandinista revolution came from Nicaragua's wealthiest families, but their mothers tend not to identify with the cause for which their children died and were not in evidence at the conference.

Several generations were represented. There were women whose children died fighting against Somoza twenty or more years ago. And, because the revolution is less than two years old and many of the National Guard's victims were only children, some of the mothers were young. I talked to one woman, dressed in black for the child she had lost, who was nursing an infant who will grow up in the new Nicaragua.

Except for small boys, a few reporters, and Commander of the Revolution Humberto Ortega, the assembly was virtually all female—and it was one of the most militant Sandinista gatherings I have yet attended in Nicaragua.

No going back

The tone was set in opening remarks by Zulema Baltodano. One of her daughters, Zulemaita, was captured by the National Guard, tortured, and later killed in a bombing raid. Another, Alma Nubia, had both her hands blown off by a bomb. A third, Mónica, is one of three women in Nicaragua with the rank of Guerrilla Commander and was on the stage representing the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

"Nobody should think," Zulema Baltodano warned, "that they can take us back to the past. It can't be done. That's why we too are in the Sandinista People's Militias."

She explained that the determination of the Sandinista mothers grew out of the terrible grief they had suffered.

"We want peace," she explained. "We don't want war. But if in order to achieve the peace we need to rebuild our country, we have to take up arms, we are prepared to do it and even to die as our children died."

In chants and individual remarks, the mothers expressed anger that National Guard members who had tortured and killed their children had been pardoned. Minister of De-

fense Humberto Ortega took up these complaints in his remarks to the conference. He explained that justice was more than just punishing the guilty, but that in this case, clearly, "some people who did not deserve to be set free had been pardoned."

Ortega's mother, Lidia Saavedra de Ortega, was among the women at the assembly. One of her sons, FSLN guerrilla leader Camilo Ortega, was killed in Monimbó in early 1978. Two other sons, Humberto and Daniel, are members of the nine-person FSLN National Directorate.

"The assassins took away our children and left us with nothing but their photographs and school diplomas," said one of the mothers who addressed the crowd.

Many of the women brought photographs with them. One grandmotherly woman showed me her son's wedding picture. Both he and his bride were killed.

Another woman's son was only eleven—the same age as my own son—when he was killed. "Every mother here has a story to tell," one woman told me.

Margarita Hernández's story

One of the most moving stories was told by Margarita Hernández of Managua. Hernández, who described herself as "only a poor woman, a worker, of the people," lost two sons. They were her only children, and she had brought

them up alone.

First she told the story of "one afternoon in March" when she went to a food stand after work and found out that her younger son Otto José had been taken by the National Guard. As she told of five days spent going from police station to police station, hospital to hospital, some women in the audience began to cry quietly as if remembering their own experiences.

Finally Hernández found Otto José's body, brutally beaten and shot. Even then the National Guard captain made her wait all day for permission to remove her son's body, and gave it "on the condition that I bury him immediately and not say anything to anybody."

Hernández's other son was named Franklin. "Franklin was always a very serious boy," she said. "He would always say to me, 'Mama, one day we are going to win, you'll see that some day the Frente is going to win.' And of course that made me sad because I knew that my son might be killed. I didn't want to accept what he was, but in the end you have to accept, you take on the ideals of your children."

Franklin was arrested four times, the final time on a Holy Thursday, after a street battle in which his companion Thelma was killed. Three hundred National Guard surrounded his mother's house and took him away.

A month and a half later she was allowed to visit him in prison. "He was all beaten up, with his fingernails torn out. But my son, when he saw me, put his hand up, with his fist clenched. I was nervous and started to cry. When he saw me crying, he said, 'Don't cry, this business is already over, and we're moving forward.'"

Hernández was only allowed to visit Franklin once more in prison. Then the Guard said she was "one of the mothers of those commu-



Manuela Canales Rodríguez, a campesina from Somotillo, holds photo of her son.

Matilde Zimmermann/IP

nists," and refused to let her see her son any more. Franklin was freed when the FSLN took power July 19, 1979.

"From that moment on," his mother continued, "he worked without stopping, day and night with hardly a moment's sleep. But he worked with great love. Unfortunately he wasn't able to continue, because the morning of January 22, 1980, when he was involved in trying to capture some counterrevolutionaries, an evil son of Nicaragua, a National Guard assassin, took the life of my son."

Hernández was only one of dozens of mothers at the assembly whose sons and daughters have been killed by Somozaist forces since the revolution. More than 100 Nicaraguans—literacy brigade teachers, militia members, and peasants of the northern frontier—have been murdered by bands of ex-National Guard based in Honduras.

These Somozaist terrorists get moral support and undoubtedly more deadly assistance as well from the Reagan administration. So the Sandinistas issued a special public invitation to the ambassadors from the United States and Honduras to attend the mothers' conference.

No one from either embassy showed up. □

France: nuclear reactor at Plogoff cancelled

An important victory was won May 28 when the new Socialist Party government of François Mitterrand announced it was canceling plans to build the controversial nuclear power plant at Plogoff in Brittany.

Plogoff has been the scene of militant anti-nuclear demonstrations. During February and March 1980, residents of this Breton fishing village organized a series of protests against the government's nuclear plans.

The protests were capped by a giant mobilization of some 100,000 the weekend of May 24-25, 1980, in opposition to nuclear power and against construction of the Plogoff nuclear plant.

It was this massive opposition that prompted Mitterrand to make a campaign pledge that no new nuclear plants would be built. The Socialist Party has indicated it plans to restudy the country's nuclear energy policy and conduct a public discussion on this issue.

While antinuclear forces hailed the government's announcement abandoning plans for the Plogoff nuclear reactor, criticism was raised by the French Communist Party, which favors building it.

Intense pressure in support of nuclear energy is also being placed on the Mitterrand government by the nuclear industry. The capitalists have been reaping giant profits from the development of nuclear power, with no regard to its deadly consequences.

There will be a continuing battle in France over the issue of nuclear power and nuclear weapons. Following the Plogoff victory, anti-nuclear forces in France are in a good position to make further gains.

New Zealand

Thousands say 'no tour!'

Protest South African apartheid

More than 75,000 people in twenty-seven New Zealand cities demonstrated their opposition to apartheid May 1 by protesting a forthcoming tour of New Zealand by the South African Springbok rugby team.

For most of the cities, these anti-apartheid marches numbered among the largest protests ever to take place.

More than 30,000 people showed up in Auckland; 15,000 in Wellington and Christchurch; 5,000 in Palmerston North; 2,000 in Dunedin; and hundreds more elsewhere.

"May 1 is traditionally a day of international workers' solidarity," commented the May 15 *Socialist Action*, fortnightly newspaper of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International, "so it was fitting that thousands of New Zealanders took to the streets on that day to show their solidarity with the Black people of South Africa."

One of the most significant aspects of these anti-apartheid actions was the support and participation by the trade unions.

In Auckland, *Socialist Action* reports, trade-union banners were carried by the New Zealand Meat Workers Union, Carpenters Union, Engineering and Related Trades Union, Auckland Clerical Workers Union, Storemen and Packers Union, and the Seamen's Union.

Also represented were different Maori organizations and women's groups, as well as the Labour Party. Maori trade-union leader Syd Jackson thanked the demonstrators for "this expression of solidarity with the Black workers in South Africa. . . ."

At the Wellington protest, president of the Wellington Trades Council Pat Kelly told the marchers that the trade-union movement in New Zealand is determined to fight along with Black workers in South Africa so they can enjoy some of the same rights as New Zealand workers, such as the right to form unions and the right to strike.

Wellington protesters included numerous unionists, representatives of Labour Party branches, women's and student organizations, Christians against the tour, Samoans against the tour, and many others.

At the Christchurch march, more than a dozen trade unions were represented. Sizeable contingents of rank-and-file unionists participated from various factories.

The rally passed a motion calling on the government to stop the tour. □



15,000 people demonstrated in Christchurch on May 1.

Socialists win city council seats

Victory reflects impact of H-Block struggle in North

[On May 20 two members of People's Democracy (PD), the Irish Trotskyist organization, were elected to the Belfast City Council in Northern Ireland. John McAnulty headed the list of candidates in Andersonstown, a republican stronghold, with 2,700 votes. Among those he outpolled was Paddy Devlin, one of the most prominent leaders of the reformist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), which has been the main electoral party among the oppressed Catholic population.

[Fergus O'Hare, another PD member, came in second in his constituency with 1,953 votes. (More than one city councilor can be elected from each district.) A right-wing Protestant candidate from the Democratic Unionist Party came in first in O'Hare's district, while SDLP leader Gerry Fitt won only 541 votes.

[PD has played a prominent role in the National H-Block/Armagh Committee and its campaign for political status for republican prisoners in Northern Ireland.

[In a statement following the election, McAnulty declared: "The primary significance of the election victory is as a message from the Irish people to Margaret Thatcher saying that Bobby Sands's election victory was no mistake and that the Irish people want the five demands of the prisoners and every day she delays, every further death that occurs, will only increase resentment and revulsion to the point where the Irish masses will settle for nothing less than an immediate end to British domination. Secondly, it is a warning to the Irish nationalist parties that their collaboration with imperialism has divorced them from the mass sentiment."

[Referring to Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey and the upcoming general election in the South of Ireland, the statement said: "People's Democracy will call for a united H-Block candidate against Haughey. In the absence of such a candidate, we ourselves will stand."

[Prior to the local government elections in the North, McAnulty argued in the PD newspaper *Socialist Republic* (Vol. 4, no. 3), "The unity behind Bobby Sands in Fermanagh/South Tyrone shows the way toward a broad electoral alliance of all candidates actively supporting the prisoners. A united front of all groups and individuals fighting the election on an anti-imperialist and socialist programme would be an even bigger step forward."

[The following article in the same issue of *Socialist Republic* announced the PD campaign and its election platform.]

* * *

People's Democracy declares its intention of contesting the forthcoming local government elections in the 6 counties. We believe that a



FERGUS O'HARE

boycott is not an effective tactic and that in the elections we can organise against political and economic exploitation of the Irish people. This is especially urgent at a time when we want to see the broadest possible mobilisation around the hunger strike and political status.

We believe that those parties which have refused to support the prisoners and have even attacked them have gone unchallenged far too long. The elections offer an opportunity for a genuine anti-unionist voice to be heard and the election of anti-imperialist candidates will be an effective rebuff to both the British and to those who have claimed to represent us.

The struggle against British rule must use every effective tactic of which the method of contesting elections is only one. Each of the facets of British rule must be challenged and fightbacks organised against their criminalisation policy, their repressive laws, their attacks on the living standards of the working class, their partition of Ireland and maintenance of sectarianism. We do not believe that the election of councillors in itself will solve these problems but it will provide a platform and a means of organising for anti-imperialist workers.

It is over 10 years since PD contested elections in the North. At that time, standing on a Civil Rights platform, the electoral intervention helped to mobilise and strengthen the campaign against the Stormont regime [the now-defunct Northern Ireland Parliament] and was a tactical success. It has become clear that to make a principle of boycotting elections was a mistake and we hope that our intervention in the coming struggle will likewise help to further the Political Status struggle.

PD candidates will stand on our own platform but we believe that there should be maximum unity of anti-imperialists in the election. Thus, we are willing to co-operate with any candidate on the basis of support for the 5 de-



JOHN MCANULTY

mands [of the republican political prisoners], active involvement in the campaign and abstention from councils until resolution of the political status struggle.

PD will stand on the following platform:

1. Defence of the political prisoners and political status.
2. Against partition. Immediate British withdrawal and disbandment of the RUC and UDR [Royal Ulster Constabulary and Ulster Defence Regiment—official repressive bodies responsible for numerous attacks against the oppressed Catholic population].
3. Support for all democratic rights. Defence of the rights of anti-imperialists, trade unionists and women. For affirmative action in employment for anti-unionist [i.e., union with Britain] workers.
4. For a fight against austerity measures and cutbacks, and the building of a fightback in the unions, among the unemployed and in the communities. □

PLO official assassinated

Naim Khader, a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Brussels, was assassinated on his way to work June 1.

Khader had been in Brussels since 1976 as the PLO representative to the European Economic Community (Common Market).

A statement issued by the PLO office in Brussels declared, "This shooting, whose authors are undoubtedly none other than Israeli secret services, adds to the long list of the numerous Palestinian victims of Zionist aggression."

A Brussels police official said the assassination was "the job of a professional." There has been no arrest, and Belgian police claim they have no leads.

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Solidarity with Irish political prisoners!

[The following statement was adopted by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International on May 13.]

* * *

In the early hours of May 5, 1981 Bobby Sands, Irish Republican Army (IRA) volunteer, member of the British Parliament for Fermanagh/South Tyrone, and anti-imperialist fighter, died on hunger-strike.

On May 12 his comrade Francis Hughes, previously wounded and denied adequate medical care by the British army after his arrest, also died on hunger-strike. Three more prisoners in the H-Blocks of Britain's Long Kesh prison in the North of Ireland, are following their example.

These prisoners have made clear that they wish to be treated as political prisoners. They have been convicted under *special* legislation, tried in *special* non-jury Diplock courts, with *special* rules of evidence. In over 80 percent of cases the only "evidence" was the "voluntary confession" of the prisoners themselves.

Reports of Amnesty International, the British government's own Bennett report, and other independent investigations have confirmed the allegations of the prisoners that these incriminating confessions were in most instances extracted through torture. To be subjected to this *special* treatment a suspected person need only, in the words of the British government's own legislation, be suspected of "terrorism," which is defined as "violence for political ends."

The most important demands of the prisoners are to wear their own clothing rather than a prison uniform, not to do prison work, and to be allowed to associate freely with their fellow political prisoners.

The British government, which granted these rights to prisoners before March 1976, now maintains there are no political prisoners, only criminals. They have claimed that the republican prisoners represent only a tiny minority with little support among the Catholic minority living in the six-county statelet of Northern Ireland ruled directly by Britain.

This argument was never anything more than a crude maneuver to hide the political reasons why the predominantly Catholic population in all of Ireland is denied its elementary democratic right to national unity and independence from Britain. Its dishonesty was exposed when Bobby Sands won over 30,000 votes in the Fermanagh/South Tyrone by-election and was elected a member of the British Parliament.

The response of the British government to this mass expression of support for the elementary demands of the prisoners was to prepare to

forcibly crush even further the Catholic population, and to ignore the massive protests around the world against British policies. The British government revealed much more clearly than before its contempt for the political views of the Irish people.

The Thatcher government's policy of deliberately provoking and crushing the republican population of Ireland has been aided by supporters of imperialism in both Britain and Ireland.

The official leadership of the British Labour Party, in a shameful declaration by party leader Michael Foot and Irish spokesperson Don Concannon, uncritically endorsed Thatcher's policy.

In the North of Ireland the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) leadership refused to solidarize with the just demands of Sands, Hughes and the other political prisoners.

In the South the Fianna Fáil government has refused to support the prisoners and has cooperated and negotiated with Thatcher on repression against the republican resistance in the North.

The Catholic church hierarchies of Britain and Ireland, particularly through Cardinal Hume and Bishop Daly, have publicly urged the prisoners to end their struggle and therefore to capitulate to British imperialism.

Against this reactionary alliance defending the British occupation of the North of Ireland, an immense movement of resistance has developed. The hunger-strike of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, and the republican prisoners became in the eyes of the Irish masses, and their allies the world over, a symbol of the struggle against the arrogance, cynicism, and cruelty of British policy in Ireland.

One hundred thousand people attended Bobby Sands's funeral in Belfast, the largest possible anti-imperialist demonstration that could take place in the North of Ireland as the Catholic population there only numbers about 500,000.

In the South of Ireland Bobby Sands's death was followed by street demonstrations and a number of strikes. The massive support of the oppressed Irish people for the just demands of the prisoners forced the SDLP, against the wishes of the party leaders, not to stand a candidate against Bobby Sands in Fermanagh. In the South of Ireland open criticism of Prime Minister Haughey's collaboration with the British government has mounted and the main opposition parties have been silenced after first openly backing Thatcher. Outside Ireland, Britain's policy has even been subject to criticism by some bourgeois forces, particularly in the United States.

But despite this immense opposition, the British government is stepping up its repres-

sive policy. It has mobilized all its armed forces in Ireland and developed a whole apparatus of repression, selective assassination, and "counterinsurgency" which today is being openly used.

In this situation the role of urgent and massive international support for the struggle of the political prisoners in the North of Ireland plays a decisive role. The anti-imperialist movement in Ireland is united within the H-Block/Armagh campaign. It knows that enlisting support from the masses in the South of Ireland is decisive.

But its greatest aid is the international solidarity which both directly weakens and threatens Thatcher and reveals to the Irish people they are not alone in their struggle against British imperialism and those who support it. The demonstrations and protests in many countries, and actions such as in Iran where a street has been renamed after Bobby Sands, are the greatest support possible for the Irish people and are direct blows against British imperialism. There has been a blockade of British ships in the U.S. organized by the longshoremen's union. In Britain the Scottish Trades Union Congress has supported the prisoners' demands.

The Fourth International salutes with the greatest respect the courage and heroism of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, and their comrades. It totally condemns the centuries-long British occupation of Ireland and unconditionally solidarizes with the struggle against it. It appeals for the most rapid and largest possible actions in every country against the policy of the British government and in support of the demands of the republican political prisoners in the North of Ireland.

Long live the memory of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes—martyrs of the struggle to free Ireland from British imperialism!

The British government must grant at once and without conditions the demands of the republican political prisoners in the North of Ireland!

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Women's Day celebrated

HKE: Masses show readiness to combat Iraqi attacks

By Mariam Rahimi

[The following article appeared in the April 27 issue of *Kargar*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), one of three organizations in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International. The translation is by the HKE].

* * *

On April 25, the Iranian masses witnessed one of the largest mobilizations of women during the revolution. On that day, once again, hundreds of thousands of toiling and militant women in Tehran and other cities in Iran came into the streets and showed the strong unity of the toilers against U.S. imperialism and Iraqi military attacks. It was the anniversary of the birth of [Mohammad's daughter] Hazrat Fatima—Women's Day.

The eagerness and the large participation of women in this demonstration show the consciousness and readiness of the Iranian militant Muslim women for furthering the revolution.

From two o'clock in the afternoon many women were seen on the route of the demonstration, starting from Monirieh and Imam Hossein squares proceeding towards Tehran University.

The banners carried on the route of the demonstration were from the mobilization of the Pasdaran, mobilization units, school Islamic Societies, students of Haddaf, Kharazmi, Mehr, Kazemieh, and many other female high schools. Units of the Army of 20 Million, sisters from the literacy campaign, Sunni sisters of Kurdistan, and Iraqi Muslim sisters also participated in this demonstration.

The armed participation of sisters from the Army of 20 Million was a demonstration of the readiness and the fighting spirit of Iranian toiling women to combat Iraq's military aggression.

The slogans chanted in this demonstration were all an indication of women's readiness to crush the military offensive of Saddam's regime [Iraqi president Saddam Hussein] and was an expression of their hatred for U.S. imperialism.

Among the slogans of this demonstration were: "Iranian Women's Day, the day of mourning for the enemy," "Congratulations to all for this day of breaking the chains," and "Death to America."

The fighting spirit and the readiness of women to confront the Iraqi military aggression was quite visible in the united ranks of the marchers.

All the participating sisters showed great happiness and joy at being in the Women's Day demonstration. One of the sisters, giving water to the demonstrators said: "If Saddam

dies I will pass out rose water."

Another sister had come to the demonstration with a few small children. In answer to the question of whether it was difficult for her to bring along her children in such warm weather, she said: "It doesn't matter, my children will become revolutionaries in these demonstrations."

Another sister participating in the demonstration said: "My mother and I take turns going to demonstrations, I come to one, she goes to another."

Although this immense eagerness by women to take part in advancing the revolution is facing many obstacles, and many burdens are

placed upon women, day after day large masses of Iranian Muslim and revolutionary women are broadening their way for greater participation in the political and social activities of the country.

Many of the women who joined in the demonstration were housewives who came with their children to welcome Women's Day. If women achieve their demands, such as the establishment of free day-care centers, this can be an important step towards removing the obstacles from the path of the great masses of Iranian women, enabling them to take part in the fight against imperialist-Iraqi military ag-

HKE statement on women's day

[The following statement was issued April 22 by the Hezb-e Kargaran-e Engelab (HKE—Revolutionary Workers Party) and the Sazeman-e Javanan-e Sosialist (Young Socialists) in Iran. It appeared in the April 27 issue of the weekly *Kargar*. The translation is by the HKE.]

* * *

Muslim and militant sisters:

At present thousands of Iranian women are preparing to celebrate Women's Day, the anniversary of the birth of Hazrat Fatima, in a magnificent way.

By participating in the large demonstrations, Iranian women showed their incomparable self-sacrifice and determination, which toppled the Pahlavi dictatorship. By mobilizing in their millions, women rose up against the blood-thirsty regime of the shah, the symbol of tyranny and oppression, and became a model for toiling and oppressed women of the Middle East and other parts of the world.

During the seven months of Iraqi military aggression, women have taken part in the military mobilizations and by their heroic resistance against the aggressive military attacks by Saddam, women have proven that they are ready to defend the revolution and its gains with their last drop of blood. The toiling and militant women of Iran know well that without fighting U.S. imperialism—the Great Satan—and the aggressive army of Saddam, they will not achieve their just demands.

The Iranian revolution has opened the way for women's emancipation from the yoke of thousands of years of oppression. The revolution has demonstrated that the secret of victory for women in achieving their just demands lies in independent organization and the mobiliza-

tion of women in their millions. Only in this way can women fight to achieve education, work, health care, and social services such as free day-care centers, and fight to overcome the dark heritage of poverty, backwardness, and illiteracy resulting from imperialist domination over this country.

At present thousands of women are engaged in the military mobilization to fight the imperialist-Iraqi military aggression. Women's demands for military training and their struggle to obtain it will make the Iranian revolution such a strong fortress that nobody will be able to destroy it.

On this day when thousands of Iranian women demonstrate their unity and solidarity, they must raise their voices to protest the continuation of women's oppression and discrimination against women. The firing of our sister workers, Rezvan Rooshenass and Mahnaz Mohamadian, from the Behpoosh factory in Tehran because of their socialist ideas, is a warning to all the toiling women of Iran who have paid in blood for their rights to participate in political and social affairs of the country and is a warning to their struggle for maintaining and advancing these rights.

These sister workers were activists in the military mobilization at their plant and were among the best militants for increasing production in the plant. The firing of these sisters, who were in the front line of the struggle for self-sufficiency and independence of the country, and were for repelling the imperialist-Iraqi aggression, is not in the interest of the revolution.

The HKE and the Young Socialists welcome the April 25 women's demonstration and call upon all militant and toiling people to actively take part in the preparation of this day to make it as broad as possible. □



Kargar

Hundreds of thousands took part in Women's Day marches.

gression.

Many women were carrying placards with parts of Imam Khomeini's speeches written on them. Among them was one carried by a sister at the university from "Chahardah Massoom Mosque Cultural Group" saying: "The country is yours, you have to build the country," "Women in the early days of Islam participated in wars alongside men" and "Women have the right to take part in politics and this is also their duty."

At the end of the demonstration women gathered at Tehran University. First, messages were read from mothers of martyrs of the war. Then, Ms. Nobakht from the "Islamic Shora for Coordination and Propaganda," made a speech. She devoted part of her speech to the question of the cultural revolution.

During her speech she said, "All our society's values and foundations must be changed from the roots." She also added, "We are talking about a cultural revolution not only in the universities, but in every sector of the society."

Then a message was read from the Muslim women of Iraq which was followed by applause from sister participants in the demonstration.

Meanwhile in Isfahan, hundreds of thousands of sister workers, students, housewives, and sisters from popular organizations gathered in the Imam Sadegh Theological School for Women's Day—the birthday of Hazrat Fatima. Although the preparation for the demon-

stration was not done on a broad scale and there were some tie-ups on the question of mobilization, the participation of revolutionary and Muslim women, as they were carrying their children and chanting in unison, gave a special glory to the demonstration.

The militant spirit of the women who partic-

ipated in this demonstration was a reminder of the mass demonstrations against the hated regime of the shah. The slogans of "Death to Reagan, death to Saddam," which were not interrupted for a second, showed again the deep will of women to fight against imperialism and to overcome the Iraqi military aggression. □

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Massive actions by women

HVK: How can oppression of women best be fought?

By Miriyam Daoudi

[The following article appeared in the April 28 issue of *Hemmat*, weekly newspaper of the Workers Unity Party (HVK), one of three organizations in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On April 25, hundreds of thousands of women in several cities all over the country demonstrated for Women's Day and the birth of Hazrat Fatima [daughter of Mohammed. Women's Day is celebrated on her birthday in Iran.].

Demonstrations took place in Tehran, Shiraz, Mashhad, Ahwaz, Abadan, Khuninshahr [Khorramshahr], and Tabriz. In the war-stricken cities, the participation of women in these demonstrations was remarkable.

According to a report in the April 26 *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* (Islamic Republic), while women were demonstrating in Ahwaz, the city was hit by several long-range shells fired from the Iraqi Baathist invaders' artillery. Despite this, the women resolutely continued their march and chanted slogans against the Baathist regime.

In Tehran, tens of thousands of women participated in a broad march for Women's Day, responding to a call issued by a committee composed of representatives of the Martyred Motahhari Higher Seminary, a unit of the Mobilization of the Revolutionary Guards, the Jihad for Reconstruction, the Islamic Republican Party, the Muslim Women's Renaissance, the Organization of Mujahedeen of the Islamic Revolution, the Office for Fortifying Unity, and the League of Islamic Teachers.

Most of the women who participated were from the working classes and from working-class neighborhoods of Tehran. The demonstration converged on Tehran University from several different paths. There were units of young sisters from the resistance mobilization groups and from the Revolutionary Guards. They were enthusiastically received by the people in the streets. The participation of older women and housewives was also remarkable, and young students also took part.

Throughout the length of the march demonstrators chanted their own slogans with great fervor, like "Death to America, death to Saddam" [referring to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein].

With the slogan, "If the Imam gives the order, we will pronounce the ultimatum," the women announced that they were ready for martyrdom on the road to victory in the war, chanting, "One, two, three, martyrdom."

At Tehran University, the Imam's message on the occasion of Women's Day and a mes-

sage from the families of martyrs of the south and west of the country was read. Then Ms. Nobakht, a disciple of the martyred Professor Motahhari, spoke.

At the end of the proceedings, a statement was read announcing the support of the brothers of the Revolutionary Guards and soldiers at the front, and condemning any form of compromise in the war. This statement called for implementing explicit rights for women in the constitution.

Organization of demonstrations

The prominent anti-imperialist spirit of the women's day demonstration is a sign that working women are ready to advance the revolution against the war imposed by the Iraqi Baathist regime.

In fact, since the beginning of the war, women have provided food, clothing, and other necessities for the front, sent aid to the wounded, received military training, participated in resistance groups in the factories and schools for the formation of the Army of 20 Million and the Jihad for Reconstruction, and played an important role in organizing the resistance movement. In these broad demonstrations throughout the country, women showed that they want an expansion of these activities and for this reason, want to gain their rights.

But the organizers of the demonstrations, especially the Society of Tehran University, did not give the necessary answers to the women's demands and needs and were not in tune with the anti-imperialist sentiments of the women.

First of all, the government did not call an official holiday for this day. As a result, broad masses of working women were unable to participate in this demonstration. In fact, factory managers did not give permission for participation in these marches, thus striking a blow at them.

Secondly, the political forces who organized this demonstration tried to take advantage of the situation and, particularly at the Tehran University rally, led sectarian and divisive slogans to orient the demonstration towards their own goals of monopolizing political power, instead of raising anti-imperialist slogans and the specific needs and demands of women.

Slogans against women who do not wear the veil and against other political forces were put forward, damaging the unity of women against imperialism and capitalism. This is a loss for the revolution. Ms. Nobakht's talk never pointed to the need to mobilize women, nor did she address their special needs. This was a big lack in the women's day demonstration.

In the two years since the victory of the February insurrection, women in our society still

don't have equal rights and opportunities. Because of discrimination in education and employment, women's participation in industry, social services, and professional occupations is still very limited. The vast masses of women in our society are still prisoners of the cramped confines of the four walls of their home and of family matters. Working women generally lack necessary services like child-care centers.

Need for independent organization

In family affairs, politics, and economics the trend in this country is still towards severe discrimination against women. These are all serious obstacles in the path of total liberation of the toiling women in our society.

Women are half the fundamental forces of the revolution in this dangerous situation of the Iraqi-imposed war and imperialist aggression. In order to mobilize women as widely as possible, at every social level, militarily and politically, the revolution must eliminate every form of discrimination against women and give them complete equal rights. Everything possible must be done so women can participate actively in the war and in the revolution.

But the experience of the last two years shows that women ought not look to the capitalist parties of the government to achieve their demands. In order to achieve the above rights, women must be organized independently in the factories, neighborhoods, and villages, and must be organized in a nationwide, independent organization to advance the revolution. □

South African police attack Black protests

"I saw mothers and bystanders beaten and chased into homes. The police were going wild."

That was the description of one witness to a brutal South African police attack on a mass demonstration of Black students near Johannesburg June 3. The students were marching to protest the arrest the week before of a high school student leader who had participated in a hunger strike to protest the racist regime's Republic Day ceremonies.

The young demonstrators, who numbered in the thousands, were marching peacefully through several Black neighborhoods near Johannesburg when they were attacked by police using whips, tear gas, and dogs. Among those tear-gassed were mourners at a funeral.

Some protesters sought refuge from the tear gas in a nearby school. The police fired tear gas into the building and then went after the youths. According to Yvonne Peterson, the wife of the school's principal, the students "were dragged across the floors of the hostel and kicked. I had a total feeling of helplessness and when I protested they came at me with a bull whip and slashed me."

The police later declared four of the Black townships "operational zones," a common South African term for war zones.

HVK theses on the Iranian revolution

[The following theses were drafted in September 1980 and adopted at the January 22-24 convention of the Workers Unity Party (HVK). The HVK is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International.]

* * *

1. The overthrow of the shah's regime by means of a mass insurrection, the fleeing of a major sector of the capitalist class, the weakening of the imperialist hold over Iran as a result of huge mass mobilizations, and the decisive participation of the working class in the revolutionary struggle along with the formation of workers *shoras* [committees]—these have all resulted in the opening of the prospects for socialist revolution in the entire Middle East region. The intensification of the class struggle and the increasing imperialist pressures lead to more and more revolutionary crises. Countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and other neighboring states have entered into a period of revolutionary convulsions. The effects of the Iranian revolution upon the oppressed Asiatic nationalities in the Soviet Union tends to accelerate the dynamics of the political revolution there.

The Iranian working class is now placed in the midst of an expanding and deepening process of permanent revolution. This revolution is taking place in the context of the rising struggles of the world working class and the changing relations of class forces against imperialism—a phenomenon one of whose major causes has been the Iranian revolution itself. The ongoing revolution is also taking place in the context of a crisis faced by world Stalinism, particularly in the absence of a counter-revolutionary mass Stalinist party in Iran. Thus, on a world scale, the objective conditions for the victory of the revolution are favorable.

Our objective is moving forward despite all the obstacles placed in its path by its official leadership and the capitalist government. By building a multinational Leninist party, the working class must become armed with a program to organize itself, unite all the oppressed, especially the poor peasants, and be able to replace the capitalist government with a government of workers and peasants.

2. The occupation of the Den of Spies by the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line, and the consequent mass mobilizations, led the revolution into a new deeper stage and made the confrontation between semicolonial Iran and imperialism clear. The revelations on the activities of the capitalist politicians damaged the political position of these politicians in the eyes of the masses, betrayed their vacillating attitude in confronting the imperialists, and propelled the working class in the direc-

tion of reliance upon its own power, organizing its ranks in the struggle for the country's independence. Arming the population for defense against the imperialist attacks became a mass demand.

The countrywide, anti-Zionist mobilizations on Jerusalem Day—in defense of Palestine—exhibited another aspect of the anti-imperialist struggle, i.e., the struggle to overthrow the Israeli colonial-settler state, the central pillar of imperialism in the Middle East, thus extending the revolution beyond the borders of Iran as an act of self-defense. The mobilizations of millions indicate that the dynamic political movement of the masses is continuing, that the masses hope to gain control over their destiny, and that they see the realization of their demands in the continuation of *this* revolution. That is why the imperialist plots and coup attempts have so far been without success.

The *central danger* threatening the Iranian revolution is world imperialism, headed by the U.S. The economic blockade, the political attacks, the extensive military buildups, the coup plans—these are all attempts by imperialism to smash our revolution and block its ex-

the nationalization of their capital and land and the complete monopoly of foreign trade. This means that fundamental steps must be taken to solve the economic crises, improve the living condition of the people, and eliminate inflation and unemployment.

Other fundamental steps must include those toward an agrarian revolution, giving land to the poor peasants and working for the welfare of the village; for the liberation of the oppressed nationalities; for the liberation of women and their equality with men; for protection and extension of the democratic rights of the masses; and for meeting the needs of the youths. The struggle of the masses for winning these fundamental measures is a struggle for the continuation of the revolution and breaking the yoke of imperialism. It is precisely the uninterrupted continuation of the revolution that would guarantee the unity, enthusiasm, and mobilization of the masses, and make possible the defeat of imperialism.

It is a fact that the capitalist Islamic Republic government has not taken these fundamental steps; neither does it want to take them, nor can it. Whatever gains the masses have won for themselves have been achieved only be-

Our revolution is moving forward despite all the obstacles placed in its path by its official leadership and the capitalist government . . .

tension, to quash the workers organizations and to re-establish complete imperialist domination over Iran. The imperialists are attempting, by direct or indirect ways, to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic. And in this attempt, their hopeful eyes are focused on the native capitalists and big landowners, their politicians, and officials of the splintering state apparatus inherited from the past, especially the military brass.

The imperialists are trying to cause more and more economic, social, and political difficulties in order to exhaust the masses and turn heightened but unsatisfied expectations into despair. They hope to be able to turn the masses away from the political scene and make them disillusioned spectators in face of the imperialist counterrevolution. The fundamental conflict in this revolution is between the Iranian working class and U.S. imperialism acting either directly or through its social bases within the country. The main goal of imperialism is to behead the Iranian working class.

To be able to defeat imperialism and gain the country's real independence requires arming the workers and all the oppressed, and taking decisive measures against the coup plotters, the capitalists, and the big landowners who are sabotaging the economy. It requires

cause of their own struggles. Through their own experiences and struggles the workers and toilers are finding out that the capitalist government is a road-block in their struggle against imperialism and for achievement of their fundamental goals. In the course of experience with the revolution the workers will more and more realize the need for a government of their own, a workers and peasants government.

But in order to achieve this historic goal, the working class must prepare itself politically. The proletariat must struggle unwaveringly to unite its own ranks, and armed with a revolutionary democratic program fight to win over its historic allies—the poor peasants, the oppressed nationalities, the women, the city semi-proletarians, and the youths and soldiers. The proletariat must become the champion of the liberation of these allies, conducting a struggle which would also serve to unite the ranks of the proletariat itself.

The struggle for the rights of the proletariat and its allies is not separate from the struggle against imperialism, and the government's violation of such rights could only aid the imperialists. While the proletariat supports every concrete anti-imperialist measure of the present government, at the same time it must ex-

pose any kind of retreat or conciliation by the regime in the anti-imperialist struggle and counterpose its own proletarian program of action.

3. The workers shoras, arising for the first time in the revolutionary history of Iran, con-

The government's attack on workers' economic rights and its recent austerity program has met the workers' resistance. The take-backs in the area of workers' housing, food, and family benefits, reducing their vacation period and abolishing the special workers'

The central danger threatening the Iranian revolution is world imperialism . . .

stitute the heart of the revolution. Shoras pose the question of dual power on the factory level. By organizing and maintaining shoras, the Iranian working class displayed an extraordinary level of political understanding and combativity. The effective participation of the industrial working class in the mass upsurge through a general strike broke the back of the shah's regime. The subsequent fleeing of an important sector of the capitalist class after the February 1979 insurrection meant that the working class is now facing a weaker enemy. In the context of the anti-imperialist struggle and by participating in this struggle, Iranian workers have had an opportunity to strengthen their organizations, build their shoras and be able to extend and unite them. Thus, the working class has been able to increase its weight on the factory level against the bosses and on a national level against the capitalists and their government. With an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist consciousness, the working class has entered into the center of the political scene.

On the factory level, the workers have won important gains. The bosses cannot operate as autocratically and arrogantly as they did during the shah's reign. SAVAK, whose function was to imprison and torture militant workers, no longer exists. Some of the factories are run by workers, and since the insurrection wages have gone up by 80 percent.

The pressure of the imperialist economic blockade, coupled with the government's policy of reconstructing the capitalist economy and maintaining the country's dependency on the world capitalist market has confronted Iranian society with critical economic conditions. The crisis is intensified by hoarding and sabotage on the part of the native capitalist class. Inflation, unemployment, and lack of adequate housing and health facilities are rampant. "The current rate of inflation in Iran is unprecedented in the world after the Second World War," admits the director of the Central Bank. On the question of unemployment, he says: "[this year] there will be 700,000 to 1,000,000 eighteen-year-olds entering the job market." And he adds: "no one is concerned about finding jobs for these youths and drawing up a plan to eliminate unemployment." Whatever workers earn in a factory is taken back from them by the capitalists through the mechanism of the capitalist economic system. Those who suffer the most under such economic pressures are the young workers, who have been carrying the heavy weight of the revolution on their shoulders.

profit-sharing system, have all led to workers protests in many factories. In many factories where workers had reduced, on their own initiative, the weekly working hours down to forty, they pay no attention to the new regulations regarding the forty-four-hour workweek. With the backing of their factory shora, these workers continue to work on the forty-hour weekly schedule.

Through their struggle around the profit-sharing law and many other economic rights, the workers have more and more realized the necessity to draw up the labor laws themselves. The struggle for workers' economic demands, which is the struggle for the survival and existence of the class, has a special political importance because it puts the workers face to face against the capitalist state. The revocation of the special profit-sharing law by the Revolutionary Council and the Labor Ministry and the broad reaction of the workers is the first sign of the future class battles that the capitalists and their government are imposing on the workers in order to solve the crisis of their own system—in this case to eliminate the budget deficit. The offensive on workers' rights is a worldwide capitalist phenomenon, and is a sign of the crisis of the capitalist system in its death agony which has become intensified in the past decade. This offensive and the defensive reaction of the workers to it constitutes the root of the radicalization and political actions of the working class on a world scale.

The government's antilabor measures as well as the policies that are implemented against the toilers stem not from a position of ruling-class strength, but from a position of weakness. Sporadic attacks against the workers committees and the dissolution of some of them must be viewed in the light of this relationship of class forces, the absence of any nationwide organization of the workers

of some of these workers committees and the temporary setbacks will not be decisive in the rising tempo of the class struggle.

In order to prevent the spreading of poverty, the workers are forced to resist and stand up to the antilabor steps taken by the capitalist government. New leaders of the class struggle will rise from the heart of these battles and will be steered. It is in this confrontation with the government that the question, which class shall rule, is put on the agenda. Workers will understand that solutions and struggles cannot be limited to the factory floors or against this or that employer and capitalist, but rather, that they need the political rule of their own class.

Most factories are managed by the government; therefore, the demand for an increase in wages along with the rise of inflation is not only posed on factory floors but at the government level. At the same time, the solution to unemployment, that is, the reduction of working hours without a reduction in pay, is also posed. As a result, the opening of the books at the factory, government, and ministry levels is a necessity. The workers will say: if the government is really losing and the Ministry of Labor is forced to compensate for the budget by reducing our wages, impoverishing the toilers, and exacerbating exploitation for the benefit of the capitalists, that government is not good for the people who made the revolution.

Demands such as "a worker from the oil industry should head up the Oil Ministry," and "the Ministry of Labor should be controlled by workers councils," have been raised on a broad scale by workers and youth. The replacement of the capitalist government by a workers and peasants government has become the main task and in the eyes of the toilers is becoming a practical idea. Establishment of a planned economy, independence from the world market, and an orientation towards the Soviet Union and other socialist perspectives, are being raised in different contexts and draw workers' attention. It is this tendency of the revolution which is causing the enmity of the ruling class to the shoras, and the powerlessness of the government in preventing this tendency of the revolution has caused the imperialists themselves to engage in counterrevolutionary activity.

Alongside the struggle for its rights and unity as a class, the proletariat must also consciously try to attract its historic allies. The confrontation of the proletariat with the nation-

The government's austerity program has met the workers' resistance . . .

committees, and mistakes of the leadership, which at times lead to premature confrontations of the shora with the government or the employers and gives the government an excuse to attack a particular shora. However, since the workers have more and more realized the need for their own organizations—due to the deepening of the revolution—the dissolution

of bourgeoisie around a revolutionary democratic program—the main points of which are breaking the imperialist yoke and achieving real independence, which includes the emancipation of the oppressed nationalities, and the agrarian revolution—is vital for the working class on its road of taking political power.

4. After the occupation of the Den of Spies,



Cindy Jaquith/Militant

January 1980 demonstration outside U.S. embassy in Tehran.

the workers shoras, while participating in anti-imperialist demonstrations, posed the peasant question and demanded land for the peasants and a solution to the land question. The peasants too, came to the Den of Spies with these demands. This at the same time showed the response of the workers and peasants to the lack of any serious steps by the government with regard to the land question. In some areas even, the Revolutionary Islamic Court issued decrees in defense of the big landowners and took away land from peasant control, returning it to the landowners. The continuation of peasant immigration to the cities is the sign of the continued agricultural crisis and the shortcomings of the countryside. Through the struggle for land, along with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, especially the Kurds and Turkomans, peasant shoras were formed following the example of the workers shoras. Throughout this year the peasant shoras were formed in Khuzestan and other areas. Confrontations between poor peasants and landowners continue and the peasant movement is in the process of formation.

The industrialization of the country and the mobilization of technical and industrial forces, along with financial aid by the government, are among the immediate and central steps that

could satisfy the peasants' demands. Nationwide public works and industrial projects for water, roads, electricity, fertilizer, seed, and tractors—along with ample budgets through long-term loans with easy conditions under the control of shoras—should be provided for the peasants. Immediate literacy projects with special programs for non-Persian nationalities under their own control, health projects for peasants, unconditional support by the central government of the demands of the poor and landless peasants against the big landowners, and assistance in mobilizing and organizing the peasants are all essential measures toward implementing the agrarian revolution.

In some areas, along with peasant struggles, the militant youth of the Jihad Sazandegi (Jihad for Reconstruction), and the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards) side with the peasants. But in every step, they clash with the government and the central leadership of the Jihad. Even though the Jihad Sazandegi and Pasdaran are both organs of the Islamic Republic government, the reactions of the Pasdaran and Jihad youth, however, are a reflection of the deepening class struggle in the countryside and the dedication of the youth to the revolution. They will learn through their experience that the solution to the land question is not possible

in the framework of the capitalist Islamic Republic. Shouldering this historic responsibility requires both the independent mobilization of the poor peasants and agricultural workers, and the economic resources of the central government. And this can only be realized by a workers and peasants government.

The expectations raised by the poor peasants in the process of the revolution have remained unfulfilled and therefore their attention is drawn to the working class and working-class solutions.

The independent struggle of the working class and the presentation of a clear program for agrarian revolution makes it possible for the working class to win the poor peasants over on its path of taking political power. The combination of peasant struggles with that of the oppressed nationalities in Iran speeds up the dynamism of the permanent revolution.

5. Imperialist domination during fifty years of Pahlavi rule has turned Iran into a prison for oppressed nationalities. The cultural, political, and economic existence of these nationalities has been reduced to the lowest level possible, and divided the toilers along lines of national oppression. This division became one of the main tools of imperialist domination over Iran.

The Iranian revolution opened the way for the liberation of oppressed nationalities and created the conditions for the extension of this revolution across the borders to the neighbor-

none of them participated in the anti-imperialist mobilizations in a serious way. The Kurdish leaders usually sufficed by merely issuing a few anti-imperialist leaflets. The mobilization

Confrontations between poor peasants and landowners continue . . .

ing countries. The oppressed nationalities saw the toppling of the monarchy as an end to their national oppression. Once monarchical bayonets were withdrawn from the throats of the oppressed nationalities, without delay they began speaking and publishing in their own languages and the suffocated national cultures began flowering. National movements came into existence in relation to the struggle of toilers, especially peasants, and the Kurds, Turkomans, Arabs, Baluchis, and Turks were set into motion on the way to achieving their national rights. The opposition and attacks of the central government plus the absence of revolutionary leaders prevented the development and victory of these movements.

The central government intervened to suffocate these movements. The right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities in Iran was denied. The oppressed nationalities were banned from the country's political scene and their candidates were barred from entrance to the parliament. Their struggle for national rights and land was answered with bombs and bullets, and their national revolutionary militants were executed. Kurdish cities were constantly under economic blockade, attacks, murder, and plunder.

The working class did not engage in these battles and as a result the Islamic Republic government could not mobilize the masses against the movements of the nationalities, especially that of the Kurds. The Iranian people are not in favor of these fratricides and the legitimacy of national demands is becoming clearer. Among the soldiers in the army there is broad antiwar sentiment against the government's attacks on Kurdistan. The youth do not express a desire to be drafted, and there is resistance against this fratricide. The formation of special army courts in Kurdistan is a testimony to this reality.

The crisis of proletarian leadership portrays itself clearly in the attacks on the rights of the oppressed nationalities. The working class did not mobilize in defense of the oppressed nationalities against the capitalist government. Slander and a poison campaign against Kurdish leaders were spread throughout Iran, and their position against imperialism and for unity with the Iranian people did not get a hearing among the toiling masses. The Stalinists of the Tudeh Party played an important role in this atmosphere of repression and character assassination of Kurdish leaders. At the same time, the feudal, bourgeois, and petty-bourgeois leaders of the oppressed nationalities became an obstacle in the way of the link between the national movements and the Iranian revolution. After the occupation of the Den of Spies,

and unity of the peasants on the basis of class demands did not take place. In this context, a political struggle for the organization of the shoras or for a national assembly did not take place.

Because of the government's policy of national oppression and its repeated military attacks against Kurdistan, the imperialists and their allies have been able to wage a campaign of slander against the revolution. They use democratic phrasemongering in order to attract the Kurdish population. The government's policy in relation to Kurdistan has also encouraged the Iraqi regime and the Palizban-Oveisi gang [former generals under the shah] to engage in counterrevolutionary activities and discredit the Iranian revolution in the eyes of the toilers of the world. Contrary to the claim of the Islamic Republic government, Kurdistan has not become the base for imperialist intervention against the Iranian revolution. However, from the imperialist viewpoint, the policies of the Islamic Republic in Kurdistan have created fertile soil for counterrevolutionary intervention.

These are dangers which should be taken seriously. The way to counter these dangers is not by more war and fratricide, not by attack and occupation of Kurdish towns, and not by more repression and internal war. The economic blockade of Kurdish towns, the closing of schools, the expulsion and exile of nationalist teachers, nonpayment of wages of public offices, and bombardments and executions are actions that are counter to the interests of the Iranian revolution. Such oppressive and brutal treatment of the economic, cultural, and national life of a people who were under the oppression of the central government for many years, who fought for their freedom, and who had hopes in the revolution to gain their freedom, must be condemned and rejected by the working class and all allies of the Iranian revolution. To put an end to these aggressions, mass mobilization in Iran is a revolutionary duty.

The antinationality policies of the Islamic Republic, which has created a fratricidal war, must end and the right to self-determination of nationalities, specifically autonomy for Kur-

realists, Iraq, and their lackeys instead of engaging in war and fratricide against the Kurdish people. The policy of disarming the Kurdish people must end and instead, the masses of this region must be armed by the government against imperialism. Fratricide must cease immediately in Kurdistan.

Toward the reconstruction of the region and to compensate for the war damages imposed on the Kurdish people, immediate relief and economic aid should be sent to Kurdistan. Poor peasants should be given land and financial and technical aid. Shoras and peasant unions must have the right to organize and the right of the Kurdish people to form a shora or national assembly should be recognized. Such steps by the government will clear the way for a military unity between the Kurds and their revolutionary nationalist organizations, and the military and Pasdaran against attacks by the imperialists, Iraq, and other enemies of the revolution. This is an indispensable necessity of the revolution. It is such revolutionary policies that will bring peace to Kurdistan, defend the revolution against imperialism, and unify and combine the Kurdish revolution and the Iranian revolution along the anti-imperialist course.

The solution to the national question does not lie with the capitalist government. In order to bring about anti-imperialist unity and unity in the ranks of the proletariat, the workers shoras must understand this critical question of the revolution and struggle to end the fratricidal war in Kurdistan, and fight for the rights of the oppressed nationalities. The struggle of the working class for the achievement of national rights is a class struggle which is capable of uniting the masses of peasants and other toilers in the process of creating a workers and peasants government and will open the way for a perspective of socialist revolution in the entire region.

6. Iranian women have participated in the front ranks of the revolution that overthrew the shah's regime and have taken steps toward their liberation. The principle gain of the revolution for women was the legitimization of their participation in the political and social life of the country. This puts women in a more favorable position to struggle for their liberation and the achievement of equal rights. Now, women participate in mass anti-imperialist demonstrations, in the Jihad Sazandegi, and in the Army of 20 Million. The self-confidence women have gained in the course of the revolution and in recent mobilizations act as an obstacle against rounded efforts to push them back

The workers shoras must fight for the rights of the oppressed nationalities . . .

distan—which is their demand—must be recognized by the government. The military forces and the Pasdaran in Kurdistan must bear responsibility for defending the revolution and the country against the attacks of the impe-

to the house and kitchen. Although the participation of young women workers has not been impressive in the shoras or in their leadership bodies, initial struggles are taking place and the workers are becoming more sensitive about



Peasant demonstration.

Cindy Jaquith/Militant

this issue. In the process of the revolution, with the presence and decisive participation of toiling women, the foundation for a women's liberation movement is being formed.

Continuous attacks against women's rights carried out by the government through the use of religion, are against the interests of the toiling women. These attacks also make an important sector of petty-bourgeois women turn away from the revolution. Forced veiling, the bill which prohibits employment of husband and wife, and family laws, are all used against women. As Mrs. Dastgheib puts it in the parliament, because of the laws governing marriage, divorce, and *sigheh* (temporary marriage), "a great number of our sisters are being destroyed." Lack of providing any educational possibilities for women is itself one of the reasons that equal rights are not implemented. Women's defensive struggle against intrusions on their rights will pose the need for an inde-

pendent organization of women. The support of the shoras and workers for women's demands—from the right to work and equal pay for equal work, to child-care centers and against all discrimination—will unite the class. And the proletariat will win over a powerful ally—i.e., half of society—to its anti-imperialist struggles along its path of establishing a workers and peasants government.

7. The struggle of students was an important part of the antiautocratic movement. Schools and universities became centers of organization against the monarchy, and the role of youth was decisive in the February insurrection. In the period immediately before and after the insurrection, schools and universities became centers of assembly and activity for the oppressed nationalities, women, and political parties. Through these struggles, high-school and university students formed their own shoras in order to take the control of edu-

cational affairs out of the hands of the state bureaucracy and into their own hands. Schools and universities turned into centers of propaganda for political groups. Leaflets of different groups on the problems of the revolution, including the events in Kurdistan, were distributed from these centers.

After the insurrection, all throughout the country, students actively took part in the constructive campaigns of the revolution—in the Jihad Sazandegi, Jazb-e-Niru (centers set up by Islamic Unions in universities which recruit students and send them to help in the villages), the literacy campaign and the Army of 20 Million. In the toilers' section of the cities, especially in Tehran, the youth established neighborhood committees, or shoras, in order to bring about security, distribution of necessities, especially meat, and also, for a literacy campaign. The participation of young women in these activities is outstanding. In some villages, young activists of the Jihad Sazandegi helped in organizing the peasant shoras. The occupation of the Den of Spies by the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line, and their exposures and appeal to the masses for anti-imperialist mobilizations, are an indication of the important role students play in the revolution. The Islamic Associations of Students (IAS) and Organizations of Muslim Students (OMS), in which the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line are a current, is an active tendency among the students that has formed a link with the toilers of the city and countryside.

Hundreds of thousands of students are faced with a lack of educational institutions to meet their demands and the needs of society. Unemployment and the limitations it imposes on their daily lives is a heavy burden on the youth. The government has not taken any steps to meet the needs of the young students. Whenever the youth have taken the initiative in active reconstruction, they are in general, faced with the government's resistance and sabotage by the state bureaucracy. The experience of the youth in the Jihad Sazandegi and the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line confirms this reality.

The government, on the other hand, has tried from the very beginning to prevent the extension of democracy and political activities in schools and universities. The capitalist government used the activity of IAS-OMS around the "Cultural Revolution" and their attempt to change the universities in the interest of education of the masses, against political groups. These were expelled from the campuses and a number of students were martyred. Since then, no steps towards extending and transforming the educational system in the interest of the masses, for a literacy campaign, or for attracting the forces of the youth who are left outside of the universities has taken place by the Islamic Republic government. On the contrary, the government attempts to use different excuses to "purge" the leftist teachers and professors. On the other hand, the IAS-OMS are acting towards their goals in the Jazb-e-Niru and the Jihad Sazandegi. Construction of more univer-

sities and making available more educational facilities to meet the needs of the country in agriculture, industry, health, and in a literacy campaign in the service of, and under the control of, workers and toilers and the oppressed nationalities on a national scale, are seriously on the agenda of the day.

The student movement faces a crisis of leadership. The Pishgam (supporters of the Fedayeen) and the Associations of Muslim Students (supporters of Mujahadeen) in high schools and universities have been incapable of presenting a program to fuse the student movement with the anti-imperialist struggles. The sectarian policies of these organizations have become an obstacle in the way of an organic unity between this movement and the anti-imperialist movement, and have politically disarmed them against the attacks of the regime.

The IAS-OMS have no program for the victory of the anti-imperialist movement. Their sectarianism, indicated through their Islamic ideology, is an obstacle in the way of unity of all youth and the different political currents in specific revolutionary actions. These organizations are politically heterogeneous. Their participation in the mass anti-imperialist mobilizations and their contact with the peasants has brought the youth in touch with the toilers, and under the impact of the struggles and apart from the government's program, they initiate specific revolutionary actions such as the occupation of the Den of Spies, mass mobilizations, and distributions of land. At the same time, the government's politics and actions which come into conflict with the development of the revolution, affects the IAS-OMS and forces them to act.

Their action in breaking from the Bazargan government, and their confrontation with the Revolutionary Council on the issue of giving up the hostages, shows that these students can develop politically under the impact of a revolutionary crisis. It showed that they could break away from the politicians of the Islamic Republic. The intensification of the class struggle, and in particular, the inability of the parliament and government to solve the burning economic and political issues in the anti-imperialist struggle in face of the demands of the toilers, all work toward their disillusionment in the government and the leadership of the Islamic Republic. As independent working-class struggles and organization develop, these organizations become more and more polarized like all petty-bourgeois currents. Therefore it becomes possible to attract a section of them to proletarian struggles and solutions.

Against all current leaderships and in the direction of attracting youth, the Young Socialist Organization becomes tested and will grow in active struggles. It is only the revolutionary socialist program that provides the political basis for building the student movement. Revolutionary Socialists cannot take a sectarian attitude towards the Muslim youth or the followers of centrist organizations that have roots

among the youth. Young Socialists take part in the Jihad Sazandegi, the literacy campaign, the building of the Army of 20 Million, neighborhood shoras, the anti-imperialist movement, and any other movement of the working-class youth and its allies. In this way they link up with the masses, providing the socialist action program for these movements and will have the opportunity to attract the young militants to the socialist perspective and train the primary cadres for the revolutionary youth movement.

8. In the last year and a half since the February insurrection, the Islamic Republic government has not been able to establish itself and rebuild a central capitalist state. This is a weak government facing a crisis of leadership. It is not a government which the imperialists have set up. Rather, it is based on the illusions of the masses. As the inability of this government to solve the problems of the revolution becomes clearer and the rising expectations of the masses remain unanswered, the trust and illusion of the masses in the government will decrease and they will move towards counterposing it. The middle classes, whose attraction is

diers, and layers of the urban semi-proletariat through the limitation of democratic rights, parties, assembly, and press. This government is an obstacle facing the advancement of the revolution and is following the path of compromise with imperialism against the working class.

The Islamic Republic government is facing a crisis, one of the signs of which is its inability to reconstruct the armed forces. While the lower ranks of the army are more and more unwilling to carry out the decisions of the regime in Kurdistan, the upper circles are continuously trying to conspire with the imperialists against the new government and the revolution. The Pasharan (which has been organized by the Islamic Republic government as a guarantee for implementing its decisions) has resisted the imperialist conspiracies and taken action against coup plotters.

Meanwhile, the Islamic Republic government is not a lackey of the imperialists. It draws its power through peoples' support and acts in the name of the revolution. Under this government, the working class is in a more fa-

The support of the shoras and workers for women's demands will unite the working class . . .

necessary for the revolution, are moving further away from it, and their political attention is focused towards personalities such as Shahpur Bakhtiar and Rear Admiral Ahmad Madani, and others.

On the other hand, the working class' attention has been centered more on the need for its own independent organization. It views the struggle for its just demands as continuing and safeguarding the revolution. The class struggle is deepening and becoming more concrete. This causes an intensification of internal confrontations within the ruling class—confrontations based on differences over how to rebuild the capitalist state and prevent independent organization of the workers and toilers.

The antidemocratic actions of the Islamic Republic government against freedom of the press, assembly, political parties, and elections is directly against the interests of the anti-imperialist movement and the revolution. These actions aid imperialism, and the Bakhtiarists and company who falsely pose themselves as "democrats." If the working class struggles consistently for democracy, it can attract important layers of society, among them large sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Although the capitalist government and its leaderships at different levels are mobilizing the masses against the imperialist offensive and the imperialist's internal allies, they are neither willing nor able to take consistent and decisive actions against imperialism and its internal base, i.e., the capitalists and big landowners. This reality has been confirmed by the actions of the Islamic Republic government in relation to the working class, poor peasants, oppressed nationalities, women, youth, sol-

vable position to organize itself and its allies than under a regime which is an imperialist puppet. This government is a weak capitalist government which is under imperialist pressure on the one hand, and pressure from the revolution and the working class on the other. Overall, the imperialists' policies are based on the overthrow of the Islamic Republic government in order to stop the process of the revolution.

From a working-class viewpoint, the present bourgeois-democratic government is a "lesser evil" than a dictatorial government which is an imperialist puppet. Until the working class is powerful enough to replace the capitalist government with a government of workers and peasants, it must defend this government, and especially its own position and existence under it, against conspiracies and attacks by the imperialists. The working class's material defense of the present government takes place through proletarian methods and independent mass actions. It does not in any way mean trusting or giving political support to this government. If, through combining these two struggles—material defense of the Islamic Republic government against imperialism and political preparation for replacing it with its own government—the working class is able to present its solutions to the people and prove its seriousness and militancy in this struggle, it will be able to obtain the support of the majority for the overthrow of the capitalist government and its replacement with a government of workers and peasants. The key to this victory lies in resolving the crisis of leadership of the working class, that is, building the combat party of the Iranian proletariat.

9. The existing revolutionary crisis in our society, which was explained in previous sections, shows that the greatest obstacle facing the growth and extension of the socialist revolution is the absence of a revolutionary working-class leadership, that is, a mass Leninist party. The victory of our revolution is dependent on the timely building of such a combat party, whose ranks are workers, especially industrial workers.

Our party is the only party that is armed with a political program, which shows the road to victory to the working class and all the oppressed. Our party is a small party, still isolated from our class. Understanding the decisive importance of the working class in this revolution, and the contradiction between the present class composition and the program of the party, the central task facing the party is the turn towards the industrial working class, consistent activity in the factories, full proletarianization, accumulation and training of working-class cadres, and establishing roots in the working class. The national composition of the working class in multinational Iran, necessitates the building of a nationwide multinational party. Building strong sections among the proletariat of the oppressed nationalities is a fundamental task of our party. A major task of the party leadership is to develop working-class cadres of the oppressed nationalities and women, and to try to accelerate their integration in all levels of leadership.

The intensification of class struggle in a revolutionary situation can create conditions for some currents to be attracted to the proletarian revolution, so that we could fuse with them in building the party. While we should not overlook these possibilities, we must know that in building a Leninist party through the method of the transitional program we cannot use short cuts and distort the program.

The accumulation of cadres and expansion

The antidemocratic actions of the government are against the interests of the anti-imperialist movement and the revolution . . .

of the party depends on our participation in the workers and toilers struggles, consistent propaganda of revolutionary socialist ideas in opposition to all political currents, calculated agitation around immediate, democratic, and transitional demands, and effective organization. Our party must train professional cadres who are committed to the goals of the revolution and spend all their time and energy towards that. The quantitative growth of the party should rapidly be combined with the qualitative development of cadres on an ideological level, toughness in defending the program, immunity from alien class pressures and political influences, and experience in organizing teamwork, and political capacity. If it is not possible to publicly explain our whole program and positions as a legal party, they should be posed and discussed without any distortions inside

the party. And the public activities of the party should be patiently explained to the party membership and be clear to everyone inside the party.

Building the proletarian party necessitates the building of an independent youth organization. The appearance of currents such as the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line and the Islamic Associations in anti-imperialist and mass struggles, and the crisis of organizations such as the Mujahadeen and Fedayeen, has opened great possibilities for activity and recruitment by the Young Socialists. The socialist perspective is becoming acceptable to broad layers of youth that are politically active and growing. And they can be attracted to the struggle of the working class, the revolutionary program and our party. One of the central tasks of the party is to help build the socialist youth organization.

Since Marx founded the First International, Marxists have put the international organization of workers at the center of their program, and have consistently fought for it. This principle stems from the international nature of capitalism and the working class. The struggle of classes has an international character and the victory of socialism is only possible on an international level. The building of a party at the national level is inseparably bound with building the international. The Fourth International (FI) is the only international revolutionary workers party that has continued the genuine traditions of Marxism, incorporated the experiences of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, and—with a Transitional Program and organizational norms based on the achievements of more than a century of proletarian struggles—builds revolutionary Marxist parties all over the world with a working class orientation—parties which can stand on their own feet, develop their own leadership, and lead the socialist revolution in their own country.

Iranian Trotskyism from its inception has fought for building the international with loyalty to the FI and the Transitional Program. Without the International, our party could not have been and will not be built. Not only is this vital from the viewpoint of political collaboration, but also from the viewpoint of organizational solidarity and the struggle for building the international. The international defense of socialist prisoners would have been impossible without the international. Building the Fourth International is one of the central tasks of our party.

10. The main points of the immediate tasks of the proletariat, which stem from the objective situation, show the course of the revolution's progress, and are a guide for the party's propaganda, agitation, and organization, are as follows:

a. The unconditional, material defense of the Islamic Republic against military interventions by the imperialists and the conspiracies of their internal and external allies. Building the Army of 20 Million. Arming the workers and peasants shoras. The army to be under the control of Pasdaran and soldiers shoras. For democracy and shoras in the army and Pasdaran. For an immediate end to the imposed fratricidal war against the Kurdish people.

b. Confiscation of the property of the capitalists and landowners who collaborate with the coup plotters, and those who sabotage the economy by hoarding, profiteering, and cheating. Complete monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalization and amalgamation of banks and insurance companies under the control of workers and employees shoras. Production and distribution under supervision of workers, peasants, and community shoras. Immediate and extensive government development programs in education, health, and housing—with priority given to the regions of oppressed nationalities, especially Kurdistan. Development of higher education institutions at the service of and controlled by the youth, workers, and oppressed nationalities throughout the country.

c. For the extension and unification of factory shoras. Against the dissolution of shoras. For recognition of shoras by the government. For executive power of shoras. For independence and democracy of the shoras. Against expulsions of political groups. All purges should be done through the shoras. Abolition of Code No. 33 [that allows firings for no reason]. The labor law should be drafted by workers shoras. For a sliding scale of wages according to increases in inflation. For a forty-hour workweek. Reduction of working hours without reducing wages. Jobs for all. For unemployment insurance.

d. Land distribution under the control of peasant shoras. Long-term loans, seeds, fertilizer, and industrial machinery to the poor peasants on simple terms. Agricultural banks under the control of workers and peasants shoras. The Ministry of Agriculture under the control of the Jihad Sazandegi, and Jihad Sazandegi under the control of workers and peasants shoras.

e. The right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities. Autonomy for Kurdistan. Military unity with the oppressed nationalities against imperialism. The right to national assembly for the oppressed nationalities.

f. Equal rights for women. Priority to women in educational programs. Against the expulsion of women from the workforce. Against compulsory veiling and any kind of discrimination and humiliation of women.

g. For freedom of all parties, press, assembly, demonstrations. For freedom of all anti-imperialist and working-class political prisoners.

h. The Ministry of Labor under the control of workers shoras. For the extension and unification of workers, peasants, soldiers and Pasdaran shoras. For a workers and peasants government. □

Right-wing terrorists renew threats

Police implicated in provocations against PRT

By Aníbal Yáñez

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Terrorism against progressive and revolutionary forces is making new inroads in Mexico. A so-called National Patriotic Anticommunist Front (FPAN) has threatened to kill Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, leader of the National Front Against Repression (FNCR), and several leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

Ibarra de Piedra has been nominated by the PRT as its candidate for the presidency of Mexico. The members of the PRT who have been threatened with death are Edgar Sánchez and Pedro Peñaloza, both national leaders of the party; Rafael Torres, an activist in the teachers union; and Andrés Ugalde, PRT organizer in Cuautitlán, an industrial suburb near Mexico City.

At the beginning of April, in a leaflet distributed in Cuautitlán, the FPAN assumed responsibility for the assassinations of Misael Núñez, a leader of a rank-and-file current in the teachers union, and of the general-secretary of the General Electric workers' union.

In that same leaflet the FPAN—under the slogan of "Mexico free from communism!"—announced that together with its "justice commando" it would decide "when and how" Ibarra de Piedra and the PRT leaders would die.

One of those threatened, Andrés Ugalde, is not widely known as a PRT member, since he is an organizer who is mainly concerned with the internal work of the party. But he is known to the police and has been arrested for his political activities in the state of Morelos. The FPAN's threatening leaflet was thrown into his house.

In addition, the FPAN leaflet says that the work of the PRT in factories such as Goodyear Oxo, Mexicana de Autobuses, Ford, and Teléfonos de México, and in the electricians union, "will no longer be permitted."

The naming of these workplaces and the threats against Ugalde arouse suspicion that the Mexican police are involved in the FPAN provocations. Who the militants of the PRT are and where they work is not something that is necessarily in the public domain.

Moreover, these threats take place in the context of the everyday repression and provocations that affect the industrial suburbs of Mexico City and working people in particular.



Fred Murphy/IP

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, target of death threats, at PRT rally in April.

One of the main instruments for the creation of this climate of repression has been the Battalion of Radio Patrols of the State of Mexico (BARAPEM), whose activities range from the breaking of strikes, to extortion and robbery of workers on payday, to the imprisonment of trade union and political activists.

On May 1, the international workers holiday, a total of 100,000 workers marched in the industrial suburbs of Mexico City. One of the central demands on the placards and banners of these workers was an end to the BARAPEM's arbitrary actions and repression.

A PRT spokesperson explained in a telephone interview from Mexico City, "Everything points to the fact that there is a strong link between the FPAN and the BARAPEM."

It is especially important to note that the new threats against the PRT and its presidential candidate come precisely at the moment when the party is stepping up its fight to be registered for the 1982 elections. [See *Intercontinental Press*, April 20, 1981, page 374.]

Since 1977, when the current Mexican president, José López Portillo, began his "political reform," the PRT has pressed its demand and stated its right to be registered as a party.

In May 1977, shortly before the PRT had to appear before the Ministry of the Interior to present its case, Alfonso Peralta, a founder and leader of the PRT, was gunned down by a group that claimed to belong to the "September 23" Communist League. This was an attempt to create the impression that the assassination of Peralta was the result of a feud between left-wing groups. But the police, usually so dedicated and efficient when it comes to going after organizations of the workers movement, never offered a satisfactory explanation of the assassination.

One year later, in the midst of the PRT's campaign for legal registration, the FPAN made its first appearance, threatening leaders of the party with death and holding up Peralta's murder as an example.

Numerous police provocations against PRT activists involved in the campaign also took place that year. Nevertheless, at the end of 1978 the PRT obtained its registration as a "National Political Association," and the public threats of the FPAN ceased.

Now, in 1981, with the PRT's insistence that it be registered as a political party with full electoral rights, the FPAN has reappeared. Its latest threats began just days after the PRT's March 31 victory forcing the government to speed up the procedure for the registration of new parties.

In renewing their death threats against the leaders of the PRT and Ibarra de Piedra—a well-known fighter for democratic rights—the terrorists of the FPAN declared "No to the registration of the PRT!" in the leaflet distributed in Cuautitlán.

These threats are aimed against the free participation of Mexican workers in political and social struggles. They are an attempt to restrict even more already limited democratic rights in the country.

In the face of this attack, statements by trade unions and political parties have appeared in the Mexican press repudiating the rightist provocations and calling on all democratic and revolutionary forces to close ranks against threats such as those that are now being issued in FPAN's name.

Taking into account the probable complicity of the police in these threats, it is also necessary to hold the government responsible for the security and lives of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, Edgar Sánchez, Pedro Peñaloza, Rafael Torres, and Andrés Ugalde. □