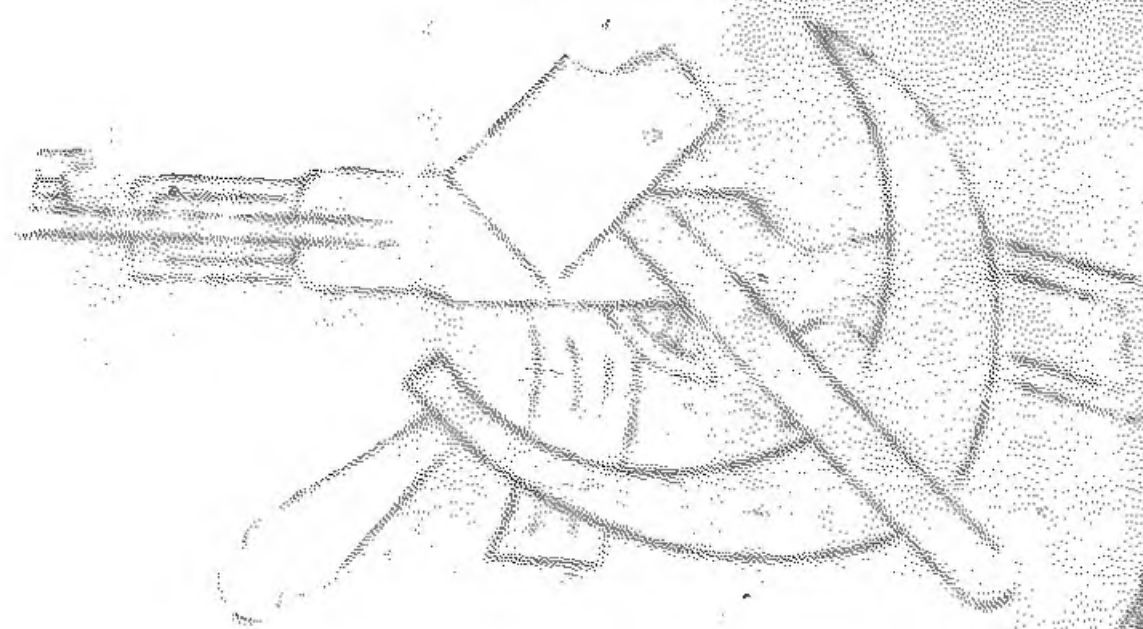


ANG PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO - LENINISMO - KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



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LAVAITES CRAWL OUT OF HOLES TO SABOTAGE THE REVOLUTION

(The following article is the first in a series to be published by Ang Bayan concerning the latest activities of the Lavaite revisionist renegades. Our readers are invited to study and analyze the contents of these articles, and also to send news, information and comments that will serve to advance the struggle against modern revisionism. This is part of our continuing effort to develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in Philippine conditions.)

With the growth and spread of the popular movement to dismantle U.S. imperialism's military bases in the Philippines, a bunch of saboteurs have been awaiting the chance to seize the lead in the anti-imperialist movement while secretly undermining it.

Once more, the Lavaite revisionists are creeping out of the hole to which they had fled, and today they are trying to squeeze into the ranks of the people, to attain the objectives both of the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship and Soviet social-imperialism.

It has become necessary again to rip the mask off these political swindlers, and expose the reactionary aims lurking behind their deceptively progressive words.

The revisionist renegades beat a retreat 10 years ago, when the revolutionary people, led by the newly reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines, began sifting through the details of their crimes and treacheries against the revolution. Their ideological, political and organizational corruption was laid bare and analyzed in "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party" (1968) and in the Report made to the Party Central Committee in 1972, entitled On Lavaite Propaganda for Revisionism and Fascism (Omnibus Reply).

With the imposition of martial law by the Marcos fascist clique, the revisionist renegades grabbed the chance to come out into the open and resume their counter-revolutionary campaign against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the revolutionary people.

Thus, in August 1973, the fascist dictatorial regime and the Lavaites embraced each other under the signboard of a so-called "Agreement of National Reconciliation". At ceremonies held in Malacañang as well as in Aliaga, Nueva Ecija, and Sta. Cruz, Laguna--alleged "bailiwicks" of the Lava clan--their followers surrendered their remaining weapons and pledged to cooperate in the establishment of the "New Society".

Deserting the ranks

As a result of this capitulation, and also of the clique's reactionary policies and methods, the Lavaite ranks have grown thinner and thinner. Among the latest to cut their ties were Casto Alejandrino's group from Pampanga, which broke away in 1978, and a group that used to be with KILUSAN, a labor federation. It will be recalled that Alejandrino was a leading member of the old merger party's Political Bureau (Politburo).

Recently, the remaining Lavaite "cadres" have busied themselves issuing press releases to the bourgeois newspapers. They have also been attending forums, at which they noisily castigate "the Americans" while jockeying for positions within the anti-imperialist movement in order to wreck it later on.

On these occasions, the Lavaites have been calling attention to themselves by defending their master, the Marcos fascist dictatorship, with its supposed "increasing assertion of independence" from the United States.

Not only do they harp on the supposed worsening contradictions between the Marcos clique and U.S. imperialism. They go so far as to praise the imposition of martial law, so much hated by the broad masses of the people, for allegedly showing "greater independence from American dictation"! In their paper entitled "US Intervention in Philippine Politics: the Historical Record" (1978), the Lavaite "Katipunan ng Bagong Pilipina" (KaBaPi) declares: "President Marcos' progress along this line [greater independence] is due to his exercise of concentrated powers as a result of martial law."

It is true that "certain major policies (of the Marcos administration) tend to increase the country's economic dependence on the United States and US-dominated financial institutions", admits KaBaPi, which is an organization in the service of Imelda Marcos and directed by Aida Lava Dizon.

But, the Lavaites insist, what is more important is the "nationalistic" Marcos clique's "fight" against U.S. imperialism. And so, once again, the KaBaPi brandishes the old Lavaite threat: beware of the CIA! they shout; let's support Marcos, for he is in danger of losing his seat and being replaced by forces more useful to American interests!

Hoaping praises on Marcos

Ridiculously, the Lavaites turn things upside-down and use the term "non-aligned" to describe the U.S.-Marcos puppet regime's foreign policy.

In a letter to the bourgeois newspapers, one Lavaite objected to the new military bases treaty, and one of the reasons he gave was that the bases could be used to kick out Marcos. "They could easily be used as staging grounds for any destabilization measures directed against a Filipino government that tends to take a more independent position from the United States," the Lavaite fretted.

If only their ears weren't plugged tight, the local revisionists would surely have heard the truth which the people have been saying: that the Marcos fascist clique continues to be U.S. imperialism's chief servant in the Philippines, as proved by the heaps of decrees, orders, policies and concessions laid by the regime at the feet of its masters.

The Lavaite opportunists have been currying favor with Marcos, and tirelessly praising and defending him, for two reasons.

One, they want the reactionary state to "legalize" their bogus "Communist Party", and thus enjoy, and pervert, the prestige in which the revolutionary people hold communism.

Two, they want to get into the good graces of the ruling clique within the reactionary state, giving a long-awaited chance to their master, Soviet social-imperialism, to contend with its rival superpower for hegemony over the Philippines.

Foolishly tailing after the Marcos fascist clique, the Lavaites serve to further strengthen U.S. imperialism's hold on the Philippines. After all, the latter still has not stopped relying on the Marcos clique to get its orders done. The recent bases "negotiations" gave additional proof that U.S. imperialism doesn't care one whit about Marcos' "nationalist" pretensions, and that the latter can't dare whimper to protest against the rudeness of his masters.

On the question of the collusion between the Marcos fascist clique and U.S. imperialism against the Filipino people, the stand of the anti-Marcos reactionaries and the Lavaites may be likened to the two slices of the same rotten mango.

The anti-Marcos reactionaries take potshots at the fascist dictator while taking care not to hit U.S. imperialism, which is its main support. The Lavaites, on the other hand, shake their fists at U.S. imperialism while shielding its chief puppet.

Party history

The program opened with a leading comrade in the Northwestern Luzon region tracing the history of the Party since its reestablishment on December 26, 1968.

"It has been 10 years since we repudiated the capitulationist and opportunist line of the Lava-Taruc clique that led the old merger party," he said. "Since then, our Party has advanced the Philippine revolution to a broader and higher plane."

The cadre attributed the rapid advance of the revolution to the concrete application by the Party of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to concrete Philippine conditions.

He gave an account of the Party and army's advancement not only in the region but nationwide, down to Mindanao.

The Party cadres from the different provinces of Montañosa also related to the assembled comrades and masses the oppression by the U.S.-Marcos regime of the masses in their respective provinces, and also the people's growing armed resistance against the forces of the regime.

Several Ifugao mass leaders also spoke at the gathering. They shared their own experiences, including the grabbing of their lands by the regime. They also recalled the coming of the Party and NPA to their province, and said these had helped them greatly in realizing that only armed struggle could free the Igorots from the regime's chauvinist and class oppression.

The speeches were followed by a cultural presentation of revolutionary songs. The songs were in a variety of Montañosa languages--Iankannai, Iuwali, Kalinga, Bontoc and Kalanguya. There were also war dances and the tayaw, a native dance popular in the entire Cordillera ranges.

THOUSANDS OF CEBU, DAVAO URBAN POOR MARCH TO PROTEST THREATENED EVICTION

Some 1,000 residents of urban poor communities poured into the streets of Cebu City last January 22, the day of the city fiesta, marching five kilometers to confront the mayor about the local government's plan to evict them from their homes.

In line with the Cebu South Reclamation Project, the government plans to put up a business complex on the site of the city's urban poor communities. About 500,000 residents are affected.

Through Panaghugbong, an umbrella organization of 10 urban poor communities, the people denounced the utter disregard of their plight in the so-called development projects of the government.

Their spokesman charged that the government's "development projects" are meant for the exploiters. Hundreds of thousands of urban poor will be evicted to make way for the interests of foreign corporations and their Filipino comprador partners. Their intended industrial site will complement the proposed Export Processing Zone to be put up on adjacent Mactan island.

Firmly holding their ground, the people refused to be deceived and cowed by the repressive tactics employed by Mayor Florentino Solon and the fascist military. Instead, they continued their speeches lambasting the local government before the big crowds listening to them.

Two hours after, the mayor showed up. Confronted by the angry people, he assured them that "they will not be evicted until the relocation site is ready". The urban poor insisted that they would not leave their homes. Amidst the people's protests, the mayor slipped away.

Mass action in Davao

In Davao City, some 4,000 urban poor marched to the city hall last December 10 to stop the demolition of their houses in accordance with the local government's "improvement campaign", according to Asdang (December 1978), mass newspaper in Mindanao.

The marchers distributed two open letters denouncing the lies contained in a presidential decree stating "the squatters are to be relocated in their original residences and will not be evicted until the relocation area is habitable". To date, 100 houses have been demolished and 1,954 more are scheduled to be torn down.

The urban poor insisted on their right to be relocated by the government not far from their original communities, and on their right to participate in decisions affecting the demolition of their houses and the relocation of their families.

They also demanded that the government recognize their right to form their own association which will represent their interests, and to draw up a realistic and comprehensive program for the urban poor.

In Benguet, some 98 Igorot families in a government relocation area protested the government's indifference to their demands, according to a report by Dangadang (December 1978), mass newspaper in Northwestern Luzon.

Their 48 huts are clustered on a mountain slope near Kennon Road, Baguio City. Most of them work in Baguio as masons, or do such odd jobs as fetch water and clean yards.

"Tourist attraction"

Because it showed typical Igorot culture and lifestyle, their barrio was made into a tourist attraction by the local government in 1973. As a result, they have not been allowed to move out to a more spacious vacant lot as they have asked for 10 years now. Neither are they allowed electricity, water and drainage.

The fascist regime merely brushed aside their demands for these facilities. They were either directed from one office to another or were told that no materials were available. The truth finally surfaced when a local tourism official angrily said to them: "Have you ever seen an authentic Igorot barrio with electricity and water pipes? What would be left for the tourists to see?"

In barrio Sisiman, Mariveles, Bataan, some 2,500 residents are soon to lose their houses with the completion of a stone-crushing plant of the Marcos-owned Bataan Shipyards and Engineering Company (BASECO), according to a report by Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas in its January 31 issue.

The barrio folk denounced BASECO's plan to evict them. They recounted the plight of the residents of barrios Nassco and Kamaya after being driven away from the present site of the Bataan Export Processing Zone.

Some 4,000 residents of barrio Nassco lost their houses in 1972 while 70 peasant families lost their lands in 1971. Most of them were not paid at all. Others were only given some nails and lawanit boards.

Meanwhile, Manila's urban poor are again being harassed by the martial law regime. Some 454 houses in Navotas and Tondo are scheduled for demolition, according to the January 15 issue of BMP.

Due for eviction are 350 families in Navotas to give way to a flood control project. Although they were promised relocation in Dagatdagatan, a nearby housing project, they are uncertain whether the place is habitable.

While the houses have no walls and partitions, they are also uncertain of getting housing materials from the government. The lack of water supply in the area was also deplored.

To give way to an international port, the fascist government is scheduled to demolish the first batch of 800 houses in the Tondo foreshore area, the country's largest concentration of urban poor dwellers, within the year. First to be affected are some 104 houses in Luzviminda Village, to be followed by 80 more every month. No relocation site has been prepared for them.

The militant mass actions of urban poor have been blocking the fascist regime's scheme to deprive them of their right of abode. Only their strong unity in determined struggles will stop their oppression.

The problems of urban poor communities, like housing, unemployment and high prices, can be traced to their lack of political power under the repressive regime of martial rule. What should be demolished is the old decadent system to pave the way for the realization of their demands.

* * *

RESISTANCE RADIO STATION SET UP ON PANAY ISLAND

A fighting radio broadcast went on the air from somewhere in the Panay mountain ranges last January 1.

Radio Madya-as is aired by the national democratic movement in Western Visayas. Initially, it made two separate transmissions that lasted about three hours.

According to Daba-Daba, mass newspaper in Aklan and northern Antique, Radio Madya-as' first broadcast was in Aklanon, Ilonggo, Pilipino and English, at 1:10 a.m. News and commentaries from revolutionary newspapers were read, as well as various manifestos issued by people's organizations. Revolutionary songs and poems were also aired, each one followed by a short discussion from the announcer.

The second broadcast, from 3:15 to 4:50 a.m., was in English. Topics discussed covered the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship's plan to hold "local elections", the reactionary state's schemes to suppress and destroy the revolutionary mass movement in both city and countryside, and international news.

Barrio people celebrated the start of a radio program that is truly intended for them and dedicated to their service.

* * *

VIOLATIONS OF FILIPINOS' RIGHTS DENOUNCED AT INT'L CONFERENCE

Numerous violations of the Filipino people's democratic rights, especially those of political prisoners, were denounced recently before an international teachers' conference.

The topic was raised before the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions, which met in Manila last December, by Fred van Leeuwen, representing Dutch teachers.

Leonwen spoke about the torture of political detainees in the Philippines, and the imposition of sentences upon them by military courts which, he said, are not limited to a few and isolated cases. He added that strikes are prohibited at the same time that foreign companies continue to make big profits.

The Dutch teacher called upon his fellow teachers to help "restore the true image of this friendly and hospitable country; do whatever you can for those who should not be in jail, but who should work together with you, with us, for a free world, where justice is unblamed and where teachers will not be used for unjust and undemocratic ends, where people may develop in an open and tolerant atmosphere".

Meanwhile, 32 detainees accused in the Karagatan-Andrea case are still fighting for their right to be released from prison to compensate for the violation of their rights.

The complaint of 19 of the accused in the rebellion case was heard January 23 by the Supreme Court. A separate but similar petition, made by Jose Ma. Sison and 12 others, is still to be heard by the tribunal.

Most of the 32 accused detainees were tortured and many were forced to sign statements that are now being used against them. Furthermore, the regime has violated their right to a speedy trial as well as their right to be tried by a civilian court.

New charges

Another case, this time for subversion, was fabricated by the fascist regime against Sison and 11 others. The case was scheduled for hearing by a military commission last January 24, but latest reports say that the accused had not yet been informed of the details of the fresh charges against them.

On the other hand, reporting on the subversion case against Luzviminda David and 37 others, Political Detainees Update noted the surprise of those attending the hearing last January 13, when the president of Military Commission No. 6 suddenly lashed out at the fascist regime.

The session was the last to be presided by Col. Romeo Soliman Jr., who was retiring from the Philippine Army. He headed the commission for one year, hearing the case of David and the others, which had dragged on for seven years.

Soliman surprised the audience when he said during his farewell speech: "I do not owe my loyalty to one man because loyalty to one man breeds tyranny and dictatorship."

* * *

STEP BY STEP, IFUGAO PEASANTS CARRY OUT AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

Poor and lower-middle peasants in certain areas of Ifugao are gradually carrying out the agrarian revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

Organized peasants are now gradually doing away with the different forms of feudal exploitation and are improving their lives little by little.

Before, the peasants invariably throw themselves at the mercy of usurers whenever tivalgo, or period of hunger, came about. This was often because the poor and lower-middle peasants could never manage on the small share they got from toiling in the payaw, or rice terraces.

And because the peasants were not united, the usurers were free to dictate the rate of interest for loans. The interest was invariably large. Compounding the peasants' hardship was the fact that prices of their basic foodstuffs were high during tivalgo.

The Marcos fascist regime is the biggest landlord in Ifugao and other provinces of Montanosa. The Igorot masses are not even certain of their small plots of land because although their forefathers had tilled these for hundreds of years, they do not have the land titles required by the government.

Often, many of them are driven out of their lands by the government to make way for big capitalists who are opening up new mining concessions, or to make room for road-widening projects.

And because of the Marcos regime's practice of proclaiming vast areas of forest as "public lands", Ifugao woodcarvers could not even get wood for the figurines that they carve and sell in Baguio City and in the lowlands.

When the Party and the NPA got to Ifugao and conducted social investigations, the cadres, Red fighters and the masses discussed ways to remedy the people's plight:

Acting collectively

The key was the people's unity and their will to act and struggle together to relieve their poverty. In this endeavor, they had the unqualified support of their people's army.

The poor and lower-middle peasants revived the ubbo, or system of labor exchange, which is an old institution among the Igorots of Ifugao. What needed to be done was to improve procedures so that all participants could share equitably from ubbo. The peasants' incomes improved.

They also set up a cooperative where each contributed to a common fund. With the money, they bought paddy during the harvest season when it was comparatively cheap, and stocked it for use when their share from the payaw harvest was exhausted.

Along with these steps, the peasants refused to make any further payments to the usurers until they agreed to lower their interest rate to only P3 a month for every P100 loan.

Their struggle was directed at the Bolanos group, among other usurers who had been victimizing the poor peasants of Unit 5 which is composed of several barrios of Bannwa, Ifugao.

Taking all things into account, the peasants of Ifugao continue to suffer deprivation although their lot has improved somewhat.

What they have carried out are just the initial steps in the Party's program for agrarian revolution whose maximum goal is the confiscation of land from the landlords and free land distribution to peasants who have no land of their own or have small lots not sufficient for their livelihood.

Even then, they are accumulating precious experience. In the process of struggling to improve their livelihood, they are gradually realizing that only in armed struggle can they liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression.

And proof of their heightened political consciousness is the fact that more and more of them are joining the Party and the people's army, while others are active in mass organizations that are directly supporting the national democratic revolution.

CULTURAL ACTIVISTS EXHORTED TO INTEGRATE WITH THE MASSES

Cultural cadres and activists must accelerate their integration with the masses and their direct participation in mass struggles because "only in the midst of struggle can revolutionary culture truly flourish and serve the masses".

This is the call made by Kamag (Clenched Fist), cultural magazine in Manila-Rizal, in its latest issue (No. 5).

Kamag underscored the important role of cultural cadres and activists in the present stage of advancement of the national democratic revolution even as it exposed once more the fascist, imperialist and feudal culture that the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship is using to deceive the people.

Said the magazine:

"The role of cultural cadres and activists is most important at this time when the people's struggle for national freedom and democracy is surging.

"Combat the culture of fascism, imperialism and feudalism, carry forward the national, scientific and mass culture: this is our revolutionary task in the sphere of culture for the entire duration of our national democratic struggle.

"Create songs, plays, poems, stories, comics, posters and other art forms that denounce the dictatorship and embody the revolutionary spirit and experience of the masses.

"Widen and deepen the learning of revolutionary ideas, the general and particular political situations, the mass movement and the development of the struggle. These acquire greater urgency at present to serve as our guide for the more effective implementation of our tasks."

In this connection, Kamag called for contacts with cultural activists among the worker and peasant masses, integration with the masses, and direct participation in their struggles.

Regime's reactionary culture

Regarding reactionary culture, the magazine called attention to the fascist dictatorship's slogan "Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa" (One Nation, One Spirit) which, it said, "aims to conceal from the Filipino people the intense contradiction between the U.S.-Marcos ruling clique, on the one hand, and the masses of the people, on the other".

"By inculcating in the minds of the people that race or their being Filipinos should bind the people together," Kamag said, "the dictatorship wants to do away with class analysis as the correct basis for national unity."

In the present situation where the majority of the people are subjected to widespread and intense oppression, the reactionary idea contained in the slogan is a wellspring of culture of the fascist dictatorship, the magazine also said.

It mentioned various forms of cultural presentations used by the regime to deceive the people, especially films glorifying the fascist military and slandering the revolutionary movement.

In recent times, government-controlled radio stations and television channels have been playing up a spate of songs in Filipino and have sought to represent these as a high point in the propagation of the national language and advancement of nationalist aspirations.

In the main, however, these songs are escapist in form and content and likewise preach feudal values.

Alongside these songs, especially on television, are "canned" children's shows from Japan featuring all-powerful robots. Aside from belittling the role of people in the making of history and projecting the role of individual "heroes", these shows try to soften up the minds of Filipino children for Japan's economic and cultural subversion of the Philippines.

Most of all, Kamau said, the education that is imparted in the schools serves the interests of giant imperialist firms and the local ruling classes led by Marcos and his clique.

Because of all these schemes of the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship, the magazine concluded, the enemy's culture must be combatted, and a national, scientific and mass culture propagated.

* * *

IRANIANS NEED MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY TO ATTAIN FULL VICTORY

Massive demonstrations and strikes capped by a general uprising in Iran successfully overthrew the government of Shapour Bakhtiar last February 12, thus ending the 38-year-old fascist reign of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

While this event constitutes a major advance for the Iranian revolutionary struggle, the people's victory is far from complete. With the downfall of the shah, or king, state power has been seized by religious and political groups representing the interests of the national capitalists and landlords in Iran.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, leader of the National Front which is the organization of opposition forces in Iran, is strongly identified with the country's landowning and bourgeois classes, being the senior leader of the dominant Muslim Shiite sect, itself a big landowning institution and one of the pillars of feudalism in Iran.

Most of the other leaders of the National Front who are allied with Khomeini also are representatives of landlords and national bourgeoisie. Mehdi Bazargan, the man chosen by Khomeini to become premier, comes from a big merchant family, while Karim Sanjabi, the Front's leading spokesman, is a landlord himself.

These personalities and groups joined the opposition against Pahlavi primarily because of his refusal to share power with them. At the same time, they strongly resented the U.S. government's support for the shah. Added to these, the landlords were alarmed by the fact that the shah's "modernization program" was undermining their traditional hold over the peasant masses, who were migrating in large numbers to the cities. In airing these grievances, the feudal lords had the Shiite clergy as their spokesmen.

Thus, regardless of their rhetoric, the new rulers of Iran have no desire for thoroughgoing revolutionary change. Tied in many ways to U.S. imperialism, they have vacillating attitudes toward it. The merchants, in particular, depend on the U.S. monopoly firms for a greater part of their business operations, sharing in some of the huge profits extracted by the imperialists from the Iranian working class and people. Similarly, the landlords have colluded with the imperialists ever since the start of the scramble for oil concessions in Iran.

No wonder then, that Khomeini increasingly softened his attitude towards U.S. imperialism just as Pahlavi's regime was about to collapse. In one of

the press conferences he gave in Paris, he expressed willingness to negotiate with the U.S. government provided it withdrew its support from the Iranian monarch.

Fearing the masses

Yet, Khomeini and his allies will be obliged to grant the revolutionary masses certain concessions. Such concessions may take the form of a demand for bigger shares in the profits of the oil companies or a limited anti-U.S. stance in foreign policy, like breaking diplomatic relations with Israel and cutting the oil supply to that country and South Africa. But by and large, they will try to maintain the present system in Iran.

While shouting revolution, the new rulers actually fear the masses, as shown by their rabid anti-communism. In fact, one of the first orders issued by Khomeini upon assuming power was the disarming of the Iranian masses.

Meantime, he continues to play upon the revolutionary yearnings of the people by dangling before them the promise of an "Islamic republic", the nature of which he has not yet bothered to explain.

As this develops, however, signs of revolutionary opposition to Khomeini are showing up in Iran. There are reports about workers and students refusing to surrender their arms so long as state power is not completely in the hands of the masses.

Indeed, without revolutionary changes, conditions in Iran will remain as exploitative and oppressive as ever. It is not enough to throw out the shah; with him must be overthrown the entire semicolonial and semifeudal system which forces the people to a life of misery, exploitation and national degradation.

Despite the richness and variety of its agricultural and mineral resources, Iran was forced by the imperialists, first the British, and later, the Americans, to depend on a single export product--oil. Iran theoretically owns the oil fields and refineries within its territory, but the imperialists control its oil industry by virtue of their monopoly over the oil market there and abroad.

Acquiring so much profits from their neo-colonial arrangement, the U.S. imperialists have always prevented Iran from industrializing. Instead, they set up a network of banks and business firms in the country which ensures the development of the economy in accordance with imperialist needs. Thus, until now, Iran has no petrochemical industry of its own, although it is one of the largest oil-producing countries in the world. The major investments which control Iranian industry today are owned by monopoly capitalists either from the U.S., West Germany or Japan.

Preventing industrialization

Iran's oil industry earns as much as \$163 billion (\$22 billion) a year, but its workers continue to receive very low wages and live miserably. Most of them reside in the overcrowded slums in Teheran and other cities, where they are packed in mud huts or underground caves. Unemployment is severe, owing to the lack of industries in the cities and other forms of gainful employment in the rural areas. Besides, the oil industry, with its emphasis on high technology, employs relatively few workers. In 1950, the number of workers employed in the oil firms was 70,000. Now, almost 30 years later, the number is more or less the same.

U.S. imperialism's determination to block industrialization in Iran has been further shown by its refusal to train Iranian workers on how to operate the oil fields and refineries. Until now, most technical and middle-management jobs are held by foreigners as proven by the 41,000 U.S. citizens who live in Iran.

When the shah embarked on his program of "modernization", he claimed it would industrialize Iran and make the country self-reliant and powerful. But because the entire program is anchored on the entry and development of U.S. and other foreign monopoly capital in the country, imperialist control of the Iranian economy has further tightened.

Moreover, agriculture has been neglected, forcing Iran to import about 50 percent of its food requirements. The high prices of imported foods have worsened inflation, causing starvation and disease to spread and intensify.

In the rural areas, where more than 50 percent of the population live, feudalism holds sway over the people. The so-called land reform instituted by the shah way back in 1961 was a big sham. Only 10 percent of the poorest farm lands were distributed to the peasants, who still had to give the landlords three-fifths of their produce while paying installments for acquiring the land.

Exploiting the peasants

Today, 56 percent of the total agricultural land in Iran are owned by the landlords, 15 percent by the religious institutions and 4 percent by the state and the crown. Because of this feudal system of property and the backward methods of production in agriculture, the peasants of Iran are among the most exploited in the world. Less than 4 percent of them can read and write. They can expect to live for an average of only 30 years, and one out of every two babies dies in infancy. Owing to malnutrition, whole villages at times suffer from blindness. There are many areas where peasants soften straw in water for food.

Thousands of peasants have been migrating to the cities since the early 1960s because of the false hopes generated by the shah's "modernization" campaign. But most of them have found no jobs, and end up in the slums.

Despite this widespread poverty, the ruling classes have spent the huge income from oil on arms purchases, infrastructure for foreign investments, and other wasteful, extravagant projects. Just to fulfill its role of U.S. imperialism's chief surrogate in the Persian Gulf region, Iran has spent around \$105 billion (\$14 billion) since 1972 for modern arms. In all these transactions, huge amounts landed in the pockets of state officials.

These are the problems which lie underneath the social convulsions in Iran today. Nothing short of a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist, antifeudal revolution, and later a socialist revolution, can eliminate these problems and propel Iran toward a just and prosperous future.

Of the various progressive classes now fighting in Iran, only the working class can resolutely and decisively lead this revolution to success. Its uncompromising revolutionary position had been amply proven as workers fought in the vanguard of the antishah and anti-imperialist struggles of the people.

However, the working class is prevented from performing the leading role in the revolution by the ideological and political sabotage being carried out by the revisionist Communist Party of Iran, or Tudeh. Rather than assert the independent, revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, the Tudeh has submitted itself to Khomeini, promising full support for his "Islamic republic".

Abandoning socialism

Interviewed by Newsweek, a U.S. magazine (January 29, 1979), Tudeh leader Nourreddin Kianouri, shamelessly advocated bourgeois democracy for Iran and abandoned socialism as the political cause of the Iranian working class and people. Tudeh's program even fails to link the struggle against imperialism with the struggle against feudalism.

What concerns Tudeh is not the revolutionary interests of the masses of Iran but the hegemonic ambitions of its revisionist tutor--the social-imperialist Soviet Union. Revealing Soviet designs in the area, Kianouri said: "The Soviet Union will be very happy if, on its southern border, there will be a friendly government with no foreign (meaning, U.S.) bases. A friendly Iran would be the greatest guarantee for the Soviet Union's territory."

The Soviet trick is to let Tudeh sneak into the opposition forces and ingratiate itself with Khomeini and his allies in the National Front so as to draw Iran away from its rival superpower, U.S. imperialism.

On the other hand, U.S. imperialism, although in a defensive position in Iran, has been negotiating with Khomeini, trying to attract him to a compromise deal.

These plots and counterplots by the two superpowers in Iran only underscore the importance of an independent revolutionary leadership for the Iranian people.

Through heroic revolutionary struggles, the people of Iran have learned valuable lessons which they can draw upon in pushing their revolution forward. One of the most important lessons is the need for a revolutionary party, with a revolutionary program, that can lead them in struggle.

Such a party can only be a Marxist-Leninist party, one that upholds the leadership of the working class and unites with the masses of the people. With revolutionary guidance from such a party, the Iranian masses are sure to win victory against all their local and foreign enemies.