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Haig Threatens 'Whatever Is Necessary' to Halt Salvadoran Freedom Struggle



Guerrillas of Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front training in El Salvador's Morazán province.

Special Feature

The Iranian Revolution Today

U.S. threatens to send troops to bail out Salvadoran junta

By Fred Murphy

The Reagan administration has embarked on a major new escalation of U.S. involvement in El Salvador's civil war. Amid a series of victories scored by the Salvadoran freedom fighters, millions of dollars in emergency military aid is being rushed to the beleaguered junta. Administration representatives have refused to rule out the eventual dispatch of U.S. combat troops.

Air power buildup

On February 1, Reagan aides announced that \$55 million worth of aircraft and war matériel was being shipped to El Salvador immediately. This aid included twelve new UH1H helicopters, eight A-37 jet fighters, three or four C-123 troop transport planes, and four O-2 reconnaissance planes. In this way the Pentagon hopes to rapidly rebuild the Salvadoran air force, which lost nearly half its operational aircraft in a spectacular guerrilla raid on Ilopango air base just outside San Salvador on January 27.

That raid was the pretext given for the quick buildup in the junta's air power. "But even before the attack," the *Wall Street Journal* reported February 5, "the State Department had been quietly preparing to ask for emergency military aid for El Salvador. The administration is finding that the Salvadoran army is using military assistance at a far greater pace than expected. . . ."

The \$55 million in emergency aid — which needs no approval from Congress — is more than twice the \$26 million in military aid to El Salvador already budgeted for the current fiscal year. According to the *Journal*, "officials say that money is gone already."

A still bigger boost in aid has already been requested from Congress by the Reagan administration. The figures announced January 30 involved additional military and economic aid of \$100 million for the current fiscal year (on top of \$135 million already approved) and \$300 million more for fiscal 1983.

No troops — 'at the moment'

Part of the aid comes in the form of training for 1,600 Salvadoran troops and officers — nearly one tenth of the junta's army — at U.S. counterinsurgency bases in Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, and Ft. Benning, Georgia.

Even as they have moved to bolster the Salvadoran dictatorship, administration officials have expressed little confidence that aid and training alone will turn the tide. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 2, Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared Washington would do "whatever is necessary" to prevent the junta from being

toppled. Asked if this would include the use of U.S. troops, Haig replied:

"I think the president has made it very clear that he has very strong reservations about such a step except in extremis, but as a general response to your question, we have not ruled out anything and we're not going to, a priori, in a very dynamic, ongoing situation."

Deputy White House press secretary Larry Speakes reaffirmed Haig's statement the next day. The aide's exchange with journalists was reported as follows by United Press International:

. . . Speakes said Wednesday [February 3], "The secretary was discussing contingencies. The president has said he has no plans to send troops anywhere — and he has no plans."

But without giving those words time to sink in, Speakes added the phrase, "at the moment."

Asked whether he specifically intended to not rule out the use of U.S. combat troops if circumstances change in El Salvador, Speakes replied, "That's true."

Freedom fighters advance

The raid on Ilopango air base was only the heaviest of a series of blows struck against the junta in late January and early February by the fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

On February 2, FMLN units routed government troops from their posts in the towns of Nueva Trinidad in Chalatenango province and Corinto in Morazán. At the same time, the FMLN mounted a major attack, in broad daylight, on army and police installations in Usulután, the country's fourth-largest city. Sabotage against power lines the same day cut off electricity to Usulután and two other eastern provincial capitals, San Miguel and San Francisco Gotera (Morazán).

Rebels struck again on February 3, this time within ten miles of the capital. *Washington Post* correspondent Christopher Dickey visited the town of Tonacatepeque after a two-and-a-half-hour battle there between FMLN fighters and government troops and paramilitary guards. Dickey reported:

The arrival of new government reinforcements during the night caused the guerrillas to pull out, leaving behind the now-familiar refuse of this war — abandoned insurgent fortifications that were thrown up around the town, an exploded home-made mine used to ambush reinforcements, a trench dug through the highway nearby, the twisted bodies of the dead paramilitary guards — but no visible guerrilla casualties.

"They attacked from all sides of the city," said a 20-year-old guard in a yellow T-shirt, his old government-issue Garand rifle slung over his shoulder with a piece of baling twine. The young man estimated the strength of the guerrillas as 200 to 300.

Then he added, "I really don't know how many subversives there were." He looked blankly past one of the corpses on the sidewalk. "There were enough." [*Washington Post*, February 5]

On the Coastal Highway

Besides their military operations, the FMLN also began carrying out propaganda actions along major highways in Usulután province during the first week of February. In the February 6 *Post*, Dickey described a scene along the Coastal Highway east of the Puente de Oro bridge that guerrillas destroyed last October:

At 8 a.m., a squad of five guerrillas was openly, even casually stopping all traffic at Kilometer 83, 50 miles from the capital on this main national highway. They were accepting whatever donations anyone wanted to give. . . .

A bus full of peasants stopped at the guerrillas' signal. A couple of the insurgents walked beneath the open windows. Some of the passengers were throwing coins and small bills. The driver made a contribution.

And if there is no contribution? "We just let them go," said one of the guerrillas.

That scene contrasted sharply with one on the same highway described in the February 6 *New York Times* by correspondent Raymond Bonner:

About midday, just to the west of the Golden Bridge [Puente de Oro], Government troops were stopping buses. About 20 or 30 men stood outside one of the buses, their hands over their heads, as the soldiers searched them and then asked to see their identification cards. Women and children stood on the shoulder in the shade as soldiers went through their possessions and the overhead metal racks inside the bus. Another soldier searched the rope bags on the roof.

Massacres, cover-ups, and slanders

The junta's armed forces view their own population as the enemy. The bus passengers Bonner described were lucky in comparison to the residents of the San Salvador suburb of San Antonio Abad. Before dawn on January 31, troops roused nineteen civilians from their homes and shot them to death.

"The bodies were found in small groups in the hills around the slum neighborhood of San Antonio Abad," the *Miami Herald* reported February 1. "Morgue attendants said most had been shot in the head. Families said that many of the bodies recovered had their thumbs tied together behind their backs and that some showed signs of torture." The residents also reported that six teenage girls were raped by soldiers during the raids.

Such atrocities by army death squads are common occurrences in El Salvador.

An army communiqué, in a blatant attempt to cover up, claimed troops in San Antonio Abad had killed twenty guerrillas in an "action of search and elimination."

Unfortunately for the Reagan administration, news of the San Antonio Abad killings reached the United States on the same day that Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders testified before a con-

gressional subcommittee on Reagan's recently issued certification that the Salvadoran junta has been making a "concerted and significant effort" to respect human rights.

Even Enders — who gained expertise in lying about civilian massacres when he directed the secret and illegal U.S. bombing of Cambodia in 1973 — had to admit to the congressmen that he found it "difficult to buy the notion that there was a fire fight."

Enders did try to minimize earlier detailed reports in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and other U.S. papers of the killing of up to 926 civilians by the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Brigade around the village of Mozote in Morazán Province in late December.

The Salvadoran army's propaganda department tried to divert attention from the reports by concocting a story about a massacre allegedly committed by the FMLN. "Genocide in Nueva Trinidad" screamed the title of a communiqué the armed forces issued February 3. It claimed "terrorist hordes" had butchered 150 to 200 civilians in that Chalatenango village on January 31.

The story was further embellished by the government-censored press in San Salvador. "400 Murdered by the Terrorists," said *El Diario de Hoy*.

The gory accounts were deflated once foreign news reporters were allowed to visit the village. These, Raymond Bonner said in the February 4 *New York Times*, "put the number of people killed in the battle at no more than 50. They said that 15 to 20 of the dead were regular army soldiers and another 15 to 20 appeared to be civilians the Government had pressed into service. They said some civilians appeared to have been killed in the fighting." For its part, the FMLN declared in a clandestine radio broadcast that the government claims were all lies and that the guerrilla raid actually involved "an important attack on a strategic armed forces base."

Enders and Haig spell out stakes

The latest moves by Washington show that the U.S. rulers are deadly serious about trying to smash the revolutionary upsurge not only in El Salvador but throughout Central America. Thomas Enders spelled out Washington's position in testimony February 3 before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee.

"There is no mistaking that the decisive battle for Central America is under way in El Salvador," Enders declared. "If after Nicaragua, El Salvador is captured by a violent minority, who in Central America would not live in fear? How long would it be before major strategic United States interests — the Panama Canal, sea lanes, oil supplies — were at risk?"

Haig reiterated these points in an interview published in the February 8 *New York Times*. He said that Central America "is a profound challenge to the security of our hemisphere, to the whole character of the southern hemisphere, its political orientation and its compatibility with traditional hemispheric values. . . ."

"We are, in effect, at the very core of United States hemispheric interests."

The U.S. rulers are right that if the Salvadoran people manage to follow Nicaragua's example and throw off the violent minority that now oppresses them, they will inspire the workers and peasants of Guatemala and other countries in the region to seek to do the same.

And "major strategic interests" of the U.S. capitalists are "at risk" — specifically, their ability to maintain the extreme exploitation of the working people of Central America and the Caribbean. Hence the U.S. rulers are determined — after the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada — not to let a single additional country in the region be freed from their grip.

But the imperialists are also aware of the tremendous opposition their war plans face from working people in the United States and abroad. Nervousness at this prospect has given rise to a debate in U.S. ruling class circles over how far and how fast to move.

The editors of the *Washington Post* de-

fended Reagan's certification of the Salvadoran junta's human rights record on January 29, and warned "people who can't take the junta" that they should consider whether or not "it's acceptable to the United States if El Salvador goes the Cuban way."

The *New York Times*, on January 31, deplored Reagan's "cynical humbug" and complained that "the Reagan administration has clearly failed to restrain the murderous armies" in El Salvador. At the same time, the *Times* editors acknowledged that "without more aid, Marxist guerrillas might well rout the junta's repressive armies and install a regime the United States deems unacceptable."

While Congress and the press debate, Reagan and company are acting. All supporters of the Salvadoran people's right to self-determination need to act as well. We must recognize the dangerous new steps being pursued by the U.S. rulers, and voice the loudest possible outcry against the threat of a new Vietnam in Central America. □

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Rally honors Rupert Bishop

'Better to die on your feet than on your knees'

By Pat Kane

ST. GEORGE'S — More than 1,000 Grenadians joined a march and rally here January 21 to commemorate the death of Rupert Bishop, the father of the island's prime minister, Maurice Bishop.

Rupert Bishop was murdered by police thugs of the deposed dictator Eric Gairy eight years ago, during a demonstration demanding the resignation of the Gairy government. On January 21, 1974 — now known in Grenada as Bloody Monday — hundreds of protesters were injured by Gairy's goons. Rupert Bishop was protecting school children during the attack when he was shot down. Bishop was unarmed.

The main speaker at the rally was Minister of National Mobilization Selwyn Strachan. He told the marchers that Grenadians must never forget their political history nor those who died for the cause of freedom in Grenada. "Comrades," Strachan said, "I can remember some of the things that Comrade Rupert Bishop used to say, because many of our meetings took place at the Bishop house during those years of struggle. He used to say, 'Brothers, we are in a struggle, we are in a fight, but I want to warn you that it is always better to die on your feet than on your knees.' Rupert Bishop died standing and fighting, because he knew what he was fighting for."

Selwyn Strachan pointed out that as far back as 1974 the New Jewel Movement said that it was struggling not only for the removal

of the Gairy dictatorship, but for a change in the entire system. What Rupert Bishop died for is now a reality in Grenada.

"Those who are attacking us now are hypocrites," Strachan continued, "because they knew what we stood for as far back as 1973, because we told the masses the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We came out with our manifesto letting the people know where we stood, and what we were going to be doing when we took power. . . . That is what we are now implementing."

Many elderly workers who had known Rupert Bishop were in attendance. There was a short religious service at Bishop's graveside.

Grenadians to mark revolution

Prepare for third anniversary festivities

By Pat Kane

ST. GEORGE'S — Preparations are now under way for the third anniversary celebration of the Grenada revolution to mark the March 13, 1979, insurrection that toppled the Eric Gairy dictatorship.

Grenadians have a lot to celebrate, including new schools, hospitals and roads, the construction of a new international airport, and the massive extension of democratic rights in every area of society.

This year's celebration is extremely impor-

tant since the Grenada revolution is under increasing pressure from world imperialism, and in particular Washington.

Speaking at the rally, Phyllis Coard, the president of the National Women's Organization, announced plans for two new NWO campaigns in solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador and of Angola and Namibia.

She pointed out that in those countries there are thousands of refugees living without proper food, shelter, or clothing. She said now that Grenada has won its freedom, Grenadians must be prepared to support those people still fighting for theirs.

The campaign in solidarity with Angola and Namibia involves the collection of used clothing, which will be shipped to the Angolan Women's Organization. The NWO is also appealing to every Grenadian to contribute one East Caribbean dollar (US\$0.37) for refugees in El Salvador.

The forward march of the Grenadian revolution has ensured that none of the island's martyrs gave their lives in vain. □

tant since the Grenada revolution is under increasing pressure from world imperialism, and in particular Washington.

On a radio program broadcast January 25, Minister of National Mobilization Selwyn Strachan told listeners, "We have to show U.S. imperialism that we, the people of Grenada, will always be determined to show the world that this revolution is ours, and we will defend it at all costs. We have to come out in full force to show the world that we are serious. We must never give the enemy a chance to say that the revolution doesn't have popular support."

There will be a number of events leading up to the festival. There is a March 13 Committee, which represents all the various mass organizations and workplaces. Strachan is its chairperson.

With 1982 designated as the "Year of Economic Reconstruction," the festival itself will focus on the economy. This year there will be a calypso song competition, with prizes given for the best entry on the theme of the economy.

On February 19-21, the entire island will mobilize for military maneuvers, called the Julian Fedon Maneuver, after one of Grenada's revolutionary heroes, who led a slave rebellion in the seventeenth century against the British colonialists. The government aims for a huge mobilization, intending it to be ten times the size of the Heroes of the Homeland Maneuver held here last August after U.S. Marines staged a mock invasion of Grenada on the island of Vieques. It will involve the People's Revolutionary Army, the People's Militia, and all the mass organizations.

On March 11 there will be a massive fundraising dance to mark the ninth anniversary of



March in St. George's to commemorate Rupert Bishop.

Pat Kane/IP

the New Jewel Movement (NJM), Grenada's revolutionary party. Funds will go to the construction of a national party headquarters. Now, the NJM has no central office, and its functions are spread over several small sites.

Strachan commented, "I don't think anybody will have any qualms about this. I believe that the working people will support this event, because our party was the one that led the struggle for several years leading up to the overthrow of the Gairy regime, and it is our party which continues to chart the destiny of our people. It is the vanguard of the working people."

When the Grenadian government talks about the economy, it does not forget the task of increasing the political consciousness of the island's small but important working class. The government is asking the island's workers to assemble in one spot, and march together to Queen's Park on March 13, where the festival and rally will take place.

Strachan said, "It will be called the March of the Workers. This is very important because

the working class is the most important class in our society, primarily responsible for production."

The demonstration will also include the hundreds of internationalist workers who are here from all over the Caribbean, the United States, and Europe. There will be a big contingent of Cuban doctors, construction workers, and technicians.

The festival will start in the afternoon, unlike in previous years, since Grenadians "sheebang" — or, as it is known elsewhere, party — all through the celebrations. The government considered 10:00 a.m. a bit early after "all night sheebangs."

There will be cultural events and feature addresses by leaders of the revolution and international guests.

Grenadians always tell me to get my friends to come and see the revolution for themselves. And there is no better time to meet the Grenadian people than during the anniversary celebrations. □

was trained and equipped with the military aid from your administration.

The Salvadoran people, who so greatly admire the progressive and democratic ideals of the people of the United States, cannot understand why you insist on pledging your support to a genocidal government. We cannot understand why the hard-earned dollars of U.S. taxpayers go to support programs of extermination instead of furthering peace and respect for human rights.

Your claim that the war in El Salvador is simply an aspect of the confrontation between your government and that of the Soviet Union seems to us to have nothing to do with the reality in our country. Salvadorans have joined the struggle because of the poverty and repression imposed on them by the oligarchy and the military.

We have taken up arms not because we love war, but rather because one military regime after another has closed off all democratic avenues for change and has forced us to make use of our legitimate right to rebellion.

It is the Salvadorans and Salvadorans alone who struggle daily against the dictatorship. We want to change the old and unjust social structures. The 30,000 dead were neither Russians nor Cubans. They were Salvadorans who yearned to live in peace and dignity.

The only outside forces in this conflict are the U.S. advisers your government has sent. Portraying our war as part of an East-West conflict can only lead to its regionalization and to a growing intervention by your country. This would cause still more suffering for the Salvadoran people, as well as for the people of the United States.

Your claiming that the solution to the Salvadoran conflict is through elections in March also has nothing to do with reality. How can a democratic process be guaranteed amid indiscriminate repression? If you are the one who decides the destiny of the United States, it is because you are in office by virtue of free elections. Americans went to the polls in peace, and this is the undeniable precondition for a people to be able to elect its leaders.

The Salvadoran government, far from creating the indispensable conditions for achieving such peace, is pushing ahead with a war of extermination against our people. These elections, then, are no solution, but are simply one more farce that the military government has imposed on our people.

Mr. President, the confidence your message expressed in preserving world peace needs to take concrete expression. In El Salvador, our Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front has made a public and generous offer to undertake peace talks that could lead to ending the war and building a democratic and just social order for all Salvadorans. The great majority of the international community has supported our proposal for a political solution, as is shown by the French-Mexican communiqué and the motion adopted by the UN General Assembly last December 16.

Our proposal calls for negotiations covering

El Salvador

FMLN letter to Reagan

'Your objective is not peace, but war'

[The following is a letter sent by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador to President Ronald Reagan on January 18. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Mr. President:

We have read with care your year-end message to the American people, in which you refer to efforts toward world peace, and more specifically, to the fact that "our hearts are anguished for those who suffer oppression" and that "Americans begin the year with a renewed commitment to our ideals and with the determination that peace will have to be preserved and that freedom for all men will prevail."

We would like to point out to you, Mr. President, that we Salvadorans have suffered centuries of oppression and are suffering right now from repression by a military dictatorship that has been in power, without interruption, for more than fifty years. Our struggle is against that dictatorship.

If your heart is anguished by oppression, we cannot see why it is precisely your administration that has become the principal support of the military-Christian Democratic regime in El Salvador.

Far from aiding our people's conquest of freedom, your administration has chosen to support a government that is responsible for more than 30,000 deaths in the short period of two years.

What then is the world peace you seek, if at the same time you offer military aid to a repressive government? The military and political assistance your government has provided to the Salvadoran junta has brought about, among other things, the prolonging of the war and the entrenchment in the seat of power of the most repressive elements of the Salvadoran government — those who do not even respect the lives of U.S. citizens, as demonstrated by the murder of the four women religious workers in 1980. The recent agreement to train 1,600 troops from the junta's army at U.S. bases confirms to us that your objective is not peace, but war — against our people.

Your administration has not only sent war matériel and military advisers, but is also helping to plan the strategy of extermination being carried out against our people. This is exactly what Undersecretary of Defense Iklé outlined in his recent testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.

As part of this "scorched earth" policy, the population itself becomes a military target, especially those who live in areas near the fighting. And the painful experience of many massacres shows how little the sex, age, religious beliefs, or noncombatant status of these victims matters. Barely a month ago, between December 7 and 17, in Morazán province, the army systematically killed more than 1,000 peasants, children, women, and old people. They were butchered, machine-gunned, or burned alive by the Atlacatl Brigade, which

all topics. We are ready at a moment's notice to begin working out an agenda mutually agreeable to all parties, without any preconditions, in the presence of witnesses from other governments, and with the Salvadoran people fully informed about the progress toward a political solution. This is our contribution to peace, but we have noted your administra-

tion's opposition to a political solution.

What we have said leads us to respectfully request that you change your policy toward El Salvador. We only ask for the right to resolve our own problems by ourselves, without foreign interference.

If, in this new year, your government is interested in and willing to pursue peace in the

world, it has the chance to achieve such peace in El Salvador by dropping its opposition to a political solution and instead seeking friendly and just relations between our two peoples.

Sincerely,
Salvador Cayetano Carpio, Joaquín Villalobos, Fermán Cienfuegos, Shafik Jorge Handal, Roberto Roca

Iran

Where revolution stands today

Toilers press for economic measures, defeat of Iraqi invasion

By Fred Murphy

Three years have passed since the Iranian people rose up by the millions and overthrew the shah and his dictatorship. During this time, the workers and peasants and their allies have been through a series of experiences in the class struggle: mobilizations against the threats, pressures, and direct attacks of U.S. imperialism; war against a counterrevolutionary invasion by the Iraqi regime; efforts to rebuild the economy in face of imperialist boycott, capitalist sabotage, and bureaucratic mismanagement; and battles to defend and extend the democratic rights won through defeating the monarchy.

Amid difficulties and obstacles, the Iranian working class and its allies continue to seek ways to move their revolution forward. But the rich political life that characterizes Iran today has gone unremarked in the imperialist news media. Instead, newspapers like the *New York Times* and *Le Monde* have focused almost exclusively on executions and terrorist bombings.

Writing in the January 30 issue of the liberal U.S. weekly *Nation*, Richard Falk lamented the alleged fate of Iran, where "Khomeini has established a rule that is as brutal and repressive as the Shah's," where "the fundamentalist elements have temporarily prevailed over the democratic elements." Elsewhere in the same issue, Mansour Farhang asserted that in Iran, a "peaceful and popular revolution has been transformed into religious fascism" and that what prevails there is "not only political and economic oppression but also cultural and religious totalitarianism."

Such a picture, with minor variations, has become the standard presentation of the situation in Iran by virtually all the communications media in the United States and Western Europe. But it is false.

Iraqi invasion

To grasp the truth about the current state of the Iranian revolution, it is necessary to begin with the military attack launched against the revolution in September 1980 by the Saddam Hussein regime in neighboring Iraq.

Hussein sent his troops and armor across Iran's western border in hope of gaining a quick victory, demoralizing the Iranian masses, and bringing about the downfall of the Khomeini regime.

The imperialists and the reactionary Arab regimes in the region welcomed Hussein's invasion. They hoped it would remove the threat to capitalist stability throughout the Middle East posed by the anti-imperialist upsurge of the Iranian people. The pro-U.S. rulers of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have bankrolled Hussein's war, and the French imperialists have provided arms and advisers.

The massive armed attack on the revolution had grave consequences. Thousands of square miles of Iranian territory were occupied in the early weeks of the war. Parts of Iran's vital oil industry were destroyed. More than 60,000 Iranians have been killed or wounded, and well over 1 million have become refugees. Economic losses to Iran have been in excess of \$100 billion.

But despite such devastation, Hussein has not achieved his objectives. The invasion bogged down in the early weeks of the war. Iranian troops and the population of the border area rallied to blunt the Iraqi drive.

Tide of battle turning

For almost a year, the military situation remained stalemated. But in recent months, Iranian forces have turned the tide of battle and have been regaining substantial sections of territory.

The siege of Abadan — a key city under constant Iraqi attack from three sides since the early days of the war — was broken in late September. By November, Iranian forces had recaptured seventy villages and the border town of Bostan in an area sixty miles north of Abadan, thus cutting Iraqi lines in two. And in December, the Iranians made further advances around the towns of Qasr-e-Shirin and Now-sud, at the northern end of the war front.

The specter of an Iranian victory has begun to haunt Washington and its Arab client regimes. The defeat of the Iraqis would inspire the Iranian masses with fresh confidence in

pressing for their still-unmet social and economic demands. It would spell the end of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq and open a new stage in the confrontation between imperialism and the masses of the Middle East.

A key role in Iran's military gains has been played by the Baseej-e-Mustazafin (Mobilization Corps of the Oppressed). The Baseej is a military organization of workers and youth who have volunteered to fight at the front. Through it, some 2 million Iranians have received military training since the corps was founded in late 1980.

The Pasdaran, or Revolutionary Guards, have also been taking a more prominent part in the war. This section of the armed forces was established after the downfall of the shah and also has thousands of revolutionary-minded youth from working-class and poor neighborhoods among its ranks.

In the past, leaders of the Pasdaran challenged the officers of the regular army — most of whom served under the shah — for their failure to take initiatives to drive out the Iraqi invaders. Hundreds of army officers have been removed from their posts in recent months, and the Pasdaran commanders have come to the fore as military leaders.

Iranian socialists also report that army officers have largely ceased wearing their insignia of rank at the front, and that soldiers in the regular army are no longer kept separated from their young counterparts in the Pasdaran and the Baseej. This has boosted morale and increased the pressure on the leaders of all three sections of the armed forces for decisive and coordinated action against the Iraqis.

Morale in Iran high

During early and mid-1981, enthusiasm for the war effort among the Iranian masses had declined somewhat, owing to the lack of progress on the front, internal conflicts in the government and the military command, and the counterrevolutionary terrorist attacks and subsequent executions and repression. But the recent victories have restored confidence that the Iraqis can be defeated. Huge demonstrations in Isfahan, Ahwaz, and other cities hailed the war

gains in late November. More workers and youth have been volunteering to join the Baseej, and peasant villages have been making donations of food and other goods and sending volunteers to the front as well.

Hemmat, the newspaper of the Workers Unity Party (HVK),¹ reported December 5 that forty-five peasant families in the Oromiyeh area in northwest Iran had decided to donate for the relief of war refugees 4.5 tons from their first wheat crop on land obtained under the agrarian reform.

The January 16 *Hemmat* reported on financial donations to the war effort of up to 2 million rials (81 rials = US\$1) by workers at the Kashan spinning mill, the Plast-Iran plastics factory, Minoos Industries, and the Alborz electrical appliances plant.

Hussein in trouble

In contrast to the growing optimism and support for the war among Iranians, morale on the Iraqi side of the front is reported to be in steep decline. Thousands of Iraqi soldiers have been captured in the recent battles, and many of these have subsequently appeared on Iranian television and radio chanting slogans in support of the Iranian revolution. Some have made statements against the war and the Saddam Hussein regime.

According to the January 16 *Washington Post*, "some analysts say they believe the Iraqi army is so demoralized that it can no longer strike back and take the initiative away from Iranian forces."

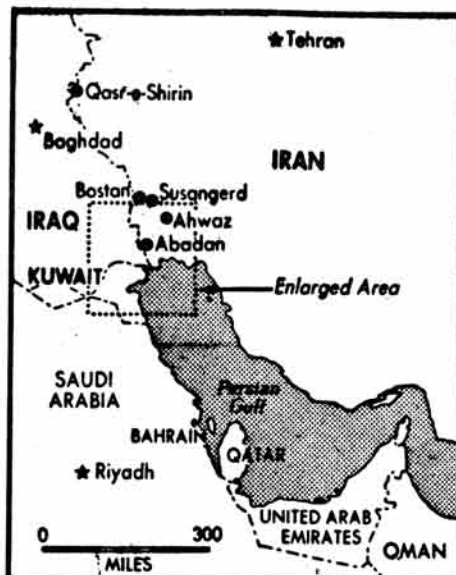
Hussein also faces growing resistance at home. A new opposition grouping called the Iraqi Front of Revolutionary, Islamic, and National Forces has reportedly been set up. According to the January 7 *Washington Post*, the chief component of this front is a force of several thousand Kurdish guerrillas led by Masoud Barzani, son of the late Iraqi Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani.

These guerrillas, known as *peshmerga*, have been mounting attacks on army garrisons in northern Iraq. According to the *Post*, Iraqi army control in the area is "limited to the region's major towns and roads at night."

Commenting on the recent changes in the war situation, the London *Economist* warned December 19 that "if the tide of battle continues to swing, however slowly, in Iran's favour, President Saddam Hussein will be in grave trouble."

War and the Iranian economy

The war against the Iraqi invaders has caused considerable damage to the Iranian economy. Foreign currency reserves — already reduced through Washington's continued freeze of \$6.1 billion of Iranian assets in Western banks — have had to be devoted largely to replenishing military supplies. This in turn has made it difficult to import adequate quantities of raw materials and spare parts for industry,



which often must be paid for in cash, owing to credit restrictions imposed by imperialist financiers after the fall of the shah and the nationalization of most foreign holdings in Iran.

According to the Ministry of the Economy in Tehran, the country must import 95 percent of the spare parts and 75 percent of the raw materials used in industry. Shortages of these supplies have resulted in factory closings, layoffs, and reduced work shifts in many Iranian plants.

It is in this framework of war mobilization and economic crisis that working-class struggles in Iran today are taking place. These most often center on efforts by the workers to gain control over production and distribution, counter mismanagement by state-appointed bureaucrats, and expose and halt decapitalization attempts at those workplaces that are still under private ownership. (Virtually all foreign holdings in Iran were nationalized after the fall of the shah, as were those owned by the Pahlavi dynasty and its cohorts. These enterprises are now managed by the Organization of National Industries of Iran [ONII] or by the Foundation for the Disinherited.)

Although Iranian workers have yet to construct strong organizations at the national level

— such as a trade-union confederation or a labor party — they do possess instruments of struggle at the factory level. These committees, or *shoras*, arose during and after the insurrection against the shah. Since then they have fought for the workers' interests on issues of wages, safety, housing, and production priorities.

During the anti-imperialist mobilizations that followed the November 1979 occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, more *shoras* were organized. Further struggles were waged to take over greater management functions and to institute workers control. Since the Iraqi invasion began, the *shoras* have played an important role in organizing worker-volunteers for the front and supporting the war effort in other ways.

The Iranian regime — though often encouraging mass mobilizations to counter the attacks of imperialism — remains committed to maintaining the capitalist system. Hence it has continually sought to weaken or block the independent organization of the workers.

Socialists and other militant workers have been fired for their role in leading the *shoras*. In many factories, supporters of the regime have set up Islamic *anjomans* (societies) in counterposition to the *shoras*. These *anjomans* usually involve a minority of the workers and have often collaborated with management against the workforce as a whole.

But such measures have not been effective in taming a working class that became conscious of its power in the prolonged general strike that brought down the shah. The *shoras* continue to exist, and in some plants have gained a large measure of control over production and distribution.

Moreover, the progovernment *anjomans* have not been immune to pressure from the workers they claim to represent. They have joined with the *shoras* in certain struggles, and as a result *anjan* leaders have also faced firings and harassment by management.

Work stoppage at Iran National

A number of recent examples of the struggles of Iranian workers to defend and extend their gains can be cited:

- At the big Iran National plant in Tehran, more than 10,000 auto workers from the morning and afternoon shifts halted work on December 6 and 7, according to a report in the December 14 issue of *Kargar*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).²

The Iran National workers held assemblies to discuss and protest a decision by the ONII and the Ministry of Labor to eliminate a bonus system whose benefits had been extended to all workers after the fall of the shah. Workers had been allowed to purchase one Peykan car at reduced cost every other year. Most would resell the bonus cars to supplement their income.

1. The HVK is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International.

2. The HKE is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International.

(See *Intercontinental Press*, January 25, p. 34.)

Management representatives accused the Iran National workers of putting their own interests ahead of the war effort. "No one believes we are not for the victory of the Islamic forces over the infidels," a worker replied at the day-shift assembly on December 6. "Government officials know better than anyone that the Iran National workers have given big amounts of financial contributions every month for victory in the war against Saddam. We want to win this war, and we will spare nothing."

Another worker declared that no one should accuse him and his fellow workers of organizing a "strike."

"We have simply gathered together here to air our grievances," he said. "To compensate for today, we will work on Friday." The assembled workers shouted their agreement and chanted "God is great!"

Other speakers protested the recent firing of four Iran National workers who had been leaders of the Islamic anjoman and the Baseej. Whereas earlier firings of militant workers had been mainly aimed at those who were known as socialists or leftists — such as fourteen HKE members at Iran National who lost their jobs in early 1981 — Islamic workers who stand up for their rights are now being fired as well by the capitalist managers of the state enterprises.

The Iran National workers concluded their assemblies by electing six representatives to try to negotiate their grievances with the management and the ONII.

Production at Iran National remains quite low. According to management, this is the result of difficulty in obtaining parts from abroad. Before the December assemblies, the management had announced plans to cut the work week in half and reduce wages. This move was never implemented, however — a fresh stock of parts was suddenly discovered after the workers' protests.

Fight for workers control

- A struggle similar to that at Iran National took place in late 1981 at the Mazda van factory in Tehran. Pressure from the workers led to joint meetings between the shora and the Islamic anjoman, with the result that management was forced to partially restore the granting of bonuses, despite rulings to the contrary by the ONII.

- At many factories, workers have organized to put a halt to hoarding and speculation by distributing their products directly to the public.

Workers at the Nozahur paper-goods factory in Tabriz managed to cut the price of disposable baby diapers by more than half in this way. A workers cooperative at the Ming textile mill now distributes the blankets produced there through cooperatives of factory workers and peasants in other parts of the country. At the Arj refrigerator factory, Iranian socialists say, "nothing leaves the plant without the shora's approval."



Cindy Jaquith/Militant

Contingent from General Motors factory shora at December 1979 demonstration in Tehran. Workers' shoras are playing an important role in the Iranian class struggle.

- After the removal of Abolhassan Bani-Sadr as president of the Islamic Republic in June 1981, many of his liberal bourgeois supporters were also ousted from their positions in the management of nationalized enterprises. Workers generally welcomed this and saw it as a means of replacing defenders of capitalism with "Islamic" managers, who they hoped would act in the workers' interests.

Subsequent experience is demonstrating, however, that these were false hopes. Like their predecessors, the new managers are also carrying out firings, conniving with unscrupulous middlemen, and attacking the shoras and anjomans.

At the Jamco clothing factory, the January 16 *Hemmat* reported, the shora has taken over management of the plant itself. But the ONII has not responded to the workers' efforts to lower production costs through cooperation with the nationalized textile industry. *Hemmat* quotes one worker as saying:

Now that this factory and the ones that make fabrics have been nationalized, the government could easily give us fabric at a reasonable price, and we could thus provide low-priced goods to the oppressed of society.

But a jacket and pants now cost 2,700 tumans (1 tuman = US\$0.13). How can someone who makes 3,500 tumans and has to pay rent and support a family afford these clothes? So we consider that once again, even though we have an Islamic republic, we are still serving the haughty classes of society. We have destroyed a hell, but we must still build a paradise.

- Resistance is mounting against the dismissal of militant workers and shora leaders. At the Doopar pharmaceuticals plant in Tehran, for example, all 300 workers have signed

petitions demanding reinstatement of Mustafa Seifabadi and Handollah Khodakaremi, who were fired in late 1981. Seifabadi is a member of the HKE who fought at the front and was dismissed upon his return. Khodakaremi was a leader of the Islamic anjoman at Doopar.

'We despise the manager'

Interviews with workers at Doopar were published in the December 14 issue of *Kargar*. One worker reported on his questioning by a committee established by the Labor Ministry to review the case of the two fired militants:

They asked what else I knew about Seifabadi. I said I did not know anything else — only that we despise the manager because of these firings. We only ask the authorities, if this is a revolution of the oppressed, why do they give the workers so much grief and not the haughty ones? What we want the authorities to tell us is why they make the workers miserable, why they call "counterrevolutionary" a worker who works in a factory and does his job 100 percent.

Let them tell me to my face that Seifabadi and Khodakaremi are counterrevolutionaries and that the manager is a revolutionary.

At present, the firings of militants such as those at Iran National and Doopar are legal under Article 33 of Iran's labor law. This law has not been modified since the shah's time. Demands are continually raised by the shoras for its abolition, and in recent months they have been joined not only by many anjomans but even by the newspaper that the ruling Islamic Republican (IRP) publishes for workers, *Salehan-e Sazandeh*.

One example of the workers' sentiment against this law is a letter addressed to Ayatollah Khomeini by the Islamic anjoman at Iran National:

We ask the responsible officials to implement an Islamic and revolutionary labor law, and particularly to annul Article 33 of the labor law. This is a holdover from the age of idolatry and a tool in the hands of the capitalists and the liberal managers, who never heard of God. We also ask that the arbitrary firings of workers in production units and industry be prevented.

Victory to the world revolution of the Islamic community under the leadership of Imam Khomeini!

The demand for abolition of article 33 has been among those raised in several recent assemblies of worker representatives held in Tehran and elsewhere. These gatherings, usually called seminars, reflect growing awareness among workers of the need for centralizing their struggles and organizations.

Shora delegates meet

A seminar held in Tehran October 28-30 attracted some 700 members of Islamic anjomans — including 390 elected delegates — from factories in Tehran, Isfahan, Arak, Kermanshah, Qazvin, Tabriz, Mashhad, Amol, Dezful, Shiraz, and other cities. Resolutions passed by the seminar called for factory workers to be provided full information about the production and financial situations of their enterprises, for the abolition of Article 33, and for increased participation by workers in the

management of enterprises.

Representatives of eighty factory shoras met in Tehran on December 2. Article 33 was denounced at that gathering.

On December 17, anjomans and shora representatives from some 100 factories of East Tehran met at Workers House, an institution with ties to the ruling IRP. The purpose of the gathering was a religious commemoration, but the workers also took the opportunity to air their grievances.

Representatives from Iran Tool, Universal, and two other factories complained about firings and other abuses by management. Hossein Kamali, a leader of Workers House and an IRP member of parliament, responded that "anyone who tries to expel a good member of the Islamic anjomans wants to cut off the arm of Islam in industry. Article 33 of the labor law facilitates this, so it is in the interests of capital" (*Kargar*, December 21).

During the second week of January, a seminar of factory shoras from the Jاده region — which includes Karaj and other western industrial suburbs of Tehran — was held in the capital. This gathering, attended by some 300 workers, was also sponsored by Workers House and by *Sal-ehan-e Sazandeh*.

Besides protesting the firings of militants, the seminar also protested a ruling made by Labor Minister Ahmad Tavakkoli in late December that no more shoras should be organized until parliament passes a law regulating their activity.

'Defiance toward managers'

Meetings such as those just described, delegations to government ministries, petitions, letters, and statements are typical of the forms of struggle being used by Iranian workers today. Work stoppages like the one at Iran National in December are rare.

There are two reasons for this. The atmosphere of intimidation created by the widespread counterrevolutionary terrorism of mid-1981 and by the subsequent large-scale executions of those suspected of involvement — and others whom the authorities simply wanted to get out of the way — has not wholly dissipated.

On the other hand, most workers feel that production should be maintained at a high level to meet the needs of the war effort. Hence they are reluctant to take actions that might be viewed as cutting across unity in face of the Iraqi attack, or that the government might seek to portray in that way.

Nonetheless, as an HVK leader puts it, "the regimentation of workers that existed in the shah's time has broken down entirely. Workers talk back to managers and are not expelled. This is something the workers have won. In this sense their morale is high and the situation is open."

The HVK leader characterized the attitude of most workers as "ambivalence toward the government but defiance toward the managers."

Many continue to view the government as

one that has taken measures in the workers' interests — nationalizing the wealth of the shah, the imperialists, and native capitalists linked to them; standing up to the threats of Washington; removing from power the most openly procapitalist officials, such as ex-Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and ex-President Bani-Sadr and his followers; and the establishment of a rationing system whereby prices for basic foodstuffs are subsidized and scarcities are offset through the distribution of goods by cooperatives in the factories and poor neighborhoods.

At the same time, workers oppose the regime's attacks on democratic rights, its attempts to curtail the shoras and the anjomans, its toleration of capitalist profiteering and sabotage, and its failure to follow through on repeated promises of decisive action against the wealthy exploiters.

Class struggle in the countryside

Similar attitudes can be found among the rural toilers. In many parts of Iran, peasants and farm laborers rose up in the months following the shah's overthrow and seized land for themselves. As the revolution in the countryside deepened, most big landholders were forced to relinquish direct control over their estates. The landlords fled to the cities or left the country altogether.

Despite these widespread land seizures, the agrarian revolution has by no means been completed. In early 1980 the government adopted a land-reform law, but suspended its implementation a year later. Section C of the law, never implemented at all, would legalize the action of the peasants in dividing up the big private holdings.

The landlords who remain in Iran still hope to reverse the situation in the countryside. They continually pressure the regime and the Islamic hierarchy to block enforcement of the land reform. And some take things into their own hands, returning to their estates at harvest time with gangs of thugs, in hope of wresting away the fruits of the peasants' labor. Armed clashes have resulted, and in some cases the Pasdaran have intervened on the side of the peasants.

The peasants are finding allies among the urban youth who have gone into the countryside to teach literacy classes and aid in development projects under the auspices of the Jihad-e Sazandegi (Crusade for Reconstruction), a government institution.

'Destroy the big landlords'

Youth from the Crusade have helped to organize peasant shoras, as well as marches and demonstrations in which the peasants have demanded implementation of Section C, access to credit, improvements in irrigation, technical aid, and so on.

At the end of September, the Crusade for Reconstruction helped to organize a seminar of peasant-shora representatives in Tehran. About 500 peasants from various parts of the country attended. The seminar closed with the

adoption of an eleven-point resolution calling for implementation of Section C and other peasant demands, the setting up of peasant cooperatives, and the expropriation of idle capital. The resolution also expressed support for the war against Iraq and opposition to the terrorist attacks against clergymen and government officials.

The sentiments of the peasants are also stated in no uncertain terms in letters sent from the villages to the government. These are printed from time to time in the daily newspapers in Tehran.

"The halting of implementation of Section C and D of the land-distribution law was the biggest opportunity yet for the big landlords and counterrevolutionary feudal elements," complained a letter from the villages of the Saqqez region published in the IRP's *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* on December 6. The letter continued:

Since then, new conspiracies against the revolution and the oppressed people have broken out every day from Baluchistan to Kurdistan to Turkman Sahra. We, the members of our Islamic peasant shora, stand for increasing farm production and for struggling against America — the Great Satan — and the invader regime of Saddam. . . .

At the same time, we demand from the respected delegates of the Majles [parliament] that they approve and implement a revolutionary program — including a thoroughgoing Islamic revolutionary land reform and especially Section C and D — and destroy the big landlords and feudal elements down to their roots. [Letter reprinted in December 19 *Hemmat*.]

In a letter published in the January 3 *Ettelaat*, the villagers of Naser Kiyadeh wrote:

During the dark years of the monarchist regime, we toiling villagers were doubled over by oppression and exploitation. The taste of suffering caused by the feudalists still clings to our flesh and blood. We consider these feudalists and landlords . . . to be agents of America, the Great Satan.

These devils have sucked the blood of the toiling peasants for years. . . . Ratification of a comprehensive land-reform law, and the distribution of the land, can bring the suffering caused by these feudalists and landlords to an end.

And a letter published in the December 2 *Ettelaat* from villagers near the town of Gilan-e-Gharb (on the war front) provided an example of what the regime's land reform has actually amounted to:

"After the victory of the Islamic revolution, committees were sent to our village to divide the land. But so far they have not listened to our grievances. They have only parcelled out land to eleven people, four of whom are not even residents. And this happens while we toil in the fields under the bombardment of the infidel Saddam's mercenaries!"

The printing of such letters by the government-controlled press is an indication of the pressure felt by the regime on the land question. Officials continually promise that the agrarian reform will indeed be implemented, even while they continue to stall.

During a visit to two villages near the port city of Bushehr in late December, the Islamic

revolutionary judge of the area, Hojatolislam Moghisi, told the peasants: "In the Islamic Republic, the problem called 'khan' [landholding notable] will no longer exist. There will be equality and implementation of Islamic justice."

The villagers took the judge at his word and carried out demonstrations demanding confiscation of the wealth usurped by the local khans (*Hemmat*, January 16).

Peasant discontent is also rising against exploitation by capitalist merchants and middlemen. This was reflected in a recent article that appeared in *Jihad*, the monthly magazine of the Crusade for Reconstruction. *Jihad* denounced "economic terrorism throughout our society," which, it explained, "is based on a bazaar system of trade, a system of distribution in which all sorts of finagling and manipulation is officially recognized and over which there is no control by the government elected by the nation."

Jihad went on to call for the nationalization of foreign trade, "vigorous application of Article 49 of the constitution, which calls for the revolutionary seizure of illegitimate wealth, expanding cooperatives on the basis of the principle of human labor and not of capital," and implementation of Section C of the land-reform law (*Kargar*, December 14).

Repression in Kurdistan

Resolving the land question is a task that is closely tied to that of granting self-determination to the oppressed nationalities in Iran — the Kurds, Arabs, Azerbaijanis, Turkmenis, and Baluchis — most of whom are peasants.

It is the Kurds who have waged the biggest struggles for national rights during the past three years. Immediately after the fall of the shah, the people of Kurdistan in western Iran were able to arm themselves and establish a degree of local autonomy under the leadership of political organizations such as the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and figures such as Sheik Ezzedin Hosseini.

But the central government refused to recognize the national rights of the Kurds. Kurdish cities came under heavy military attack on several occasions — in March 1979, September 1979, and April 1980. After the second of these offensives by the Tehran regime, insurrections in some of the major towns of Kurdistan and resistance by Kurdish guerrilla fighters forced the government troops to retreat. But from April 1980 to the present, the Kurds have been on the defensive.

Instead of directing all its armed power against the Iraqi invaders, the regime maintained its military occupation of Kurdistan. This caused some discontent among the ranks of the army and the Pasdaran, who were not enthusiastic about serving as tools of repression against their Kurdish brothers and sisters.

At the outset of the Iraqi invasion, Kurdish leaders appealed for a peaceful settlement of their conflict with Tehran and reaffirmed their support for defending the revolution against Saddam Hussein's attack.

But these appeals were ignored by then-President Bani-Sadr and other leaders of the Islamic Republic. The occupation of Kurdistan continued, and at the beginning of October 1981, Tehran announced that its troops had taken the city of Bukan, described as "the very last stronghold" of the Kurdish Democratic Party.

One month later, KDP leader Abdul Rahman Qassemlou announced that his group was joining Bani-Sadr's National Resistance Council. This alliance between counter-revolutionary forces and a key sector of the Kurdish nationalist movement is a blow to the Kurdish struggle and to the revolution as a whole.

Qassemlou's link-up with Bani-Sadr — himself an architect of the regime's anti-Kurdish policy — has been criticized by other sectors of the nationalist movement in Kurdistan. But resentment against the central government's policies is bitter and deep in the occupied areas, and the KDP continues to enjoy considerable support.

Role of Kurds in war

While Kurdish peasants have also seized and distributed land in parts of the occupied province, they have seen little of the benefits the revolution has brought to other rural areas. The regime itself has acknowledged that no public works — such as roads, irrigation systems, or housing — were initiated in Kurdistan during the past two years. Some units of the Jihad for Reconstruction exist in Kurdistan, but these involve youth sent in from other parts of the country rather than indigenous Kurdish youth.

Attitudes toward the Islamic Republic are more varied among Kurds in other parts of Iran. Around Ilam, near the northern end of the war front, socialists report that the Kurdish population is participating actively in the struggle against Iraq. Kurds make up part of the Western Tribes Militia and take part in the fighting against Saddam Hussein's troops.

Such developments, along with the growing Kurdish revolt inside Iraq against Hussein's regime, show how the defense of the Iranian revolution could be greatly strengthened if the occupation of Kurdistan were ended and the national rights of Iranian Kurds recognized.

After the occupation of Bukan last October, *Kargar* commented on a government official's statement that a special fund would be set up for public works in Kurdistan:

"Compared to military solutions, earmarking funds for reconstruction of Kurdistan is a step in the right direction. But an economic program of amelioration can be constructive only if it starts from the needs and points of view of the people of Kurdistan themselves, and if it actually involves the masses of people."

Among the priorities of such a program, *Kargar* said, should be "the implementation of a large-scale literacy program in Kurdish" and "a radical land reform in the interests of the poor Kurdish villagers. . . ."

Kargar urged that factory shoras and anjo-

mans send delegations to Kurdistan "to become acquainted at first hand with the difficulties faced by the Kurdish people. . . ."

The article in *Kargar* concluded:

As the experiences of nearly three years since the February insurrection has shown, the problem of national rights for the oppressed is one of the burning questions of the Iranian revolution. It is posed also with regard to the Turkish, Baluchi, Arab, Turkoman, and other peoples in various parts of the country. Wiping out the effects of more than a half century of imperialist rule is impossible without clearly responding to the demands of the oppressed nationalities of Iran [*Kargar*, October 12, 1981].

Armenians protest

Despite the regime's failure to grant full rights to the nationalities, some important gains have been registered. In contrast to the shah's open fostering of Persian chauvinism and attempts to stamp out any expression of other national cultures, radio and television in Iran today carry regular broadcasts in Kurdish and Turkish. Books and magazines are also published in Turkish, something that was never tolerated under the monarchy.

Other, smaller nationalities are continuing to fight for their rights as well. In November, Armenians in Tehran held a series of protest meetings — including one gathering of 10,000 — against a ruling by the minister of education that "religious minorities" could no longer have their own schools. The ruling also sought to limit Armenians' right to education and cultural activities in their own language.

Under the constitution of the Islamic Republic, Armenians — most of whom are Christians — are categorized as a "religious minority," something Armenians have also objected to.

After the November protests, the education minister backed off and asserted his support for Article 15 of the constitution, which recognizes "the right to teach local and communal cultures and languages besides Persian." Armenian leaders called for a halt to the protests, but reiterated that they considered themselves a nationality and not just a "local and communal culture" (*Kargar*, November 30, 1981).

Rights of women

Like the oppressed nationalities, women have also come forward as a result of the revolution.

Beginning with the mass struggle against the monarchy, and in the anti-imperialist and popular mobilizations that have continued in the past three years, millions of working-class and peasant women have been drawn into political life for the first time. Women have played a key role in a variety of tasks connected with the war effort, although they are not allowed to participate in the fighting.

The regime has balked at extending full rights to women, and has sought to encroach on some rights already won. Working women have little job security. In some government offices where child-care facilities had been organized, these have now been closed.

Women in government jobs have been pressured to wear the Islamic veil, and some have been fired for failing to do so. Attempts have also been made to segregate men and women employees in the ministries, but this has met resistance and has not been carried through widely.

The struggle of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination and of women for their liberation is part of the broader battle to defend and extend democratic rights in Iran.

In order to move their revolution forward, Iranian workers and peasants must be able to gather freely; to read, listen to, and debate all political ideas; and to organize and demonstrate in support of their social, economic, and political demands.

Terrorism and executions

The fall of the shah brought huge gains in this area. But the capitalist regime has continually sought to encroach on the democratic rights of the toilers since then. Newspapers not controlled by the government have repeatedly been banned or pressured into ceasing publication. Socialists, worker militants, and revolutionary intellectuals have been jailed for months at a time.

Victims of forced shutdowns during 1981 included the daily newspaper of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, *Mardom*; *Ummat*, a daily published by a leftist Islamic current; the bourgeois-liberal daily *Mizan*; *Shora*, a weekly based at Polytechnic University in Tehran that reflected the views of shora activists; and *Arash*, a literary magazine.

After the People's Mujahedeen Organization launched its counterrevolutionary campaign of terrorist attacks on government officials and clergymen in mid-1981, thousands of persons were arrested and many were executed, often without trial. By no means all of these had taken up arms against the regime, or were even supporters of the Mujahedeen. The victims included members of leftist groups such as both the minority and majority factions of the Fedayan, the Maoist group Peykar, and others.

The terrorism and the executions diminished greatly during the final months of 1981. As many as 500 of those arrested were reported to have been amnestied, although in late January the Tehran revolutionary prosecutor, Asadollah Lajevardi, told Iranian and foreign journalists that between 3,000 and 4,000 persons were still being held (*Iran Times*, January 29).

All this has created an atmosphere in which workers are wary about speaking out or taking action in support of their demands. Even so, the situation is in no way comparable to that of the shah's regime, when there was a unit of the SAVAK secret police in every major factory, when it was illegal for Kurds and Turks to use their own languages, and when possession of Marxist literature meant torture and death.

State of democratic rights today

Bookstalls in Tehran and other major cities today carry a wide variety of political litera-

ture. The pro-Moscow Tudeh (Communist) Party operates its own chain of bookstores, in which — besides the Tudeh's own propaganda in favor of class collaboration — the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are available in Persian.

The HKE has translated and published a number of key works of Leon Trotsky, such as *The Revolution Betrayed* and *The History of the Russian Revolution*. These are also sold publicly in Tehran and other cities.

A wide variety of literary works has also appeared in the past three years, and the poetry, novels, and essays of writers banned under the shah have been republished.

In addition to the progovernment dailies, several leftist periodicals circulate freely. The Tudeh weekly *Itihad-e Mardom* (People's Unity) and the HKE's *Kargar* (Worker) both have legal authorization and are widely sold on newsstands in the capital and other cities.

The HVK's *Hemmat* (Determination) has not been legally authorized, but its circulation is tolerated by the authorities. *Kar* (Labor), the newspaper of the majority faction of the Fedayan, has a similar status and a considerably larger circulation.³

No street demonstrations outside the auspices of the government or the ruling IRP have been allowed since May 1981. On earlier occasions, leftist demonstrators often faced attacks by club-wielding gangs known as *hezbollahi* ("partisans of God"). Such thugs also harassed those distributing political literature and sometimes attacked indoor meetings of leftist groups. No attacks of this kind have taken place in recent months, socialists report, adding that there is also far less political leafletting and fewer meetings.

3. Besides the HKE and the HVK, a third Iranian organization, the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) is also affiliated to the Fourth International. *Intercontinental Press* has received no publications from the HKS or information about its activities in more than a year.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey to run for Irish parliament

As a result of the fall of Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald's coalition government on January 27, a new Irish parliament will be elected on February 18.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leader of the struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland, has announced her candidacy for a seat in Dublin, challenging former Prime Minister Charles Haughey of the opposition Fianna Fail party.

McAliskey, thirty-four, was elected to the British parliament from Northern Ireland in 1969, and remained in that body until 1974. In January 1981, three pro-British gunmen broke into the McAliskey home in Northern Ireland, seriously wounding Bernadette and her husband Michael.

Because the Irish constitution does not recognize the British-imposed partition of Ireland, residents of Northern Ireland are eligible

The HKE reports that it resumed a weekly public forum series at its headquarters in Tehran in December. Topics discussed included the workers' struggle in Poland, U.S. imperialist threats to the Middle East, the fight for democratic rights in Iran, and the role of Stalinism in the workers movement.

The latter topic has provoked sharp debate in recent months, owing to disagreements that broke out inside the majority faction of the Fedayan. The central leadership of the group sought to ram through a fusion with the Tudeh Party, but other leaders and a sizeable portion of the membership balked at this and demanded the organization of a congress.

Kargar opened its pages to the Fedayan dissidents and other militants for a discussion on the history and role of the Tudeh Party and the perspectives for building a revolutionary working-class vanguard in Iran today.

In conjunction with this debate, the HKE has also organized a series of public classes on Stalinism and Trotskyism.

Revolution remains alive

It is quite clear from the actual state of the class struggle in Iran that the toiling masses have not been crushed. Quite the contrary — the Iranian revolution is very much alive. Extensive discussion is taking place about how to defend the revolution and advance it, there are ongoing struggles around the social demands of the workers and peasants, and communists are able to openly participate in this political process.

A correct understanding of the situation in Iran is especially important today. Any breakthrough in the military stalemate between Iraq and Iran could lead to dramatic upheavals and a much sharper level of confrontation between imperialism and the Iranian revolution.

Obituaries for this revolution — one that is unmatched in all of Middle Eastern history — are exceedingly premature. □

for Irish citizenship and may run in elections in the South.

McAliskey is a member of the Executive Committee of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, a broad coalition organized to defend political prisoners in British jails in Northern Ireland. During the 1981 hunger strike in which ten republicans died in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison near Belfast, McAliskey served as the organization's press relations officer.

She is running as a candidate sponsored by People's Democracy (PD), which is also running Joe Harrington for a seat in Limerick.

At its congress in late November in Dublin, People's Democracy voted to join the Fourth International. Two leaders of PD, John McNulty and Fergus O'Hare, were elected to the Belfast city council on May 20, 1981.

Terrorists hit Atlantic Coast

Counterrevolutionaries murder, pillage, and rape

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA — A virtual invasion of the northern part of the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast province of Zelaya by counterrevolutionary terrorists has left sixty Nicaraguans, including fifteen civilians, dead since last November.

The terrorist bands, operating out of Honduras, have carried out a campaign of murders, rapes, and robberies along the Río Coco, which divides the two countries. They have also established at least one base within Nicaragua.

The attacks, which reached a ferocious level in December, were aimed at disrupting life along the river, which is the principal means of transportation in this zone, driving the population, chiefly Miskitu Indians, into Honduras.

Coupled with the military activity, there has been an increase in anti-Sandinista propaganda both inside and outside Nicaragua, the purpose of which is to portray the revolutionary government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) as "oppressing" the Miskitus. A completely fictional account of a Nicaraguan army attack in Honduras that allegedly killed 200 Miskitus, which received worldwide press coverage, was part of that propaganda campaign.

Within Nicaragua, the counterrevolutionaries, led by Steadman Fagoth, a former Miskitu leader, sought to win support among the Indian people by claiming their goal was a Miskitu state.

The dimensions of the counterrevolutionary challenge were made public in a news conference February 3 by Capt. Roberto Sánchez, head of public relations for the Nicaraguan army.

The Somozaists cause contempt for the welfare of the native peoples, and their true goal — the destruction of Nicaragua's revolutionary government — is revealed by their actions, which consist chiefly of attacks on government offices. The terrorists carry off cash, food, vehicles, boats, and other equipment earmarked for use by the Miskitus.

On December 4 in the village of Asang, sixty counterrevolutionaries stole 600 quintales (hundredweights) of rice from BANABAS, the state's basic food enterprise. They also stole 35,000 córdobas (10 córdobas = US\$1) in cash, and kidnapped two people who were then murdered.

In one particularly grisly episode three days after Christmas, the counterrevolutionaries kidnapped Dr. Oscar Hodgson, head of the Bilwaskrma Hospital, Dr. Mirna Cunningham, and Regina Lewis, a nurse. Hodgson managed to escape, but the two women were carried off to Honduras and gang-raped. The

women were returned to their village the following day.

Some of the forty-five dead Sandinista soldiers had been kidnapped, carried off to Honduras, savagely tortured, and then murdered. Bodies of many victims have yet to be found.

Relatives of twenty-five of the slain Sandinistas gathered February 5 to express their anger at the murders. Freddy Rios Membreño, brother of one of the slain border guards, said: "Representing all the families who had members killed by the counterrevolutionary bands, I ask our Junta of National Reconstruction to do all that is possible to see that the bodies of our dead relatives are brought back. I say as a brother of Raphael Rios, a murdered border guard, that Nicaragua is not sleeping and we are ready to defend this revolution to the end."

One of the most revealing pieces of evidence coming to light about the dimensions of the counterrevolutionary plot was a letter dated December 4 written by Moravian pastor Efraín Wilson, who is currently in a Nicaraguan jail for collaborating with the counterrevolutionaries. Written in English, it said:

Sandy Bay [on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast] is full

American Indian leader backs FSLN

Some 100 persons attended a forum sponsored by the *Militant* newspaper in St. Paul, Minnesota, January 24, to hear Vernon Bellecourt (Waubun-Inini), a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Bellecourt and other AIM leaders had recently returned from a three-week visit to Nicaragua as guests of the Sandinista government.

The AIM leaders spent considerable time in the Atlantic Coast region, meeting with Sandinistas and talking to the local Indian and Black population. Bellecourt said that he became convinced that the FSLN was the first government to deal justly with the particular problems of the Indian population.

He said that AIM was an "open and vocal supporter of the Nicaraguan revolution."

Bellecourt emphasized that the "dirty hands" of the U.S. government were evident in the manipulation of the Indian peoples along the Honduran border. "U.S.-CIA counterrevolutionary activity is causing severe problems for these people," he said, "as was the case of the Hmong tribal peoples of Laos during the Vietnam Era."

right up with people already trained, ready to hold arms, the arms to come in these days. There is some holding up in Honduras. . . .

I lately come from Honduras on a mission to go home but I get to hear that the situation is bad . . . so we are in Sandy Bay, waiting just for arms to come. . . .

In October a meeting was held in the General Operational Base in Lasatingi camp, Honduras. With all the head leaders . . . in that meeting was present Fagoth, Comandante Bravo, Parson Wicliff Diego, Parson Mullins, Brooklin, and all the estado mayor [general staff] and all the officials. . . .

Wilson appeared on videotape at the February 3 news conference, further discussing his activities. He spoke freely, with no sign of coercion or pressure.

His letter, along with the apparent impunity with which the Somozaists cross the Honduran border into Nicaragua, strongly suggests a degree of official Honduran involvement in the anti-Nicaraguan crusade.

The Wilson letter, plus his videotape statement, highlighted the involvement of various religious groups, particularly the Moravians, in the terrorist activities. The Moravian church has been the dominant church on the Atlantic Coast for more than 100 years.

Roberto Sánchez told reporters that "we have significant evidence that logistic support was offered by certain Honduran army officers, among them Maj. Leonel Luque, military chief of the Miskitu region of that country, and certain Argentine military advisers."

Some 100 people are now in custody, Sánchez said. So serious has the situation become that the government has been forced to move many residents out of the area, as the armed forces have been unable to protect them against the marauders. Sánchez noted that many were now receiving medical care, decent food, and other social benefits for the first time.

Also on February 3, in a speech to the closing session of the Second Assembly of the Association of Cultural Workers, Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce revealed that Nicaragua has proof of U.S. government involvement in the counterrevolutionary terror. Arce pointed to an intensification of slanders against Nicaragua in the recent weeks by the Reagan administration, and noted that neither Secretary of State Alexander Haig nor Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders had the least hesitation in declaring to the U.S. Congress that they would not exclude any type of action against Nicaragua, even military action.

The Sandinista leader, head of the FSLN Political Commission, told the assembly that the Nicaraguans had the names of all the U.S. Defense Department and Central Intelligence Agency advisers working in the counterrevolutionary training camps in Florida and California.

Arce said that the White House campaign against Nicaragua "might be considered by some to be only verbiage, but when it begins to turn into aggression, we must take it seriously. □

For solidarity against U.S. imperialism

Speech by Cuban leader at conference on Indochina

[On November 19-21, 1981, delegates from all over the world gathered in Havana for the International Seminar in Solidarity with the Peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. The event was sponsored by the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

[The purpose of the conference was to mobilize international support for the continuing struggles of the Indochinese peoples in face of the imperialist-sponsored campaign to isolate and blockade the three countries. The final statement adopted by the delegates demanded "that all threats, acts of aggression and harassment of the three Indochinese peoples immediately end so that these peoples can devote themselves fully to rebuilding and developing their respective countries."

[The delegates also appealed to "all the world's peoples whose governments have not yet done so, to demand that they recognize the current government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as the sole, genuine and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. . . ." They also called on "the millions of men and women throughout the world who demonstrated their exemplary support for the Indochinese peoples during their heroic struggles against U.S. imperialism in the past, and more recently, to mobilize and express their firm solidarity in denouncing, condemning and defeating the sinister schemes in Southeast Asia of Beijing's ruling clique, which is serving the interests of U.S. imperialism. . . ."

[The conference was presided over by Melba Hernández, OSPAAAL general secretary. The opening speech was made by Jesús Montané, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, and head of its General Department of Foreign Relations.

[The conference took place during the escalation of Washington's public threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the revolutionary forces in El Salvador and Guatemala. In his speech, Montané explained the viewpoint of the Cuban leadership on connections between the solidarity movement and Indochina and on the unfolding struggle in Central America and the Caribbean.

[The following is part of Montané's address. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The internationalist feelings of the Cuban people are well known. Millions of men and women in our country have mobilized in support of other peoples of the world. Cuban combatants made their resolute contribution to the struggle for the liberation and territorial integrity of the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia.

Thousands of Cuban workers have offered, and are offering at this time, their selfless aid to the development, education, and health of dozens of fraternal countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In the interests of historical truth, it must be said that Vietnam was the great crucible that helped us forge these sentiments. We were ready, said Comrade Fidel Castro in past years, to give even our own blood for Vietnam, and we can repeat today that we are still ready to give even our own blood for Vietnam and the Indochinese peoples.

'Cuba offers resolute support'

In the days of the war against Yankee imperialism, our entire people, all our revolutionary and mass organizations, were involved in supporting the just struggle of the Indochinese peoples. At that time our Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea played an enormous part in bringing this together.

This work forged traditions that we maintain today as ongoing values of our revolution, which we have the duty to conserve and develop still further in the future.

Today, when Vietnam and the brother peoples of Indochina are victims of Yankee imperialism's intrigues, slanders, and blockade, and of the Chinese ruling circle's betrayal, conspiracy, and aggression, Cuba offers them its most resolute and devoted support.

We live in a world that is daily becoming more closely interconnected. There are no longer any isolated peoples or causes. Each victory for the forces of progress is a victory for all, and each reverse strikes at all of us equally.

To extend solidarity to other peoples is not only an elementary duty of principle — it also means you are fighting in defense of your own people.

Strength of international solidarity

Cuba, which is today the site for this event in support of the brother peoples of Indochina, has been and is at this very moment the beneficiary of one of the most extraordinary, all-encompassing, and powerful mobilizations of international solidarity ever recorded in our revolution's history.

As everyone knows, Yankee imperialism's failure in its attempt to hinder the consolidation of the glorious Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua; its failure to destroy the heroic and admirable struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, who are fighting with weapons in hand against the bloody U.S.-backed tyrannies; and its failure to intimidate the Cuban revolution and make it yield, have

led in recent times to a frenetic campaign of lies that tries to portray Cuba and the Soviet Union as being responsible for the rise of the revolutionary movement in Central America.

The sole objective of this campaign is to prepare public opinion for new aggressive steps against our country and to even further escalate the criminal interventionism that the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala are already suffering.

Today the valiant people of Grenada must also confront U.S. imperialism's plans of destabilization and subversion.

Alongside our people's calm and irrevocable determination to stand up to any attack and defend their homeland and socialism at any price, we have also seen the extraordinary strength of international solidarity in this struggle. It has helped to unmask the Reagan government's maneuver and expose its lies and its real purposes. The Yankee government has been placed in the embarrassing situation of being unable to make a single concrete response to Cuba's challenges.

'We will know how to overcome'

Its own allies have had to take note of the way in which the shapers of U.S. foreign policy deceived them by giving them false information about the activities of our country. There have been few times when a great power has shown itself to act in international life with so few scruples and so little self-respect.

This does not mean, however, that the threats have fallen off. The imperialists' aggressive and insolent language remains unchanged. In face of this, Cuba remains alert and vigilant.

The enemy should not deceive itself. Our people's consciousness and combativity, their preparation and experience are greater today than ever before. Whatever difficulties and tests we may find ourselves confronting in the future, we are sure that we will know how to overcome them, and that there will be no force capable of diverting the revolutionary, socialist, and internationalist course that our people have taken.

In addition to offering you our constant solidarity, we also want, on this occasion — when such distinguished representatives of the international progressive and democratic movement are meeting in our homeland — to thank you with all our heart for the support and inspiration that you have offered our struggle in the very tense and critical period we are going through.

'Cuba will not be found wanting'

We can tell you, dear comrades, that Cuba will not be found wanting, either in solidarity

or in combat.

We can assure you that if the time comes, our people will know how to honor their history, how to honor their revolution, and how to honor the confidence and affection that the peoples, revolutionaries, and progressive men in all parts of the world show us daily.

Yesterday Vietnam and the brother Indochi-

nese peoples selflessly gave their blood for the freedom and dignity of all the peoples of the world. With our entire people's determination to live with the revolution or die to the last man and woman with it, Cuba will, if need be, also know how to fulfill in exemplary fashion its duty to the homeland and its duty of solidarity with all peoples who struggle. □

India

Millions of workers strike

Unite against Gandhi's antilabor policies

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR — The year 1981 saw a series of attacks on the struggles of the Indian working class, particularly on its trade-union and democratic rights. But 1982 began with a countrywide general strike on January 19.

The strike was called to demand the repeal of the draconian Essential Services Maintenance Act (ESMA), which prohibits strikes in certain industries. The strike call was backed by eight central trade-union federations. Only the union federation controlled by the ruling Congress Party-I (for Indira Gandhi, the prime minister) refused to support the strike.

According to the National Campaign Committee, which organized the strike, about 12 million out of India's 25 million workers took part.

The partial and uneven response to the strike was largely due to the government's massive repression against the union movement. Many union activists and local leaders of opposition political parties were rounded up in the two days preceding the strike. According to the committee, a total of some 50,000 persons were detained, the single most massive repressive sweep since Gandhi's 1975 declaration of a state of emergency.

In West Bengal, a state ruled by a coalition government headed by the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the strike effectively shut down the entire city of Calcutta and much of the state. Industrial areas of New Delhi, Bombay, Madras, and Bangalore also saw heavy participation in the one-day stoppage.

A group of labor leaders described the turnout for the strike, in face of the repression, as a repudiation of "the antilabor policies of the Government."

Against the persistent government and ruling class attacks on workers rights, the response of workers has been building up since last year:

- On March 11, 1981, there was a one-day strike of public sector employees against the regime's imposition of a wage freeze.

- In Bangalore, public sector workers stayed out for eighty days before their strike was suppressed. This was the most spectacular strike action by public sector employees during 1981.



INDIRA GANDHI

- A one-day general strike was held in New Delhi on April 14, 1981, for a 500 rupee [one rupee = US\$0.11] minimum wage, the abolition of casual and contract labor, and other demands.

- In Haryana, on May 20, there was a strike for similar demands.

- A number of statewide *bandhs* (general work and business shutdowns) took place in 1981: in Kerala on September 3; in Tripura on September 14; in Maharashtra on October 15, involving the arrests of more than 5,000 activists; and in West Bengal and Bihar on November 27.

Some of the strikes were protracted. In January and February 1981, locomotive running staffs struck against nonimplementation of an earlier agreement and against the government's victimization. The strike lasted for a month, and ended in face of severe repression.

Life insurance employees repeatedly went on strike in February-April 1981 for payment of bonuses and against the government's attempts to unilaterally alter their service conditions. After a long court battle, the supreme court finally ruled in favor of the government on December 28. This ruling has far-reaching implications. It empowers the regime to unilaterally change the working conditions and

wages of any public sector workers.

In response to this onslaught, there was a growing unity on the trade-union level.

On June 4, eight central trade-union federations met in a national convention in Bombay and adopted a ten-point charter of demands and a course of action.

The federations involved were the All-India Trade Union Congress, led by the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India; the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, led by the rightist bourgeois Bharatiya Janata Party; the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist); the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, led by social democrats; the wing of the Indian National Trade Union Congress led by the anti-Gandhi Congress Party; the Trade Union Coordination Committee; the United Trade Union Congress, led by the Revolutionary Socialist Party; and the United Trade Union Congress (Lenin Sarani).

Obviously, because of the different political affiliations of these unions, the front could only have a limited objective: fighting the regime's policies on a strictly trade-union level.

Nevertheless, even this unity was remarkable and represented the desire on the part of the workers for a united struggle against Gandhi's antiworker policies. The bureaucratic apparatuses of the trade unions were compelled to forge this unity because the regime, especially through the ESMA, was striking at the very existence of the union movement.

Under this impetus, November 3 was observed as a countrywide day of protests.

Then on November 23, an unprecedented mass march was organized in New Delhi, the country's capital, led by the eight central federations and forty-five independent union federations.

The rally adopted a resolution demanding: the sale of essential commodities at subsidized prices; a guaranteed minimum living wage and job security for agricultural workers; stringent measures against black-marketeers, hoarders, and smugglers; repeal of the ESMA and the National Security Act; full compensation for rises in the cost of living; payment of bonuses to all workers; a ban on job retrenchments and factory closures; introduction of unemployment allowances; and remunerative prices for peasants.

It was this mass rally that called the one-day general strike on January 19.

Despite the strike and the pressure of the eight central union federations, the Gandhi regime has refused to repeal either the ESMA or the National Security Act. It has also refused to hold discussions with the leaders of the National Campaign Committee.

It remains to be seen what the committee's next step will be. □

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Political revolution and counterrevolution in Poland

[The following was adopted by majority vote by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on January 8.]

* * *

1. On December 13, 1981, the bureaucracy seized the initiative and unleashed the political counterrevolution in Poland. It thus declared a war without quarter on the workers to save its privileges as the ruling caste. It struck back to stop the rise of the political revolution, of a powerful mass movement that was moving toward the establishment of a democratic regime of workers power.

The imposition of martial law was a response to the imperative necessity of attacking Solidarity before the movement for an "active strike" developed, before the forthcoming referendum and elections, and before a leadership of this movement capable of dealing with the question of power was really formed.

By imposing martial law the bureaucracy has liquidated the *open* existence of soviet-type bodies (councils) which had been set up by the workers. The situation of dual power opened up in 1980 could not be indefinitely prolonged.

The bureaucracy was still able to count on a repressive apparatus which was very much intact and little affected by the antibureaucratic movement of protest. It chose the time and the terrain of the attack. For months all its efforts to turn the situation around were supported by Moscow and backed up with the Soviet bureaucracy's threats and material aid.

A defeat has been inflicted on the Polish workers, but at the present time the working class is not crushed. Solidarity is very disorganized as a result of the repression. A large part of its leadership has been removed. Nevertheless, the very broadly based support of this trade union and "social movement," the experiences it has gone through, and the depth of popular hatred against the dictatorship of the Military Council of National Salvation has meant that there is an extensive resistance, taking different forms — and underground networks are being set up. A long period of localized and fragmented clashes is opening up.

It is the duty of the international working class to put all its weight behind the struggle of the Polish nation and its working people to defeat the "diktat" of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Leonid Brezhnev. Through this solidarity with Solidarity, workers should themselves adopt the lessons of workers democracy and experiences of self-management developed in the heat of the Polish workers struggle.

2. During the second three months of 1981 all the factors involved in the mass mobilizations tended with increasing sharpness to pose the question of the workers taking over the management of the whole of society. The very needs of the people as well as the paralysis of the bureaucratic system of management showed that a project of "partial" self-management — a shareout of tasks with the existing regime — was unrealistic and impractical.

During this period open clashes broke out on many occasions:

- The "hunger marches" denouncing the sabotage of food supplies and the inept organization of the ration system. The initiatives, though still limited, taken by Solidarity to control the stocks and distribution of foodstuffs.

- The movement of protest against food price policy, with the demonstrative and open rejection by the first national Solidarity congress of the October increase in tobacco prices.

- A constant battle against government censorship and for Solidarity access to the mass media. The protest strike in September against ending the inquiry into the Bydgoszcz police provocation.

- From August 1981 there was the development of the "workers self-management movement" and workers councils, conflicts over the nomination of workplace directors, modification of production in various factories, and schemes linking the latter with the needs of rural areas (for example using coal within Poland that had been earmarked for export).

- Confrontation over the self-management legislation and over proposed economic reforms. In November the polarization deepened when the government liquidated the debate, as well as the proposed economic reforms, and took measures of an extreme "centralizing character." In response to this escalation by the regime and the worsening of the economic crisis, there developed a debate inside various regional Solidarity leaderships on the idea of an "active" strike (keeping the factories going under workers control), the necessity of establishing an emergency workers plan, and setting up workers defense guards.

- The antagonism between Solidarity and the bureaucratic regime on the question of free elections at local and national levels, organized on the basis of political pluralism and therefore breaking with the practice of the single National Unity Front electoral slates. There was the challenge thrown down by the Solidarity leadership in proposing a "national referendum inside the trade union on the functioning and methods of political structures."

In this way the mass movement against the bureaucracy was demanding the application of the first article of the Polish constitution: "Power belongs to the working people of town and countryside." The dynamic of these workers' battles also tended to help it escape from the false dilemma: either a hypercentralized and bureaucratic management of the economy; or a return to a "market economy," even given a "self-management" image, proposed by many "experts."

The workers had fought openly against the first solution since August 1980. The willingness and capacity for management and their egalitarian instincts clearly marked this process of struggle, and meant they were beginning to foresee the dangers of the second solution — unemployment, increased social inequality, and privileges given to management technicians in the framework of "financial autonomy for the workplaces." What workers were looking for was in fact to build a system basing itself on the initiative, management, and power of the producers, in other words, on the qualitative change of a socialization of all the means of production.

3. A. The declaration of martial law, the mass arrests of those who are politically active and think freely, and the imposition of an undisguised dictatorship demonstrate yet again that there can be no "reform" or "gradual democratization" of a bureaucratic regime. In fact, since August 1980, the bureaucratic apparatus's very survival instinct led it to reject the existence and development of an independent, mass, and democratic trade union.

Even if the sudden strength and size of the movement took it by surprise and forced it to sign the Gdansk agreements, it never really accepted their validity and refused to legally ratify or implement them. It did not carry out any real reform or "renewal." It maneuvered. The concessions granted were within a policy of immediate self-defense. It parried the most immediate dangers, while at the same time bringing together the elements for a counteroffensive.

The bureaucracy showed its determination to defend its monopoly of political power because that is the source and guarantee of its enormous material privileges, which the Polish workers had radically denounced from the beginning. Furthermore these Jaruzelskis and Olszowskis, by striking out against the Polish workers, also protect the overall interests of the bureaucracy on an international scale. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

and the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) made a joint declaration as early as April 1981 in Warsaw:

"The two parties emphasized the exceptional importance of rallying all the patriotic forces of the people to ward off the threats menacing the conquests of socialism in Poland and to fight back against attempts of opposition groups to establish dual power in the country. The CPSU is in solidarity with PUWP efforts to defend socialism and stabilize the social and economic situation."

The cynicism of the pretexts invoked and the violence of the charges made against Solidarity, accused of being "antisocialist" and "counterrevolutionary," are in strict proportion to the privileges that the bureaucratic regime wants to safeguard. It has not even attempted to prove that the 10 million workers organized in Solidarity wanted to reintroduce private appropriation of the means of production and of the social surplus. It is not surprising! On many occasions Solidarity declared itself in favor of collective appropriation and the socialization of the means of production. In addition more than 1 million PUWP members became Solidarity members, and this trade union organized the huge majority of manual and intellectual workers!

On the other hand the generals and various apparatchiks insistently accuse the working class of wanting to "seize power." This charge is by itself a denunciation of the bureaucracy's expropriation of political power.

Furthermore, the hundreds of thousands of police and soldiers from the second military force of the Warsaw Pact are not today fighting against "capitalist agents" or "imperialism," but are imprisoning and gagging thousands of representatives of the working masses. The bureaucratic regime is thus showing the same contempt for the collective interests of the working class that it proved in leading the country to economic bankruptcy. When it declares that martial law has been imposed to save the economy from disaster, its responsibility for this failure is further exposed. Indeed, in a country where private ownership of the main means of production no longer exists, the battle against an economic crisis of this dimension would necessarily entail deploying the initiative of the workers and peasants. Now in fact the Military Council of National Salvation has declared martial law against these workers.

So it stands, the "emperor without any clothes" — the Military Council for the Salvation of . . . *the bureaucracy!*

B. The bureaucracy had a limited social base that was being continually eroded, but it had a finely tuned consciousness of the stakes involved in the battle and the inevitability of the confrontation. So, it was preparing for it.

On the other side, Solidarity, which grouped all the "honest" forces of the nation, squared up only partially and late to the radical challenging of the bureaucratic regime that its actions encouraged. On the one hand, among the cadres of the movement, the process of becom-

ing aware of the imperative necessity of preparing a central battle and putting the movement forward as a contender for power was developing. But this process was very uneven and had not yet produced a nationally organized current, although significant advances in this direction had been made on a regional level.

On the other hand a series of currents that were active and had a significant audience in Solidarity's leadership bodies developed (above all with the advice of the "experts") a strategy of "self-limitation" of the movement. According to this strategy, the moment of truth was to be postponed until the time when the powerlessness of the central power would allow a de facto solution proposed by Solidarity (whatever the different content they wished to give this solution).

Beyond the differences expressed among these sectors of the leadership, none of them was preparing the workers to attack the capacity for action of a regime that, despite its apparent paralysis, still held a centralized striking force and an infrastructure (telecommunications, media, transport, etc.) covering the whole country.

During all these events the Catholic hierarchy, which is influential among the leading circles of Solidarity, continually played a role of mediation between the antagonists and backed positions favorable to this "self-limitation" strategy. It sought, through various compromises, to "stabilize" . . . instability! Through this mediating role it has gained an increased influence and political weight that it hoped to use to obtain new concessions from the regime, such as the creation of a Christian democratic party. On the other hand, the victory of a struggle making Solidarity the instrument for the Polish people to gain real sovereignty on the political, social, and economic levels would have in fact very much reduced the church hierarchy's role in society. The latter was conscious of this historical challenge.

4. Over the last eighteen months a broad leadership was forged in the crucible of this vast movement. On various issues it evolved in a positive direction. It was able, on several occasions, to give expression to the forward dynamic of the workers upsurge. Faced with the traps set by the PUWP, it maintained the overall unity of the movement. Solidarity reacted firmly to the regime's repressive measures. It rejected, despite some indecisiveness and very partial compromises, any overall collaboration with the bureaucracy. It proved its capacity to organize democratic discussion on an exceptionally broad-based scale. The ability of certain forces within Solidarity to give a response to social and economic problems progressed rapidly.

Nevertheless, a series of weaknesses and deficiencies remained. Thus when confronted with the police provocation at Bydgoszcz in March 1981, the Solidarity leadership showed its capacity and willingness to prepare a general strike in order to defend itself against the bu-

reaucracy's attacks. But it finally deactivated the fightback and did not utilize the enormous potential force represented by its millions of active members. Since the strike did not go beyond this stage of preparation, the masses were not able to go through an important experience.

Since summer 1981, the cumulative effects of the economic crisis, the regime's sabotage, and the dynamic of a large number of spontaneous struggles were going to place on the agenda the need for a positive response on the social, economic, and political level and the creation of structures centralizing the masses' efforts at social control and workers self-management.

Faced with these types of tasks the full inadequacy of a self-limiting strategy becomes clear. Tactically such a conception was justified *at the start*, given the millstone of the Soviet intervention threat that hung around the neck of the workers movement, the relative isolation of the Polish workers, and the need to build a trade union organizing a majority of the working class.

After months of continued upsurge of the mass movement, which greatly increased the price the Soviets would have to pay for an intervention, this *strategy* resulted in an impasse. It refused to take into account the very needs arising both from the collapse of the bureaucratic system of management and from the activity of the masses that was roused by the generalized disorder itself.

Consequently, the Solidarity leadership vacillated and hesitated. The main spokespeople of the union were obliged, more than once, either to go along with the strikes of militant sectors (whose demands and actions did not constitute a response to the disorganization of economic activity and its effects on the population), or to recommend the ending of strike movements. In both cases the trade union and its leadership ran the risk of losing some credibility and authority among workers in struggle and layers of the population who were expecting a response to their problems. The bureaucracy sought to take advantage of this situation.

If the "active" strike had been put forward and the workers councils reinforced, as those sectors very much in a minority inside Solidarity had been proposing since the summer, the struggle would have acquired an even greater legitimacy. It would have been carried onto a terrain where bureaucratic repression was more difficult to use. The struggle of the masses could have been linked to a will to resolve social and economic difficulties. A new advance of self-organization would have emerged from the very needs of the battle against bureaucratic sabotage and incompetence.

The "active" strike was conceived as a means which, in the first phase, could give economic power to the workers. But to limit it to this did not permit a preparation for the approaching showdown. Such an orientation had to be complemented with an overall response

on the political level: facilitating the centralization of self-management bodies (second chamber of parliament for self-management), preparing an alternative solution to the government plan, and, within this framework, taking up the task of self-defense and preparing for confrontation.

The first national Solidarity congress expressed the contrast between the breadth of the movement, its authority and alternative legitimacy, and the weakness of the action proposals capable of coordinating the energy of the working masses.

From the beginning of November 1981 there was a speedup in the process of differentiation inside Solidarity. Tendencies favorable to the initiatives of regional coordination of the workers councils and the active strike grew stronger — above all inside the trade-union leaderships of some big regions and among the workers of key factories. The setting up of workers defense guards was envisaged. The question of power was becoming of such immediate relevance that nearly all the National Committee of Solidarity (KK) had to recognize this and frankly discuss it in Radom and Gdansk at the beginning of December.

The majority concluded that they were not ready to cope with the problem. However, they continued to think that the bureaucracy did not have the possibility, in the very short term, of actually choosing the time of the showdown.

Moreover General Jaruzelski, like the Kremlin, was quite conscious that even if the masses did not yet have the instruments capable of centralizing all their forces, a maturing of political consciousness was taking place which favored the creation of such bodies. The leadership of the bureaucracy therefore chose to intervene rapidly and brutally. Centralized power and the bureaucracy's will to act permitted even a very shaken parasitic caste to impose its initiative over a movement of millions of workers, intellectuals, and youth, but which was not prepared to oppose its own centralized counterpower at all levels.

The readiness of the workers, as well as the dynamic of their struggle, made another outcome objectively possible. The origin of this absence of centralized counterpower did not reside in an intrinsic weakness of the masses or in their lack of willingness to fight. It concerns the lack of a conscious and organized political party, or at least a revolutionary tendency having national influence and capable of grasping both the objective logic of the showdown arising from the workers struggle and the real nature of the bureaucratic enemy. The existence of such a current would have greatly limited the effects of disorientation caused by all the diversionary maneuvers — such as the proposals for a "national agreement" administered by the PUWP, the church, and Solidarity — and the surprise provoked by a frontal counterattack.

A centralized counterpower would have represented the necessary framework for a resolution of the showdown in favor of the workers.

For this objective, a revolutionary force was needed to put itself forward within the structures of self-organization, one capable of stimulating political and practical initiatives to neutralize the bureaucracy's repressive intervention and facilitate the real exercise of workers power.

5. A. By imposing martial law and setting up a Military Council of National Salvation, the bureaucracy has modified the traditional forms of its rule. This indicates the extreme weakness of its social base and the accentuated crisis of the institutions (PUWP, National Unity Front, Sejm, etc.) that established its political hegemony.

The PUWP is one of the ruling "communist parties" that has most been subject to repeated shocks to its stability. After the experiences of Wladyslaw Gomułka in (1956) and Edward Gierek (in 1970) it was very difficult to play the card of a "renewal" of the party and the "savior figure." The brief career of Stanislaw Kania illustrates the fragility of alternative solutions lifted from the framework of past experiences.

Under the shock of the mass upsurge, the party, which was bloated and undermined by corruption, began to fall apart. Thousands of apparatchiks had to be expelled. According to official figures, which underestimate the real state of affairs, 400,000 members turned in their cards and about 1 million spontaneously joined Solidarity. The party had 3 million members, 45 percent of whom were workers concentrated mostly in 170 big factories — which became the strongholds of Solidarity. Many PUWP branches in these big factories dissolved themselves or were de facto dissolved because the workers refused to continue to finance them out of the workplace budget.

The ninth so-called renewal congress of the PUWP did not amount to much. Factions such as the Katowice Forum, which openly rejected all compromises, encountered extreme difficulties in increasing their influence. Although the PUWP held the resources of the state apparatus and based itself on Kremlin aid, it appeared disoriented and even paralyzed.

However, it was not on the verge of loosening its grip on the reins of power. This capacity for reaction of the cornered beast was underestimated by thousands of Solidarity militants.

In addition to the very great weakening of the PUWP, the bureaucracy underwent a relative loss of control of the Sejm (the Polish parliament). As in Czechoslovakia at the time of the "Prague Spring," one saw a process of initial autonomization of this parliament. Parties that were traditionally aligned with the regime began to take some distance from it when such social explosions took place. Thus on October 3 the Sejm refused to adopt the emergency measures proposed by General Jaruzelski, then already prime minister, while at the same time issuing a stern warning to Solidarity to end the strikes.

B. This dual institutional crisis left only the army as the last resort — the "party in uni-

form," a reliable instrument for the planned and centralized actions of the bureaucratic caste's counteroffensive. In this domain the army acted in close liaison with the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

Since 1980, the Warsaw Pact, under the leadership of Soviet generals, has almost continuously been involved in numerous combined military maneuvers. In the framework of these military operations it was preparing the installation of a parallel system of telecommunications permitting it to isolate Poland and then cut off all domestic communications. There were many meetings at the highest level in autumn 1981 between Polish military officers in the government and Kremlin military and political leaders.

The accession of Jaruzelski, minister of defense and prime minister, to the leadership of the PUWP on October 18, 1981, reflected this drift toward bureaucratic rule openly and directly based on the military-police repressive apparatus. It was a sign of a large-scale counterattack. However, the real meaning of this nomination was far from understood inside the Solidarity leadership. Some members even thought "that the situation would be better than before" (Lech Walesa). According to them, there would now be a "serious" person to negotiate with, and it would consequently put off the threat of a direct Soviet military intervention.

On October 19 a meeting of the military council of the Ministry of Defense outlined "the tasks of the Polish armed forces on the basis of the October 18 PUWP resolution." Already in September a plan which envisaged putting soldiers in the mines to "help production" had been set into motion in a limited way. On October 18 it was also decided to prolong military service for conscripts by two months. The generals, all PUWP members, did not look kindly on the arrival of young conscripts who had directly gone through the experience of the struggle during this period. A particularly large number of people were exempted from military service at this time.

On October 23 Jerzy Urban, government spokesperson, announced the deployment of 883 military units, each composed of three to four persons and one officer, throughout the country to resolve "local conflicts" and "take measures against the deficiencies of local administrations." In reality this military operation, which lasted some weeks, was to facilitate the preparation of a direct takeover of the administrative apparatus and the working out of a precise and effective repressive plan.

Finally on December 2 the militia attacked the Academy of Student Firemen, which had been occupied with the support of Solidarity. This movement directly reflected the impact of Solidarity within a sector of the military forces. General Jaruzelski and his ilk had to react.

By breaking this occupation by force they chose to test the determination of Solidarity on a terrain not directly linked to the working class, but which, due to its nature, constituted a "sensitive" sector for the regime. The Soli-

duary leadership hesitated to immediately trigger a general fightback of the type it had prepared in March 1981. Consequently the regime seized the advantage and relaunched vehement attacks against the "coup d'etat" and "liquidation of the communists" supposedly being prepared by Solidarity.

The leadership of the bureaucracy, whatever its weaknesses, understood from this moment that it could take the risk of pushing to a test of strength on the terrain, in the conditions, and at the time it judged the most favorable. On Saturday, December 12, at midnight, at a time when workers were not in their factories, the PUWP and its generals brutally silenced the working class.

C. The bureaucratic apparatus, to ensure its own survival, has reorganized its monopoly of power by unambiguously basing itself on the paramilitary forces of the specialized army units, with backup from the conscripts. But this is not the case of the army coming onto the political scene as a third actor independent of the bureaucracy and the PUWP.

The top officer corps represents the hardline nucleus of the party. All the generals and colonels are members of the party, and the overwhelming majority are graduates of Soviet military academies. General Jaruzelski is the first secretary of the PUWP, the party assigned the leading role in Polish society by the terms of the Polish constitution. Florian Siwicki, general and deputy minister of defense was nominated to the Political Bureau on October 28. Miroslaw Milewski, today responsible for internal security, is also a member of the Political Bureau. Czeslaw Kiszczak, head of the Polish internal intelligence services, is chief of the "operational units" of the security services and is a collaborator of General Jaruzelski in the PUWP leadership. Apart from this, since spring 1981 the role of the military in the PUWP "cadres section" was extended.

This interpenetration between the summit of the PUWP and the higher levels of the army rules out any idea of the emergence of a "third force." Nevertheless, the present change in the bureaucracy's system of domination expresses the PUWP's very deepgoing loss of legitimacy and the extreme rupture between the bureaucratic caste and the "honest" forces of the nation. This is a sign of a new stage in the crisis of the bureaucratic dictatorship.

For the Soviet Union the imposition of martial law by the national militia and army to try to get the situation back to "normal" is the less costly solution in every respect. It is true that the autonomy of the Polish military may be only apparent. But this appearance has a real importance on the political level, nationally and internationally.

6. A. The Military Council of National Salvation's immediate objective was to break Solidarity as a nationally organized apparatus — an apparatus which furthermore was little prepared politically and therefore organizationally for this type of showdown — and to sufficiently intimidate a rather broad sector of

the population to persuade it that any resistance is in vain. Furthermore, it propagated the idea that the military crackdown was the last chance of avoiding a direct Soviet intervention.

The illusion existed, even inside Solidarity, that the Polish army would only "loudly bang its fist down on the table," without changing the situation very much. Now all the measures decreed since Saturday, December 12, at midnight brutally prove the contrary:

- mass roundup of Solidarity leaders and militants, the majority of whom were arrested at home;
- arrests of intellectuals and students;
- Rural Solidarity, the student organization, the journalists association, and even the Polish Hunters Association have been suspended or dissolved like Solidarity;
- three Catholic organizations have been suspended;
- the offices of Solidarity and other organizations have been ransacked;
- urban, interurban and international telecommunications have been cut;
- only the party (*Trybuna Ludu*) and the army (*Zolnierz Wolnosci*) newspapers are authorized to appear;
- radio and television has been put in the hands of the police;
- travel within the country and the sales of petrol have been forbidden;
- the key sectors of the economy are militarized and workers there will be subject to martial law.

The bureaucracy was counting on the effect of surprise and directly using only the repressive paramilitary forces closely integrated into the distribution mechanisms of the privileges of the bureaucratic regime. These troops, from the militia to the frontier guards, form a body of 350,000 government or uniformed employees.

It has added to the directly repressive instruments the resources that grant it control of the supply of basic necessities (food and clothes). It has established obligatory labor. Thus all those who do not have a "normal" job must present themselves to the authorities and accept the post assigned to them. It is a means of tracking down those who had a job as a full-timer (there were 40,000 in Solidarity). It has introduced, under the cover of the financial autonomy of workplaces, a relationship between productivity and wages, in order to undermine workers' resistance and sow divisions.

The management of workplaces, aided by military commissars, are organizing the handing in of everybody's passes, allowing for mass redundancies, and then selective rehiring. In the civil service and factories salaried personnel have to sign loyalty statements in order to keep or to get a job. Trials in the Stalinist tradition are being held where the justification for the charges does not have to be argued and where there is no appeal of sentence.

B. Given the still limited degree of centralization, self-management bodies, and the lack of political clarity of the leading circles of Soli-

duary, a rapid and coordinated response to such a series of measures was impossible. In effect the military crackdown itself made full use of these weaknesses. However, the spontaneous reaction of the Polish workers, who defined the military takeover of the country by the Polish armed forces as an occupation, expresses the *political failure* of the attempt to justify the military crackdown as a "nationalist" solution.

The extraordinary spirit of the mass movement and the gut rejection of the restoration of bureaucratic order led to a strong semispontaneous wave of strikes and a very broad resistance:

- more than fifteen days of strikes and occupations in the mines of Silesia (a Solidarity stronghold with 1.5 million members);
- strikes, occupations, and clashes in hundreds of workplaces and in the most important towns: Warsaw, Katowice, Gdansk, Lublin, Wroclaw, Lodz, Radom, Poznan, Elblag, Gdynia, Torun, etc.
- appeals for a general strike by the vanguard workplace committees (Ursus, Huta Warszawa, Warski Naval shipyards in Szczecin) and by five members of the Solidarity National Committee (KK) on December 14. They declared:

"In line with the resolutions adopted on December 4 at Radom and by the KK on December 12 at Gdansk . . . we respond to violence with the general strike. . . . No trade union, no organization can allow its leaders to become victims of repression, deprived of their rights, nor tolerate restrictions on citizens' rights, without reacting. . . . In taking this strike action we recall the need to show discipline and calm, to respect state property, and to avoid as much as possible unnecessary confrontations with the security forces."

- students and intellectuals who refuse to compromise with the regime showing their opposition (demonstrations, defiance of the militia, distribution of leaflets to commemorate the 1970 struggles).

To neutralize a certain entrenchment of the resistance, the Military Council of National Salvation did not hesitate to lock out the workers at the Warski shipyards in Szczecin and the Gdansk yards until January 4.

After a first phase of active resistance a *passive resistance* is taking shape. Workers try to use the control they do have over the productive apparatus to the maximum in order to hold in check the "normalization" plans being carried out on the point of the bureaucracy's bayonets. This resistance aims to keep slowly ticking over a part of the economic machine that the military commissars want to get on full steam again. It seeks to isolate those who collaborate with the regime and prove that this productive apparatus — formally the people's property — cannot function at all satisfactorily against the express will of the workers.

Within the resistance Solidarity uses its traditions of organization and struggle at the workplace level, such as the thousands of ingenious subterfuges of passive resistance used

for years by the workers (scrupulous application of rules, especially when they are absurd, respect for the limitations put on all working-class initiative). Such resistance becomes a factor of permanent disorder which profoundly undermines the image of a regime that wishes to inspire order itself.

This opposition can facilitate a myriad of actions favoring the setting up of clandestine networks, fueling in this way the total discredit of the bureaucratic caste, of what social base it has, and freeing a space for action in the factories and the churches.

The "spirit of Solidarity" — according to the terms used in the underground appeals made by the trade-union — is already apparent in the support organized for the prisoners and their families, which forms an open opposition to the military-bureaucratic dictatorship. Direct actions against the militia, certainly of a limited character, could also develop, particularly since these are motivated by the spirit of the "struggle against the occupying forces."

This type of passive resistance on such a broad scale cannot last beyond a certain time. The constraints of daily social and economic life will weaken the solid front of hostility to the regime and in the long term diminish the intensity and breadth of the resistance. It is not, however, totally excluded that this resistance could be combined with some fragmented explosions of mass action against the extremely tough social and economic measures which have just been added to the martial-law decrees. But any open, broad-based mobilizations against the regime will require a minimum of overall perspective.

Whatever may be the various phases of the resistance, there can however be no doubt that the very breadth of the movement of workers organized in Solidarity means that it cannot be totally liquidated. A whole generation of young workers, students, and intellectuals have just gone through a relatively long experience of organization and struggle. Furthermore, the four years' preparation for this struggle — which can essentially be summarized in the history of the Committee for Social Self-defense (KOR) and the workers networks linked to *Robotnik* (The Worker) bulletins — have acquired a tremendous prestige in the light of Solidarity's emergence.

Thus, beyond the demoralization which can affect many militants, there is no doubt that underground resistance and reorganization will develop and a continuity will be assured. In the course of new phases of struggle against the bureaucratic dictatorship new cadres will come forward. Political clarification will take place. This is a significant difference with what happened in Hungary after 1956 and in Czechoslovakia after 1968. Particularly since the level of economic crisis affecting all the bureaucratic regimes today is unprecedented — without comparison in the 1960s and 1970s.

7. After more than three weeks of martial law, of absolute control over the means of communication and all the resources of the

state apparatus, the Military Council of National Salvation has not succeeded in winning over any Solidarity leaders. It finds itself constrained to conceal the names of the few low-level leaders with whom it claims to be negotiating! No results have been obtained despite all the pressure exerted on Walesa — detained in order to "discuss the future of the independent and self-managed trade-union movement within the framework of constitutional principles."

No sector of the intelligentsia has yet agreed to back the "savior of the nation" role the dictatorship claims for itself. The latter has not even attempted to organize pseudosupport demonstrations — one of the cherished customs of the Stalinists!

On the other hand, the diehards of all types have found nothing better than to beat the chauvinist drum with the launching of a new anti-Semitic campaign on a large scale. Of course the "orchestrators" of such a campaign are found at the top level of the regime, in persons of Olszowski and Gornicki, spokesperson and adviser for General Jaruzelski. Everything is tried to end the unprecedented isolation of the regime — the chasm between those who "are saving the nation" and . . . the nation itself.

It is clear that the regime is in a dead end, but the essential thing has been saved — its power has been safeguarded, the basis of the bureaucracy's privileges. The bureaucracy will make every effort in the coming phase to get out of this impasse, while maintaining the most rigorous police-style control over the country.

It is counting on the aid the Catholic hierarchy can contribute to carry out this difficult task. The bureaucracy also expects a very understanding attitude from its imperialist creditors, now that "order is restored." The Military Council of National Salvation is making numerous declarations on its determination not to "renounce the fundamental principles of the democratization process." This ought to assure the moderate approach of the Vatican and its Polish acolytes and politically facilitate the task of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

In the new conditions established by martial law, the Military Council of National Salvation is trying once more to divide the workers — to get a cosmetic agreement and relaunch an "independent" trade union . . . but independent of course of Solidarity's experiences. Given the very needs of the functioning of the socioeconomic system that exists in Poland, it will attempt to create the conditions for a political hegemony that does not directly and openly depend on the brute force of bayonets.

Furthermore, in the medium term the Kremlin's leaders cannot lightly tolerate a situation where the second army of the Warsaw Pact is seen to be absorbed by more directly political tasks, whose demoralizing effects are likely and which will consequently limit its operational capacity in the framework of this pact.

However, a modification in the present

mechanisms of domination and a reorganization of the political scene would require a series of preconditions that are very difficult to achieve:

A. A real stabilization of the party — whether it is still called the PUPW or some other name, and a minimum of credibility for this formation is necessary. The imposition of martial law and repression against the workers has led to a new hemorrhage of its worker members. The battle being carried out by the ex-"forum" hardliners is not only against Solidarity militants but also against all PUPW members who were "soft" on or collaborated with the independent trade union. The purge is proceeding at full steam. The reconstruction of the party is likely to be painful.

Moreover there is a systematic effort to reactivate the party structures, to publicly project it again, and to balance up the distribution of leading public roles between the generals and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Hieronim Kubiak, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and Stefan Olszowski. On Wednesday, December 16, Olszowski already announced publicly that the party "supports these energetic measures which were indispensable to save the socialist regime."

Party members are participating in "citizen's committees for national salvation" — i.e., which cooperate with the police. In fact, the only party perspective seems to be to embody the restoration of order. Through that it will achieve legal status but not legitimacy.

B. Any even slightly viable project of political recomposition would require a very much better economic situation. It is precisely on this level that the crackdown has to facilitate the imposition of a vast austerity plan, resulting in unemployment, price increases, reduction of social spending, and increased work discipline. The first decrees of the Military Council of National Salvation indicate such an orientation. The economic situation itself foments a permanent discontent. In this context, an "independent" trade union, tightly controlled and co-managing the regime's plans, would not meet a positive response among most workers.

Indeed, the other facet of such an "economic reform," in addition to austerity for the masses, would consist in reserving the biggest part of the planned bonuses for the directors and the managerial or administrative staff. Through this method the present leaders could try to win themselves a social base and present themselves as the partisans of economic renewal. But once again this perspective only has any chance of success to the extent that the resistance greatly declines and/or demoralization takes an extensive hold. Only then could they end police-style social control and the hypercentralization of the present regime, which is contradictory with the internal logic of a Janos Kadar-type economic policy (which, besides, did not get off the ground immediately after 1956 in Hungary).

Finally, if the present supply difficulties and refusal of the peasants to release agricultural and animal products were to persist, the requi-

sition of agricultural products would be necessary. The chasm would widen even further between the peasantry and the regime. At the same time its hopes to win a sector of the peasantry through various concessions (better prices for the produce bought, preferential deliveries of fertilizers, etc.) would be dashed.

C. The church hierarchy remains one of the master cards which General Jaruzelski must keep in his hand. It has already been congratulated for its moderating role. The military crackdown has put the church leadership in a delicate situation. Since 1956 they have obtained a series of advantages and privileges (money, infrastructure, printing presses, their own organizations, increased possibilities of educating and influencing the population).

For the Vatican, the Polish church represents a stronghold and a bridgehead in the Eastern European countries. In Rome, just as in Warsaw, there is a fear that a more active workers' resistance would lead to violent confrontations and that the Soviets would intervene even more in "Polish affairs" — thereby cancelling out all the concessions.

This is the material basis for Polish Archbishop Josef Glemp's constant search for a compromise solution. But compromise is not near at hand, not only because the regime does not have a great deal to offer, but because this contains a risk of rupture with the workers the church influences. The tensions inside the church reflect this, even more today since the churches are used as places of organization and resistance.

It was certainly easier to declare martial law than it is to win the war of "normalization." Never before has a bureaucracy had to reorganize its system of power at all levels and on such a vast scale — in the workplaces, at government level, and in the regions.

8. A. The imposition of martial law has struck a serious blow against the whole of the international proletariat. Since August 1980 the struggle of millions of workers in Solidarity was one of the most advanced examples of proletarian struggle on a world scale. It represents an unprecedented experience in the history of the struggle against bureaucratic dictatorships and in the workers' march toward a real socialization of the means of production and of social resources.

The economic and social disaster in Poland before the upsurge of workers' mobilizations already illustrated how much the bureaucratic caste undermined the basis for the construction of a socialist society. It made worse all the *basic* imbalances of the economy: between industry and energy resources, between industry and agriculture, and between material production and social services.

The bureaucracy accentuated dependency in relation to the international capitalist economy and thereby incurred an enormous debt. Incompetency, waste, corruption, generalized irresponsibility, and social inequality were its hallmarks. Genuine fiefdoms under the control of particular bureaucratic cliques appeared in

industry. Planning could only suffer as a consequence.

All this resulted in a large-scale crisis that was evident from 1979. General Jaruzelski and Leonid Brezhnev, by eliminating all the democratic rights won by the Polish masses, by outlawing trade unions and strikes, have once more proved their savage resolve to block all progress toward socialism.

In this struggle between a bureaucratic government and the masses we have been, and we are, totally shoulder to shoulder with the masses. The workers state was not undergoing any imperialist assault to restore capitalism. No solid social force wanted to reintroduce private appropriation of the social surplus, and it would not even have been able to put such a scheme into practice, confronted with millions of workers who wished to directly manage the factories.

On the contrary, the bureaucracy and its dictatorship, which has usurped power within the workers state, was under attack. The proletariat was tending to radically challenge the power of a privileged minority — defended by a repressive apparatus. Eliminating the bureaucratic caste could only reinforce and not weaken collective property, reinforce and not weaken the workers on an international scale. Liquidating the bureaucratic regime would have demonstrated in practice, in the eyes of the masses throughout the world, that the economy and society could be managed by all the workers and not by a bureaucratic minority in an arbitrary and authoritarian way. A substantial step would have been taken toward the real socialization of the economy, toward socialism.

This is what basically explains the "sacred alliance" formed by Wall Street and the Kremlin. The Polish workers were preventing them from cosily coexisting. A stop had to be put to their extremist pretensions!

The Kremlin is only too happy to see its advice applied so diligently. It has not been forced to participate directly and massively in the repression. The price of such participation would have been very high, both politically and financially. General Jaruzelski and his fellow bureaucrats, by trying to break the back of Solidarity, are not just defending their own interests but also those of all the bureaucratic regimes. The sensitivity of the Soviet press to the "Appeal to the workers of Eastern Europe" particularly showed this:

"At the Solidarity congress at Gdansk the antisocialist forces, prompted by the American secret services, have announced a crusade against socialism in Poland and throughout the socialist community by adopting the infamous appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe" (*Pravda*, December 25, 1981). East German party chief Erich Honecker confessed, "The evolution of events in Poland during the last months provoked growing concern among us communists. . . ."

The self-defense reflex of the bureaucracy is in top gear. Caste solidarity is total. This is what they dare to call "proletarian internation-

alism"!

In recent years the Cuban leadership has been involved in actively supporting the revolutions unfolding in Central America. It continues to support Angola against the South African racists' large-scale military operations. However in the case of Poland, the Cuban daily press has faithfully taken up the angle of approach favored by the Soviet agencies.

It has thus given its support to "the struggle" carried out by the Military Council of National Salvation "against the chaos and counterrevolutionary elements to safeguard socialist structures" (*Granma*, December 19, 1981). It presents Solidarity as being manipulated by imperialism.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua has followed the Cuban leadership in this line.

These explanations and doctored information can only miseducate the Cuban and Nicaraguan working class and vanguard on what proletarian internationalism is. They can only reinforce the blocking of any progress toward real socialist democracy. This orientation will have serious repercussions on the political consciousness of the workers vanguard throughout Latin America. It will create obstacles for the effective defense of the Central American revolution — as well as the defense of the Cuban workers state — against imperialist aggression.

B. The cynicism of imperialist forces confronted with the imposition of martial law has rarely been equaled by them in the past.

On Monday December 14 *Le Figaro* stated: "General Jaruzelski could not act any differently than he did during Saturday night and Sunday morning. It is the last gamble for an independent Poland." The *Washington Post* echoed this sentiment on the same day: "General Jaruzelski has tried a final effort to avoid confrontation. It is the last chance for Poland." A West German government spokesperson stated: "Concerning the Polish situation, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt, considers it necessary to affirm that the 'important thing is that the Polish crisis is under control.'"

Poland's \$27 billion debt to the West, of which \$16 billion is to private banks, is the serious motive behind the imperialist leaderships' support for the "restoration of order" line. The 460 banks concerned had already called with some insistence for the implementation of a vast austerity program and suggested at the same time a reassertion of control. In their opinion the Jaruzelski solution allows them to have a "responsible" partner to negotiate with in a "responsible country." The *Wall Street Journal* unambiguously spelled it out: "Most bankers think that an authoritarian government is good because it imposes discipline."

This discipline is "necessary" so that the imperialist banks can continue to transfer a part of the resources produced by the Polish workers into their own accounts. In fact, the Military Council of National Salvation did not waste

time in responding to the hopes of the imperialist bankers and governments — dozens of millions of dollars have been poured immediately into their pockets! This money has more weight than all those democratic rights! Besides, why should the imperialists defend the right to strike and trade unions when they are everywhere unleashing austerity programs and continually seeking to attack the free activity of trade unions?

Thus a common theme runs through all the declarations of bourgeois and imperialist forces: the Polish workers have gone too far — they do not know how to bow before the demands of austerity! In this sense they bear responsibility for this military crackdown! Order and discipline in Poland is an order and discipline required, they claim, by innate economic laws in general and repayment of the debt to Western banks in particular.

The imperialist powers, and more specifically the United States, are going to make full use of the bureaucratic counterrevolution of the Polish and Soviet bureaucracy.

- Washington, using the pretext of the necessity of resisting “Soviet intervention” and “totalitarianism,” is going to profit from the international conjuncture to increase its aid to the bloody dictatorships in Central America, and to reinforce the coordination of the counterrevolutionary intervention in El Salvador and against the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada.

Ronald Reagan illustrates this imperialist policy when he calls for the definitive lifting of all restrictions on military aid to the Turkish dictatorship — a NATO stronghold — at the same time as he redoubles his demagoguery on the defense of “freedom” . . . when it is in the opposition camp.

Israel, just as in 1956, has coldly used the climate created by the declaration of martial law in Poland to annex the Golan Heights.

- An imperialist campaign has been launched by various imperialist governments to justify their remilitarization drive — with the social spending cuts that go hand in hand. The Mitterrand-Mauroy government took advantage of it to announce the production of a seventh nuclear submarine. The Polish generals, the PUWP, and the Kremlin have offered the opportunity dreamed of by the reactionaries to try to disparage the antimilitarist mobilizations that had developed at the same time as the upsurge of the Polish masses.

- Finally, the bourgeoisie will use every weapon it can on the ideological and political levels to try, with the invaluable support of the trade-union bureaucracy and reformist forces, to trap the working class in the following dilemma: either austerity with “democracy,” or run the risk of a “totalitarian society” that also imposes austerity measures. The bourgeoisie will use this latter argument to increase its anti-socialist and anticommunist propaganda.

Simply evoking the arguments which the imperialist forces construct on the basis of the Polish events is enough to indicate the extent to which the military crackdown is against the in-

terests of the international proletariat.

The anti-working-class choir of the imperialists was in harmony. But in a context marked by the economic crisis and the developments of the colonial revolution, this “Polish crisis” has caused a new exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions. The West German bourgeoisie, at the head of the European imperialist powers, is resisting an escalation of the “cold war” which would endanger its economic interests tied up with the “peoples democracies” and the Soviet Union. It immediately put itself forward as the main provider of economic aid to Poland. It proclaims itself the most resolute defender of the maintenance of the postwar agreements on Europe made between the Kremlin bureaucracy and imperialism. Basically, these agreements aim to maintain capitalism in Western Europe and the hold of the Kremlin bureaucracy over the “peoples democracies.”

9. The reactions of the Social Democratic and Communist parties to the defeat inflicted on the Polish working masses can only be grasped through the prism of the interlinked crisis of imperialism and Stalinism.

Beyond their very different positions with regard to the imposition of martial law, the reformist apparatuses have always expressed either the most extreme reticence or more or less open opposition to the struggles of the Polish workers. The dynamic of the unfolding struggle in Poland challenged too radically both their bureaucratic domination over the trade-union movement and their policy of capitulation to bourgeois demands for austerity. Whether they take a “prudent” position or one of opposition, one can detect, in a certain sense, a solidarity between bureaucrats.

Furthermore the reformists will use the defeat of the Polish workers to warn off workers against a central confrontation with the class enemy which inevitably results in the establishment of a “strong state.” They will justify their policy of class collaboration in this way.

Faced with the imposition of martial law against the Polish workers, the Social Democratic parties of West Germany, Austria, and Great Britain lined up fundamentally behind the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisies.

The Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky declared for example: “I think the declaration of martial law in Poland is a last attempt to avoid the worst.” The close relationship between Austrian capitalism, its state sector, and the markets of East European countries is the basis for this way of ratifying the crackdown and defending the status quo.

Some of the protests made by the Social Democratic leaders (in Italy, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and Switzerland) are limited essentially to proclaiming the defense of democratic rights in general. They avoid putting forward the need for *active* solidarity with Solidarity as an independent and self-managed trade union. They thus blur over any class content within the solidarity movement and swamp it in a campaign that the bourgeoisie can use to its

profit. They refuse to use their resources to really mobilize workers, to take many initiatives, and to break the isolation that Solidarity has been plunged into.

The “official” Social Democratic left wing, as Tony Benn has shown in Great Britain and the left of the Socialist Party (SPD) in West Germany, was often the most muted in their response — basically accepting the political framework imposed by their apparatuses.

In France, however, the pressure of the workers, the extreme left’s capacity of initiative, the competitive relationship between the CP and the SP, and the way in which the SP and French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) leaderships, in their own specific interests, have stimulated the movement, have meant that the solidarity movement has taken on, in a real mass way, a class mobilization in support of the Polish working masses.

The powerful rise of the political revolution in Poland and the launching of the bureaucratic counterrevolution have resulted in a new stage in the crisis of the Communist parties which had already been fomented in most countries by internal developments in the class struggle. Centrifugal tendencies inside the CPs of all the capitalist countries have been exacerbated. The contradiction between their reference to the Soviet Union and their insertion into a national reality has become extremely intense.

The play of these different factors — in the particular conditions of each country, the historic tradition and direction of these CPs, and their relationship with the Social Democratic parties — means that a spectrum of positions have been taken by different Communist parties. These different lines are also expressed inside each CP, as in France, Italy, and Spain.

At one extreme are the positions of the French, Portuguese, West German, and Danish CPs. Fundamentally they support the imposition of martial law, which is supposed to have “permitted Socialist Poland to escape the mortal danger of the counterrevolution.” It is an apparent paradox, but in fact there is a convergence between the difficulties of the Soviet bureaucracy and their own organizational interests when some of these CPs present the “exceptional measures” taken by General Jaruzelski as “the best solution to avoid a possible Russian intervention”!

Their whole line consists in publicizing General Jaruzelski’s promises, particularly the “limited and temporary aspect of the restrictions on democratic rights” or the fact that the right to strike “will remain an inalienable right.” According to them, any mobilization in favor of Solidarity can only “throw oil on the fire” and prevent the Military Council of National Salvation from keeping to its promises. In this framework, to demand freedom for trade-union militants and the respect of democratic rights and trade-union activity would be to “push Jaruzelski to crime.” The bureaucracy of these CPs not only firmly defends the status quo, but identifies socialism and the struggle

against capitalism with the policy of the ruling bureaucracy and their regimes.

At the other extreme is the position of the Italian and Spanish CPs. The former has vigorously condemned martial law in Poland, called for the freeing of political prisoners and the lifting of measures outlawing trade-union activity. It is against the "blow the coup [use of military force] represents against the very cause of socialism." When it states that it is time to "recognize that the phase of socialism opened up with the October revolution, its dynamic, has been exhausted" and links the Polish events to the policy of the Soviet Union and the internal evolution of the Soviet regime, the Italian CP is going a long way in its conflict with Moscow.

However, the line of this CP exists in the framework of a "historic compromise" for Poland between all the "fundamental components of Polish society." In its opinion it was necessary to carry the "renewal line forward more firmly and coherently." Therefore it is not a declaration in favor of the democratic power of the workers, but rather for the "co-responsibility" of workers within the structure of the regime, alongside the PUWP, the church, and the petty-bourgeois forces (peasants). This line fits logically into a policy of "international détente," of the status quo. It results in an open appeal for collaboration with Social Democratic forces in West Germany, France, and Scandinavia, certain of whom openly accept the crime committed in Poland.

The Italian CP's position on Poland — whatever the elements which aid opening a thoroughgoing debate in the workers movement on the question of Stalinism — remains the faithful reflection of its class collaborationist strategy. It simply tends to revalue bourgeois democracy, by relegating workers power (the October Revolution) and socialist democracy to a dead end.

The only difference in the Spanish CP's position as compared to the Italian CP is over the reference to the October Revolution. The Spanish CP leadership explicitly maintains this reference, even if in a ritual manner. This plays a role in the internal crisis of the Spanish CP. In effect this reference to the October Revolution is used as a polemical argument against the "renewal" sector (accused of being Social Democratic) and aims to neutralize the attacks from the so-called pro-Soviet sector. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that neither the Spanish CP nor the Workers Commissions (CCOO — linked to the CP) have participated in, or called for, solidarity actions in support of the Polish workers.

The form and character of the mass uprising in Poland, as well as the contradiction between the CPs and inside them, provoke similar differences inside the trade-union movement of several European countries.

The impact of the "Polish events" on the international workers' movement is interconnected with questions of anticapitalist strategy posed by the crisis, the needs of a militant solidarity movement with the revolution in Central

America, and the struggle against the remilitarization drive. It becomes an important factor in the politicization of a vanguard sector of the working class. Particularly in France it has aided the growth of an opposition, above all in the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), helping it make a step forward in its political homogeneity.

10. The international workers movement must commit itself, in a massive and united way, to a campaign of aid to the Polish workers' resistance. The slogan "Workers of the world unite" must become the motto of the *movement of solidarity with Solidarity*. The Polish workers struggle continues! Their difficult resistance opens a new stage in the proletarian struggle against bureaucratic totalitarianism. The working class, youth, and intellectual leaders of the political revolution are in the process of being formed in this difficult battle. As the resistance becomes more effective, so the proof will be given of the impossibility for the bureaucracy of imposing its counterrevolutionary solutions, of imposing its silence, domestically and on the international level — and in turn hope will galvanize a mass rejection of the regime by the workers.

So we must cast aside any perspective which is limited to making solidarity just a simple "homage to the magnificent past struggles of the Polish workers," burying in advance any future perspective of a rising struggle, and thus leaving the present resistance in silence and isolation! Such an approach can only play into the hands of the bureaucratic apparatuses of all types.

The Fourth International will commit all its forces to develop the solidarity campaign with the Polish proletarian masses inside the international workers movement. All those inside the workers movement who today refuse to develop this mobilization divide the working masses — in their own country and internationally.

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To mobilize against the banning of Solidarity means to simultaneously support the Polish workers and to defend the political and trade-union rights of all workers — of Turkey, Brazil, El Salvador, the Spanish state, or Romania. To call for the lifting of martial law, immediate freedom for all prisoners, the elimination of all restrictions on democratic rights, for the right of meeting and of organization, is to defend these liberties against the attacks of imperialism and the totalitarian bureaucrats. To organize active solidarity with the Polish workers today is to facilitate and prepare the same active support of the international workers movement with the mighty struggle being fought by the Salvadoran people against the military-Christian Democratic junta and U.S. imperialism! These are the most elementary lessons of proletarian internationalism!

- All the links that have been forged over the past months between the independent and self-managed trade union of the Polish workers and the workers movement of the capitalist countries must be used to break the isolation in which General Jaruzelski wants to swamp the Polish masses. To send material, food, and medical aid remains an immediate task. That should permit links to be renewed, to pass on information, and to let the Polish workers know that their class brothers and sisters are their best supporters and not the imperialist bankers who welcomed the military crack-down with such relief!

This aid, if it is channelled through bodies independent of the Polish state (the church is the only legal independent institution of that type) can facilitate the reconstruction of links between Solidarity militants and sectors of the population. By doing everything possible to send trade-union commissions of inquiry to find out about the repression meted out to Solidarity militants, the workers movement can unmask the hypocrisy of both the bureaucrats who speak of "respect for liberty" and the spokespersons of imperialism who shut their eyes to the fate of trade-union militants in Poland . . . just as they do for Turkey.

- Within the workers movement itself, revolutionary Marxists must systematically explain the aims and actions of Solidarity. The democratic way in which the trade union functioned, the broad and public way in which its main political positions were discussed, its debates on self-management, and the experiences of workers and social control must become the property of the international workers movement. This is the most effective way to undermine "bureaucratic solidarity," which has been expressed so often since 1980, either in the form of calculated indifference from the trade-union leaderships, or open hostility, or again in a way that deforms the workers objectives. The latter are artificially forced into the framework of class-collaborationist projects defended by the reformist apparatuses (co-management, "historic compromise").

By doing everything to build this working-class solidarity on the basis of class unity and

independence, it will be possible to partly defeat the attempts of imperialism to use Polish events to reinforce its ideological and political positions.

- Revolutionary Marxists are opposed to all proposals for a boycott by the imperialist countries of Poland or the Soviet Union. Such a campaign can only play into the hands of the large-scale anticommunist political maneuvers of Ronald Reagan, who is trying to camouflage his criminal policy in Central America and elsewhere.

Supporting a campaign of "sanctions" which are effective, means in practice calling on the big banks and imperialist powers to squeeze Poland even more, with all the consequences that result for the Polish masses. A boycott does not affect the privileges of the bureaucracy. How can anyone believe that the revolt of the workers necessarily increases when they experience even greater misery?

Worse, such a campaign of "sanctions" ends up sowing the most mystifying illusions on the nature and role of the imperialist banks. Putting pressure on the banks to "help" Polish workers is set as the objective for the workers movement!

Finally any perspective of this type will facilitate, in the last analysis, the policy of the CP leaderships. The Soviet bureaucracy will mount a nationalist campaign and play the card of the "besieged fortress." It will produce the isolation of the Polish people, which is precisely what General Jaruzelski wants. History has proven that the development of Stalinism has been favored by the isolation of the Soviet Union.

- The Fourth International closely links its solidarity campaign with Solidarity with its efforts to stimulate mobilizations against the remilitarization drive, against NATO's policy of aggression, and against the criminal initiatives of U.S. imperialism, the real warmonger, in Central America and the Caribbean.

Within this perspective, the unity of interest of the working class on a world scale is crystal clear. Any reticence in giving support to the Polish workers can only hold back and divide the mobilization against nuclear rearmament in Europe, for a "Nuclear-Free Europe from Portugal to Poland" and against imperialist aggression in Central America. In the same way, any abstention or opposition — as we see among the Social Democratic parties — with regard to the mobilization against NATO or in support of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Nicaragua, Guatemala, or El Salvador can only weaken the unity and breadth of support for the resistance struggle of the Polish masses.

The building and strengthening of an international revolutionary organization, the Fourth International, represents, inside the proletarian vanguard, the conscious effort necessary for the accomplishment of all these tasks.

Solidarity with Solidarity!
Down with the bureaucracy's military dicta-

torship!

Freedom for all political prisoners, free all trade unionists, intellectuals, and students!

Reestablish all political, trade-union, and civil rights!

East Timor

People face new famine

Caused by Indonesia military sweeps

By Peter Boyle

[The following article appeared in the January 20 issue of the socialist newsweekly *Direct Action*, published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

Once again East Timor's 500,000 inhabitants are facing starvation.

An urgent appeal last week from Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, the apostolic administrator for the Catholic church, to the Australian Catholic Relief Agency confirms earlier reports from church sources in East Timor that Indonesian military operations have caused a repeat of the horrific famine of 1979.

The East Timorese people have suffered greatly from the six-year-old war to suppress Fretilin [Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor], the Timorese independence movement.

War and starvation have wiped out one-third of the population and some 60,000 are imprisoned. But the direct cause of the present famine was a new strategy employed by the Indonesian military.

This strategy was employed in an offensive named "Operasi Keamanan" (Operation Security) which was launched in July and lasted at least three months. Some 50,000 male East Timorese between the age of 15 and 50 were forcibly conscripted and used as a human chain in sweeps through the mountains.

The conscripts were unarmed and marched in groups of 12 in front of Indonesian troops. If they sighted anyone they were expected to shout out and even engage in combat.

The East Timorese used in Operasi Keamanan were not fed by the military. Instead they

Long live the international solidarity of the workers of all countries with all liberation struggles, in defense of all the exploited and oppressed, which forms a single, united struggle for the socialist world of tomorrow! □

were forced to plunder villages they passed through in order to survive. Many Timorese men, women, and children were killed in the campaign. In one clash alone, at the Rock of St. Anthony, 500 people were killed, according to Lopes.

But the famine arises from the fact that the fields were left without anyone to work them and the schools and other institutions were closed down to facilitate conscription. Even those conscripts who returned to their villages in time for the planting season before the monsoons in November were too ill and weak to work.

An Indonesian official who opposes Fretilin summed up the effects of the campaign in a letter that was shown to a correspondent for the *Melbourne Age*:

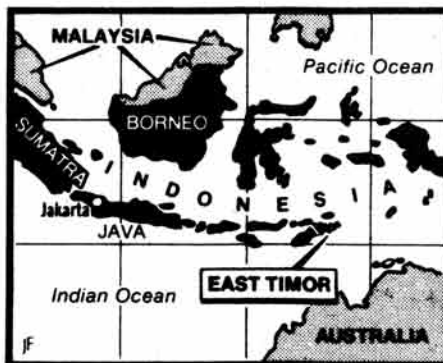
"Economically, the campaign has brought total misery for the people. It has caused a failure in agriculture. How in general can a population continue to survive when produce like rice, maize, cassava, potatoes, etc., are deficient? As well, the produce which grows on the plains is not gathered because there is nobody there to gather it."

Although numerous reports warning of the impending famine came to light as early as September last year, the Australian ambassador to Indonesia claimed that he saw no evidence of food shortage or malnutrition during his 1½-day visit to East Timor last month. His story was echoed by the Indonesian Embassy in its denial of Lopes' claims.

But Lopes is in a position to know better, because since April last year, the organization of relief aid in East Timor has been left to the church. His warning about the famine is also backed up by a document prepared by the Legislative Research Service of the Australian parliament in October 1981.

In response to publicity surrounding Lopes' appeal, the Australian government announced that it would be sending 1000 tonnes of corn to East Timor in the next few weeks as part of a promised \$430,000 in emergency food aid.

While this aid is insignificant when compared with the \$35 million in military aid given to the Indonesian government by the Australian government since the invasion of East Timor in 1975, it gives the lie to the Australian ambassador's claim that there is no food shortage in East Timor's capital, Dili. □



Protests hit price hikes

Thousands demonstrate in Gdansk

By Ernest Harsch

A month and a half after the imposition of martial law in Poland, the spirit of resistance of Polish workers and students is still far from dead.

On January 30, in reaction to sharp price increases on many basic food items, demonstrations and street clashes broke out in the northern port city of Gdansk, the first large-scale actions since the beginning of the year.

Despite the severe restrictions of martial law — the detention of thousands of union activists and the suspension of most democratic rights — the authorities had anticipated some kind of active opposition to the price hikes. In 1970 and 1976, when similar, though less steep hikes were announced, workers demonstrated and walked off their jobs. In Gdansk itself, scores were killed by police.

In an effort to head off another massive upsurge, many workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk were ordered to go on two-week "vacations" to prevent them from organizing opposition within the shipyard itself, which has been a stronghold of the Solidarity union movement.

Tear gas and clubs

According to the Polish government's account of the January 30 demonstrations, the protests nevertheless began just outside the shipyard. Throughout the day, according to eyewitness accounts reaching Warsaw, groups of people had gone to lay flowers at the monument dedicated to the workers killed in 1970, which is right by the main shipyard gate. The crowd at the monument grew to several thousand persons.

Youths reportedly belonging to the Ruch Młodej Polski (Young Poland Movement), an organization that supports Solidarity and emphasizes the fight for Polish independence, were handing out leaflets.

Members of the ZOMO (motorized riot police) attacked the crowd at the monument with tear gas, smoke bombs, and water hoses. After the crowd had been dispersed, according to one eyewitness quoted in the February 5 *New York Times*, police patrol cars "went up and down the side streets with search lights, and the cops just jumped out and went at anyone they saw."

Following this attack, the demonstrations spread to other parts of Gdansk, including the city center.

According to the authorities, fourteen persons were injured in the street clashes — six protesters and eight police. Another 205 demonstrators, many of them university and high-school students, were arrested. More than half were promptly taken before summary courts,

where 101 were sentenced to jail terms of from one to three months and another thirty-three were fined.

The regime also responded by cutting off all telephone communications between Gdansk and other cities — as well as within Gdansk itself — lengthening the curfew hours, banning all nonreligious gatherings, and prohibiting cars from the streets.

Help from Reagan

In justifying their crackdown on the price protests, the Polish authorities have been handed valuable political ammunition by the Reagan administration in Washington.

"It is no coincidence," declared the Polish Press Agency, "that the Gdansk disturbances took place on the day that subversive, anti-Polish events were organized in the West at the inspiration of the U.S. Administration," a reference to Reagan's call for an international day of protest on January 30 against the Polish crackdown. Another statement claimed that the demonstrations had been "provoked by propaganda activities of the U.S. Administration."

Reagan's anticommunist propaganda campaign and his hypocritical claims of support for Solidarity have thus made it easier for the Polish government to try to smear the workers movement, falsely accusing those who are fighting for workers rights in Poland of acting in collusion with American imperialism.

On January 31, Reagan escalated his anti-communist drive with a television propaganda extravaganza entitled, "Let Poland Be Poland."

Funded by the government's International

Walesa: 'We will not be broken'

Lech Walesa, the national chairman of Solidarity, has been in detention since the declaration of martial law. He is reported to be held near Warsaw, and has not been allowed to make any official statements. However, an appeal by Walesa to the Polish nation was smuggled out and published in the January 7 issue of *Tygodnik Wojenny* (State of War Weekly), an unofficial Solidarity bulletin in the Warsaw region.

"We will not allow ourselves to be broken," Walesa said. "We will organize strikes in large workplaces and resort to passive resistance in small ones. If the army uses force, we will act so as not to spill blood. We stand together and we will help each other. We will show that our union exists and continues to function."

Communications Agency, it was shown in many countries and featured statements against the Polish crackdown by numerous imperialist heads of state. One luminary was Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu of Turkey, which is ruled by a military junta that has jailed tens of thousands of unionists and killed scores of political activists.

Such expressions of "solidarity with Solidarity" are a stab in the back not only to Polish workers, but to workers everywhere.

Price hikes

However, it was not Reagan's propaganda campaign that led to the Gdansk demonstrations. Those who really "provoked" them were the Polish authorities themselves.

The price increases, which went into effect on February 1, were the largest ever announced in Poland since the end of World War II. The prices of butter, steak, sugar, and other food and consumer items rose by 200 to 400 percent. Electricity and heating costs were also raised.

The government claims these price rises were necessary because of the disastrous state of the Polish economy. Production has fallen drastically, there are severe shortages of certain key food items, and Poland owes \$27 billion to imperialist governments and banks.

This economic catastrophe, however, is itself a product of years of economic mismanagement by the bureaucrats who rule Poland. They have blocked workers from having any say over economic decision-making, and have raked off substantial material privileges for their own benefit.

Under the bureaucratic system that exists in Poland, the authorities' only "solution" to the economic crisis is to impose a severe austerity policy on working people. The declaration of martial law was aimed, among other things, at making that possible.

But martial law has not been able to prevent workers from continuing to fight to defend their interests.

Solidarity activists around the country have begun reorganizing themselves, setting up numerous workers committees and publishing unofficial leaflets and bulletins.

In response to the price hikes, groups in Gdansk and other cities issued repeated calls for strikes and protests. Some leaflets have urged workers to fraternize with troops.

On January 13, Solidarity representatives met in Gdansk and formed the National Resistance Committee (OKO) to coordinate the union's activities across the country. The OKO demanded the lifting of the state of war; the freeing of all detained unionists, political activists, students, and intellectuals; and the opening of a dialogue between the government and the Solidarity leadership.

One appeal, signed by Solidarity leader Bogdan Lis, who has so far evaded arrest, stressed that "the nation cannot be ruled against its will. . . . When the time comes to struggle, there is no power that can turn it back from its chosen path." □