

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

combined
with *inprecor*

Vol. 19, No. 42

November 16, 1981

USA \$1.25 UK 50p

Cuba Warns of Imminent U.S. Attack

Reagan Prepares Military Action in Central America and Caribbean



Cuba is central target of U.S. imperialists. "March of the Fighting People" in April 1980 showed determination of Cuban people not to back down in face of Washington's threats.

Get Out the Truth! Protest U.S. War Moves!

An Exchange of Views: The Iranian Revolution Today

Central America: a call to action

By David Frankel

For the past two and a half years — ever since the workers and farmers in Grenada and Nicaragua took governmental power — *Intercontinental Press*, along with others, has been explaining that a military confrontation between U.S. imperialism and the revolutions unfolding in Central America and the Caribbean is inevitable. That confrontation is now imminent.

All indications are that the Reagan administration is preparing some sort of military action. There has been a general military countermobilization in Cuba. Nicaraguan armed forces have already been on alert since early October. As the article by Fred Murphy and Mary-Alice Waters on page 1108 explains, the Cuban government has become absolutely convinced that Washington and its allies are planning to move militarily within a matter of weeks.

The Cuban leaders are telling this to the Cuban people, and to defenders of the Cuban revolution throughout the world. The last time the Cubans made such a prediction was prior to the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, and they were right.

More of the same?

Because Washington has been threatening Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the Salvadoran revolutionists for so long, it is easy to be lulled into thinking that the new moves by Washington are merely more of the same. But this is not the case.

More than two years have elapsed since the overthrow of the Gairy and Somoza dictatorships. All the measures taken by Washington to try to halt the advance of the socialist revolution — the cutoff of loans and aid, the aid and encouragement to counterrevolutionary forces, the organization of pressure from neighboring regimes, and direct military threats — have proven inadequate. The Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions continue to move forward, and the position of the junta in El Salvador is deteriorating.

The most powerful ruling class in history will not allow new socialist revolutions to be consolidated in the Western Hemisphere without attempting to use all the means at its disposal, including military force, to crush them.

Antiwar sentiment

What about the antiwar sentiment of the American workers? Does that preclude U.S. military action in Central America or the Caribbean?

Intercontinental Press has frequently described the deep antiwar sentiment in the United States. This sentiment was shown by antidraft demonstrations last year, by the protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador,

including the 100,000-strong May 3 march on Washington, and by the failure of 25 percent of newly eligible youth to register for the draft.

Such antiwar sentiment is a real factor. It limits the freedom of action of the imperialist rulers. It makes military action on the scale of the Vietnam war — when Washington sent half a million soldiers into action in a war that lasted more than eight years — too politically explosive for the U.S. rulers to undertake today.

Rulers will defend their class interests

But sentiment, no matter how deep, must be mobilized to be effective. The rulers decide whether or not to undertake a military operation not by consulting "public opinion," but on the basis of the need to defend their class interests.

Washington controls a military machine of some two million personnel. Its air and naval forces are capable of awesome destruction.

The U.S. rulers are quite capable of staging a provocation and committing elements of these forces to action, both in order to strike militarily at the revolutionary movements they

oppose, and also to try to intimidate antiwar forces at home. The kind of military move needed to strike a real blow at these revolutions would surely escalate into an all-out war in the region, with Cuba as the central target.

Only when the working people of the United States take the military arsenal out of the hands of the present rulers and take political power for themselves will the imperialist warmakers finally be stopped.

Time to act

But that does not mean the imperialists cannot be slowed down or deterred from taking any *particular* action. They take many factors into account in any political decision they make. That is why it is so important to sound the alert *now*, not after the fact. The spotlight must be turned on Washington's plans and massive international pressure must be mobilized. This is especially important due to the virtual blackout in the mass media of these developments.

All of progressive humanity has a stake in this fight. Workers organizations throughout the world have a particular responsibility to get out the truth about Washington's dangerous new war moves in the Caribbean and Central America and to organize the broadest, most effective political response.

The time to act is now. □

Apartheid under pressure

By Ernest Harsch

"It was time for Black people to stand up and fight for our rights. The winds of liberation are blowing in our favour. We are prepared to pay the price, no matter how great, to liberate our country."

Sandile Manasse, the general secretary of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, was expressing the sentiments of many in the audience as he addressed a mass meeting in Langa, near Cape Town, in late September, called to protest the detention of more than 200 Black trade unionists earlier that month.

But he was not only voicing their feelings. He was also speaking for a growing number of Blacks throughout South Africa, who are organizing themselves into trade unions and political organizations to fight against the regime's racist system of apartheid.

In the five years since the massive Black rebellions of 1976, the authorities have tried everything in their power to stifle the Black majority's struggle for freedom. They have outlawed many of the leading Black political organizations and jailed their leaders; some, like Steve Biko, have been killed. They have pressed ahead with their plans to rob Africans of even more of their rights — and to create divisions among them — by forcibly making them "citizens" of one or another of the ten impoverished rural reserves called Bantustans. They have sought to undercut Black worker

militancy by imposing new shackles on trade unions.

It is now becoming clear, however, that none of this is really working.

In late August, the Johannesburg *Star*, one of the major white-run dailies in South Africa, conducted a poll of Blacks in Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town. It found that 61 percent of those questioned supported either the African National Congress (ANC), Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), or Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Both the ANC and PAC were outlawed in 1960. Azapo, which can still function legally, is the main group identified with the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

Significantly, the ANC has emerged as the single most popular group. It had the backing of 40 percent of those polled, while 76 percent said they liked Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island. The fact that so many people were willing to openly state their preference for the ANC at a time when the organization has sharply stepped up its guerrilla actions is an indication of the popular mood in the country.

Just before several bombings of energy installations in late October, Gen. Magnus Malan, the minister of defense, acknowledged that sabotage actions had increased by 200 percent over the previous six months. Besides bombings of railway lines, power plants, and

other vital installations, there have also been a growing number of attacks on police stations and even military bases by fighters belonging to the ANC.

But the problems facing the regime in Pretoria are not primarily military; so far, the ANC's guerrilla actions have been relatively modest in scale. What is worrying the apartheid authorities in particular are the growing signs of popular support for such actions, and the clearly massive political opposition that is developing to many of their key policies.

One example of this is the resistance to the Bantustan policy. There have been numerous protests recently by trade unions and political groups against the regime's plans to impose "independence" on the Ciskei in December. (The Transkei, BophuthaTswana, and Venda have already been declared "independent," though no one except Pretoria itself recognizes them as such.)

Dr. Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaans University noted in a recent study that the Bantustan policy, rather than dividing Africans, has tended to unite them in opposition to it. "Although white rule is still firmly entrenched," he said, "it is today being challenged more seriously both domestically and internationally than ever before."

Indians boycott council

Africans have not been the only ones to reject the regime's divide-and-rule policies. So have Indians and Coloureds (people of mixed ancestry), the two other sectors of the Black population.

On November 4, the first "elections" were held to the South African Indian Council (SAIC), a government-established body with no real powers. But opponents of the council organized a successful boycott of the elections.

Despite a massive government publicity campaign, reporters estimated that between 85 and 90 percent of the eligible voters stayed away from the polls.

Rallies called by the Anti-SAIC Committee, which organized the boycott, drew thousands of people and were quite militant. Just three days before the elections, some 3,000 rallied in Lenasia, an Indian township near Johannesburg. When Ismail Meer, a prominent Indian activist, mentioned the name of Nelson Mandela, the audience burst out into cries of "Amandla, amandla!" (Power, power).

There have been numerous other signs of simmering unrest in the country. Since August, this has included rallies called by Azapo and other Black groups, commemorations of the fourth anniversary of Biko's death, and rallies and marches in various Black townships to protest rent hikes.

Workers organize

But it is Black workers who are increasingly taking the lead.

From early August until mid-October, nearly 20,000 Black workers ignored antistrike laws and laid down their tools in more than a score of cities around the country. They included

dockworkers, factory laborers, metalworkers, truck drivers, sugar workers, women laundry workers, and many others.

Many of the strikes were around pay issues. Some, like a strike by hundreds of workers at a tile factory in Olifantsfontein, were in response to management reprisals against union organizers. At one strike of about 1,700 workers at a telephone manufacturing company in Springs, just east of Johannesburg, workers rallied outside, singing Black freedom songs and shouting "Amandla!"

An important issue in a number of the strikes has been the workers' demands for recognition of their own independent unions. This is a sign of the recent growth of the Black union movement.

In 1979, the regime adopted new labor laws that sought to put additional controls on Black unions by compelling them to register with the government. Instead, it has been confronted with organizing drives by the most militant unions, which have refused to register. Since then, Black union membership has grown by

50 percent (to several hundred thousand), although it is still a very small proportion of the total Black workforce. Despite the lack of official government recognition for many of these unions, they have been successful in forcing some seventy companies to recognize them (up from two in 1979).

Especially worrisome to Pretoria is the fact that the fastest growing unions are also the most militant and most political, such as the South African Allied Workers Union. They are also moving toward greater coordination. In early August, representatives of twenty-nine Black unions met in Cape Town to draw up joint proposals on action against the regime's repressive labor laws and arrests of unionists. Later meetings, called by some of these same unions, focused on building opposition to "independence" for the Ciskei.

At a mass rally in Cape Town in September, a spokesperson for shantytown dwellers in Nyanga got up and, according to the *Cape Times*, "said South Africa must prepare for a situation where the workers will govern and there will be houses and security for all." □

IN THIS ISSUE

Closing News Date: November 9, 1981

LATIN AMERICA	1108	Reagan prepares military action — by Fred Murphy and Mary-Alice Waters
WESTERN EUROPE	1115	Haig confirms atomic war plans — by Will Reissner
IRAN	1116	Imperialism and the Khomeini government — by David Frankel
	1123	How "Socialist Challenge" views the situation
	1124	Members of Iranian parliament hold news conference in Cuba
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1125	New wave of political trials — by Vincent Kermel
	1126	Petr Uhl: a special target of the bureaucracy
USA	1127	Government attacks movement for Irish freedom by Marc Lichtman
DOCUMENTS	1112	Cuba answers U.S. threats and lies
	1128	Speech by Edward Lipinski to Polish Solidarity congress
NEWS ANALYSIS	1106	Central America — a call to action — by David Frankel
	1106	Apartheid under pressure — by Ernest Harsch

Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594). Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Editor: Steve Clark.
Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Managing Editor: David Frankel.
Editorial Staff: Sue Hagen, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.
Business Manager: Sandi Sherman.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands

on the program of the Fourth International.

To Subscribe: For one-year subscriptions in the U.S. or Canada send \$35.00 (41.00 Canadian dollars) to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Write for rates for first class and airmail; or telephone: (212) 929-6933.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 3774, Auckland.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send \$50 for one year; \$25 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

Reagan prepares military action

Cuba warns of imminent attack

By Fred Murphy
and Mary-Alice Waters

There is growing evidence that U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is imminent. The details of Washington's plans are being kept secret, but the targets are unmistakable: the advancing rebel forces in El Salvador, the deepening revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, and Cuba — which Secretary of State Alexander Haig has repeatedly slandered as the "source" of the problems the United States government faces in the region.

In response to the most recent developments, the Cuban government has had its armed forces on full alert since October 31. Reserves have been called up, troops have been restricted to barracks, and anti-aircraft weapons have been set up on rooftops in Havana. The newly organized Territorial Troop Militias have been mobilized.

Along with these steps to strengthen their military self-defense the Cubans have launched a political campaign, in Cuba and throughout the world, to explain the critical situation and mobilize opposition to U.S. plans.

'A new and dangerous turn'

Reagan's campaign against Cuba "has taken a new and dangerous turn," a front-page editorial in the Cuban daily *Granma* warned November 2. "There has been an escalation of hostility that brings to mind the U.S. government's behavior when the invasion of our country in April 1961 was already imminent. . . ."

The Cubans are appealing to supporters of the revolution throughout the world to get out the truth about Washington's moves, to break through the conspiracy of silence by the capitalist media that is concealing the military operations now being planned, to answer the lies that Washington is spreading about Cuba, and to mobilize in action everyone who defends the right of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean to determine their own future.

While the Cubans have no way of knowing which of the options are being chosen, they are absolutely convinced that some sort of military move by the Reagan administration is planned within the next days or weeks. That is what Cuban diplomats and officials are telling the press and all defenders of the Cuban revolution.

A hint of Pentagon plans

On November 4, unidentified administration officials chose to make public that Secre-

tary of State Haig had asked the Pentagon "to study a show of airpower, large naval exercises, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to the island, a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces" (*New York Times*, November 5).

The "leak" came in the midst of a closed-door gathering in Washington attended by Latin American army chiefs November 3-5. According to the November 6 *Washington Post*, "Pentagon officials declined to discuss" the contents of keynote speeches given by U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Col. José Guillermo García, El Salvador's defense minister. "However," the *Post* reported, "U.S. officials familiar with the text of Weinberger's speech said the United States was stressing the need for solidarity among the attending governments against the perceived threat of Cuban and Nicaraguan influence and insurgency in Central America and the Caribbean."

Nicaragua had been excluded from the meeting.

"A number of Latin American diplomats here said the conference focused specifically on El Salvador and U.S. charges of Nicaraguan and Cuban involvement there," the *Post* reported.

The Washington daily added that "some administration officials believe the government of Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte may be close to collapse."

A new stage

Washington is being forced to open a new stage in its battle to halt the advance of socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. Political and diplomatic maneuvering, combined with huge weapons shipments to dictatorial regimes, has not stopped the advance of the popular forces and the deepening of the organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants. That is why these methods are giving way to active military preparations.

From the standpoint of imperialism, the situation has turned critical.

• In El Salvador, even administration spokesmen now acknowledge that the situation is in a "stalemate." And as Haig told *Newsweek* magazine, "stalemate could ultimately be fatal because Salvador is experiencing grievous economic difficulties."

Other reports indicate the situation facing Washington in El Salvador is still worse. According to a dispatch from there to the November 7 *Washington Post* "the leftist opposi-

tion seems to have broken the military deadlock and is making strong headway in the northern and eastern regions of the country. Furthermore, the Christian Democrat-dominated civilian component of the junta is being challenged by five right-wing parties that are calling for the resignation of the government before next year's general assembly elections."

A symbol of the junta's dire straits is the fact that for months its army has been unable to rout strongly entrenched guerrilla forces from the Guazapa Volcano, which is just fifteen miles from the capital and can be seen from there on a clear day.

• In Nicaragua, Washington's two-year effort to trick, entice, pressure, and bribe the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) into blunting the anticapitalist course of the revolution has failed, and a showdown is on the agenda. Terrorist raids by armed Somozaists operating from camps in southern Honduras have mounted.

The revolutionary government has acted decisively against destabilization attempts. On October 29, three top leaders of the local capitalists were sentenced to seven months in jail. Imperialist threats have escalated: "The West will not allow Nicaragua to follow the tortuous path of Cuba," U.S. Vice-president George Bush declared during a recent tour of Latin America.

• On the small Caribbean island of Grenada, the workers and farmers government led by the New Jewel Movement is standing firm against an onslaught of imperialist-inspired propaganda alleging "human rights abuse." New land-reform measures are being implemented, and the mass organizations and militias are being strengthened.

• Cuba, despite threats from Washington, has reaffirmed its solidarity with El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada. While categorically denying that Cuba has sent troops or Soviet weapons to Central America and challenging Washington to come with one iota of proof to the contrary, Fidel Castro emphasized in an October 24 speech that it is both "just" and "moral" to aid other peoples fighting for their liberation. "The imperialists are fooling themselves if they think our people will weaken" in face of threats and economic pressures, Fidel declared.

Opposition to intervention

The Reagan administration is well aware that the majority of the American people are opposed to any military action in the Caribbean or Central America. They learned this

particularly from the upsurge of protests that followed release of the now-discredited "El Salvador White Paper" earlier this year. They know that fully 25 percent of the latest group of eighteen-year-olds required to register for military conscription have failed to do so.

But the U.S. rulers must weigh such considerations against their fast-diminishing alternatives for halting the revolutionary developments in Central America and the Caribbean.

Advances in El Salvador

In recent weeks the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) has widened its areas of operation and dealt sharp blows to the military-Christian Democratic junta.

On October 15 the strategic Puente de Oro (Golden Bridge) over the Lempa River was demolished by FMLN commandos. This greatly complicated transport and troop movement between the capital and southeastern El Salvador. The rebels have inflicted heavy damage on the country's electric-power network, sometimes blacking out up to one-third of El Salvador and cutting off vital services in major cities.

On November 7 FMLN units staged heavy attacks on army installations in San Miguel, the third-largest city in the country and the main provincial capital in eastern El Salvador.

The strategy of "repression with reforms" inaugurated in 1979 by the Carter administration has proven increasingly bankrupt. Through a phony land reform and similar measures, Carter's State Department tried to prevent "another Nicaragua" in El Salvador. The biggest farms were nationalized, but this was only a pretext for military occupation of the countryside and the slaughter of hundreds of peasant-union activists and their families.

Nineteen-eighty saw the most massive strikes and street demonstrations in El Salvador's history, but it also saw the worst massacres by the repressive forces since the crushing of the 1932 insurrection. As the legal channels of opposition were systematically closed off, more and more Salvadorans took up arms against the regime.

The armed revolutionary organizations united to form the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. In January of this year, just before Reagan took office, the FMLN launched a general offensive. The rebels struck blows against the armed forces throughout the country, demonstrating the fragility of the junta's grip on power.

Carter policy dumped

The new administration in Washington unceremoniously shoved aside the Carter policymakers who had tried and failed to halt the revolutionary upsurge through palliatives and reforms. Reagan poured millions of dollars worth of arms and military equipment into El Salvador. Several dozen U.S. advisers were dispatched to help the junta's armed forces. An international political campaign was launched to convince public opinion that El Salvador was the victim of "Soviet-Cuban interven-

Emergency protests set for November 21

NEW YORK — An emergency meeting of people representing several dozen national and local organizations held here November 8 has issued a call for emergency demonstrations to be held all across the United States on Saturday, November 21, against threatened U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The meeting was called by several organizations that are focused around Cuba: the Venceremos Brigade, the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Casa de las Américas, Cuban Culture Circle, *Areíto* magazine, the Center for Cuban Studies, Cuba Resource Center, the Cuban-American Committee for Normalization of Relations, and U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange.

Among the other groups represented were: U.S. Communist Party, Dominican Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers World Party, and Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Also in attendance were Central American solidarity organizations such as Casa Nicaragua and Casa El Salvador, the National Black United Front, and other groups.

The meeting voted to set up an ongoing formation, the Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Organizers of the gathering also reported that similar emergency meetings are being called in many other U.S. cities.

tion."

Almost every week since March, a new "counteroffensive" by the Salvadoran army has been announced. But not even the elite "Atlatl Brigade," trained and advised by U.S. Green Berets, has been able to make headway against the FMLN. Instead, the guerrillas have extended their control over wide areas of the countryside, especially in the north and east.

At the same time, the FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) have gained broad international support for their cause. They have taken the offensive against the junta and Washington on the diplomatic front as well, calling for a political solution to the conflict. In this effort they have gained recognition and support from such governments as France and Mexico. On October 7, Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega presented the peace proposals of the FMLN and FDR to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

As the military situation in El Salvador has turned against them, the Christian Democrats and the armed forces hierarchy have publicly feuded. Tensions are again rising. By scheduling elections for a constituent assembly in March — a ploy aimed mainly at enhancing the junta's image abroad — the regime also

brought out of the woodwork several extreme right-wing parties with close ties to the officer corps.

These groups have little use for President Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democrats. The October 23 issue of *Latin America Regional Reports* explained: "The similarities of these right-wing parties are more important than their differences. All want to throw the Christian Democrats out of government, silence any talk of dialogue, and secure a military solution to the conflict. . . ."

U.S. calls in Latin American dictators

It has become evident that the Salvadoran armed forces alone cannot stave off the collapse of the regime. Hence, in addition to the meeting in Washington, consultation has taken place among the military chiefs of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to plan stepped-up intervention by the latter two armies in El Salvador. The October 9 *Latin America Weekly Report* said Argentine army commander Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri would visit Washington in November "to discuss the final details of plans to send Argentine troops to El Salvador." And the November 5 *New York Times* cited Reagan administration officials as saying that "several Latin American countries had been contacted at high levels in government and the military and asked if they might join in any kind of military operations" in El Salvador or against Nicaragua or Cuba.

Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders have made it clear that their governments have the right and duty to come to the aid of the popular forces in El Salvador in the event of a direct foreign intervention there.

Washington knows this, and that is why its plans for crushing the upsurge in El Salvador must include operations aimed against Nicaragua and Cuba as well.

Nicaragua at turning point

In Nicaragua, as in El Salvador, the Reagan administration is faced with a revolution that is advancing rapidly. It is clear that in recent weeks U.S. officials have become convinced that nothing short of outside military intervention can prevent the consolidation of the first socialist revolution on the American mainland. Nicaragua is where the current upsurge began. The Carter administration was unable to halt the overthrow of the Somoza regime and the destruction of its National Guard. Following the July 19, 1979, victory of the FSLN-led workers and peasants, conditions were placed on U.S. economic aid. In that way, Carter tried unsuccessfully to break the determination of the Sandinistas to defend and advance the interests of the Nicaraguan workers and toilers.

Washington had hoped to shore up the local capitalists and landlords who did not flee with Somoza and his cronies, create economic hardships for the working masses, and eventually undermine support for the Sandinistas. But this strategy did not get off the ground.

The Sandinista revolution advanced. Attempts by private industrialists to loot their en-

terprises of capital were met with factory occupations by the workers. Landowners who refused to plant had their holdings confiscated and turned over to the peasants.

Through the organization of the Sandinista People's Militias, the workers and small farmers were armed and organized. The necessity of this latter step became evident as the armed gangs made up of Somoza's ex-National Guardsmen and other counterrevolutionaries stepped up terrorist attacks from camps in southern Honduras.

After Reagan took office, U.S. threats and pressures against Nicaragua mounted. All U.S. economic aid was cut off in April. Short-term credit for vital imports became hard to get as most foreign banks followed Washington's lead.

FSLN stands firm

Backed by the workers and peasants, who have mobilized repeatedly to answer Reagan's threats, the FSLN stood firm. On July 19, 1981, the second anniversary of Somoza's downfall, the anticapitalist course of the revolution was reconfirmed.

"From this day on, the FSLN, the Government and all the people of Nicaragua are deciding the rules of the game," declared Commander Daniel Ortega to the rally of half a million in Managua. "We are not going to permit [the capitalists] to keep on playing around with our revolution — playing with the blood of our martyrs, playing with the sweat of our workers."

Since then Washington's anti-Nicaragua propaganda and threats have risen steadily. The revolutionary government's defense preparations and close ties to Cuba come in for special attack.

"The Sandinistas are creating an army and militia of over 250,000, equivalent to a full one-tenth of the population," the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* charged October 19. "Heavy equipment, including 30 T-55 tanks, have been pouring in from the Soviet bloc. The combined forces of Nicaragua and Cuba soon will dwarf any army south of the Rio Grande and drive a Soviet strategic wedge between North and South America."

Washington's allies inside Nicaragua — the local capitalists and landowners — chimed in with the rising chorus of reaction on October 22. The Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) charged in an open letter that the FSLN was carrying out "Marxist-Leninist" policies "behind the backs of the Nicaraguan people" and "preparing a new genocide."

'Point of no return'

"We are on the brink of the destruction of Nicaragua," the capitalists threatened. "We are coming to the point of no return."

The COSEP statement was a signal to Washington that anything goes in combating the Nicaraguan revolution. It was a declaration of war on the FSLN-led workers and farmers government.

In response to COSEP's provocation, the

FSLN jailed three top business leaders and reiterated earlier warnings to the right-wing daily *La Prensa* that attempts to destabilize the revolution would not be tolerated. As a result *Newsweek* reported in its November 9 edition, "The Reagan administration has almost abandoned its last faint hopes that Nicaragua's Sandinistas could be persuaded to follow a pluralist [i.e., procapitalist] path — and the hard-line U.S. policy toward Central America has turned even harder."

The "right" of the capitalist owners of *La Prensa* to use their presses to organize the counterrevolution is upheld with special vigor by the big-business news media in the United States and throughout Latin America. A delegation of newspaper owners from the Inter-American Press Association is due to arrive in Nicaragua on November 10 to "express concern" about "freedom of the press" to the government.

U.S. charges

Washington's key accusation — for which no evidence has been presented — is that the Sandinistas and the Cubans are shipping arms to the rebels fighting the brutal U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador.

"The government of Nicaragua is not sending arms to El Salvador," FSLN International Relations Secretary Julio López replied during a visit to Washington at the end of October, adding that "when a people needs weapons it finds them." López said the U.S. charges were aimed at providing a pretext "for a North American escalation in El Salvador."

Likewise, Cuban leader Fidel Castro responded to Washington's charges in an October 24 speech to the second congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in Havana:

"We answered all of this at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, when we said that for many months the Salvadoran patriots have been fighting with the weapons and ammunition they captured from the enemy, that it was not a moral question, because sending weapons to them is just and if we did not do so it was because we lacked the means. Morally we feel it is just to send weapons, but we told the truth: it was a lie that we were sending arms and ammunition to the Salvadoran patriots.

"We made all three denials at the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference: we are not sending weapons from the Soviet Union to Central America, we do not have advisers there and we are not sending weapons to El Salvador. We told them they were outright liars, we said so to the spokesmen of imperialism."

But the lies escalated nonetheless. "The United States claims the arms-supply network from Cuba through Nicaragua to El Salvador remains intact," the November 9 *Newsweek* said. "In response, Reagan's planners have decided to provide more military aid and advisers to El Salvador and other nations threatened by Nicaragua's military buildup. 'Don't rule out U.S. Marines,' says one knowledgeable source."

The Nicaraguans take mounting evidence of Washington's military plans as seriously as the Cubans do. A month-long militia mobilization began October 4 in response to U.S.-Honduran naval maneuvers held near Nicaragua's coast. Since then the mass organizations and the armed forces have been vigilant and ready to respond to any aggression.

"Our response as Nicaraguans to the Yankee military maneuvers was to organize the most formidable anti-imperialist mobilization ever seen in Central America," Commander Tomás Borge told the CDR congress in Cuba on October 24. Speaking two days after the murder of two Cuban teachers in Nicaragua by counterrevolutionary terrorists, Borge declared:

"Now Nicaragua and Cuba are not only united by the mutual respect and love between our peoples, but by this indissoluble bond of blood. Cuba and Nicaragua, and beside them all the peoples of Latin America, are marching towards the future with their formidable mass organizations, with their people's armies united by reason, wisdom, and justice. Those who wish to hold back that march have come too late, they will always come too late!"

Cuba's internationalist solidarity

U.S. threats against Cuba have steadily mounted since the beginning of the Nicaraguan revolution and the upsurge in El Salvador. They started with the Carter administration's scare campaign around an alleged "Soviet combat brigade" in Cuba in September 1979. That was followed by the establishment of a Caribbean military command in Florida, the "Solid Shield '80" and other naval exercises in the Caribbean, a growing permanent U.S. military presence there, and even the threat in April 1980 of a mock invasion of Cuba at the U.S.-occupied Guantánamo naval base.

Further provocations have been staged by the Reagan administration. In February the first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington was expelled. A series of Latin American regimes have been induced to break diplomatic relations with Cuba — first Colombia, then Costa Rica, and most recently Jamaica. Efforts have been made to bar Cuban periodicals from the United States, or at least make them more difficult to obtain.

Mysterious epidemics of diseases like dengue fever and hemorrhagic conjunctivitis have broken out in Cuba in recent months. The U.S. Senate itself has documented attempts in the past by the CIA to use biological warfare against Cuba, and many Cubans believe that this nefarious tactic is now being employed again.

The Reagan administration recently announced plans to set up "Radio Martí" — a grotesque parody on the name of Cuba's anti-imperialist national hero José Martí. This project will involve using a powerful transmitter in Florida to beam counterrevolutionary propaganda into Cuba.

Military camps for Cuban and Nicaraguan exile terrorists in Florida and elsewhere are allowed to function openly, in violation of U.S.

laws, just as they were in the months leading up to the April 1961 Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón) invasion of Cuba.

A new round of U.S. naval maneuvers in the Atlantic and the Caribbean began October 30, involving two aircraft carriers, thirty-six other warships, and more than 200 planes. U.S. Coast Guard vessels have also begun patrolling the Windward Passage between Cuba and Haiti, ostensibly to block Haitians from emigrating to the United States.

Cuba's response to U.S. threats

The Cuban people and their leaders have resolutely responded to each new threat, declaring their solidarity with the revolutions unfolding around them. Three times in April and May 1980, millions of Cubans took to the streets in disciplined mobilizations to repudiate the anti-Cuba propaganda campaign whipped up by Washington over the exodus of more than 100,000 "fainthearts" from the port of Mariel.

On May 1, 1980, Fidel Castro called for the organization of the Territorial Troop Militias. A massive campaign to build these new armed forces of the people was launched in December 1980, after the second congress of the Cuban Communist Party. In a January 20 speech, Fidel described the militias as "the ideal complement" to Cuba's regular armed forces: "There will be no part of our country left unprotected; there will be no area in which the enemy will not encounter the tenacious and firm resistance; there will be no front — for all fighters, whether from the regular forces, Civil Defense, or territorial troops, the front will be where the enemy is."

In his speech to the CDR congress on October 24, Fidel reaffirmed Cuba's determination to defend itself against any eventuality. He pointed out that the Reagan administration's policies represent a grave threat to world peace. "Peace is being threatened in two ways," Fidel said, "by the danger of a world conflict and by the threats of a conventional attack on Cuba by the United States." He continued:

Some people wonder what's going to happen in the world. I, too, wonder what's going to happen in the world if they decide to launch a direct attack on Cuba. I say this because, first of all, what we must learn and observe as our philosophy is not to wait for anybody to defend us but to be ready to defend ourselves. . . .

If we're unable to defend ourselves then we cannot expect solidarity from anybody. If we can defend ourselves, then we'll see what happens. What will happen? We'll leave that to history and to the way in which each one fulfills his duty of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

The imperialists mention total blockade as a part of their arsenal of measures against Cuba. Very well, we'll have a new experience and so will they, because one thing we're sure of is that our country can resist a total blockade as long as we have to. We know exactly what to do in the case of a total blockade and we know exactly what to do in the case of direct aggression. . . .

It is very likely that the imperialists will resort to the dirtiest methods of sabotage, as they did in the

past and as they are now doing. We must continue to be careful and adopt special measures against biological warfare and be ready to take all necessary measures and follow all instructions in a disciplined manner. In short, we must even be ready for atomic war, even for atomic war! What can we do? Well, dying with dignity is a good way to behave and to make revolution!

We do not have atomic weapons but we are not afraid of atomic weapons, Messrs. Imperialists! . . .

The imperialists are fooling themselves if they think our people will weaken! If we must make the sacrifices of the first years of the Revolution we will do the same and more! If we must make the sacrifices of the war of liberation we will do the same and more! If we must make the sacrifices of our *mambí* fighters we will do the same and more! . . .

We serve notice on the imperialists that the Cuban people will live with their Revolution or every last man and woman will die along with it!

Ominous blackout

Since the Cubans sounded the alarm over the imperialists' preparations for military action and placed their own armed forces on alert, the response of U.S. government officials has only served to confirm the accuracy of the Cuban charges.

No representative of the White House, State Department, or Pentagon has so much as mentioned the military alert in Cuba. None have even acknowledged the Cuban government's repeated demands that proof be presented of the wild allegations about Cuban intervention in Central America.

Instead, top administration officials have leaked word that military options are under consideration, and Secretary Haig has confirmed the substance of those reports.

To the extent that they have reported them at all, the major U.S. news media have discounted the Cubans' concerns. The November 6 *Washington Post*, for instance, cited "congressional and Pentagon sources" as saying "that there were no indications that any . . . U.S. military action against [Cuba or Nicaragua] was imminent."

Concerning the current U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean, the November 7 *New York Times* said Pentagon officials stressed that these "were planned long ago and were only coincidentally related" to Haig's request that military plans be prepared.

The *Times* and other ruling class papers have sought to portray the situation as a policy dispute between Haig and the Pentagon. According to this version, the Defense Department officials think the possibility of successful military action is limited and that, in the words of the *Times*, "it is highly doubtful that the American public and Congress would support military intervention. . . ."

The rulers are certainly aware that military moves would not be popular. But they must weigh that against their narrowing range of options. Moreover, such public policy disputes are themselves often part of a smokescreen. Compare the recent accounts with the following dispatch by James Reston published in the April 11, 1961, *New York Times* — just six

days before Cuba was invaded at the Bay of Pigs:

A sharp policy dispute has developed within the Kennedy administration about how far to go in helping the Cuban refugees to overthrow the Castro Government. . . .

Some officials are urging the President to provide enough military and economic assistance to enable the refugees to establish effective control over at least part of Cuba. It is understood, however, that the State Department is worried about the political and military consequences in the hemisphere and elsewhere of providing military force to achieve political ends.

Thus, while the *Times* was comforting its readers with the idea that nothing had been decided and the "policy dispute" was still unresolved, the ships were secretly being loaded for the invasion forces.

So this would not be the first time that the capitalist news media helped keep the public in the dark about Washington's real intentions. Also, while the main organs of the U.S. ruling class have downplayed the reports of plans for military action, the Spanish-language tabloids published by anti-Castro exile groups in the United States have been in a frenzy of excitement and anticipation. "Cuba Invasion Plan Ready!" screamed a banner headline on the October 4 issue of the Miami *Semana Extra*. "In military circles it is emphasized that for the first time in the past twenty years the United States is in optimum conditions to launch an action of this type," the gusano rag claimed. "It would be a decisive and lightning movement against the island. . . ."

Time to sound the alarm

Even the public dispute between Haig and Weinberger over plans for a "demonstrative" nuclear blast against Moscow should be looked at in this framework. Those who think the U.S. secretary of state is a babbling idiot would be wise to consider the possibility that representatives of the U.S. ruling class know exactly what they are doing when they make such statements. Haig's statement may have lost Washington some ground in Western European public opinion, but that is not the rulers' only concern. They paid a price, but delivered a timely warning to the Soviet Union and to the Cubans and other revolutionaries in Central America and the Caribbean.

It is clearly a dangerous moment for Cuba — the most dangerous since the revolution triumphed in 1959.

The Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Salvadoran revolutionaries face difficult times and decisive tests.

It is also the moment of truth for all the forces throughout the world that stand on the side of progress for humanity.

It is time to sound the alarm, to get out the truth, and to throw all our weight against Washington's plans for aggression in the Caribbean and Central America.

It is time to mobilize and demand — U.S. hands off Cuba!

No U.S. intervention in Central America or the Caribbean!

Cuba answers U.S. threats and lies

'We are ready to die before submitting to blackmail and fear'

[The following article was printed as an editorial in the November 2 issue of *Granma*, the daily newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In recent months it has become evident that there is a new imperialist conspiracy aimed at creating the conditions for aggression against our country and for military intervention in Central America.

The Reagan administration — faced with the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Central America, with Cuba's firm stand of rejecting imperialism's threats and pressures, with the continued deterioration of the internal economic situation in the United States, and the growing opposition to its interventionist policy in El Salvador — is deceiving public opinion in the United States by leveling false accusations against Cuba.

These accusations are leveled through use of unscrupulous journalists and lying statements by its government officials around the themes of supposed shipments of arms, Cuban military advisors, and combat troops to Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Bay of Pigs example

The campaign by the reactionary and warlike group that controls the executive power of the American nation has taken a new and dangerous turn. They have initiated negotiations with important foreign governments in which they threaten to launch the aggression against our country. There has been an escalation of hostility that brings to mind the U.S. government's behavior when the invasion of our country in April 1961 was already imminent, an invasion by a mercenary army recruited, financed, trained, armed, transported, and militarily supported by U.S. officers.

As the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations did on that occasion, the Reagan government is fabricating the climate needed for the aggression, is lying about the truth of the events, is trying to ignore the Revolutionary Government of Cuba's accusations regarding the aggressions that are being prepared, and is avoiding any response to the essence of the challenge made by Cuba.

Its clear aim is to confuse U.S. public opinion and sound out the possible reactions of other governments. While our government calls upon the Reagan government to present evidence for the false accusations it has made against Cuba, the representatives of imperialism avoid answering the Cuban challenge and remain quiet, waiting for the right moment for

the aggression.

But the facts are revealing the U.S. ruling group's shameless conduct and are exposing its lack of moral principles.

Charges by U.S. officials

To demonstrate this, it suffices to examine some of the manifestations of this imperialist conspiracy. These are not, by a long shot, the only things they have said against Cuba. This is just a sample, but one that is sufficiently illustrative.

- On July 30, in a secret session of the Senate Armed Services Committee, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig stated that "there is solid evidence that some of the materials [Soviet military aid to Cuba] are being re-shipped to Central America."

- On August 3, State Department spokesman Dean Fischer alleged that "Cuba's already packed arsenal has reached a level that goes beyond Cuba's legitimate defense needs."

- In early August, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Yankee representative to the United Nations, toured various Latin American countries. Everywhere she went she slandered and threatened Cuba and tried to justify the imperialist intervention in Central America. On August 8, from Chile, she stated that her government proposed "to persuade Cuba with all the means at its command." She then added: "The government of the United States is conscious that Cuban expansionism must be directly dealt with."

- On August 11, in remarks made to the American Bar Association, Mr. Haig accused Cuba and the Soviet Union of being the cause of the worsening tensions in Central America and Southern Africa, claiming that among other things they were guilty of sending Soviet arms to Nicaragua and El Salvador. On that occasion Mr. Haig also stated that Cuba has 1,500 military advisors in Nicaragua.

That same day, Rear Admiral Robert P. McKenzie, commander of Yankee naval forces in the Caribbean, declared that the Cuban navy is being transformed "into a fleet with an offensive capability, able to interdict navigation," and he accused Cuba of "spreading terrorism, revolution, and communism."

- On August 20, in a written response to questions from reporters, the State Department asserted that since 1980 Cuba had developed "a sophisticated and broad clandestine strategy that promotes armed violence and the destabilization of its neighbors."

- On August 23, in statements to the ABC television network, Mr. Haig repeated his threats against Cuba and, in justifying the action of the U.S. armed forces that shot down

two Libyan planes, expressed the view that the time had come for the international community to no longer ignore "illicit acts" whether stemming from Libya, Cuba, or the USSR.

- The following day, August 24, Mr. Haig again made accusations against Cuba. This time he told the *Christian Science Monitor* that "the stepped up guerrilla activity in El Salvador" is the "consequence of a continued provision of arms, advisory activity, and external command and control, primarily a Cuban source." Haig added that "I continue to believe we have to go beyond [internal security needs] to deal with the source of the external support."

- On August 28, the Yankee secretary of state said in a Washington press conference that for the first time the U.S. felt that Cuban military advisors are acting directly in "certain guerrilla areas" of El Salvador in support of the guerrilla operations command. Haig added that the U.S. was considering a number of political, economic, and security, (that is, military) "measures involving the problem at its source, Cuba."

- On September 1, an official declaration by the State Department stated that the U.S. intelligence services had confirmed the presence of some Cuban advisors among the Salvadoran revolutionary forces, without having precise estimates of the total number of Cuban advisors in El Salvador at the moment.

Who are the interventionists?

Thus, in rapid succession representatives of imperialism have tried to sow the idea among the unwary that Cuba is increasing its means of defense in an unjustifiable manner and with perverse aims (forgetting more than twenty years of systematic aggression by imperialism against our country).

They sow the idea that Cuba is the cause of the economic, political, and social conflicts on this continent and in other parts of the so-called Third World (as if the consequences of centuries of colonial rule and decades of imperialist exploitation could be hidden).

They sow the idea that Cuba is intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries on this continent (trying to sweep under the table the U.S. occupations of the territories of Cuba, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama, Haiti).

They sow the idea that Cuba must therefore be "punished" (closing their eyes to the demands by international public opinion, including in the United States, for a halt to imperialism's aggressive and warlike policy).

In the face of the evidence of the aggressive intentions of imperialism, the Revolutionary



Cuban Territorial Troop Militia in Havana, May 1, 1981.

Prensa Latina

Government of Cuba issued a declaration on September 3 referring to the July 30 statements by imperialist spokesmen regarding the alleged redistribution in Central America of weapons received by Cuba, and the September 1 statement on the supposed presence of Cuban military advisors among the Salvadoran revolutionary forces.

The Cuban declaration charged that "the process of brutal U.S. intervention in El Salvador is now leading to these cynical lies to justify new genocidal acts against that heroic people and other aggressive international actions by the insane, desperate policy of the present Yankee administration."

In its September 3 declaration, the Revolutionary Government also stated that the supposed redistribution of Cuban arms in Central America "is an absolute, 100 percent lie," and that "the assertion that there are Cuban advisors with the Salvadoran patriots is a shameless lie." The declaration added that "there has never been, nor is there now a single Cuban military or civilian advisor with the revolutionary forces that are fighting in El Salvador."

The Cuban declaration noted:

"We call on Mr. Haig and his government to provide world public opinion and public opinion within the United States with the slightest evidence for these assertions. The Cuban government never lies. Let's see if Mr. Haig and the unscrupulous and lying U.S. government can say the same."

But the United States did not respond to Cuba's challenge. According to a dispatch by the Agence-France Presse [AFP], in the face of insistent questions from journalists, the State Department spokesman merely repeated what had been said two days earlier by the State Department. This means that the State Department did not present any evidence or make the slightest effort to try to back up its false accusation. At the same time, however, and with total lack of respect for public opinion, it repeated its earlier statement. In other words, it again repeated its same lies.

For his part, on September 11 Admiral Harry Train, chief of the U.S. Atlantic fleet, declared that "the main threats to the security and stability of Latin America are Cuba and the USSR." This same Neanderthal had stated in Caracas on March 25 that "the U.S. was in a position to set up a military blockade around Cuba in reprisal for its intervention in the affairs of El Salvador."

On September 15, in his address opening the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro, reiterated the challenge to the United States authorities. After denouncing the falsehoods in the U.S. statements concerning the shipment of arms to Central America and the presence of Cuban advisors in El Salvador, Fidel pointed out: "We have called upon the United States government to

provide the most minimal evidence for its assertions and it has been unable to reply with a single word!"

Escalation of threats

On that occasion as well, the U.S. government did not respond to the Cuban challenge. Coincidentally, that same day the Department of State announced that it would not grant entry visas to three Cuban officials invited to participate in an event to take place in the U.S. capital to discuss present relations between Cuba and the United States, and future prospects.

However, the aggressive escalation against Cuba has not stopped:

- On September 23, President Reagan's National Security Advisor Richard Allen, and Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders announced the decision to begin radio broadcasts against Cuba, which the French wire service Agence-France Presse termed "a virtual declaration of radio war."

- Vice-president George Bush, addressing the Dominican Republic's congress on October 12, had the audacity to say that Nicaragua "still has the opportunity to free itself from he chains that the 5,000 advisors sent by Castro are slowly placing around it."

- On October 13, an advisor to President Reagan, who according to the AFP wanted to remain anonymous, stated that "the U.S. feels that the shipments of arms by Cuba to the Salvadoran rebels is continuing and will continue

in the future."

- The following day, in Colombia, Bush repeated the threats against Cuba, stating, according to an official U.S. news agency, that the United States "will not assume a passive attitude while foreign powers brutally intervene in the internal affairs of our peoples."

- On October 19, a column by journalists [Roland] Evans and [Robert] Novak was published dealing with the supposed presence of 500 to 600 Cuban soldiers in Nicaragua. These troops, it was claimed, were part of activity aimed at establishing "a Soviet-backed communist government" in "the eastern third of El Salvador."

'A lie from top to bottom'

In his speech to the closing session of the second congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution on October 24, Fidel Castro denounced this new provocation by reactionary U.S. groups, and pointed out how they manipulate some journalists to write these articles with obvious aims: to justify their intervention in El Salvador and to justify their threats and aggressive measures against Cuba.

And Fidel added: "Messrs. Imperialists, you are lying. Lying. The only thing to do is to expose the lie, for Cuba has not sent a single soldier from any special forces or any other kind of force to Nicaragua. Cuba has never sent any troops to Nicaragua! This is a blatant lie, and we have both the right and the duty to disprove it; it is a lie from top to bottom, from head to foot."

Upon receiving reliable reports on Mr. Haig's messages to other governments backing up the lying claims of these journalists and at the same time making new threats of attacks and aggression against Cuba, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba issued a declaration on October 28, this time calling on Mr. Haig to "state, without vacillation, subterfuge, or obfuscation:

- "Whether he can back up the charge that Cuba landed between 500 and 600 soldiers in Nicaragua;

- "Whether it is true that the United States has evidence for that assertion;

- "Whether it is true that he sent this report to other governments, adding that he had such proof, and accompanying the lies with his well-known and gross threats.

"Let him state on what day, at what time, and on what planes these men landed, since he claims to know! Let him present his evidence!"

'Subterfuge and obfuscation'

The reply by the State Department spokesman that day was an example of vacillation, subterfuge, and obfuscation: "It is our traditional policy not to confirm or deny this kind of information [from Evans and Novak]. However, we continue to view with the utmost seriousness the extensive shipments of arms and advisors to Nicaragua. Reports of this type press us to provide military and economic assistance to the countries of the region. We stand by what we have said thus far."

On the following day, October 29, when questioned by reporters, Haig again avoided Cuba's repeated challenge, and he repeated the same lies and threatened our country with new aggressive moves.

Last Friday, *Granma* restated the Cuban challenge, and in the name of our entire people it rejected the Yankee threats. In our editorial we demanded:

"Let the United States government clearly respond to the concrete challenge of the government of Cuba, if it can!

"Let it now stop shamefully deceiving the people of the United States and world opinion!"

On Friday afternoon, State Department spokesperson Alan Romberg spoke again about Cuba. He too was unable to respond to the firm, clear, and concrete formulations of our Revolutionary Government. This gentleman was, however, more precise when referring to imperialism's aggressive designs against our country.

New threats on blockade

Showing his scorn for the norms of international law, this individual confessed that among the new activities that are aimed against Cuba, in addition to the forthcoming start of radio broadcasts against our country, are "measures to strengthen the application of the blockade." Among these measures, he mentioned that in this year alone the Yankee government had cut all trade with twelve companies accused of having commercial ties with Cuba and he added that "new steps are being considered."

Nearly two months have passed since Cuba categorically refuted the mendacious Yankee accusations and challenged the U.S. rulers to present the evidence they say they have. There have been nearly two months of cynical and shameless silence, of total scorn for international opinion and for the people of the United

States themselves, who have a right not to be miserably misled.

Nearly two months have passed and the evidence has not been presented. Nearly two months have passed in which they have not, however, stopped their torrent of lies against Cuba.

Public opinion and the people of the United States have a right to demand an explanation from imperialism. And the U.S. rulers have an obligation to answer clearly and unambiguously.

'We will resist'

The campaign of lies waged by Washington has the goal of justifying new aggressive acts against Cuba and against the Central American peoples. It seeks to justify the demented warlike policy of the present U.S. administration and is an attempt to try to cover up its growing military intervention in El Salvador.

For the imperialists the lie is a tool of their policy of war, interventionism, and aggression. It is therefore necessary to expose it and defeat it.

The present Yankee rulers have the right to be the biggest liars in history, true rivals of Hitler and Goebbels, and it seems that is what they want to be and that is what they are showing themselves to be. But no one has the right to play with world peace with impunity, as their Nazi predecessors did in another time.

Whatever the price, we will resist this overbearing, arrogant, and fascist policy. More than once, we have shown that the empire does not inspire in us the slightest fear or respect.

As Comrade Fidel told the world parliamentarians at the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union: "We will save peace if its enemies know that we are ready to die for it before submitting to blackmail and fear."

Cuba sets the example for this in practice. □

Italy: 10 million workers strike

More than 10 million Italian workers stopped work for four hours on October 23 in answer to a call by the United Federation of Trade Unions, which represents three major trade union federations.

Although the movement was initially to cover only industrial workers, it rapidly spread to all categories: workers in agriculture, health-care, commerce, tourism, food industries, and transportation.

The unions issued their strike call following the breakdown of negotiations with Confindustria, the employers organization.

Since the beginning of the year, the successive governments of Christian Democrat Arnaldo Forlani and of Republican Giovanni Spadolini, as well as the employers, have wanted to drive through a reduction in labor costs and a freeze on the escalator clauses that adjust wages to inflation.

Faced with a worsening economic crisis, the ruling class sees no way out except through a general attack against previous gains made by the workers. The Socialist Party, which holds several key posts in the cabinet, has helped to implement this policy.

In recent months the leaders of the trade unions showed on a number of occasions that they were ready to give in on the escalator clauses. But the sharp reaction from the rank-and-file in the big industrial centers forced them to reverse themselves and adopt a harder tone.

After the defeats for the right wing in the referendum on abortion in May and in the regional elections in June in which the Christian Democratic vote went to its lowest point since World War II, the success of the October 23 strike is a new sign of the desire of the Italian working class to fight back. □

Haig confirms atomic war plans

Says NATO will drop nuclear bomb to 'warn' Soviets

By Will Reissner

For the second time in less than a month, a high U.S. official has acknowledged that Washington and its allies have plans to fight nuclear wars in Europe. On November 4 when Secretary of State Alexander Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of plans by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to detonate nuclear warheads in the event a conventional war erupts in Europe.

In Haig's words, there are "contingency plans" in the NATO military doctrine "to fire a nuclear weapon for demonstrative purposes to demonstrate to the other side that they are exceeding the limits of toleration. . . ."

Haig had the gall to present this as a plan to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war by showing that NATO really is prepared to use nuclear weapons.

Such contingency plans have been part of NATO's nuclear wartime strategy since at least 1968. But Haig's revelation, coming so soon after President Reagan's October 16 comments on the possibility of waging limited nuclear war in Europe, is certain to add fuel to the already massive movement on that continent against NATO's decision to deploy 572 U.S. nuclear-armed missiles in West Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

Weinberger denies plan

The Reagan administration tried to undo some of the damage caused by Haig's remarks by sending Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to testify before the Senate Armed Services Committee the following day.

There Weinberger flatly contradicted the statement by Haig, who served as supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe from 1975 to 1979 and surely knows what NATO's war-fighting plans are.

According to Weinberger, as quoted in the November 6 *Washington Post*, "there is absolutely nothing in any of the plans with which I am familiar that contain anything remotely resembling this, nor should it." But in London, a spokesman for the British Foreign Office confirmed Haig's testimony, saying "It has always been recognized that NATO strategy embraces actions which would be primarily demonstrative in effect."

Right after Weinberger delivered his flat contradiction of Haig's testimony, the White House, State Department, and Pentagon issued a joint statement maintaining that Haig and Weinberger were both correct! The statement argued that Haig was right that there are such plans, but Weinberger was right that they are not very precise.

Behind the flap in the administration over

Haig's statement lies its fear of the huge movement developing in Western Europe against the NATO decision to deploy the new U.S. missiles. On October 10, some 300,000 West Germans demonstrated against the missiles in Bonn.

Tide of opposition

That demonstration was followed by giant marches on October 24 and 25 of 300,000 in Rome, 250,000 in London, 200,000 in Brussels, and 100,000 in Paris.

Since those marches, some 150,000 demonstrators took to the streets in more than fifty towns of cities throughout Finland, and on October 31 more than 100,000 people marched against the missile decision in Milan.

The political tide in Europe is clearly running against the missile decision, a fact that is being increasingly acknowledged in the U.S. press. For example, in the November 6 *Washington Post*, the rabidly right-wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported that their talks in Bonn with representatives of all three major West German parties "uncovered this chilling consensus: the movement that [West German Chancellor Helmut] Schmidt once said would peak by September 1980 is gathering enough force to delay and possibly cancel outright NATO's nuclear modernization program set for 1983.

"The nuclear program will not come in as scheduled," a top authority predicted."

Claiming that the antimissiles movement "was originally stimulated through Moscow's awesome propaganda network across Europe," Evans and Novak admit that now "it has taken on a life of its own, turning out 250,000 demonstrators here last month."

The secretary-general of the Free Democratic Party, which supports the missile deployment decision, told the columnists that "we cannot deal with the peace movement. It is not finite. It is a phenomenon."

'Europe taut with anxiety'

Significantly, the same day's *Washington Post* contained a second, more sophisticated column about the threat to the NATO missile program. Stephen S. Rosenfeld wrote:

As public criticism of American policy grows louder in Europe, so private doubt is rising in Washington about whether those new nuclear missiles will actually be installed as planned in two years' time. Three to one against, says one arch-realist; no, two to one. It could be a very close-run thing.

The big question, according to Rosenfeld, is "will the Europeans hold — hold, that is, for two years?" (Emphasis in original.) Rosenfeld reports that a former European prime minister

warned him "that the administration, by its specific statements and its general line, was overloading a Europe already taut with anxiety and alarm. It particularly upset him to hear some substantial portion of Europe's unrest attributed to Soviet 'disinformation' activities."

The scope of the Reagan administration's problem in forcing through the missile deployment can be seen in a number of recent polls of European attitudes toward the weapons. The polls, all cited in the October 30 issue of the British weekly *The Economist*, not only show that the opposition is massive, but that it is growing fast. The polls were taken long before the recent demonstrations.

'A remarkable change'

The Economist, which avidly supports the NATO missile plan, acknowledges that the polls reflect "a remarkable change in European public opinion within the past 18 months."

For example, a survey in April in Britain indicated that fully 50 percent of the population was opposed to the missile plan, while 41 percent favored it. This is a reversal of a September 1980 poll, when 43 percent opposed the plan while 49 percent supported it.

The polls in Britain also indicate growing support for British unilateral nuclear disarmament, a position adopted by the opposition Labour Party.

In Belgium, an October public opinion poll indicated that 66 percent of the population in that country opposes the missiles, while only 19 percent favor them. One year earlier, 42 percent were opposed and 26 were in favor of placing Cruise missiles in Belgium.

In the Netherlands, an April poll showed 68 percent of the population opposed to the deployment plan, with 28 percent in favor. One year ago the opposition stood at 53 percent, while 39 percent favored the plan.

In West Germany, where all three major parties support the placement of nuclear missiles in their country, a May survey indicated that 39 percent of the population opposes the missiles, while 29 percent favor them. And among West Germans under twenty years of age, fully 70 percent are against the missile plan.

In addition, throughout Western Europe, polls show that large majorities oppose any increase in arms spending. The strongest support for increased arms spending came from Britain, where the right-wing government of Margaret Thatcher has been waging a fierce anti-Soviet propaganda campaign. But even there, barely one-third of the population favors higher arms spending. And less than one-fifth support it if it means cuts in social services.

The European antimissiles movement has planned a new round of demonstrations to keep up the pressure. On November 21 there will be a giant march in Amsterdam. In mid-December, an international demonstration will take place at the NATO headquarters in Brussels. And in April there will be a major West German demonstration in Munich to coincide with the Social Democratic Party congress. □

Imperialism and the Khomeini government

Reply to a reader

By David Frankel

[The following article is scheduled for publication in the November 20 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Three broad questions are raised by David Keil in his letter to the *Militant* (see box). These questions — the nature of the Iranian government, the role of religion in the Iranian revolution, and the character and activity of the Mujahedeen organization — are continually being discussed not just among socialists and in the workers movement, but in the daily press around the world.

The *Militant's* approach to these issues has been to analyze them in the context set by the imperialist domination of Iran.

Since Iran is a country oppressed by imperialism, all the problems facing the Iranian masses are connected to and intertwined with the struggle against this foreign domination. The shah's dictatorship, for example, was imposed by the CIA and propped up with U.S. arms. Its hated secret police, SAVAK, was trained by U.S. experts.

Similarly, Iranian workers and peasants fighting for a better life must do so in a country where the economic possibilities have been stunted by foreign exploitation.

Thus, the struggle against imperialism is not only an integral part of the class struggle inside Iran, it also determines the *framework* of that struggle.

Iranian government's actions

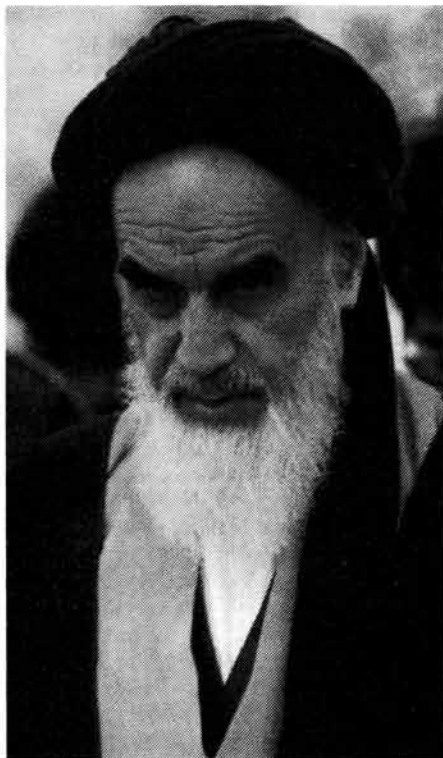
In his criticism of the *Militant*, Keil objects to characterizing the Iranian government as "an anti-imperialist government." He does not base his argument on the actual events in Iran's struggle against imperialist domination. Rather, he argues by definition. The Iranian government is a capitalist government, therefore it "is by its class nature pro-imperialist."

The closest Keil comes to looking at the actual events in Iran is when he asserts that "the Iranian government is pro-imperialist, not anti-imperialist, and has shown this in action."

What action is he referring to? When? Where? Keil does not tell us.

Any Marxist analysis of the Iranian government must begin with its origin and its actual relation to the working masses and imperialism. In this case, we are dealing with a government that came to power as a result of the revolutionary mobilization of the Iranian people in their millions.

Under the pressure of these mass mobilizations — which have continued to this day —



KHOMEINI

the government has carried out extensive anti-imperialist measures. These include:

- Expulsion of U.S. military advisers from Iran and closing of U.S. bases;
- Cutoff of oil to Israel and South Africa, and withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from the Zionist regime in Israel;
- Nationalization of imperialist holdings;
- Repudiation of the U.S.-backed Camp David accords;
- Refusal to back down in the face of U.S. military and economic pressure during the year-long hostage crisis;
- Encouragement of opposition movements in Saudi Arabia and Egypt — Washington's main bases of support in the Arab world aside from Israel; and
- Identification with revolutionary struggles against imperialism in other parts of the world — including support for the Irish liberation struggle and recognition of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in El Salvador.

Because of this history, the Iranian masses continue by and large to see the Khomeini government as one that will wage struggles against imperialism. And the imperialists also see it

this way. They have responded with a systematic campaign of poisonous propaganda, economic sabotage, political pressure, and military attacks.

'Do away with American lackeys'

For the imperialist rulers, the very existence of the Khomeini regime in Iran is a constant provocation. It is a living example to the workers and peasants throughout the Middle East that the mighty U.S. government can be successfully defied, that the oppressors can be overthrown no matter how big their arsenals and no matter how ruthless their secret police.

Nor has this example fallen on barren ground. U.S. policymakers, spurred by their fear that the Iranian revolution will spread, have rushed through development of a Rapid Deployment Force intended mainly for use in the Middle East, and have stepped up their scramble for new bases in the region.

Following Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's assassination on October 6, the Pentagon immediately alerted more than 70,000 troops and moved naval forces into position off the Egyptian coast. Washington's new man in Egypt, President Hosni Mubarak, accused "Moslem fanatics" of "trying to imitate something like what happened in Iran," and announced new repressive measures against "the extremists." (*New York Times*, October 20.)

One does not need a lot of imagination to picture the reaction among U.S. officials when Khomeini, speaking a few days after Sadat's death, declared: "The Egyptians should not fear Martial Law. . . . Like the Iranian people who flooded the streets and destroyed Martial Law, they should also flood the streets and demolish Martial Law and do away with these American lackeys" (*Tehran Times*, October 10, 1981.)

There is good reason for the nervousness in Washington. An indication of the degree of opposition to the Egyptian regime was given in a report by Thomas Friedman in the October 27 *New York Times*. According to Friedman, "More than 200,000 people packed Cairo's Abdin Square at the end of Ramadan in August for a prayer rally organized by the [Moslem] brotherhood and other Islamic associations."

It was shortly after this massive opposition rally that Sadat ordered the arrest of more than 1,500 of his political opponents.

Is imperialism not intervening?

Iranian leaders have urged the Egyptian masses to rebel against the proimperialist dictatorship there, and as we will see later in more detail, they are doing the same in Saudi Ara-

bia. But if we are to believe the story presented in the big-business media, Washington is taking a hands-off attitude toward Iran.

Following the August 30 bombing that took the lives of Iran's president and prime minister, the editors of the *New York Times* took some pains to stress that Washington was not involved. "The United States — its foot freed from the hostage bear trap — can stand aside

as yet another revolution devours its children," they smugly remarked September 1.

"Iran's political course will have to be determined by its own people — or its armed forces," the editorial added.

No CIA activity here, you see.

An editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* on the same day also protested Washington's innocence in the affair.

"Both sides in Iran's power struggle continue to blame the United States in one way or another for the situation that has once more brought shocking tragedy to Tehran," the *Monitor* commented. "But, whatever Washington's errors of commission or omission in the past, the present turmoil is the violent child of a revolutionary leadership that cannot escape responsibility for it in the eyes of the

'The Iranian government is pro-imperialist'

[The following letter is scheduled for publication in the November 20 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Dear Editor,

This letter concerns what I believe to be errors and unclarity in the *Militant's* position on developments in the ongoing Iranian revolution.

1. The *Militant* has been unclear or incorrect on the current crisis.

David Frankel's article in the October 9, 1981, *Militant* [this article also appeared in the October 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*] stated: "To begin with, it is necessary to carry out a revolutionary war against the Iraqi invaders and against the imperialist-backed destabilization campaign within Iran."

This demand of the government could easily have been taken to include continuation of the government's civil-war measures against the Mujahedeen organization. Frankel listed the Mujahedeen, the only sizable organized open opposition in Iran now, among the "forces aligned with imperialism."

The article noted government repression, but failed to include among its proposals the call for an end to the current wave of hundreds of political executions of Mujahedeen supporters.

Instead of defending the Mujahedeen victims against the firing squads, the *Militant* has repeatedly placed them in the same category as the monarchists and other direct imperialist agents in Iran. An earlier article by Fred Murphy, for example, referred to a "counter-revolutionary bloc" including the monarchists and the Mujahedeen.

It is correct to condemn Mujahedeen leader Rajavi's support for the former president, Bani-Sadr. It is correct to say the Mujahedeen military policy plays into the hands of the imperialists. (We should also note that it plays into the hands of the present Iranian government.)

It is false, however, to put Rajavi and the Mujahedeen in the same category as the monarchists. In a *Le Monde* interview, Rajavi said the resistance organization he proposed would be open to everyone "on the condition that they not have collaborated with the Shah

or Khomeini."

The cause of "destabilization" and violence in Iran, next to the Iraqi invasion, has not been the Mujahedeen, but the government's war against the Kurds, its repression of the Mujahedeen and others, and the economic sabotage of the capitalists. Yet the *Militant* for a time centered its attack on the Mujahedeen.

Frankel's article, acknowledging that the Mujahedeen campaign began in response to repression, was an improvement, in my opinion. The October 12 *Intercontinental Press* article by Fred Murphy was a further improvement, intimating opposition to executions.

The latest article only went half-way, however. The *Militant* should not just quote workers' view that the executions are "of little use in effectively defending the revolution"; it should include among its proposals an end to the anti-Mujahedeen political trials and firing squads. The *Militant* should explain that by supporting the Islamic Republican Party, the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party betrays the revolution. The *Militant* should explain that the government is *by its very nature unable* to carry out a revolutionary policy or a "revolutionary war."

2. The *Militant* has not been clear on the nature of the present government.

An article by Janice Lynn in the July 10 *Militant* called the Khomeini regime "an anti-imperialist government." In the absence of an explanation since then that despite its conflicts with Washington, the government is by its class nature pro-imperialist, it is necessary to assume that the label "anti-imperialist" still stands. But since the *Militant* has not repeated that characterization, perhaps you are not sure whether it's correct.

If the government, which the *Militant* has repeatedly recognized as capitalist, is also anti-imperialist, then the entire role of the capitalist class in Iran and other countries must be re-examined. Can capitalist governments go beyond occasional anti-imperialist measures and acquire an anti-imperialist character?

In my opinion, they cannot. The Iranian government is pro-imperialist, not anti-imperialist, and has shown this in action.

Furthermore, it is not a bourgeois-democratic regime; it is a clerical dictatorship.

The *Militant* ought to say both these things.

As against the present set-up, the *Militant* should present the necessity for separation of mosque and state, elections in which all parties are recognized, a government responsible to a constituent assembly, and authoritative constituent assemblies for each oppressed nationality. That will add some content to the *Militant's* call for a workers' and farmers' government.

3. While acknowledging that Islamic ideology is used by the Iranian government for reactionary purposes, the *Militant* has inexplicably endorsed Islam as a progressive set of ideas when embraced by the masses: ". . . the Islamic ideology of the workers and peasants expresses their hatred of imperialism and their desire for social liberation." (*Militant*, October 9, 1981, p. 17; almost the same formula was used in the July 10 issue, p. 7.)

In this way the Iranian masses' anti-imperialist sentiments and ideas, some of which have to do with Islam and some not, are made to seem equal to the ideology of Islam. But the ideology of Islam is that of the bourgeoisie and its clerical regime, which determine its content.

The best that can be said of the reactionary religious ideology of Islam is that the masses' adherence to it does not prevent them from fighting imperialism, and that it is no more reactionary than the secular bourgeois ideologies that coexist with it in Iran.

4. The above three points indicate that there has been a tendency in the *Militant* that leads in the direction of advocating critical support, in the political sense, to the Khomeini regime. Articles have lent support to the regime's justification of civil-war measures against the Mujahedeen, called it "anti-imperialist," and supported the Islamic ideology that ties the masses to it. This tendency may now be reversing itself. Count me as one who supports such a reversal.

David Keil
Newport News, Va.
October 11, 1981

world.

"The Iranians are on their own. . . ."

Well, not quite on their own, as a look at the facts will show.

Economic sabotage . . .

It is not hard to see how the political struggle between the Iranian government and imperialism is reflected in the economic sphere. To begin with, there are currently \$2.4 billion worth of frozen Iranian assets on deposit in Dutch and British banks, and U.S. corporations are lining up with claims that are expected to total more than \$3 billion.

Iran has had difficulty in obtaining essential imports, with imperialist corporations demanding cash payment. At the same time, the country has not been able to sell enough oil to get the hard currency it needs.

According to radical journalist Fred Halliday, whose past writings have played down the imperialist campaign against Iran, "the regime is finding it difficult to sell more than 500,000 barrels of oil a day, less than the 2,000,000 it wants to sell and much less than the six million sold in the last days of the shah. Some observers suspect that the major Western oil companies (with the encouragement of their governments) are refusing to buy the oil of a regime that was responsible for the hostages and that is deemed incapable of survival in the long run" (*In These Times*, October 14-20, 1981.)

. . . and the Iraq-Iran War

What really gives teeth to the economic sabotage being carried out by the imperialists, however, is that it is being implemented in the context of the Iraqi war of aggression against Iran.

"The toll to both OPEC nations in war-damaged oil facilities, vastly reduced oil exports, drained foreign exchange reserves and destruction of military equipment is said by some Western analysts to have cost Iran over \$100 billion, and Iraq probably half that amount," Loren Jenkins reported in the September 20 *Washington Post*.

But while the imperialists have been squeezing Iran, they have taken a very different approach to the Iraqi regime. The U.S. interests section in Baghdad is now larger than the Belgian embassy to which it is attached.

As one U.S. official explained in April, "A move to re-establish diplomatic ties is still too controversial to pass Senate approval. But formal ties are not as important as a relation of substance" (*8 Days*, April 11, 1981.)

Iraqi financial losses have been mitigated by massive aid from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other proimperialist Arab regimes. Such aid has been running at a rate of about \$1 billion a month since the war began in September 1980.

Trade between Iraq and the imperialist countries is booming. British exports to Iraq are expected to hit \$1 billion in 1981, up from \$650 million last year. U.S. exports to Iraq went up 64 percent in 1980, to more than \$700 million.

New Zealand holds up meat shipments to Iran

A ship loaded with 3,200 tons of New Zealand lamb bound for Iran is being held in port by the New Zealand Meat Board. According to a report in the October 31 issue of the British business magazine *8 Days*, the ship has been held for more than three weeks because Iran owes the Meat Board \$29 million and "the board has adopted a get-tough policy."

The article reports that since September the Iran Central Bank has not been approving letters of credit for imports, and notes, "The late payment could have a considerable effect on New Zealand's decision to supply lamb to Iran next year."

Also in September, the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) announced that all agreements with imperialist oil companies signed before the revolution are now null and void. A government statement declared that these companies "plundered the oil resources of Iran from 1954 to 1973 while Iran, the justified owner, had only little benefit from the contract."

Because of its shortage of hard currency, the Iranian government recently signed agreements with Yugoslavia and Romania in which Iran will barter oil for industrial products.

—D.F.

West Germany exported \$1.8 billion in goods to Iraq in 1980, while Japan sold \$2.17 billion worth. In 1981 the West Germans hope to replace Japan as number one.

Imperialist arms to Iraq

A similar picture emerges in the area of arms sales. Both the U.S. government and its NATO allies have generally continued the arms embargo against Iran that they initiated during the hostage crisis.

On the other hand, Helena Cobban reported in the September 4 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Iraqi acquisition of French Mirage fighter planes, which has already started, may be followed by plans to buy and subsequently build British Hawk training planes. The Iraqis are also reported interested in the British Chieftan (renamed Shir Iran for the late Shah of Iran) tank, which was developed especially with the desert conditions of the Gulf region in mind."

Sadat also provided the Iraqi regime with some help. It was disclosed on March 31 that Egyptian arms worth \$35 million were being sold to Iraq.

And on October 28, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon publicly charged, "The United States is supplying weapons to Iraq."

Sharon continued: "Who'd have imagined that the United States would supply weapons to Iraq? So they do it under cover. They don't supply directly. They supply through the Sau-

dis and through the Jordanians. But they have been supplying artillery and ammunition and shells through the Saudis for months and months now" (*New York Times*, October 29).

Propaganda and reality

But the most convincing evidence of where the imperialists stand is presented every day in the mass media. The Iranian revolution has been subjected to a two-year-long propaganda barrage of unparalleled viciousness and mendacity. Anybody reading the capitalist press in the United States and Europe would think that the only thing taking place in Iran today is executions, and that the Iranian government remains in power only by terrorizing the majority of the population.

It was not the government terror, however, that brought millions of workers and peasants into the streets throughout Iran following the August 30 bombing that killed President Mohammed Ali Rajai and Prime Minister Mohammed Javad Bahonar. In the September 8 issue of its newspaper, *Hemmat*, the Iranian Workers Party (HVK) pointed out that these demonstrations were *larger* than those that took place after the bombing of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) headquarters in June. These huge protests were the closest thing we have seen to an objective test on where the masses stand today.

Although the imperialist media tries to paint a picture of an Iran that is more repressive than the shah's dictatorship, the reality is quite different. Much as the current regime would like to stamp out all opposition currents, it has been unable to stop the political ferment in the working class, or to crush the organizations of the workers and peasants.

Members of both the HVK and the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) are known as socialists in the factories where they work. They take part in the political life of the factory *shoras* (committees), which continue to carry out struggles around wages, hours, and for the extension of workers control on the job, as well as for political demands.

Both the HVK and the HKE are politically opposed to the present government, but both are able to produce regular newspapers despite attempts at repression. Both sought to run candidates in the recent elections, but were ruled off the ballot — something that has been known to happen to socialist candidates in the United States as well.

Socialists inside Iran report widespread demonstrations by peasants demanding land reform, debates on television between fired workers and government representatives, and public dissent and debate on questions such as the execution of the Mujahedeen members.

What is at stake?

By reporting only the repressive actions of the Iranian government, and portraying the revolution's defenders as a collection of religious fanatics, the imperialist media seeks to dress up the destabilization campaign against Iran as a defense of the Iranian people, of de-



Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) head Yassir Arafat in Tehran following shah's overthrow. New Iranian government gave old Israeli embassy to PLO and organized mass actions in solidarity with Palestinian struggle.

mocratic rights and progressive values, indeed, of "Western civilization" itself.

"The statistics are appalling: Iran has executed more than 1,800 persons since June," explained the editors of the *New York Times* October 16. These supporters of the shah, who watched unmoved when the royal butcher's troops gunned down 4,000 unarmed demonstrators on a single day in September 1978, lament "Iran's retreat into darkness."

But we would see the real "retreat into darkness" if the imperialist campaign to overthrow the Khomeini government in Iran was successful. What Washington and its allies want in Iran is not democratic rights but a government that can crush the toiling masses and halt the revolution once and for all.

Such a government would make the bloody Chilean junta look mild. It would have to slaughter tens of thousands — if not hundreds of thousands — to achieve its aims.

From the point of view of the imperialist rulers, however, that would be a small price to pay. They know that the Iranian masses are continually threatening to break through the restraints imposed by the Khomeini government. As long as the Iranian workers and peasants remain undefeated, as long as their organizations remain intact, they threaten the entire status quo in the Middle East.

The rulers in Washington, Paris, and London also know that the Khomeini government is not the instrument that can achieve their aims. This is a government that leans on the masses against imperialism, that calls the masses into the streets when the threats against it become too sharp. That is why the imperialists are working to overthrow Khomeini.

Those who talk about the Khomeini government as the representative of the counter-revo-

lution in Iran only show that they have no conception of the real power of the Iranian revolution, nor of the kind of bloodbath that would be required to finally suppress it.

What kind of government?

But Keil ignores all this. For him a capitalist government is a capitalist government, and "is by its class nature pro-imperialist." Further analysis is unnecessary.

Facts, however, are stubborn things. It is a fact that capitalist governments in countries oppressed by imperialism have been known to take an anti-imperialist stance — especially under conditions of revolutionary upsurge, when they are subjected to immense pressure from the masses.

To be useful, terminology has to be accurate. Is it accurate, after the events of the past three years, to describe the Iranian government as proimperialist?

Because the Iranian government is a capitalist government, it fears the masses and takes actions — such as attacks on the rights of the oppressed national minorities, or on democratic rights in general — that objectively aid imperialism. Because it is a capitalist government it cannot carry out a consistent anti-imperialist struggle.

But it is necessary to recognize the political difference between strongly proimperialist regimes such as those in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and those whose course has led them into sharp conflict with imperialism — for example, the Angolan government, or that of Qaddafi in Libya.

Whether it is correct or not to use the term anti-imperialist in regard to the Iranian government depends upon the context in which the term is used. The article by Janice Lynn that

Keil cites as being unclear refers to the establishment in Iran of "an anti-imperialist government that refused to take orders from Washington" as one of the gains of the revolution.

Later on in her article, Lynn spelled out the relationship between the Iranian government, imperialism, and the Iranian masses. As she put it:

The capitalist government in Iran is caught between these two powerful forces — the mobilized masses on the one hand and U.S. imperialism on the other, seeking to reverse the revolution.

The Iranian government's defense of capitalism and its fear of the masses prevent it from applying the measures necessary to carry through the war to the end or solve the country's economic and social problems. This leads it to take measures to try to demobilize the masses and erode their rights.

Nevertheless, the working class is in a more favorable position to organize itself than under a regime that is an imperialist puppet.

There was not the slightest unclarity in Lynn's article on the character of the Iranian government. Keil simply disagrees with the political stance that the *Militant* has taken toward that government.

This political stance was also spelled out by Lynn, who explained:

Washington sees the Iranian government as an obstacle to its plans in the Middle East and a deadly threat to the giant U.S. oil companies' control of the vast oil resources in this region.

The U.S. rulers also fear that the weak, capitalist government in Iran will not be able to prevent the deepening of the revolution and the independent organization of the Iranian workers and peasants.

At this stage of the revolution, the Iranian working class is not powerful enough to replace the capitalist government with a workers and peasants government. So it defends this government — and its own position and organization — against imperialist-in-



Iranian soldiers at war front. Imperialist destabilization campaign and Iraqi war of aggression remain biggest objective problems facing Iranian revolution.

spired attacks such as the September 1980 Iraqi invasion.

Events since this was written have made the importance of defending the Iranian government against imperialist-inspired attack clearer than ever.

Religion and politics

Another thing that Keil raises is the role of religion in the Iranian revolution. He charges that "the *Militant* has inexplicably endorsed Islam as a progressive set of ideas when embraced by the masses."

Once again, Keil tries to build his case by analyzing a particular formulation. It might be more useful to state exactly where the *Militant* does stand on the questions raised.

Marxists believe that all religion is reactionary. This includes Catholicism, Judaism, Protestantism, Islam, Buddhism, and more recent cults.

Religion as such is reactionary because it presents a false description of the world. It is a barrier to the oppressed and exploited understanding the real reasons for their position in society. Furthermore, it offers a utopian alter-

native to political struggle as the means to changing the world. Historically, religion has been used by the ruling classes as an instrument to maintain their rule.

But history has shown that progressive *political movements* often take a *religious form*.

Thus, the antimonarchical revolution in seventeenth-century England was fought out under the ideological guise of the Protestant Reformation.

In the United States, the Black civil rights movement was led in large part by Protestant preachers such as the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Churches served as organizing centers of the movement, and prayers and religious songs were a prominent feature of its rallies and demonstrations.

Figures in the more militant wing of the movement, such as Malcolm X, were repelled by the Christianity of their oppressors and were attracted to Islam because it was associated with the part of the world oppressed by imperialism.

American socialists did not relate to the civil rights movement by lecturing its participants on the reactionary nature of religion — and it

would be just as wrong to relate to the political movement in Iran that way.

Islamic fanatics?

When a political movement takes a religious form the question that is posed for Marxists is not what attitude to take toward religion in general, or toward the particular religion involved. Rather, it is necessary to analyze the movement itself, its demands and aims, its class composition, its relationship to other political forces, and to decide on a *political stance* based on this analysis.

What about the specific case of Iran? Here we are not involved in an abstract, philosophical discussion on religion. Enraged by the destruction of the proimperialist regime in Iran and the coming to power of an anti-imperialist government, the rulers in Washington and Western Europe have unleashed a torrent of racist abuse against the "Islamic fanatics" threatening their interests.

Isn't it clear that the target here is the Iranian masses, and with them the workers and peasants of any Islamic country that rebels against imperialist domination? The task of Marxists in this situation is to spring to the defense of the Iranian revolution, to expose the hypocrisy and racism of this imperialist propaganda campaign, and to explain — as the *Militant* does — the political essence of the matter.

An example from Lenin

Since its beginning, imperialism has hypocritically attacked rebellious movements in the oppressed nations for religious fanaticism and backwardness.

Lenin, in his day, responded the same way we do today. In 1900, when the whole European imperialist propaganda apparatus was denouncing the "religious fanatics" involved in the Boxer rebellion in China, Lenin wrote:

"At the present time the press is conducting a campaign against the Chinese; it is howling about the savage yellow race and its hostility toward civilisation, about Russia's tasks of enlightenment. . . ."

Describing the atrocities of European armies in China, Lenin noted that "all these Christian exploits are accompanied by howls against the Chinese barbarians who dared to raise their hands against the civilised Europeans."

The reader will search Lenin's writings in vain for a word about the religious ideology of China's Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists. Lenin knew an anti-imperialist political rebellion when he saw one, regardless of the religious form that it assumed.

Keil, however, is worried that in the case of Iran the *Militant* is not hard enough on Islamic ideology. We are treated to a little lecture on the evils of "the reactionary religious ideology of Islam."

According to Keil, "the *Militant* has inexplicably endorsed Islam as a progressive set of ideas when embraced by the masses. . . ." To back up this claim, he quotes my statement that "the Islamic ideology of the workers and peasants expresses their hatred of imperialism

and their desire for social liberation."

Let's begin by setting Keil's mind at rest. The *Militant's* position, once again, is that all religious ideology, including Islamic ideology, is reactionary. The point that I tried to make in the October 9 article quoted by Keil, although admittedly unclear, is that what is really at issue in Iran is not Islamic ideology at all, but a movement of the workers and peasants against imperialism and for social liberation.

There is nothing in the Koran about the "Great Satan" being U.S. imperialism. The events in Iran are political, not religious. The fact that the sentiments and demands of the Iranian masses are expressed in religious terminology has to do with the specific history and culture of the country.

As Thomas Friedman pointed out in the October 8 *New York Times* following the assassination of Sadat:

"At a time when Arab regimes have monopolized all the traditional forms of political discourse — trade unions, newspapers, political parties, television and radio — the mosque remains the sole forum for organizing and expressing opposition to a secular regime. . . .

As the Shah of Iran learned, rulers who leave people no other forum for expressing themselves may in effect force them into a search for religion."

Khomeini on the hajj

It is instructive in this regard to take a closer look at recent events in Saudi Arabia. On September 24 Iranian pilgrims in Medina were attacked by Saudi police, who put twelve of the pilgrims in the hospital. Initial press reports claimed that the confrontation had broken out over differences in religious protocol between Iranian Shi'ite Muslims and Saudi Sunni Muslims.

But it did not take long for the real cause of conflict to come out. The October 11 issue of *Tehran Times* printed a letter sent to Khomeini by Saudi King Khalid in which the king complained of the behavior of Iranian pilgrims, who held demonstrations and "chanted slogans in a loud voice."

Khomeini replied: "The crime of these Moslems has been that they recited slogans against the U.S., Israel, the enemies of God and God's Messenger."

After explaining that this was not such a bad thing, Khomeini pointed out: "The Hajj pilgrimage has undoubtedly a connection with politics and the secret of its establishment is interwoven with the rise of people for justice and destruction of tyranny and exploitation, which has been the general policy of the great prophets and especially the Seal of the Prophets."

Khomeini also suggested that if the Saudi royal family was able to rely on "millions of Moslems in an Islamic political manner, it would not need America or its AWAC airplanes. . . ."

The language is religious, but the message is



Imperialist media have sought to portray Iranian revolution as a religious rather than political movement. When above photo appeared in a U.S. news magazine in 1978, caption read: 'Religious protesters with anti-Shah banners.'

political. It was in the midst of this controversy that Reagan vowed "we will not permit" Saudi Arabia "to be an Iran."

Meanwhile, the demonstrations by Iranian pilgrims in Saudi Arabia have continued. One was reported in Mecca on October 12, and others have taken place in Mena and Medina.

As part of its attempt to obscure what is happening in the Middle East, the big-business media in the United States and Western Europe emphasize the religious form that the anti-imperialist movement has taken. Warnings about the dangers of "Islamic fanaticism" should be left to the imperialist propaganda sheets. The proper role of the socialist press is to champion the anti-imperialist demands of the masses and explain the progressive character of their movement.

Who causes destabilization?

The first and longest part of Keil's letter deals with the *Militant's* stance toward the Mujahedeen and their armed campaign against the Iranian government.

Keil maintains that "the cause of 'destabilization' and violence in Iran, next to the Iraqi invasion, has not been the Mujahedeen, but the government's war against the Kurds, its repression of the Mujahedeen and others, and the economic sabotage of the capitalists."

Not a word about the imperialist campaign

against Iran.

But the Iraqi invasion and the economic sabotage carried out by the Iranian capitalist class — and the Mujahedeen terror campaign as well — all take place within that context.

Even when Keil takes note of the Iraqi invasion, he does it in a subordinate clause. But any objective description of the problems confronting the Iranian revolution today would have to give a far larger place to the imperialist-backed invasion by Iraq. The year-long war with Iraq has resulted in an estimated 60,000 Iranian casualties, \$100 billion in economic losses, and more than one million Iranian refugees.

Keil, however, wants the *Militant* to center its fire on the Iranian government.

A question of time

Despite Keil's charges, the *Militant* has never supported the Iranian government "in the political sense" — either critically or uncritically. The *Militant* stands for the replacement of the present government in Iran by a workers and farmers government that would begin the task of transforming Iran into a workers state. The question is how to bring that about.

Such a transformation cannot be accomplished without the conscious participation of the toiling masses. But the masses of workers and peasants in Iran today either still have pol-

itical confidence in the Khomeini government, or else see no better alternative.

Because of this, the question of *time* becomes very important. The imperialists are striving with all their might to strangle the Iranian revolution before the masses can find the way forward.

Revolutionists in the imperialist countries must help gain time for the Iranian workers and peasants by exposing the imperialist campaign and countering the slanders against the Iranian revolution.

Socialists inside Iran can help speed up the political process there by putting forth a political program centered on what steps need to be taken to defend the revolution against the imperialist onslaught.

A program for struggle

Such a program was put forward in the October 9 *Militant* article that Keil dislikes so much. Starting with the most pressing problem, it said that "it is necessary to carry out a revolutionary war against the Iraqi invaders and against the imperialist-inspired destabilization campaign within Iran. This means arming, training, and mobilizing the masses under the direction of the shoras, the peasant committees, and other mass organizations."

The article also proposed steps for overcoming the economic crisis by encouraging the organization and mobilization of the working class and the peasantry, and in this context carrying out a land reform, asserting the control of workers committees over production, and establishing a state monopoly on foreign trade.

It also explained the need for the government to halt its reactionary war in Kurdistan and recognize the demands of the Kurdish people for autonomy, and called for the mobilization of the masses around a broad program of progressive social and political measures, including the extension of democratic rights.

Keil rejects this approach. "The *Militant*," he says, "should explain that the government is by its nature unable to carry out a revolutionary policy or a 'revolutionary war.'"

But what program should the workers and peasants fight for? Revolutionists start with the objective needs of the toiling masses. If the capitalist government in Iran is forced to take measures that go toward meeting these needs, that is a victory.

Insofar as the government refuses to take the measures demanded by the masses for the advancement of their interests and for the defense of the revolution, support for it will be undermined.

Keil removes the whole question from the arena of political struggle. Instead of recognizing the need to politically win the masses and putting forward a method for accomplishing this, he tells us that the Iranian capitalist government cannot carry out a revolutionary policy.

Keil on the Mujahedeen

Keil objects to the inclusion of the Mujahedeen among the "forces aligned with imperial-



BANI-SADR

ism." He tells us that it is wrong "to put Rajavi and the Mujahedeen in the same category as the monarchists."

It is certainly correct to point out the differences in origin, political history, and composition between the Mujahedeen and the monarchist organizations that oppose the Iranian government. The *Militant* has repeatedly done that.

But the fact remains that the politics of the Mujahedeen have led them into a bloc with counterrevolutionary forces. The actions of the Mujahedeen are indistinguishable from those of the monarchists.

Keil's zeal to defend the Mujahedeen is not matched by his concern for defending the Iranian revolution against the imperialist destabilization campaign — a campaign which the Mujahedeen have joined.

While admitting that "the Mujahedeen military policy [i.e., its participation in the imperialist destabilization campaign] plays into the hands of the imperialists," Keil goes on to say that it also "plays into the hands of the present Iranian government."

Does Keil really think that it is to the advantage of the Iranian government to have its top leadership slaughtered? According to this logic the Iraqi invasion has also played into the hands of the Iranian government. By taking his hostility to the Iranian government as his starting point, Keil ends up by standing reality on its head.

Nor is his statement that the Mujahedeen is "the only sizable organized open opposition in Iran now" any better. Is "opposition" supposed to be some kind of virtue in and of itself? The question is what kind of opposition does the

Mujahedeen represent?

Perhaps the most difficult thing, in discussing the role of the Mujahedeen, is to get out of the framework created by the pervasive influence of the imperialist media. It is impossible to follow the coverage of Iran on television or in the newspapers without being unconsciously affected by the endless repetition of phrases such as "leftist guerrillas," "secular Marxists," "leftist opposition forces," etc.

A sampling of headlines from the *Militant's* clipping file indicates the problem: "Iranian leftists not intimidated by ruling mullahs" (*Christian Science Monitor*, July 13); "Iran Arrests 200 Leftists as Violence Increases" (*New York Times*, July 17); "War between mullahs, leftists staggers Iran" (*Christian Science Monitor*, August 14); "Tehran Security Forces Break Up Violent Leftist Demonstrations" (*Washington Post*, September 10); "Iranian Leftists Show Firepower in New Battles" (*Miami Herald*, September 28); "66 Leftist Rebels Executed in Iran" (*New York Times*, October 5); and "Iranian Claims Victory Over Leftists" (*New York Times*, October 24).

It is in this context that Keil implies the Mujahedeen represent some kind of left opposition to the current government. That is certainly how most Mujahedeen members would also see it, but it is objectively false. The Mujahedeen organization is an *obstacle* to moving the revolution forward.

Executions of Mujahedeen

Mujahedeen leader Rajavi publicly declares his opposition to Marxism. His organization is opposed to the formation of a workers and farmers government in Iran. It looks to the capitalists, not the workers, as is shown by its open bloc with former President Bani-Sadr. Finally, the Mujahedeen have joined in action with counterrevolutionary forces attempting to bring down the Iranian government.

Nevertheless, socialists are opposed to the execution of Mujahedeen members by the Khomeini government. Because of its history and the character of its membership, it is still possible to win the ranks of the Mujahedeen organization back to the revolution.

Moreover, the execution of Mujahedeen members has been used by the regime as a substitute for the anticapitalist measures that are necessary for the defense of the revolution. Finally, the executions played into the hands of the imperialists by presenting them with a new opportunity to score propaganda points against the revolution.

The task of socialists in the United States, however, is not to defend the Mujahedeen. There is no lack of activity in that regard — protests in their behalf have come from the *New York Times*, Amnesty International, and publications on the left such as the *Guardian* and *In These Times*. None of these, however, are in favor of defending the Iranian government against the imperialist destabilization campaign. That is the job for socialists in the United States. And that is where Keil disagrees with the *Militant*. □

How 'Socialist Challenge' views the situation

[The following article appeared in the October 8 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Challenge*, the newspaper of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International. It was presented as a statement by the *Socialist Challenge* editorial board.]

* * *

The Iranian revolution is in danger. The Khomeini regime has proved chronically incapable of stabilising the economy since the overthrow of the Shah. The masses are faced with rising unemployment, inflation, a booming black market and severe shortages.

Hundreds of thousands of people have emigrated to the cities from the countryside and the war zones. The Islamic Republican Party (IRP) regime, faced with economic collapse and political chaos, has reacted with a vicious wave of repression against all its opponents.

Hundreds of people are being executed every day. The so-called 'revolutionary guards,' the quasi-fascist hezbollahis street gangs and the Islamic courts are responsible for an escalating bloodbath against all those fighting to preserve the gains of the revolution.

Crisis deepens

Last week the State Prosecutor announced new measures under which anyone arrested for 'causing unrest' will be executed the same day, on the evidence of two witnesses; children under twelve will be eligible for execution; and those arrested with wounds after fighting government forces will 'have further wounds inflicted' before death. This repression is particularly aimed at the main force of the armed opposition, the left wing Mujahadin.

Many people who supported the mighty Iranian revolution against the Shah will be appalled by these developments. The 'Islamic' government of Khomeini has shown that it has no solution to the problems of the masses. As the crisis deepens, the repression gets worse.

How has the Iranian revolution reached this apparent impasse?

The 1979 revolution against the Shah was one of the most profound and widespread mobilisations of the masses seen anywhere in the world in the post-war period. Faced with the revolutionary activity of millions, the Shah's army — one of the biggest and best equipped since the war — collapsed like a pack of cards.

Given the extent of the mobilisation, and the Shah's alliance with Western, especially American, imperialism the revolution had a

tremendous anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist potential.

Restabilise

In the year following the revolution, the self-activity and self-organisation of the masses increased by leaps and bounds. There were strikes, demonstrations and the formation of workers committees — shoras — in the factories. But the working class lacked the ability to impose its own rule.

In the aftermath of the revolution, the Shah's governing apparatus — the army high command, the SAVAK secret police and the state bureaucracy — was crushed. This deprived the most powerful sections of the bourgeoisie (based on big industry and links with the multinationals) of an instrument to restabilise their rule.

But the lack of a powerful labour movement, and the absence of a high level of class consciousness among the Iranian workers acted as an obstacle to the working class achieving political independence from bourgeois and 'Islamic' politicians.

The governments which came to office after the fall of the Shah cemented an alliance between the mullahs and other Islamic fundamentalists on the one hand, and sections of small capitalists, merchants and the bazaar on the other.

Politicians like the first prime minister Bazargan represented this section of the small capitalists who had fared badly under the Shah. Their project was to reconstruct a capitalism in Iran which would favour their class.

But it has proved impossible to stabilise capitalism in Iran on such a basis.

While they have attempted to play a Bonapartist role between the major classes, they have had to fight off both the demands of the working class and the efforts of the 'liberal' bourgeoisie who want to reconstruct capitalism on a pro-imperialist basis.

The decisive power has, however, remained in the hands of the mullahs because they possess an apparatus which links together their para-military forces, the mosque and the bazaar.

For at least 18 months after the fall of the Shah this alliance was able to keep a decisive base among the working masses.

Despite the failure of the Iranian working class to impose its own rule, imperialism remained implacably hostile to the Khomeini regime. The revolution deprived them of their major policeman in the region — the Shah's massive forces.

The Iranian revolution continued to be a grave destabilising factor in the region, in par-

ticular its effects were felt in countries like Egypt where militant Islam threatened the status quo.

Turning point

US imperialism would dearly love to overthrow the regime and replace it with a new right wing government, perhaps based on the army, just as they did in the CIA-organised coup of 1953.

The Khomeini regime, by launching an offensive against the most advanced sections of the masses, is doing the dirty work of imperialism, paving the way for precisely such a right wing coup.

The events of this summer marked a turning point in the Iranian crisis. First, the regime, alarmed by the growth of the opposition's support, launched a murderous attack on a Mujahadin demonstration, killing hundreds of people.

The Mujahadin's response was to launch a bombing campaign against the leadership of the regime; assassinating some of the most prominent political figures in the nation. Every day brings fresh reports of machine gun battles in Tehran.

With the regime opposed by the openly pro-imperialist right wing and by an increasing number of the working masses, its days are almost certainly numbered. The question is, what will replace it?

It would be an illusion to believe that the entire social base of the regime has disappeared, as the mobilisations against the assassinations clearly showed. But Iran is a society in turmoil; hundreds of thousands of the poor and dispossessed have flooded into Tehran.

The social basis of the regime now increasingly rests on these dispossessed. The recruits to the revolutionary guards and the hezbollahis are from the lumpen street gangs of youth. In no sense are they the advanced section of the youth.

The main opposition to the IRP is represented by the Mujahadin. There are two central problems with their strategy.

First, they have entered into a governmental bloc with former president Bani-Sadr, whom they regard as the 'legitimate' President of Iran. This has now led to a 'government in exile,' with Bani-Sadr as President. Such a bloc avoids the question of the class independence of the workers and ties the resistance to the projects of this bourgeois politician.

Second, their strategy of bombings and military confrontations is one which leaves the working masses as spectators, and fails to mobilise them around a programme to meet their social and political needs.

This failure does a dis-service to the task of preparing to replace the regime with a workers' government. Moreover it leaves the masses ill-equipped to deal with a right wing or pro-imperialist coup — which could only be defeated by mass mobilisation.

Nevertheless whatever our criticism of the Mujahadin we in no way equate their errors with the criminal acts of the IRP regime. In

fact the terror tactics of the Mujahadin are precisely a response to the Khomeini wave of repression.

The workers of Iran have not been defeated in a frontal battle. Their potential power remains immense. In some areas the old shoras remain intact, even if in the guise of 'Islamic' committees.

Mass action

But defence of the revolution cannot be in any way be confused with the defence of the regime. The working class must *prepare the conditions* for removing this regime.

In our view the best way of preparing for this is by creating a broad front committed to mass action in defence of democratic rights against the repression. This is also the best way

to prepare to oppose the inevitable efforts of the monarchist forces to play their hand. Under these circumstances all the anti-monarchist forces should unite on similar principles.

But today unless the working class asserts itself against the Islamic repression, it will be incapable of asserting its own class interests.

The struggle for the independence of the working class should proceed through the creation of organisations which mobilise the workers, but which break with bourgeois politicians of every stripe. Eventually this process must be expressed through the creation of a political party to represent the Iranian masses.

While the repression continues in Iran, socialists in Britain should step up their activity in defence of the persecuted Iranian left wing. □

participate in the Conference," he went on to say, "but the most important thing for us was to see Cuba and the leader of the Cuban Revolution. We thank God for our good fortune, the best part of which was being able to hear Fidel's speech, which made the imperialists so angry."

The members of the Iranian delegation said that Iran is a rich country but afflicted by poverty as a result of colonialism and 50 years of the Shah's regime. They said that the Islamic revolution of Iran represents one of the greatest defeats inflicted on imperialism because of the great interests that have been affected and also because of the country's strategic location. They added that the revolution's purpose was to change the situation of the people and they gave a rundown of the success in the implementation of the program against poverty and for development, chiefly in education, public health and agrarian reform, and other sectors, especially in the rural areas. They drew attention to the Iranian people's unflagging fighting spirit, pointing out that it's useless for the enemy to resort to terrorism because they refuse to be intimidated. They had words of praise for the Reconstruction Crusade, a movement composed mainly of young people who have done a great deal of work to further the country's development.

Regarding the role of women in the Iranian revolution, they said that they are working alongside the men and are particularly active in social matters related to the poorest sectors of the population. □

Members of Iranian parliament hold news conference in Cuba

[The following article by Marta Rojas appeared in the October 4 issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Havana. The article was part of the Cuban paper's coverage of the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, held in Havana September 15-23.]

The Parliamentary group from Iran gave a press conference at the Palace of Conventions in the course of which its members said that the Iranian revolution advocates the elimination of the influence of colonialism throughout the world. The delegates also drew attention to a series of sensitive spots in strategic areas, for example Gibraltar, the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal and Diego García Island, under imperialist domination and the influence of colonialism. In the same sense, they mentioned the Mediterranean area, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, expressing their concern as to when peace and stability will return to those areas and they will cease to be the target of imperialist schemes.

"In our opinion," they said, "world peace depends to a great extent on the maintenance of neutrality and peace in these troubled areas."

They went on to say that the Islamic revolution of Iran is in favor of every movement for independence and every genuine liberation movement. "We want the people of the world to know what is happening in Latin America, particularly in Bolivia, El Salvador and Uruguay. And we want to stress once again that what was said in the Conference regarding the Irish people's courageous struggle for their legitimate rights should be echoed by those who want a really free world."

They went on to say that "they had never heard of a country named Israel," and expressed their solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The Iranian parliamentary group was composed of Mohajerani Khatimi, Doai, Vilayati,

Natig Nouri, Hejazi, Besharati and Aghah-Mohammadi. They all spoke in Persian, which was translated into English by one of the group and then into Spanish.

The press conference was conducted by Seyyid Mahmud Doai, head of the delegation. He began by thanking Cuba and the Cuban Revolution "for the opportunity to speak with our brothers and sisters regarding the problems of the Islamic revolution in Iran. We came to

Intercontinental Press . . . It's Unique!

No other magazine in the world has the kind of in-depth political reporting and news coverage that IP presents week in and week out.

On-the-scene reports from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ireland, Iran, Grenada, Cuba, Poland . . .

Interviews with class-struggle fighters and revolutionary leaders such as Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and Irish liberation fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey . . .

Translations of key documents from the world revolutionary and workers movements . . .

Analysis and features on the most important world events and the issues facing working people—from the deadly threat of the nuclear arms race, to the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, to the changing consciousness of the U.S. working class . . .

Intercontinental Press. Subscribe Today.

YES! I want to subscribe. Enclosed is \$35 for a one-year subscription; \$17.50 for six-months; \$8.75 for a three-month introductory subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Postal Zone _____

Canadian Rates: Canadian \$41 for one year; \$21 for six months. Send for rates to other countries.

Intercontinental Press 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

New wave of political trials

Government pushes 1950s-style frame-up

By Vincent Kermel

[The following article appeared in the October 26 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In the months preceding the thirteenth anniversary of the August 21, 1968, Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak bureaucrats unleashed a new wave of repression against democratic-rights activists.

The targets of the repression were activists in the Charter 77 movement and the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), a Charter 77 subgroup. Charter 77 is a manifesto outlining a program of struggle for democratic rights. It was issued in January 1977 over the signatures of some 200 people. Since then it has gathered more than 1,200 public signatures.

VONS was set up in April 1978, and in 1979 was recognized by the International Federation for the Rights of Man (FIDH) as its Czechoslovak section.

On July 28, 1981, Rudolf Battek, a spokesperson for Charter 77 and a founding member of VONS, was sentenced to seven-and-a-half years in prison and three years of house arrest.

Eighteen signers of Charter 77, eight of whom have been held under preventive detention since May 1981, are awaiting a trial that could strongly resemble the most sinister Stalinist show trials of the 1950s.

Open letter cites example of Poland

An October 5 open letter from representatives of Charter 77 reported on the "increase in authoritarian acts" by the government. The letter noted that "if the authorities are trying to show that Czechoslovakia will not experience a situation similar to the one in neighboring Poland, they should remember that the situation in Poland developed because the government did not solve the problems in time and covered up their existence, while repression provided no solution to those problems."

In October 1979 the Prague bureaucrats, undoubtedly anxious to complete the "normalization" that was upset by the appearance of Charter 77 and the establishment of VONS, sentenced five democratic-rights activists — Petr Uhl, Vaclav Havel, Jiri Dienstbier, Vaclav Benda, and Otta Bednarova — to prison terms ranging from three to five years. While this dealt a serious blow to the Charter 77 movement, it did not completely destroy it.

Since then we have seen the big strikes and changes in Poland since August 1980. In Czech-

oslovakia, the direct effects of the Polish situation seem to have been limited to strikes last autumn in the industrialized border area around Ostrava. But the Czechoslovak leaders are especially worried about the example posed by the very existence of an independent union of 10 million members which the Polish bureaucrats and the Kremlin have thus far been unable to contain.

Perhaps more than anywhere else, in Czechoslovakia any sign of the Soviet Union's weakness in another country of the Eastern bloc could provide the workers — still traumatized by the military intervention in August 1968 — immense encouragement to struggle. This is all the more so because in Poland the detonating role played by the KOR (Committee for Social Self-Defense) also showed the impact that small oppositional groups, whose audience is mainly limited to an intellectual milieu, can have on the whole workers movement in a situation of social crisis.

'Rude Pravo' attacks Solidarity

That is also one of the reasons why the Czechoslovak Communist Party has gone to the head of the line in slandering Solidarity and admonishing the Polish bureaucrats. For example, in mid-June, during the preparations for the congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP — the Communist Party) which was to prove to be unique of its kind, the Czechoslovak CP daily *Rude Pravo* sharply lashed out at the "enemies of Socialism in Poland who are rushing for power and seizing one position after another, thereby threatening the very existence of the independent Polish state."

In line with the campaign launched at that time by the Kremlin, *Rude Pravo* referred to "the experience" gained by the Czechoslovak bureaucrats from the events of 1968 to encourage the PUWP to "resolutely resist the counter-revolutionary elements."

This policy of attacks against Solidarity was combined with an increase in repression against the members of VONS and the signers of Charter 77. On May 6, 1981, eight signers of Charter 77, most of whom were intellectuals who were quite well known in the country and who played an important role in the diffusion of *samizdat* materials, were arrested.

Among the eight were journalists Karel Kyncl and Jiri Ruml; Eva Kanturkova, the author of *Twelve Women in Prague*; sociologist Jirina Silkova; and Jan Ruml, the son of Jiri Ruml and a member of the collective of spokespersons for Charter 77.

Along with nine other people, including the wife and brother of the imprisoned Vaclav

Havel, they were accused of "subversive activities on a large scale and in liason with abroad," which could carry sentences of up to ten years imprisonment.

Regime charges plot by 'emigré centers'

These arrests took place after the April 28 arrest of two French students, Gilles Thonon and Françoise Anis, who were accused of having "transported subversive documents and money destined for Czechoslovak citizens." The two were subsequently expelled from the country on May 20, after spending several weeks under interrogation in prison.

Although no link was ever established between the Czechoslovaks charged and the two French students who were arrested upon entering Czechoslovakia, the press waged an intense campaign against "foreign emigré organizations" and their emissaries who wanted "to destabilize" the country.

In an attempt to discredit the arrested activists, the June 30 *Rude Pravo* vilified "the emigré centers that seek, with the help of their stooges inside the country, various means to damage even the Czechoslovak economy."

And the mouthpiece of the Prague bureaucracy used this to make a parallel with Poland where, "without the injection of dollars and other things, the reactionary leaders of Solidarity and other dubious associations could not do very much."

Moreover, the arrest of the two French students seems to have been set up by Czechoslovak agents abroad because the authorities were waiting for their car. In fact, Agence France-Press notes that film showing the arrival of the students' van at the Dolni Dvoriste border post and the subsequent search of it was shown on Czechoslovak television on July 6.

Frame-up of Rudolf Battek

By moving against well-known intellectuals whom it accuses of being in the pay of foreigners, the Czechoslovak bureaucracy gave a warning to all intellectuals who might be encouraged, especially since the events in Poland, to be somewhat more open in support of the activities of VONS and Charter 77.

It was in this climate that, on July 28, Charter 77 spokesperson and founding member of VONS Rudolf Battek was sentenced to seven-and-a-half years in prison and three years of house arrest. He was found guilty in a speeded up trial that no foreign observer or lawyer was allowed to attend. Battek was accused, among other things, of having sent letters to Social Democratic leaders Willy Brandt of West Germany and Bruno Kreisky of Austria.

This sentence was a new, heavy blow to the democratic movement in Czechoslovakia, all the more so since numerous workers organizations abroad (like the French Socialist Party, the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), and the European Social Democracy) had been mobilized around Battek's case.

When he was first arrested in Prague on June 14, 1980, Rudolf Battek was only indicted for "assault and battery on a representative of

order" stemming from a shady incident that had all the earmarks of an organized provocation.

The charges were dropped in January 1981 as being baseless, although Rudolf Battek had already spent several months in prison. But then this charge was combined with another of

"subversive activities on a large scale directed against the Republic" for having written a supposedly "antisocialist" essay entitled "Liberty and the Regime," copies of which were found in Battek's home during a search dating back to October 3, 1979.

Finally last April, the prosecutor "reformu-

lated" the charges, adding that Battek's offense had been committed "in connivance with foreign powers."

After Battek was found guilty and sentenced, an appeals court decided in early October to "harmonize" Battek's sentence with those imposed on Petr Uhl and his compan-

Petr Uhl: a special target of the bureaucracy

Jaroslav Suk, a friend and companion in struggle of the imprisoned Petr Uhl, recently wrote a biographical article on Uhl for the Czechoslovak oppositionist journal *Listy*. *Listy* is edited by Jiri Pelikan, who was a member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party until he had to flee the country after the Soviet invasion in 1968. Suk currently lives in exile in Sweden.

Petr Uhl was born in Prague on October 8, 1941. An engineer, Uhl worked as a designer, patent engineer, and teacher at Prague's University of Technology.

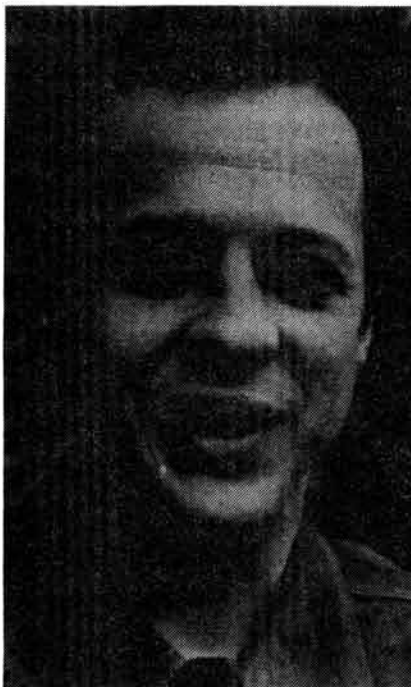
In the early 1960s, Uhl became interested in Marxism and, in the words of Suk, "in the middle of the decade — while spending some time in France — he gained new experiences in the CP student organization, became a revolutionary Marxist and came close to the Fourth International."

During the period of liberalization known as the Prague Spring, Uhl was a founder of the League of Left Opinion, a discussion group made up of intellectuals and workers.

According to Suk, "after the Soviet occupation in August 1968 and after the student strike in November of the same year, he and other activists founded the Movement for Revolutionary Youth (HRM) on December 2, 1968. . . . The discussions held in the HRM led its members to a deeper analysis of 'socialist' society. In their leaflets they appealed for resistance against the bureaucratic-centralist system, against the central regime and its various institutions. The way out was seen as revolution against the bureaucratic layer and the establishment of workers self-management."

On December 15, 1969, Uhl and other HRM members were arrested. He spent eighteen months in pretrial custody and was then sentenced to four years in prison in one of the first post-1968 political trials.

"After his release in 1973," Suk notes, "Petr continued his political activity and defended his views in public. . . . Petr became an important and untiring activist within the Czechoslovak opposition, or more precisely within its left wing. He was there when Charter 77 was born and he initiated many of its subsequent activities. He



PETR UHL

is also one of the founders of VONS, the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted."

Although Uhl had been subjected to regular police harassment all along, after he signed Charter 77 the repression from the Czechoslovak authorities was further stepped up. They "took away his driver's license and his telephone (although his wife was about to give birth). From 1977 the police kept a constant watch on his apartment. The secret police shadowed him wherever he went — on his way to and from work, at work, on Sunday walks."

Uhl was then fired from his job as a patent engineer. It was claimed that "management lost confidence in him after he signed Charter 77."

On May 19, 1979, Uhl was again arrested, along with five other members of VONS. He was accused of being the leader of the group and received the stiffest sentence — five years imprisonment. The court concluded that Uhl was an especially dangerous criminal since he "had already once

been sentenced for the same criminal activity and the preceding punishment had not had the intended reformatory effect."

Uhl is now serving his sentence in the Mirov Prison, one of the worst in the country. The imprisonment has had serious effects on his health. Suk points out that "the work he is forced to do is to grind bakelite and aluminum in very dusty and noisy surroundings. He is given constant punishment — he is often starved and forced to spend his time in a dark, damp cellar. If the prisoner is then unable to fulfill the work norms due to exhaustion and feebleness, he is again punished. There is no way out of this vicious circle."

In addition, a group of secret police officers and jailers hope to do away with Uhl while he is in prison. Uhl warned his wife that she should never believe that he committed suicide if anything should happen to him.

Uhl has become a special target of the regime because of his Marxist views. As Suk confirms, "he strongly objected whenever somebody wanted to describe conditions in capitalist countries as desirable. He can also take a lot of credit for the socialist character of several Charter 77 documents."

Uhl, says Suk, "is a democrat to the marrow of his bones. He does everything possible to allow anyone to speak who wants to, even if he is wholeheartedly opposed to their ideas. This is part of the reason for the extraordinarily positive atmosphere in Charter 77, where a Catholic like Vaclav Benda shares a common language with the reformist Communist Jiri Dienstbier, and both of them could work closely with revolutionary Marxist Petr Uhl."

Uhl is married to Anna Sabatova, and has two young children. Sabatova was herself a political prisoner during the early 1970s. She is a member of VONS and is currently on the editorial board of the magazine *Information on Charter 77*.

Suk urges that solidarity messages be sent to Petr Uhl. His address in prison is:

Petr Uhl
nar. 8.10.1941
PS 1/6
8953 Mirov
Czechoslovakia

ions, reducing his sentence by two years.

The persecution against Czechoslovak democratic-rights activists does not end once they are in prison, as is indicated by the deteriorating state of health of numerous prisoners. Any protest against their inhuman conditions of detention brings new persecution or additional sentences. For example, Petr Cibulka, who went on a hunger strike in prison, received added time for "hindering the proper application of the sentence."

The persecution of Petr Uhl in prison has been publicized by his wife Anna Sabatova, who wrote in a letter to the attorney general:

"During my last visit in November [1980], my husband told me that he wanted me to know that no matter what happened to him in the future, he was not responsible for it. . . . My husband is continually victimized and persecuted. In November he was punished three times by the penitentiary authorities for ridiculous reasons based on false pretexts. Captain Moravek of the Mirov prison told him: 'You will not leave this hole!'"

Anna Sabatova states that in the Mirov prison where Petr Uhl is held, "thirty-two prisoners live in a fifty-five-square-meter room and share one toilet. This, naturally, encourages conflicts and provokes neurosis. In addition," Sabatova notes, "the political prisoners face special discrimination. The results of these intolerable conditions: three prisoners have been driven to suicide in Mirov in the last year. The latest was Julius Pospicil on December 18, 1980."

While the attention and hopes of millions of workers throughout the world is concentrated, correctly, on the struggle of the Polish people, we should not forget the Czechoslovak political prisoners who are languishing in their cells, nor those who are awaiting a trial which, by all indications, could be in the worst style of the Stalinist trials of the 1950s.

Rather, the interest that millions of workers show in the progress of the Polish revolution should be used to advantage to increase the fight to free Petr Uhl, Vaclav Havel, Rudolf Battek, and all the Czechoslovak political prisoners. □

Your library should get *Intercontinental Press*.

Intercontinental Press is a unique source for political developments throughout the world. *IP* is the only English-language magazine with a full-time bureau in Managua, providing weekly reports on the development of the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. *IP* correspondents provide our readers with in-depth coverage of events such as the Iranian revolution, the freedom struggle in South Africa, and the workers struggle in Poland.

Many of the documents, speeches, and interviews we publish appear nowhere else in English. Why not ask your library to subscribe?

United States

Government attacks movement for Irish freedom

By Marc Lichtman

[The following article appeared in the November 13 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

The past year has seen an upsurge in the struggle for Irish freedom, with a worldwide campaign in support of the hunger strikers' demands. In response, the U.S. government has supported Margaret Thatcher's policies in Ireland, and has attacked the movement in this country in support of Irish freedom.

Owen Carron, who was elected to the British Parliament from Northern Ireland to fill the seat vacated by the death of hunger striker Bobby Sands, was denied a visa to enter the United States for a one-week tour in October. His tour would have included meetings with more than twenty members of the U.S. Congress.

Dessie Mackin was arrested in October 1980 when he came to this country without a visa to organize a speaking tour for former H-Block prisoners. Denied bail, he has been in jail since then.

Mackin had agreed to accept deportation to the Irish Republic, but shortly before his plane was to leave, the U.S. government informed him that it would seek his extradition to Northern Ireland, where he faces frame-up charges of attempted murder of a British soldier.

On August 14, 1981, U.S. Magistrate Naomi Reice Buchwald ruled that, even if Mackin committed the act he is accused of, he acted on political grounds and is therefore protected from extradition under an exemption in a treaty between the U.S. and Britain.

Although Mackin won his case, he remains in prison pending a ruling on the government's appeal. And, one week after Magistrate Buchwald's favorable ruling, Mackin was arbitrarily denied visits by all but immediate family, all of whom live in Ireland.

There is now a bill in the U.S. Senate, S-1639, which would take the question of whether an offense committed by a person facing extradition is political out of the hands of the courts and put it into the hands of the Secretary of State.

Michael O'Rourke, another Irish republican, is in the same New York jail as Mackin, the Metropolitan Correctional Center. His visitation rights were taken away at the same time.

Imprisoned on a weapons charge in the Irish Republic, O'Rourke escaped in 1976. He came to the United States the following year and lived under a pseudonym. □

On October 30, 1979, O'Rourke was detained in Philadelphia by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Secret Service, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. None of them had warrants for his arrest. An hour and a half later, he was arrested by an agent of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as an illegal alien.

The local U.S. attorney told the press that O'Rourke was implicated in the assassination of Lord Mountbatten. After this statement received wide publicity, he retracted it. After a month, O'Rourke was moved to the New York prison. He is now charged only with overstaying his visa, but he has been in jail for two years on the grounds that he is a bad bail risk.

On June 5 of this year, Judge Ernest Hupp, who had in several ways in court indicated a favorable disposition toward O'Rourke, ordered himself removed from the case. He stated that he had been "unjustly harassed and intimidated" by agents of the INS who had trailed him.

Also in June 1981, just a few days after 5,000 New Yorkers demonstrated against the visit of British Prince Charles, three activists were arrested in New York on charges of violating federal firearms statutes, and were accused of planning to ship weapons to the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The three are each out on \$100,000 bail. They are pleading not guilty. Each faces up to ten years in prison and a \$10,000 fine if convicted.

The three are George Harrison, sixty-seven; Thomas Falvey, fifty-three; and Patrick Mullin, forty-three. Harrison, a well-known figure in the Irish solidarity movement in New York, is currently active in the H-Block/Armagh Committee. The other two are frequent participants in demonstrations in support of Irish freedom.

On October 1, Michael Flannery, seventy-eight, a director of Irish Northern Aid (Noraid), was arrested and charged with having supplied money to the other three to buy guns. Flannery denied the charges, and was released without bail. His trial, and that of the other three, is set for November 23.

Flannery's arrest is an attempt to prejudice Noraid's appeal of a May federal court ruling that the group has to register as an agent of the IRA under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Irish Northern Aid raises money for families of political prisoners in Northern Ireland. The court decision and the arrest of Flannery are part of a long government campaign to try to convince people that the money really goes to buy weapons for the IRA. □

Who are the antisocialists?

Speech by Edward Lipinski to Solidarity congress

[On September 28, Edward Lipinski, one of Poland's most renowned economists, got up before the first national congress of the Solidarity union movement to announce the dissolution of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), of which he was a founding member. He read the text of a statement signed by the KOR's thirty-two formal members (during its existence it also had hundreds of supporters). In it they explained that the KOR's main purpose — the defense of victimized workers and political activists — had been superseded by the emergence of a mass movement for democratic rights and was therefore no longer needed.]

[In addition, Lipinski, a ninety-three-year-old socialist, gave some of his own views on the current political situation in Poland. And he spoke with some authority. A former member of the pre-war Polish Socialist Party, Lipinski played a prominent role in economic planning following the overturn of capitalism in the late 1940s. In 1959 he was decorated with the Order of the Banner of Labor. But from the mid-1960s he became increasingly critical of the government's policies, speaking out repeatedly against censorship and political persecution.]

[The following is the text of Lipinski's speech at the Solidarity congress, as it was printed in the September 29 issue of the *Congress Post*, the English-language edition of the union's daily congress news bulletin.]

* * *

I must say that I have delivered many speeches in my life but never have I been as excited as I am today [applause]. Perhaps it is because of the conditions in which I am now taking the floor.

Where shall I begin?

The year 1976. Polish society and the nation was threatened from everywhere; culturally, politically, morally, socially and economically, and this menace was increasing.

The events of 1976 — the workers' riots — the police and security services kept beating and torturing people. Masses of people were sacked from work, as in Radom and in Ursus.

The idea was mooted that we try and defend ourselves and protect those unjustly wronged. The Committee of Workers' Defense, the Committee for Social Defense, was set up.

Times have changed since 1976. A great social force has emerged — Solidarnosc [Solidarity].

This assembly is quite unique in the history of the last decades.

The conditions in which KOR operates have also changed. Hence the KOR decision to cease activity because of these new conditions

and new forces which operate more effectively than KOR could. Allow me, therefore, to read the KOR statement which, in a way, is its last will and testament. [Text read.]

Despite these changes I cannot help feeling that the struggle is not over. I myself was frightened when I heard Kania speak at a Party meeting of the bloodshed which threatens us. I myself was frightened to hear General Jaruzelski say that he is ready to mobilize the army for the defence of socialism in Poland.¹

What is this supposed to mean? How can the army protect socialism in Poland by shooting at people! There were two programs like this on TV presenting conversations with soldiers. They stated fervently that they are ready to defend socialism and obey orders. And what is the order that is to be given? What is the order that is to be given by the authorities in order to protect socialism? Shoot?

The defence of socialism is a question of principles, a question of theory, a question of political views. How can a situation arise in which the top representatives of authority threaten us with military intervention to stave off an apparent threat to socialism? In what way is socialism jeopardized in Poland? What are these anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary forces?

Socialism, as defined in the classic works of socialism, was to be a better, post-capitalist economy; freedom broader than in capitalism; the creation of conditions in which everyone would be given an opportunity to develop universally and have unlimited access to the products of culture and civilization.

However, they created a socialism with a faulty economy, an incompetent economy, a wasteful economy, and it is this socialism that has led to an economic collapse unparalleled in the course of the last hundred or two hundred years [applause]. Maybe, similar relations exist in Cambodia [applause] where the socialist system liquidated three and a half million in defence of their socialism.

This socialism of waste, this socialism of prisons, censorship and police, this socialism has been destroying us for thirty years, as it is doing with some other nations [thunderous applause].

I have considered myself a socialist since 1906. But the real struggle for a better and democratic economy, for ownership of the non-state means of production — where a group of new non-private owners has come into being

1. At the time when Lipinski spoke, Stanislaw Kania was still the head of the Polish United Workers Party (the Communist Party). On October 18 he was replaced by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prime minister.

— is a struggle for democratic management in the factories, for political freedom which is a characteristic of the socialist state, for the abolition of censorship, for the real possibility of a planned development of the Polish nation.

There are anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary forces. But, in my opinion, it is their socialism that is anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary [thunderous applause].

They threaten us with bloodshed, and under the sponsorship of the Party they publish such papers as *Rzeczywistosc* [Reality], *Ekran* [Screen], and the organs of the branch trade unions.² Anti-semitism is growing, the papers of the branch unions are quoting the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, which are anti-state and anti-Jewish, and had already been created by the Okhrana [the tsarist secret police] before World War I.

Under the sponsorship of General Jaruzelski, they publish *Zolnierz Wolnosci* [Soldier of Freedom], a communist, anti-fascist paper. One of the recent issues carried an article attacking the villains from Solidarity and KOR who argue that Katyn was a crime committed by the Russians. No, the article says, it was the Germans who were responsible for Katyn.³ This paper is the organ of the Polish army and is expected to shape the moral attitude of soldiers and officers [applause].

We are not all socialists, but we are all fighting for the same goal. There are no significant forces in Poland which desire the reprivatization of the means of production [thunderous applause]. There are no such forces in the Katowice Steelworks or in the Lenin Steelworks.

But everybody understands that as far as small-scale trade, small-scale industry and restaurants go, these should be run by the private sector, because it is only the private sector that can effectively run such establishments. To socialize them would be to bureaucratize them, to endow them with the basic attribute of the collective system which cannot adapt to changing conditions. Private property is better in the case of the above establishments, but there are no anti-socialist and anti-revolutionary forces now that demand reprivatization of heavy industry.

There are forces which strive after freedom, which demand freedom, which demand normal living conditions for the Polish people, but these are not anti-socialist forces [thunderous applause]. □

2. The branch trade unions are the remnants of the old PUWP-controlled Central Council of Trade Unions, which was dissolved after the formation of Solidarity. The branch unions remain virulently hostile to Solidarity.

3. In 1943, during World War II, the German government announced the discovery of a mass grave at Katyn, near Smolensk, containing the bodies of ten thousand Polish officers. It charged that they had been killed by the Soviet government during 1940. The Soviet authorities, who had captured many Polish officers during the joint Soviet-German partition of Poland in 1939, denied any responsibility for the massacre and instead accused the Germans of it. Most Poles, however, blame Moscow for the crime.