

# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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## **Partners in Imperialist Aggression** **Thatcher and Reagan Escalate** **War Against Argentina**



Buenos Aires demonstration during U.S. Secretary of State Haig's visit.

## **Polish Crowds Protest Martial Law**

# Polish workers take to streets

By Ernest Harsch

"We want Solidarity!" "Lift martial law!" "Dictatorship, no!" "Free the nation!"

The slogans were emblazoned across banners and chanted by tens of thousands of demonstrators. They were the Polish working class's answer to the government's continued suppression of its rights.

On May Day, and then again on May 3, workers, students, youths, and other Poles took to the streets of Warsaw, Gdansk, and some dozen other towns and cities across the country. They demonstrated in defiance of the police and in support of the Solidarity union movement, whose central leaders have been detained for more than four months.

Not since the imposition of martial law in December 1981 has Poland witnessed such widespread and massive workers' protests. The demonstrations were a stunning blow to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's attempts to stabilize bureaucratic rule in Poland. And they reflected the depth of popular anger over his government's repressive policies and failure to revive the stricken economy.

It was clear to everyone — workers and bureaucrats alike — that the revolutionary upsurge that began nearly two years ago had still not run its course.

## 'Our holiday!'

For days, leaflets had been circulating in Warsaw and other cities calling on workers to boycott the government's official May Day ceremonies and to stage their own actions. But when May Day came, both the authorities and the organizers of the actions were surprised by their size and militancy.

The unofficial May Day demonstration in Warsaw began at 11:00 a.m. in Castle Square, on the edge of the capital's Old Town. The crowd swelled as worshippers left a mass in the nearby St. John's Cathedral. A banner was strung across a tree: "We demand the release of Lech Walesa," Solidarity's detained national chairperson.

Leaflets were tossed into the air with four main demands: an end to martial law, the release of all those imprisoned under martial law, a 100 percent wage increase, and an end to unemployment.

As the crowd swelled in size — growing to as many as 50,000 people — the demonstrators became more confident. More leaflets appeared and banners were unfurled from underneath coats and inside knapsacks.

Stewards wearing red-and-white armbands — the colors of Poland's flag — led the demonstrators on a march through the narrow, cobbled streets of the Old Town behind a banner declaring, "Free Solidarity!"

Squads of motorized riot police, known by their Polish initials ZOMO, were deployed

around the Old Town in an attempt to intimidate the demonstrators, but they did not try to break it up. At one point the police blocked an intersection, but the demonstration marshals simply led the marchers down another street.

The workers' demonstration contrasted sharply with the official May Day ceremonies that were held just blocks away. Although of roughly equal size, the government-organized march and rally at Victory Square was composed largely of older people, compared to the youthfulness of the pro-Solidarity march. Led by General Jaruzelski in his military uniform, it was solemn, with some participants carrying signs reading "Warsaw greets Moscow."

Contingents of uniformed boy scouts abandoned the official May Day parade and joined the demonstrators who were wending their way through the Old Town.

By holding a counterdemonstration, the pro-Solidarity activists were consciously trying to reclaim May Day as a genuine workers' holiday, rather than the lifeless ritual that the Polish bureaucracy had transformed it into. Demonstrators chanted "Our holiday, our holiday" as they marched.

After an hour and a half, the huge crowd briefly rallied in a nearby parking lot. A young man with a Solidarity badge on his lapel shouted out to the crowd, "Today, we've shown these robbers our victory." He clambered up onto a construction shed and declared, "There are 10 million of us," referring to the size of Solidarity's membership.

The crowd responded by flashing V-for-victory signs and chanting, "The whole of Poland! The whole of Poland!"

Someone called for a minute of silence to commemorate the coal miners who were killed by riot police shortly after martial law was declared. After singing the national anthem and some religious songs, the rally dispersed peacefully.

According to some Solidarity sources, up to 50,000 people also marched that same day in the northern port city of Gdansk, where Solidarity was born following the August 1980 occupation strike at the Lenin Shipyard.

The official news media reported that there were also similar demonstrations in several other cities.

## Demonstrations spread

Before the May Day demonstrations ended, leaders called for new marches on May 3, known in Poland as Constitution Day, after the country's democratic constitution in 1791.

Encouraged by the success of the May Day actions, this time the protests spread to even more cities and towns.

The first demonstration in Warsaw again started in the Old Town, at 4:00 p.m., outside the St. John's Cathedral. In a dispatch in the

May 7 *Washington Post*, Karen DeYoung reported that "the people who came to Old Town were working men and women, families with children riding on their fathers' shoulders, older couples and men proudly wearing World War II resistance buttons, as well as students."

A Polish flag with the word Solidarity scrawled across it was unfurled, and the crowd of about 10,000 started chanting "Solidarity!" "Release the detainees!" "End martial law!" and "Free Lech!"

This time, however, the government was determined to stop the demonstrations. The police were given their orders.

ZOMO units backed by armored cars and water cannon stopped the marchers from leaving the Old Town. "Marches are forbidden," an officer declared over a megaphone. The demonstrators jeered and chanted, "We are 10 million!" and "Who do you serve?"

The police then attacked the peaceful demonstrators with tear gas, flares, water cannon, and truncheons. The protesters dispersed and re-formed into smaller groups. Groups of youths continually defied the police, leading to running street battles throughout the Old Town.

As evening fell, the clashes spread to other parts of the capital, including the University of Warsaw and around the central headquarters of the ruling Polish United Workers Party.

Scores of workers and youths were beaten and dragged off to police vans. Motorists honked their car horns in support of the protesters and bystanders jeered the police. One woman, referring to the police, commented to a foreign journalist, "Do these people really think they are the protectors of the working class?"

The riot police also attacked similar protests in numerous other cities, leading to clashes in Gdansk, Szczecin, Lodz, Krakow, Torun, Lublin, Swidnik, Bydgoszcz, Elblag, Gdynia, Koszalin, Gliwice, and elsewhere.

Reports from Gdansk indicated that the demonstrations there involved some 10,000 people. Angered by the police attacks, the demonstrators at one point marched on a police headquarters.

The ferment in the northwestern city of Szczecin, long a stronghold of worker militancy, lasted through the following day. According to the government radio, as many as 2,000 people marched through the city May 4. "At about 5 P.M.," the broadcast claimed, "one of the groups reached Soldiers' Square and attempted to attack the building of the provincial party committee. The aggressors were dispersed by tear gas. At several points in the city center, people began putting up barricades of benches, garbage cans and concrete flower pots."

Despite the viciousness of some of the police beatings, however, no one was reported to have been killed. The police refrained from using gunfire, for fear of further enraging the population.

The interior minister, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, announced at a session of the Sejm (par-

liament) May 4 that 1,372 people had been detained for participating in the demonstrations.

In an attempt to head off the organization of further demonstrations, nighttime curfews were imposed in numerous cities, telephones were cut off, private cars were banned from the streets, and student clubs, sports events, and other public activities were prohibited.

### Blow to bureaucracy

The government was stunned by the size and breadth of the protests against martial law.

Just days earlier, on April 28, the authorities had released about 1,000 detained intellectuals and unionists and announced a lifting of the curfew across the country. The decision to relax aspects of martial law, a television news broadcast stated, was made because of "further progress in normalization of public life."

Cut off from the real thinking of the masses of workers, the privileged bureaucrats who rule Poland obviously misjudged the popular mood.

When General Kiszczak read out in the Sejm the list of cities where street clashes had taken place, the legislators responded with audible gasps.

"It's remarkable," one government official told *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton. "Some of these places are just little towns and haven't had any trouble over the past two years."

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church was also taken aback by the demonstrations. A statement by the bishops May 5 condemned the demonstrations and called for "social peace."

Besides tightening up again on the martial law restrictions, the government had no other answer than to slander the tens of thousands of demonstrators.

Seizing on the fact that some youthful demonstrators had burned red flags (which are seen by many people in Poland as symbols of bureaucratic rule), General Kiszczak charged that the actions had been organized by the "enemies of socialism."

But it is not the workers of Poland who are the enemies of socialism. It is the ruling bureaucracy itself, whose substantial material privileges, repressive policies, and gross economic mismanagement undermine the foundations of the Polish workers state.

As one of the underground Solidarity formations, the All-Poland Resistance Committee, pointed out in a recent statement, what the workers are fighting against is "deviation from the Polish constitution and the fundamental principles of the socialist system. This cannot be called counterrevolutionary."

The government's accusations cannot hide the fact that martial law has been unsuccessful in crushing the workers' militancy.

As each week passes, the clandestine networks of union activists are becoming better and better organized. In one recent interview, Zbigniew Bujak, the head of Solidarity's Warsaw chapter, said that there were some 10,000

active union militants in Warsaw alone, organizing factory committees, publishing leaflets and bulletins, and collecting funds for the victims of the repression and the union's activities.

In April, a Provisional Coordinating Commission of Solidarity leaders was set up to help better coordinate the union's actions in different regions.

These workers' committees have also been directing numerous appeals to the ranks of the army, explaining their aims and urging soldiers not to participate in the repression. Some Solidarity bulletins have reported the formation of informal groups within the army.

At the same time, Poland's economic situation has been steadily worsening. Many basic consumer items are becoming increasingly scarce and the government's sharp rise in prices

is seriously eating into workers' living standards.

The demands raised at the May Day demonstration for wage increases and an end to job dismissals (both for political reasons and because of the shutting down of some factories) is a reflection of how hard the economic situation is hitting working people.

These economic grievances — combined with anger at the suppression of democratic rights and the emergence of an increasingly organized workers' resistance — is a very volatile mixture. The imposition of martial law was able for a while to keep these explosive elements under control.

But as one government adviser told *New York Times* correspondent Darnton, the effect of martial law is now wearing off, because "people are not scared anymore." □

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# May Day marks deepening revolution

*'Defend the revolution, for the construction of socialism'*

By Michael Baumann  
and Jane Harris

MANAGUA — Under mounting economic and military pressure to turn back, the Nicaraguan revolution has declared its intention to continue mobilizing workers and peasants in defense of their international class interests, which are now publicly defined as socialism.

In every province, from north to south, this was the message as workers and peasants streamed into May Day celebrations under banners that read, "Defend the revolution, for the construction of socialism."

In response to imperialist-inspired attacks on the border and capitalist sabotage inside the country, tens of thousands of Sandinistas piled into trucks and buses or walked miles to attend a rally.

Apart from Managua, where two previous May Day rallies had been held, the plazas of other major cities had never seen such a turnout for May Day. In La Rosita, for example, the town nearest the Miskitu Indian resettlement villages, some 2,000 mine workers and Miskitus turned out.

The numbers overall — 100,000 in Managua and at least 70,000 in other cities — were the result of an extensive campaign of education and discussion carried out by the unions and other mass organizations.

## Countrywide discussion

Over the last two weeks Nicaragua has been transformed into an open classroom — a classroom where scientific socialism, the lessons drawn from history by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, have been put forward as the only consistent way to defend the gains of the revolution set in motion by Sandino.

In every city and most rural areas, union meetings, Sandinista defense committee meetings, women's meetings, and even meetings of the Sandinista children's association have held discussions.

The speeches on May Day, given across the country by leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), struck a single main theme: workers and peasants were the main force who made this revolution, and as the ruling majority in the new society being created, they will be the main beneficiaries as well. No ifs, ands, or buts.

## New phase in revolution

"This is not a May Day rally like any other," FSLN Commander Tomás Borge pointed out in the main speech here.

"It is a May Day where there have been important qualitative leaps in the Nicaraguan revolutionary process.



TOMÁS BORGE

Lynn Silver/IP

"We have assembled not merely to speak of this trouble with Nicaraguan workers, but to draw lessons from this trouble, to specify more precisely the role of the working class in this revolution.

"We must understand that a revolution faces different problems at different times," he said.

In the first phase, the war against Somoza, "it was correct to form broad national unities," to fight along with capitalists to "achieve a goal that was common to all our society."

With the victory over Somoza, however, "a new phase began." Serious internal contradictions "began to come to the surface" as the revolution's "political, economic, and social principles" forced it "to define which social sectors will have priority in the revolutionary process."

And as these conflicts arise, Borge stressed, the workers and peasants of Nicaragua will continue to make clear that they did not make this revolution "to allow a regime of exploitation to persist."

"This revolution," he said, as applause began to mount from the crowd, "was made to fight the ideological and political contamination of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to struggle against the philosophy of the wolves, to put an end to the philosophy of the claw and of the tooth. This revolution was made not to

affirm the old society but to create a new one."

Borge then turned to a frank discussion of the problems that the revolution faces.

"Our economy has been able to recover, little by little, from the destruction of the war, the destruction and looting by Somoza, and the decapitalization some business sectors carried out immediately after the victory.

"But this recovery has run head-on into a drop in the prices of our agricultural exports, which has meant a drop in the foreign currency income, that is, in dollars for Nicaragua."

The Nicaraguan economy is still part of the world capitalist market, Borge explained, and has suffered sharply from the world economic crisis. The imperialists buy Nicaragua's products cheaply, but they continue to raise the prices of the manufactured goods it has to import.

## Caught in imperialist squeeze

The drop in the world price of Nicaragua's major exports — coffee, cotton, meat, and gold — will cost the country at least \$110 million this year. The situation is then further aggravated by continued decapitalization and a U.S. financial squeeze that has resulted in cutting off several lines of credit for badly needed machinery and spare parts.

This means, Borge said, that Nicaragua will have to use its scarce foreign currency for only the most important imports — medicine, fertilizer, oil, fabric, and spare parts — "a decision that may well have consequences for workers" as well as for nonessential industries.

But in spite of all these economic limitations, Borge said, "we are in an infinitely better position than the workers of countries nearby and throughout Latin America."

In place of the galloping inflation, unemployment, and cuts in social services that are in general the rule throughout the rest of Latin America, "we are carrying out not only social programs, but more importantly, have already begun to work on enormous [hydroelectric and sugar mill] projects that are going to change in a planned way the entire structure of the Nicaraguan economy."

## 'Solidarity with Argentina'

Turning to the major international question today facing Latin America, the British attack on the Malvinas Islands, Borge declared Nicaragua's "unconditional solidarity with Argentina in a confrontation with a colonial power."

"Haig's statements against Argentina," he said, "are not just aimed against Argentina. They are aimed against all Latin America, including the Nicaraguan people, who are prepared to demonstrate their solidarity to the ulti-

mate consequences."

As for the immediate threat facing Nicaragua from imperialism, Borge said, it is possible that Nicaragua's worldwide diplomatic and political campaign "has for the time being — I repeat, for the time being — made imperialism consider a direct aggression impossible."

But one thing to be sure of is that Reagan and Haig are turning to new forms of attack. "Imperialism is seeking to develop even further the tactics of destabilization being used against our revolution," Borge said, in a clear reference to the recent betrayal by ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora.

"Internal corrosion within the ranks of the vanguard is just one of its objectives. To sow mistrust and internal violence inside Nicaragua. To give priority to the technical capability and fire power of the counterrevolutionary bands, especially in the northern areas of the country. They propose to increase sabotage, assassination attempts, and other forms of terrorism.

"They will try to confuse the people by encouraging ideological diversions, manipulating the religious feelings of the Nicaraguan people, and exploiting the consequences of our economic difficulties. They will try to bring together all the representatives of the counter-revolution and all the elements who, in one way or another, have come into conflict with the working class and the revolutionary process.

"It is a kind of invasion with another type of soldier, the soldier of disorientation, the soldier of slander, the soldier of ideological diversion. It has weapons as dangerous, and maybe more dangerous, than the members of the counterrevolutionary bands."

#### Age of conquistadors over

Then, referring to reports that capitalist opponents of the revolution are forming a "government in exile," Borge concluded:

"I believe that those who have conceived of this project are going to live and die deceived. I think that those who have conceived this project have not been able to understand our people, that our workers have gained complete awareness of their historical destiny.

"Here, during the Spanish conquest, they deceived the Indians with little glass marbles and mirrors. Those who dream of overthrowing the revolutionary government and its political leadership have not yet realized that the time of the conquistadors has gone, and that here the only thing we will conquer will be the establishment of a new and higher society." The crowd broke into thunderous applause.

"They do not know in which direction we are going."

The workers and soldiers in the plaza did: "Socialism!"

"But our working people know what direction we are going in," Borge continued, "and that is why I ask the workers and peasants of our country, what are we moving towards?"

"Socialism! Socialism!" the May Day throng as a whole chanted in reply. □

## STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# British hands off the Malvinas!

[The following declaration by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International was issued on May 1.]

\* \* \*

A state of war exists around the Malvinas Islands. The conflict is not between a "democracy" and a "military dictatorship." It is between an imperialist power and a dependent country that is still semicolonial.

The Malvinas were seized by Britain from Argentina as part of its policy of armed colonial expansion. They were used by British imperialism as its chief naval base to guard the passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic oceans. They also provided a base for military action against the Latin American mainland.

What is at issue in this conflict is not the right to self-determination of the inhabitants of the islands, as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher claims. It is:

- the survival and credibility of the reactionary Thatcher government;
- the resources of the Antarctic;
- the strategic position of the Malvinas in the South Atlantic;
- the oil that has been discovered around the islands.

That is what British imperialism wants to keep hold of. Its blatant hypocrisy is demonstrated by the fact that it has supplied the Argentine military dictatorship and in part even helped bring it to power. To a large extent it will be British-supplied arms that will be firing on British ships.

In this conflict the international workers and revolutionary movements must give their full and entire support to Argentina. Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands must be definitively established and internationally recognized without any reservations. British imperialism's war is a totally reactionary war. We must work for it to end in defeat.

The Fourth International calls on the workers of all countries to give their support to the Argentine nation in this conflict. The imperialist war drive must be fought head-on by the working masses everywhere and above all in Argentina and in Latin America.

The Fourth International calls on European workers to force their governments to end the blockade measures and economic boycott against Argentina. In the present conflict these measures do not target the military dictatorship. They are aimed against the Argentine nation. The Argentine masses or the victims of repression will not benefit from them. The benefits are drawn by the British imperialists. The European working class has no interest in supporting in any way whatsoever the international imperialist alliance, the alliance of its

own exploiters against the Argentine nation.

The Fourth International calls on the British workers and their organizations to resolutely oppose the chauvinist hysteria. They should demonstrate in tens of thousands as they did during the Suez conflict in 1956 to stay the criminal arm of the City's warmongers. Not a drop of blood should be shed for the cause of the Falkland Corp., for the sordid interests of the plunderers of the ocean beds.

The people who are leading this conflict are those who are responsible for 3 million unemployed in Britain, for dismantling the social security system and causing a large increase in poverty levels throughout the country. The natural allies of the British workers are the Argentine workers and the Argentine nation, not the British capitalists.

The Fourth International calls on the Argentine workers to defend the just cause of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas by sustained class action and by class struggle methods. While working for the victory of Argentina in this war, workers will not give up for an instant their intransigent opposition to the bloody military dictatorship. They will continue their efforts to overthrow it and replace it by a workers and toilers government, which is alone capable of finishing the task of liberating the country from the imperialist hold, of definitively ensuring democratic rights for the broad masses and resolving the serious economic crisis in the interests of the working masses, by taking the socialist road.

- Down with British imperialism's dirty war against Argentina!
- Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British armed forces from the South Atlantic!
- Down with the international solidarity of big capital with the City of London!
- Down with imperialist economic boycotts against Argentina!
- No arbitrating role for the USA, no intervention from the United Nations! Washington hands off the Malvinas!
- Long live international workers solidarity with the Argentine workers and nation!

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# Partners in imperialist aggression

## Thatcher and Reagan escalate war in South Atlantic

By Fred Murphy

Amid growing international repudiation, Britain's imperialist rulers have escalated their war against semicolonial Argentina.

Hundreds of lives have been lost, including those of more than 300 Argentine sailors who perished when a British submarine deliberately sank the cruiser *General Belgrano* on May 2. The ship, which carried a total of 1,042 personnel, was well outside the 200-mile blockade zone declared by the British around the Malvinas Islands — a fact the British brazenly acknowledge.

Argentine forces demolished a British destroyer, the *Sheffield*, on May 4. Thirty lives were lost, adding to the toll of Britain's war on Argentina.

The Reagan administration in Washington shares responsibility with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's regime for the aggression against Argentina. The sinking of the *General Belgrano* came just three days after Washington openly declared its military and political support to London.

### New escalation

The British government made clear on May 7 that it was prepared to further escalate the killing. The Defense Ministry in London announced that "any Argentine warship or military aircraft which is found more than 12 nautical miles from the Argentine coast will be regarded as hostile and are liable to be dealt with accordingly."

This meant imposing a blockade of the entire 2,500-mile Atlantic coastline of Argentina. More ominously still, Foreign Secretary Francis Pym warned that air bases on the Argentine mainland could come under British attack. The *Times* of London reported May 7 that Thatcher's cabinet had already approved plans for bombing raids on mainland bases.

Meanwhile, several thousand more British troops are being transported to the South Atlantic aboard commandeered passenger vessels. The fleet now numbers some 100 ships.

Washington has backed the new British threats to the hilt. Speaking to a select group of journalists on May 7, an anonymous "senior State Department official" spelled out the Reagan administration's demands on Buenos Aires and warned of the consequences if they were not met quickly. "We believe the British will do whatever it takes to recapture the islands if the Argentines do not withdraw," the official said. "The lull in the South Atlantic could give way to new and terrible fighting."

The British rulers' readiness to sacrifice still more lives was underscored May 7 by Lord

Hill-Norton, admiral of the fleet. More British ships will "almost certainly" be lost, he said. To enforce the new blockade, vessels would be deployed "in a similar position to that of *Sheffield* when she was very badly damaged. That is a risk we must take."

### High political price

Thatcher and Reagan are paying a high political price for their joint aggression against Argentina. In a sure reflection of popular sentiment in Britain, the sinking of the *General Belgrano* was assailed in both houses of Parliament. In the House of Lords, Lord Jenkins branded the action "mass murder on the high seas."

Jenkins said the unprovoked assault on the Argentine cruiser had "caused a massive swing of world opinion toward the Argentines."

This was registered, for example, by the Irish government, which was forced to respond to the Irish people's deep opposition to British imperialism by declaring its "neutrality" in the conflict. The Irish defense minister declared that "the British themselves are very much the aggressors now."

The Irish government announced May 4 that it would seek an end to the economic sanctions imposed on Argentina by the European Economic Community. The Italian, West German, and Danish regimes were also reportedly having second thoughts about these sanctions.

Throughout Latin America, anti-imperialist sentiment is rising sharply as a result of the British war on Argentina and Washington's complicity with London. Heads of state and diplomats from many countries have responded by bitterly denouncing Reagan's "betrayal" in his declared support for Thatcher.

### Imperialist war drive

Despite its early claims, the U.S. government was never neutral in the conflict that broke out April 2 when the Argentine government forcibly ended Britain's 149 years of colonial rule over the Malvinas Islands (called the Falklands by the British).

From the beginning, Washington looked at the British-Argentine struggle from the standpoint of how best to protect U.S. profits and domination — not only in Argentina but throughout Latin America and the rest of the semicolonial world.

By firmly backing London, the U.S. rulers have served notice on the governments and peoples of the semicolonial countries that challenging imperialist prerogatives entails paying a heavy price.

The U.S.-backed assault on Argentina by

the British government is the latest and most serious example of the drive toward militarization and war that the imperialist rulers have embarked upon. The aim of this drive is to enable the imperialists to intervene militarily wherever their domination and superprofits are threatened.

This is why — despite the problems posed for U.S. relations with Latin America — the Reagan administration has so firmly supported Thatcher's hard-line stand in defense of colonial rule over the Malvinas. In this sense, the British attack on Argentina serves the same purpose as French imperialism's troop deployments in African countries, the Israeli regime's military provocations against the Palestinians and the Arab states, or the continual invasions of Angola by South African forces.

Only the deep and persistent antiwar sentiment among working people in the United States has thus far prevented the Reagan administration from carrying out similar expeditions of its own.

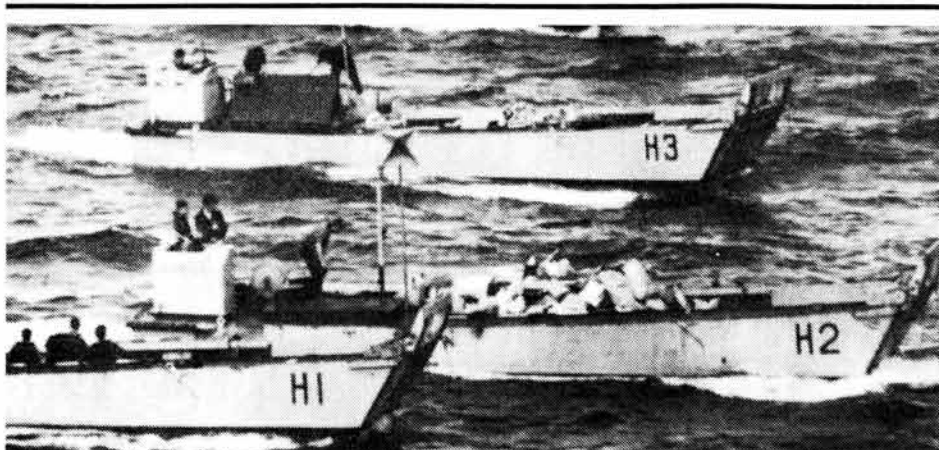
The U.S. rulers are continually probing to see how far they can go toward direct intervention against the revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean. When the South Atlantic conflict erupted, they immediately launched a hypocritical campaign around themes like "Argentine aggression," the supposed right of the colonial settlers on the Malvinas to "self-determination," and so on. The aim is to confuse public opinion and chip away at the widespread opposition to the use of U.S. military power abroad.

Similar propaganda drives have been carried on in Britain and other imperialist countries.

For this reason, campaigning against Thatcher's attacks on Argentina — and against the complicity of Washington, Paris, Bonn, and other West European regimes — is a central task for all opponents of imperialist militarization and war.

### Workers resist British aggression

The failure thus far of London and Washington to force the regime in Buenos Aires to back down and withdraw from the Malvinas has raised the stakes in the conflict. At the outset, the imperialists thought it would be easy to get Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri's government to retreat. They knew the junta that they had armed and supported for six years against its own people was highly unpopular. They knew opposition was rising from a working class that had survived severe repression and was now bearing the brunt of austerity measures imposed in response to the worldwide economic crisis.



British landing craft. London has threatened to launch all-out attack on the Malvinas.

But the imperialists — no less than the junta itself — miscalculated. They failed to foresee that the Argentine workers would respond as a solid force in support of Argentina's right to the Malvinas. Taking advantage of the junta's attempt to gain support by seizing the islands, the Argentine workers have mobilized in the streets to press for a genuine struggle against the British warmakers and their U.S. allies. And they have done so without backing off from their demands for an end to dictatorship and austerity.

As a result, the Galtieri regime has found itself caught between imperialist intransigence and a freshly confident mass movement. Thus far, its response has been to stand firm on the demand for sovereignty over the Malvinas while bitterly denouncing its erstwhile friends in Washington.

On May 4 the Argentine foreign ministry released the text of a message sent to the U.S. State Department after Washington imposed economic sanctions on Argentina and announced its political and military support to Britain. "The Argentine people," the message said, "cannot understand — nor will they forget — that at one of the most critical moments in their history, in contrast to the solidarity received from all corners of the continent, the United States preferred to take the side of a power foreign to the hemisphere and cooperate with its aggressive designs."

The message characterized Washington's actions as "unfriendly and incompatible with the good relations our countries have maintained up to now."

#### Crisis in the OAS?

Only weeks earlier — before the conflict erupted with Britain — Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Méndez had told a diplomatic gathering in Brazil that his country did not consider itself a "Third World nation" and that, as a member of the "Western" world, Argentina was closely aligned with the Reagan administration's anticommunist foreign policy. But on May 5, the Argentine ambassador to the United Nations, Eduardo Roca, addressed the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in the following terms:

"The administration of President Reagan lied with regard to our proposals, deceived public opinion in its own country, and is now aiding the colonial aggressor economically and militarily. . . .

"Argentina's struggle for the integrity of its territory is at the same time that of all countries for their own sovereignty and territorial integrity, for the defense of their inalienable rights. The formidable conspiracy of powers that seek to annihilate our spirit of independence knows that if Argentina yields, others can also be made to do so."

Costa Méndez himself declared May 6 that in light of Washington's open support for Britain, all U.S.-Latin American relations had been called into question. Institutions such as the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty (the Rio Treaty) would have to be re-evaluated, he said.

Similar statements have come from several Latin American regimes as a result of Washington's refusal to back the OAS's April 28 call for a halt to hostilities, an end to economic sanctions against Argentina, and respect for Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas. Argentina had called for the OAS meeting under the terms of the Rio Treaty, which mandates mutual assistance against extrahemispheric aggression.

In the past, Washington has invoked the Rio Treaty to justify its counterrevolutionary interventions in Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. OAS economic sanctions against the Cuban revolution were also imposed in this way. Now, by disregarding its obligations under the Rio Treaty, Washington has damaged its relations with a number of Latin American governments.

President Luis Herrera Campins of Venezuela, a Christian Democrat who had been among the strongest supporters of U.S. policy in El Salvador, has now begun pointing to "the necessity of the hemisphere thoroughly reviewing not only the scope of the Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty but the structure of the Organization of American States itself, owing to the position President Ronald Reagan has taken on the Malvinas conflict."

On May 5 the Peruvian parliament called on President Fernando Belaúnde Terry to convoke a summit conference to discuss the formation of a Latin American Community of Nations — from which Washington would be excluded.

In an open letter to Latin American heads of state released May 4, outgoing Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo called for the OAS headquarters to be transferred from Washington.

#### Solidarity with Argentina

Such talk from traditional U.S. allies in Latin America shows the pressure these rulers are under from working people in their countries. Latin American workers correctly view the U.S.-British attack on Argentina as a threat to their own struggles. At May Day demonstrations in several Latin capitals, slogans of solidarity with Argentina were at the forefront.

Further initiatives have been taken by some trade-union organizations. Argentine dockworkers are boycotting British ships. The Latin American Confederation of Communications Workers called May 1 for a continent-wide boycott of communications with Britain. In Peru, the union of airport employees has been refusing to work on British flights since April 28; on May 5 the union announced it was planning to extend this boycott to U.S. flights as well.

The revolutionary governments of Cuba and Nicaragua have taken firm stands in defense of the Argentine people. They have also pointed to Washington's disregard for the OAS and the Rio Treaty as proof that these institutions were set up to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism.

In a May 2 Foreign Ministry statement, the Nicaraguan government affirmed its support for the Argentine people's right to the Malvinas and its opposition to British aggression. The statement added that Reagan's policy showed how U.S. interests and those of Latin America were not compatible. The Rio Treaty, the statement said, was not an instrument for guaranteeing peace and security to the hemisphere but rather a U.S. tool for combating governments and ideologies that Washington considered damaging to its interests.

During a visit to Paris on May 5, Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez stated that Cuba stood ready to aid Argentina "in every possible way, including military." At the same time, Rodríguez emphasized, "This support is for the Argentine people, for the Argentine cause, not to the junta in Buenos Aires."

Rodríguez was reiterating the position stated by the Cuban government on May Day. "This is the hour of Latin American solidarity," the Havana declaration said. "The cause of the Malvinas is the cause of the Argentine people and thus of Latin America and the Caribbean — our own cause. It is necessary to halt the aggression and impose justice. The countries of Latin America have the duty to support Argentina with all necessary means. Cuba is ready, together with the peoples of Latin America, to comply with this duty." □



# Opposition to war begins to surface

*Despite default of Labour Party leadership*

By Brian Grogan

LONDON — While the Tory press was bemoaning the biggest British loss in the South Atlantic war — the destroyer *Sheffield* — Labour was suffering its own first major casualty. The results of the local council election held May 6 revealed that the Tories had done exceptionally well against all predictions.

A government that has presided over 4 million unemployed, a dramatic cut in the standard of living of British workers, and that has attacked the strength of the trade union movement, managed to gain in relation to its performance while out of office four years ago.

Labour fell back. They called it the Falkland effect.

Thatcher's government had previously reached an all-time low in popularity. The last Gallup poll before the crisis broke put the Tories in third place behind Labour and the alliance of Social Democrats and Liberals, with only 31.5 percent of the vote. Now the Tories have leapt 10 points to over 40 percent of the vote.

## Default of Labour leaders

Responsibility for this disastrous state of affairs lies solely with the front bench leadership of the Labour Party. Labour Party leader Michael Foot, the so-called pacifist, in spite of his much vaunted "refusal to give the government a blank check," has supported every single military action so far undertaken. Indeed, in the early days of the crisis, the Labour leaders exceeded the Tories in their jingoistic demands for bloody action against the Argentines.

Peter Heathfield, the general secretary of the Derbyshire miners, spoke on May 6 with *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International. "It is unfortunate that many Labour leaders have identified with the Tories," Heathfield said. "Accordingly, many working people are getting the wrong impression. This is reinforced by the torrent of warmongering hysteria from the Tory press — especially the tabloids. If there was a positive lead, then there would be a totally different attitude."

Despite the abject default by the Labour leadership, support for Thatcher's war is clearly skin-deep. A poll conducted for the television news program "Weekend World" for Sunday, May 9, found that although 70 percent of those questioned supported the retaking of the Malvinas-Falklands, only 55 percent supported such an effort if the loss of British lives was involved. This is a decline of 10 percent since before the sinking of the *Sheffield* and is aston-

ishing in the context of the unrelenting jingoism of the Tory press. Undoubtedly the tide is turning.

## Opposition inside Labour Party

From the start, a small group of Labour members of Parliament and trade union leaders have opposed the war. Tony Benn, the leader of the left wing in the Labour Party, has consistently demanded the return of the fleet, and this call has been backed by about 20 other MPs, including Judith Hart, the incumbent chairperson of the Labour Party.

Only a small number of these MPs have repudiated Britain's claim to sovereignty. Nonetheless, their stance has aided the mobilization of working class opinion against the war.

On May 5, a resolution was proposed to the Labour Party National Executive by Benn and Hart. It called for "an immediate halt to all British military action in the region of the Falkland Islands," and declared that "the Labour Party will not support the government in a war with Argentina which could spread; would put innocent lives at risk; and isolate Britain in the eyes of the world." The resolution was defeated by a 15-8 vote.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which was able to mobilize a quarter-million people last year against the siting of U.S. Cruise missiles in Britain, has taken the initiative in setting up an umbrella organiza-

tion grouping all those against the war. It has been organizing weekly demonstrations in London. The most recent demonstration, held May 9, attracted over 3,000 people. CND has called a major national demonstration and rally for May 23.

These demonstrations have centered on the demand for the recall of the fleet. It is for this reason that *Socialist Challenge* has backed these actions despite the fact that they also call for negotiations through the United Nations over the sovereignty issue.

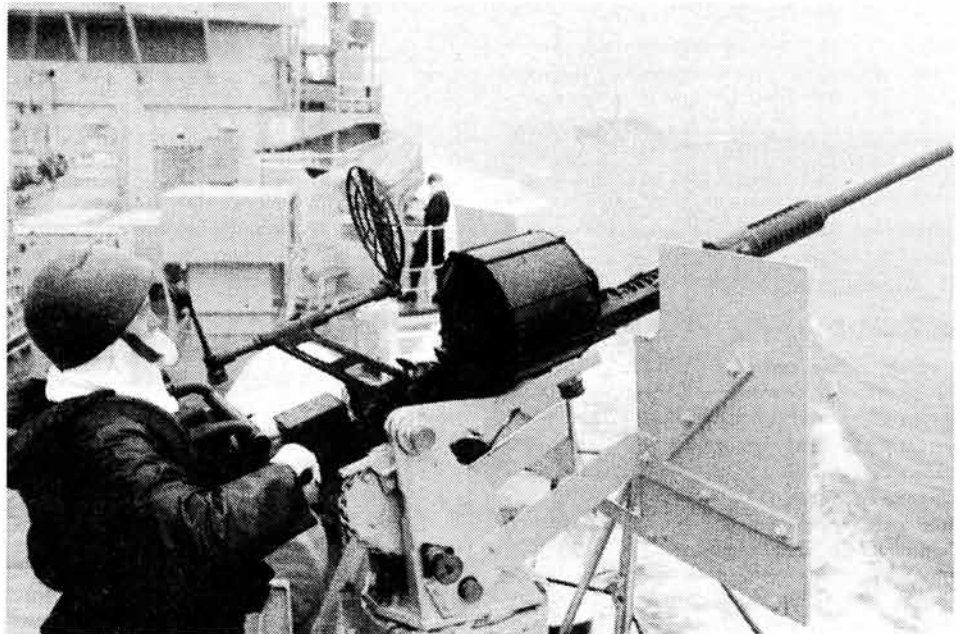
Speaking at the May 9 demonstration, Tony Benn pointed out that it was the Thatcher government that for years had been arming the Argentine junta against its own people. He accused her of talking about negotiations as "a smokescreen. She has been determined to fight to the finish."

Benn also pointed out that there cannot "be any permanent military victory when these islands depend on Argentina for food, health, education, and transport."

## Price of British imperialism

While Benn supports UN Resolution 502, which calls for negotiations over sovereignty between Argentina and Britain on the basis of Argentine withdrawal from the islands, other figures on the left have been more forthright.

Arthur Scargill, the newly elected left-wing



British gunner on alert in South Atlantic. As war continues, discussion and opposition in British labor movement is becoming more widespread.



## 'Victory for Thatcher will mean increased aggression against workers at home'

Liverpool, in northern England, is a city with a very militant working-class tradition that has been hit hard by unemployment. The following resolution was passed at the Liverpool Trades Council meeting on April 15.

\* \* \*

This Trades Council condemns the war of the Tory government against Argentina — the sailing of the fleet to the Falklands and the sanctions on Argentina — as an imperialist adventure.

It is an attempt to maintain a base that was seized from Argentina over 150 years ago.

The policies of this war-government are

neither concerned with military oppression in Argentina nor with the interests of the Falkland population.

The Trades Council condemns the jingoistic support of imperialism by the Labour [Party] leaders. A victory for the Thatcher government abroad will mean increased aggression against the workers at home. We therefore demand of the TUC [Trades Union Congress] and Labour leaders that they stand by the principles of socialist internationalism with a policy of: "Down with the war. Mobilize the working class to bring down the Tory government."

We recognize the sovereignty of Argentina over the Falkland Islands and call for the recall of the British fleet."

leader of the all-important National Union of Miners, made no bones about it. "Britain has no right to start talking about sovereignty over islands that are 8,000 miles away," Scargill declared May 6. "We are being used as cannon-fodder in an international conflict which can only be resolved by negotiation and diplomacy."

"There should have been no task force sent and it should be recalled. The matter should be resolved through the United Nations. We should take account of what the islanders want and recognise the dangers that will arise if we continue with this madness."

"The Tories are generating jingoism on an unprecedented scale, aided and abetted by the capitalist press — who are beside themselves in attacking Argentinians — and this sickens me."

"Tragically it may only come home to people when thousands of young men are killed. We have seen the price of British imperialism over the years. I thought we had learned a lesson in the labour and trade union movements."

"I want to see every trade union leader come out and condemn this Tory madness, which could lead us into a nuclear holocaust."

Of the small number of MPs who have reflected this view of the conflict, Ron Brown, MP for Leith in Edinburgh, Scotland, has been working with *Socialist Challenge* to put out an appeal to the Argentinian General Confederation of Labor (CGT) to send a delegation to Britain. Quite early on in the conflict, a CGT delegation was in Europe and requested to meet the British trade union federation and the international labor movement "to act in unison to achieve a peaceful settlement."

The Trades Union Congress (TUC) denies any knowledge of this approach, but is presently being contacted by Ron Brown to lend their support to this appeal.

But these moves and the antiwar movement

on this issue are still at an early stage. So the situation inside the ranks of the working class is still confused. The main difficulty workers generally encounter is dealing with the political character of the Argentine regime. There is a mortal hatred of these butchers in the British trade union movement.

But finding themselves on the side of the Tories introduces contradictions which have opened up major possibilities for a dialog. These opportunities can only increase as Bri-

## New threats by Colombian death squad

The Colombian death squad that calls itself "Death to Kidnappers" (MAS) is carrying on a campaign of harassment and intimidation against human-rights activists and leftist political figures. The MAS is purportedly organized by big-time drug dealers, but is widely believed to have close ties to the Colombian military.

In mid-April the MAS issued death threats by mail or telephone against Miguel Antonio Cano, an attorney who defends political prisoners; Alejandro Angulo Novoa, a Jesuit priest who heads the People's Research and Education Center (CINEP); and Sen. Humberto Criales, a member of the Colombian parliament who has spoken out against repression.

In an act of psychological terrorism believed to be the work of the MAS, an elaborate funeral wreath was sent anonymously to the home of Socorro Ramirez in Bogotá in late March. Ramirez, a central leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR — Colombian section of the Fourth International), has played a prominent role in the Standing Committee for Defense of Human Rights.

Similar threats and harassment have been directed against other leaders of the committee. Its president, ex-Foreign Minister Alfredo

tain's casualties mount and the time scale for the military operation increases. Already many trade union bodies and trade union branches have begun to adopt positions against the war and to denounce the jingoistic support for the Tories of the Labour leadership.

A resolution passed by the Scottish TUC at its congress in the beginning of May demanded "The removal of Argentinian troops and the recall of the British naval task force and the removal of the 200-mile war zone."

Bernard Connelly, a trade union leader at British Steel in South Yorkshire, told *Socialist Challenge* May 6, "Thatcher launched this Falkland adventure in order to get her reputation back here at home."

"In a Tory political party broadcast last week, they claimed that waiting lists for hospitals had declined. If this is true it is because of thousands dying of hypothermia and other illnesses as a consequence of Tory cuts."

"So too with this Falkland crisis. If it's her answer to the unemployment problem, she's onto a loser. Most of the kids joined up either to get a trade or get off the dole — or both. No one joined up to get killed."

"We have a few lads still training as apprentices. We're probably the only people in the whole of British Steel that still has them — and we are fighting management's attempts to chop them. They say there is no money. Well, just put a bit of the cash from this Falklands adventure our way."

"You've got a few armchair warriors, but most people see the thing as a tragedy rather than a call to arms." □

Vásquez Carrizosa, was singled out by the MAS as a prospective murder victim on a list issued in mid-March. Also on the list was the prominent Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 19, page 336.)

Leading human-rights attorney Jorge Enrique Cipaguata Galvis was shot to death on a Bogotá street in the second week of March. The MAS claimed responsibility. On March 7, the terror squad bombed the residence of journalist María Jimena Duzán. A series of articles by Duzán on the guerrilla war being waged in southern Colombia by the April 19 Movement (M-19) was then appearing in the Bogotá daily *El Espectador*.

Duzán had been forcibly taken on a nine-day visit to the M-19's Southern Front in the province of Caquetá, where she interviewed M-19 leader Jaime Batemán Cayón. According to the January-March issue of *Informe Colombia*, a news bulletin published in New York, "The spectacular kidnapping of Ms. Duzán, and the facility with which the guerrillas crossed the army's checkpoints undoubtedly embarrassed the Colombian military, which has repeatedly declared the guerrillas eliminated." □

# Antiwar movement debates strategy

*Against U.S. war policies, or for 'peace' in abstract?*

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the May 14 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

Washington's war policy and the fight against it are at the center of American politics today. Antiwar sentiment has erupted into public activities, statements, and discussions on what appear to be a variety of issues, ranging from opposition to nuclear bombs to protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

But these issues are not separate at all. They are each part of the deepening opposition to the war policies of the Democrats and Republicans who wield power today in Washington.

For all opponents of these war policies — first and foremost for socialist workers and youth — the question of the hour is how to make this emerging antiwar movement into an effective force.

The demonstrations called for June 12 at the United Nations in New York, and in other cities, are the decisive opportunity for beginning to assemble the forces for such a movement. All opponents of war should throw themselves into the organizing efforts to guarantee that June 12 will be a massive, stinging repudiation of Washington's arms buildup and its acts of aggression in Latin America and throughout the world.

To accomplish this, and to build a movement that will grow beyond June 12, participants in this developing antiwar struggle have to think through the main lines of strategy for advancing the fight against war today. This article will open a discussion of this topic in the pages of the *Militant*.

## War in the South Atlantic

The starting point in the fight against war, including nuclear war, is recognizing that the prevention of future wars begins with the battle against the war policy and the wars that Washington is waging today.

This is being driven home to millions right now as the casualties in the British-U.S. war against Argentina are mounting at a horrifying rate. Within hours after Reagan openly extended U.S. military collaboration to the British in their war of colonial reconquest, Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher unleashed the fleet. British forces attacked the Malvinas Islands and sank an Argentine cruiser stationed far from Britain's "exclusion zone," slaughtering hundreds of Argentine sailors in what can only be considered an act of mass murder on the high seas.

British sailors, too, are being sacrificed, victims of Thatcher's imperialist war.

President Reagan, after shedding a crocodile tear for the lost sailors, reaffirmed U.S. military support to Thatcher's royal pirate fleet.

In a chilling warning that the South Atlantic war poses an immediate threat to the people of the whole world, columnist Jack Anderson reported April 30 that the British ships off the Malvinas Islands are carrying nuclear weapons. The fleet commander has the authority to use them if faced with "grave circumstances."

British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym was widely quoted in radio reports as reminding the Argentines that the British would not rule out dropping a "tactical" nuclear bomb on Buenos Aires if the sea battle turned against them.

Thus, for all opponents of war, and especially for those who understand the horror nuclear war would bring, action against the war being waged by the London-Washington alliance is an urgent necessity.

Nor is the South Atlantic war the only one the U.S. government is involved in today. Reagan's dirty war in Nicaragua is under way, aimed at bringing down the Sandinista government. Although American combat troops are not now being used, Green Beret "advisers" are heavily involved in the counterrevolutionary war being waged from just across the Honduran border. Invaders based in Honduras are inflicting significant casualties, with battles almost daily. CIA-organized terror squads have blown up bridges and committed other acts of sabotage.

In El Salvador, the dictatorship created and armed by the U.S. government is carrying on a full-scale war against the workers and peasants, who are struggling to free their land from exploitation and foreign domination.

## Is El Salvador a 'divisive' issue?

The antiwar demonstration on June 12, and peace activities leading up to it, have to clearly condemn these wars being waged today by Washington and its allies.

Unfortunately, however, some of the official organizers of the June 12 rally are trying to exclude opposition to Washington's current war policies by limiting the demonstration to a general call for disarmament and opposition to nuclear war.

This policy does not reflect the opinions of the vast majority of those who are planning on participating in the demonstration. Rather, it is part of an effort by procapitalist forces, especially those who are operatives for the Democratic Party, to divert the antiwar movement away from a sharp and direct confrontation with Washington's war policies. Their aim is to convert the movement into a political action committee for Democratic candidates who will

run on "peace" planks in 1982 and 1984.

This view was clearly presented by Professor Peter Stein, leader of an organization called United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, in an interview with the *New York Times*. The professor, according to the *Times*, "said he hoped to formulate five questions on nuclear topics designed to help voters determine whether candidates were 'serious' about arms control. . . ."

"Groups within the antinuclear weapons coalition could disagree sharply over, for example, which arms control policies or candidates to endorse. But Mr. Stein says this is unlikely because the movement has chewed broader, potentially divisive political issues, such as United States involvement in El Salvador, in favor of a 'consciously narrow, single-issue orientation.'"

But the professor's insistence that antiwar activists shun the issue of U.S. intervention in El Salvador would derail the fight against war, including the fight against nuclear war.

The argument is a phony. Opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador is not unpopular among the majority of Americans. It is, in fact, the majority opinion. Even the prowar *Wall Street Journal* was forced to report that all public opinion polls show "the public is extremely reluctant to sanction American involvement — however minimal — in El Salvador. Proposals for further economic aid elicit solid disapproval. The notion of sending troops, not surprisingly, is abhorred. . . ."

"No matter how questions are phrased, no matter how the numbers are read, they reveal genuine hesitation to endorse any form of American participation in El Salvador."

Thus it is not the American people who would be turned off by a demonstration clearly linking opposition to the U.S. nuclear arms buildup to the demand for a halt to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Rather, it is the capitalist politicians and their supporters — who are happy to speak of peace in the abstract, provided they do not have to oppose today's bipartisan war policy — who feel that El Salvador is a "divisive" issue for opponents of war to raise.

## Democratic 'path of life'

Thus in a recent speech in the House of Representatives on the danger of nuclear war, Speaker Thomas O'Neill, a Democrat, appealed to his colleagues to choose "the path of life, not the path of catastrophe and annihilation." But the Speaker omitted any mention of the catastrophe and annihilation Washington is trying to inflict on Central America today!

On the Senate side, Democrat Edward



Kennedy, the presidential aspirant, bemoaned the fact that "today the arms race rushes ahead toward a nuclear confrontation that could well mean the annihilation of the human race."

Yet just weeks before, Kennedy had voted to "rush ahead" with the entire war spending increase, and more, asked by Reagan. Kennedy voted for a \$208.6 billion appropriation, up by 22 percent over last year. Kennedy, joining the 84-5 majority in the Senate, also voted to approve all the funds the White House wanted for the MX missile and the B1 bomber.

As the *Washington Post* noted at the time, the lopsided bipartisan majority "was one more sign of congressional willingness to go along with the president in increasing military spending this year while cutting back on domestic programs."

The Democratic and Republican politicians and their promoters, who today are swarming around the growing antiwar movement like flies around honey, portray themselves as "peace" advocates in an effort to improve their chances in the upcoming elections, and to keep the movement within the confines of the two-party political framework.

Opponents of war who are organizing for a big and militant June 12 demonstration cannot allow these supporters of Washington's war policies to sabotage the fight against war by eliminating opposition to Washington's current wars from the protests.

A demonstration in the name of "peace" that remained silent on Washington's current wars — in Central and South America first of all — would be a sham and a fraud. Such a demonstration would give the perpetrators of that war policy political cover, by making it appear to the world that peace advocates in this country are not concerned about U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua, or about U.S. backing for Thatcher's bloody assault on Argentina.

Fortunately, this position is being widely rejected by forces in New York and around the country who are determined to see that June 12 is a resounding repudiation of Washington's war policies. Prominent among these forces are Black groups such as the National Black Independent Political Party and the National Black United Front. They are being joined by activists who have been organizing solidarity actions with the revolutionary struggles in Central America, by antidraft organizers, union activists, and others, including members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

#### Roots of nuclear war danger

These forces understand that the deepening opposition to nuclear weapons and concern over the danger of nuclear war are being fueled by the growing conviction of millions that Reagan is pursuing a course that will drag us into a Vietnam War, greatly increasing the risk of nuclear destruction.

The threat of nuclear holocaust is not new. It has been hanging over the world ever since the U.S. government used the atomic bomb



March 27 protest in Washington, D.C. Procapitalist forces are fighting against inclusion of El Salvador issue in June 12 action because it would embarrass Democratic Party politicians who talk peace while supporting war.

against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Two generations have grown up haunted by the knowledge that a nuclear war could break out at any moment, and that the chances for survival of the human race would be slim at best.

What is new today is that more and more people correctly perceive that the current war policy of Washington is increasing the danger of nuclear annihilation. This belief is reinforced by the bellicose statements from Reagan, Haig, and other officials about a "winnable" nuclear war, the possibility of firing nuclear "warning" shots, and the refusal to disavow the first use of nuclear weapons. The administration further attempts to reinforce public acceptance of this nuclear brinksmanship by promoting bomb shelters and other phony civil defense measures.

Thus it is precisely the *connection* between the current war policies of Washington and the danger that they will lead to nuclear war that is responsible for mobilizing such widespread antinuclear war activities. They are part and parcel of the same issue.

#### Nuclear and 'conventional' war

The current U.S. war policy, which is completely bipartisan, includes a vast buildup of both nuclear weapons and "conventional" — that is, non-nuclear — forces. The latter include the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces, billions for new warships and planes, enormous

expansion of chemical and biological weapons, and the systematic campaign to prepare the American people to accept reintroduction of the draft.

Washington's permanent drive to increase its nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union is designed not to "deter" a Soviet attack on this country (which America's rulers know full well is not the Soviet aim or intention), but to create a nuclear shield to ensure that Moscow does nothing to respond to Washington's war of aggression around the globe. The U.S. nuclear "deterrent" is aimed at clearing the way for "conventional" wars.

In other words, Washington's nuclear arms buildup is part of its preparation for using its conventional military might to stop the advance of the world revolution. The danger of nuclear war is not separate from Washington's policy of beefing up its capacity to wage new Vietnam wars; it is an essential component of it.

That is why it would be self-defeating for antiwar activists to limit their demonstrations to opposing nuclear weapons, while implicitly accepting the idea of lesser-evil "conventional" wars. It is precisely because of Washington's drive toward such "conventional" wars that the nuclear danger emerges so sharply.

A corollary to the proposal to exclude opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America

is the insistence of some of the official march organizers that June 12 focus on demanding a "bilateral freeze" of nuclear weapons, and reject the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament by the United States.

The "bilateral freeze" strategy has been given a big play in the news media, which often talk about the "freeze campaign" instead of the antiwar movement.

Moreover, many activities carried out by proponents of the "bilateral freeze" strategy have attracted widespread support from antiwar activists. In California, hundreds of thousands have enthusiastically signed petitions to place a "bilateral freeze" measure on the ballot. Similar petitions are being circulated in other states as well.

The positive response to these petitions is a reflection of the mass support that exists for any avenue that appears to express opposition to Reagan's war policies, including his nuclear buildup and blackmail strategy. The vast majority of those who sign the petitions see their actions as a way to protest Washington's war policy.

But the strategists of the "bilateral freeze" have something else in mind. This is made clear by looking at what the fine print of the California petition actually says:

"The people of the state of California, recognizing that the safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people, and further recognizing that our national security is reduced, not increased, by the growing danger of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, which will result in millions of deaths of people in California and throughout the nation, do hereby urge that the government of the United States propose to the government of the Soviet Union that both countries agree to immediately halt testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides."

#### Taking blame off Washington

Thus, the petition demands nothing of Washington except that it propose to Moscow talks on limiting the increase of nuclear weapons. It does not demand that Washington immediately freeze its expansion of nuclear weaponry, let alone that it reduce or eliminate its nuclear arsenal.

This takes the onus for the war policy off Washington, where it belongs.

That this is exactly the intention of the organizers of the "bilateral freeze" was made crystal clear by Harold Willens, who is bankrolling the initiative. Willens, a millionaire real estate speculator, is a former official in the Carter administration.

In the February 21 *Los Angeles Times*, Willens responded to charges of critics that the "bilateral freeze" initiative is too radical. Willens stressed that "our very name is Californians for a BILATERAL Nuclear Weapons Freeze."

"We who are promoting the freeze," Willens stresses, are *against* a unilateral approach.

"What if the Russians say no, what then?" Our answer: 'Then the whole thing is off.' For as our initiative says, 'The safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people.'"

But it is exactly the false claim that Washington's war machine — nuclear and "conventional" — is designed for the defense of anything other than profits that is being challenged by the antiwar movement.

Many antiwar activists already see that the "bilateral freeze" strategy is a double trap.

First, if the movement were to adopt it as its platform, we would be setting ourselves up for our central slogan to be co-opted by prowar forces. All Reagan, or his successor, would need to do is to make a diplomatic maneuver in the direction of peace talks with the Soviets, and he could claim he was carrying out the will of the peace movement. This has happened many times in the past. "Bilateral freeze" proposals have come from the White House several times in the past. When James Carter entered the White House, his propaganda ploy was to propose not a freeze but a *reduction* in nuclear delivery systems.

In fact, according to the *New York Times* of May 1, Reagan is now planning to make "a dramatic speech on the subject, probably before leaving for Europe in June," and wants "negotiations with Moscow to begin by the end of June."

The *Times* says: "The Administration's main concern, according to the officials, is to go on record quickly with a simple and comprehensible plan [on nuclear arms] to show that the Reagan team is for peace, thus taking some of the steam out of the nuclear freeze movements in Europe and the United States."

#### Whose 'safety and security'?

But the "bilateral freeze" strategy sets a trap for the antiwar movement that is much deeper than simply setting itself up to be co-opted by a "peace" president.

If the antiwar movement were to accept the framework of "bilateralism," it would concede at the outset that some amount of U.S. weapons, armies, and war budgets are necessary to protect the country against a Soviet attack. And it would be doing so just at the time when growing numbers of working people are becoming convinced that the U.S. war machine has absolutely *nothing* to do with the defense or security of working people, nor with defending freedom and democratic rights here or anywhere else.

The course of current events is showing that the wars that are the feature of the period in which we live are not created by a Soviet conspiracy. They result from imperialist efforts to prevent popular revolutions from succeeding.

The debacle of the administration's efforts to persuade the American people that the revolution in El Salvador is the result of a Russian plot is an example of this.

The "bilateral freeze" strategy, however, concedes the false premise that the Soviet Union poses a threat to which the United States

must respond with military preparedness.

Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union is not an imperialist or an expansionist power.

The United States is run by a capitalist class. Capital requires expanding markets, fresh and reliable sources of raw materials, cheaper labor power, and new areas for profitable investment. Without these, profits are endangered. But the capitalist system exists for the sake of profits and nothing else. Therefore, wars to secure these necessities for capitalism are inseparable from the system itself. This fact has left its bloody mark on this entire century.

But capitalism has been abolished in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers state, though one today governed by a privileged bureaucratic minority whose interests are counterposed to the interests of the Soviet workers and peasants. The socialized property relations established as a result of the October 1917 revolution remain in force. As a result, the drive toward expansion and war that is built into the capitalist system is not present in the Soviet Union.

It is not necessary to agree on the class character of the Soviet Union in order to build an effective antiwar movement in this country. But what *is* essential if the movement is to go forward is that it clearly focus its fire on the big-business government in Washington as the culprit responsible for the war danger. It must not cede an inch of ground to those who want to justify Washington's war policies by citing the mythical Soviet "threat."

That is why the "bilateral freeze" strategy should be emphatically rejected by the movement, and replaced with clear and forceful demands for unconditional and unilateral disarmament by Washington.

#### A 'presidential' issue

The real purpose of the "bilateral freeze" proposal is to provide a "peace" plank for the platform of Democratic and Republican candidates in the upcoming elections, and to deliver the votes of those who are opposed to war to the parties of war.

As could be anticipated, one of the first hustlers in the field has been Kennedy. The early presidential contender has introduced, along with Republican Senator Mark Hatfield, a "bilateral freeze" resolution. (It asks even less than the California petition.) It is the opening shot in Kennedy's bid for the Democratic nomination in 1984.

As the *New York Times* reported April 16: "The speculation about the Senator and 1984 has also intensified with his recent emergence as a leader in the movement to freeze the buildup of nuclear weapons. That issue is increasingly regarded as 'Presidential' in nature, one that the right politician might ride a good way to the White House."

Thus the bait is laid out by those who would subordinate the fight against war to support for the capitalist two-party setup. But the emerging movement against war cannot be subordinated to capitalist politics if it is going to be successful. This is because both the Democrat-



ic and Republican parties are war parties.

Were the new antiwar movement to subordinate its goals and demands to those acceptable to capitalist politicians, it would be subordinating itself to the war parties. This would be fatal.

### Organize majority opinion

Those who would like to see June 12 turned into a campaign rally for Kennedy and other prowar "peace" candidates do not represent the majority of activists in the fight against war. Nor do their proposals to prevent the demonstration from opposing U.S. intervention in Central America, and to divert it into the "bilateral freeze" strategy represent the opinions of the majority of the American people. Their approach would not broaden the demonstration, but narrow it.

The road to building June 12 into a powerful start for the new antiwar movement points in the opposite direction.

As the economic crisis continues to drive down the standard of living of the working class, the sentiment is growing that the money the Democrats and Republicans are voting for new weapons of mass destruction could be put to use instead providing jobs, housing, health

care, and education for working people.

As the United States presses ahead with its war against the peoples of Central America, the specter of another Vietnam War looms larger and larger, and the American people in their vast majority are saying, "This is not our war!"

Working people know beyond any doubt that it is we who are paying for the war drive. It is working-class and farm youth who will be killed in battle, and it is working people today who suffer from the inflation and cutbacks in social services resulting from the vast expansion of war spending.

This is especially true for Blacks and Latinos, who are hit doubly hard — sent to the front lines in war, and to the back of the line when it comes to jobs and benefits at home.

That is why the conviction is growing that without putting the fight against war at the top of their agenda, none of the things that working people and the oppressed are fighting for can be won.

Pulling together the forces that can be won to this perspective is the first step in guaranteeing that on June 12 — and afterwards — a powerful new antiwar movement will be born in this country. □

Referring to his party's charter, the NBIPP representative pointed to the U.S. government as the greatest threat to world peace. "We must be clear," Chavis pointed out, "when we talk about disarmament, we're talking about disarming imperialism."

"No revolution has been won without arms. We stand forthrightly with SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation] and the ANC [African National Congress] and all other African freedom fighters struggling against the racist, apartheid regimes in southern Africa," Chavis concluded to enthusiastic applause.

"The June 12 action," Chavis said, "must be the beginning of an ongoing organizational effort in our community to do what Malcolm X called 'agitating' our people. We must unify and organize our community to fight as one people against our enemy — our real enemy: the socioeconomic system."

In this framework, Chavis argued, antiwar forces should seek to build the broadest unity around the June 12 protest.

Daughtry, pointing out that this meeting was the first time that the NBUF and the NBIPP had shared a platform, said, "It's a good sign that NBUF and NBIPP are working together" in the antiwar movement. The NBUF national chairman likened the relationship to that of a "courtship before the marriage is consummated. In this case, the courtship may have to continue awhile, but as long as the courtship is amiable, the marriage is certain."

Daughtry said there were important reasons why Blacks should participate in the antiwar movement, including in actions against nuclear weapons. "A blownup world is not any good for anybody," he pointed out.

"We must find a way to prevent this holocaust . . . and we can't do this by ourselves. We need the mightiest movement yet. We must join with everyone who is moving our way, who is against nuclear war and for redirecting resources to human needs."

Secondly, Daughtry pointed out, Blacks are always the guinea pigs for experimentation. This policy would also be followed in testing out the viability of nuclear war.

"The third reason we should be involved," Daughtry said, "is that there's a movement moving. Do we want to get on board? We should to give it our 'special touch,' to bring to it our demands: support of the liberation movements and the Grenadian revolution — Nicaragua and Cuba too. We need to bring the demand of money for human needs, not for war."

Black participation in last year's antiwar action on May 3 and in the recent March 27 action against the U.S. war in El Salvador helped shape the character of those demonstrations, Daughtry said.

"We seek to do the same with the June 12 action," Daughtry said. "They [the June 12 Rally Committee] want to have a demonstration that's right of center."

"But the demands of nonintervention and antiracism will be there," Daughtry pledged. □

## Black leaders join antiwar drive

*'We're talking about disarming imperialism'*

By Mohammed Oliver

[The following article appeared in the May 7 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

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NEW YORK — Rev. Herbert Daughtry, national chairman of the National Black United Front (NBUF), and Rev. Ben Chavis, a national representative of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), were the speakers at a forum here on April 20. The forum was entitled, "Black Perspective on the Disarmament Movement." The gathering was sponsored by the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition (TWPPC).

NBUF has organized significant struggles, especially in the New York area, against police brutality and for the civil and human rights of Blacks. It is looked to by many Blacks for leadership in the antiracist struggle.

Chavis, besides being a national leader of the NBIPP, is well-respected in the broader movement against racist oppression and is active in the fight for political rights.

Both of these leaders play an important role in the TWPPC. The TWPPC forum was called to explain their views on the disarmament question. The meeting was the first in a series of activities aimed at helping to coalesce the antiwar and antiracist forces building for the June 12 disarmament demonstration.

At the forum Chavis said that the question of nuclear disarmament is an international and a

political question. After pointing out that the United Nation's Second Special Session on Disarmament was called by Third World nations, the NBIPP leader said, "We come to join with our brothers and sisters of the Third World to express our concerns."

"We have," Chavis continued, "a special responsibility to speak out against nuclear weapons because the U.S. government is the only one to have ever dropped the bomb. That's why the NBIPP is a firm supporter of the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition."

The TWPPC was formed in March following the exclusion from the June 12 Rally Committee (the national body organizing the action) of forces that wanted the demonstration to be against U.S. intervention in the Third World and racist oppression here at home as well as against the bomb. The TWPPC has sought to draw together all the antiwar and antiracist forces who are mobilizing for June 12.

At the same time the TWPPC is discussing with the June 12 Rally Committee how the two groups can work together.

The TWPPC is building June 12 around these demands: unilateral and unconditional disarmament by the United States; no U.S. intervention in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean; and redirecting the resources squandered on the military to human needs, earmarking, in particular, the communities of oppressed nationalities.

# The two sides of Begin's policy

## *Repression in occupied territories, war against Lebanon and Syria*

By Michel Warschawsky

[The following article appeared in the May 3 issue of *Inprecor*, a French-language fortnightly published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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TEL AVIV — Although several Israeli cabinet ministers tried to the very end to link the final withdrawal from the Sinai to a series of new concessions by Egypt, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin has resigned himself to carrying out the withdrawal. On Sunday, April 25, the Egyptian flag will again fly over the whole Sinai Peninsula.

In geographic terms, Israel will revert to the small country it was before the June 1967 war. This will undoubtedly have implications on both the military level and in the psychology of the Israeli masses.

When the withdrawal from the Sinai is concluded, it will mark the end of much more than a stage in the implementation of the Camp David accords.

The problem that the leaders of the Zionist state face today is the question of how to reverse, or at least contain, the course of events, i.e., the deterioration of the overall relationship of forces against the state of Israel.

We must keep this point in mind in order to understand recent Israeli moves in the occupied territories of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, and to understand the Begin government's open desire to launch a new military adventure against Lebanon and Syria.

### 'Another 1948'?

In their own ways, both the annexation of the Golan Heights and the establishment of the "civilian" administration in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were designed to go beyond the point of no return in these territories, which Israel feels are a permanent part of the Jewish state.

It is not coincidental that references are being made to 1948, the year that saw the creation of the Jewish state in the course of a military victory over the Arab armies and the expulsion of several hundred thousand Palestinians.

Some Israeli leaders openly state that their dream is to carry out "another 1948." They want to create a situation that makes it possible to break the Palestinian national movement — politically and militarily — and substantially reduce the number of Palestinians under Israeli rule. This — and not some fit of madness gripping Menachem Begin and his defense minister, Ariel Sharon — explains the extremely

grave measures carried out in recent weeks by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories.

The annexation of the Golan Heights was expected to be a simple formality. The Syrian population of the Golan Heights numbers only 13,000, and during the past 15 years under Israeli rule it has been characterized by seeming passivity.

### Massive resistance in Golan Heights

Last autumn virtually the entire population of the Golan Heights refused to accept Israeli identity cards. This should have been a warning to the Israeli authorities. But in December 1981, under pressure from the Jewish settlements in the Golan, the Begin government tried to make the Arab inhabitants of the Golan Heights de facto citizens of the state of Israel.

Faced with the population's unanimous refusal, and having been convinced that administrative detention of 11 supposed ringleaders did not solve anything, the government decided to place the four villages involved under a state of siege, and to cut off telephone service, supplies, and medical services in order to break the general strike of the Arabs in the Golan Heights through hunger and military repression.

Despite the dozens of people wounded by gunfire, despite the decimation of livestock and the imprisonment of several dozen people, the government was unable to break the Arab population of the Golan Heights. Their unprecedented heroism is now forcing the government to back off.

Yehuda Har'el, a spokesman for the Committee of Jewish Settlements in the Golan Heights, had been the leader of the "Don't Lose the North" movement demanding the annexation of the Golan Heights. Har'el recently stated:

"I have stopped being an expert on Druse questions [the Arabs of the Golan Heights are members of the Druse religion]. It was completely mistaken. . . . The day the Golan Law was adopted, I was certain that there would no longer be a Druse problem. I was wrong. . . .

"I believed that the arrest of the four pro-Syrian leaders would suffice. There too, I was wrong. They launched a general strike. Then we told the government, 'no problem, let them carry on their general strike for two years.' But this too was bad advice" (*Ha'aretz*, April 13, 1982).

Today, the Jewish settlements in the Golan Heights are organizing delegations and sending flowers to the Arab residents, who are continuing their strike with greater determination

than ever. Despite the delegations, however, this same Yehuda Har'el says: "The Druse are, in my opinion, placing themselves in danger. If a war breaks out — and who could believe that there will not be a war — they will be right near the border. Any battalion chief could expel them."

### Repression in West Bank

On the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, the population's virtually unanimous opposition to the November 1 introduction of civilian administration under Col. Menachem Milson has been met with even more violent repression.

The first phase of the new wave of repression included the removal from office of the mayors of Al Bira, Nablus, and Ramallah; the closing of Bir Zeit University and, in reality, Bethlehem University; the repeated closing of the Arab daily newspapers; censorship; and the arrest or house arrest of several dozen leaders.

This was followed by the establishment of a state of siege in several cities and refugee camps. Hundreds of alleged demonstrators were arrested, several dozen of whom have already been sentenced to heavy fines or prison. Dozens of people have been killed, either in the course of demonstrations or under circumstances that are still unclear.

For the first time, the army got orders to fire into crowds, and it has not hesitated to do so. Hundreds of people have been shot. All this is developing as if Gen. Ariel Sharon wanted to drive the Palestinian population into an uprising, which would then bring qualitatively new reprisals and lead to the expulsion, or at least the exodus, of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians.

### A conscious political plan

The source of the bloody repression in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is thus a political plan that is as horrible as it is utopian. But the repression also is a reaction to the determination of the Palestinian population and the breadth of their mobilizations against the Begin government's new measures.

Day by day, new sectors of the Palestinian people join the struggle. The repression against the masses does not even distinguish between "extremists" and "moderates." Only the few dozen collaborators from the so-called Village Leagues are seen as worthy of confidence, and all the others are viewed as agents of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or at least as under its pressure.

This explains why everyone, everywhere now heeds the strike calls. No municipality, not even Bethlehem or Gaza, has agreed to col-





Palestinians demonstrate in front of Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem after Zionist attack took two lives.

laborate with Menachem Milson's "civilian" administration. And those few people who still remained passive have thrown themselves into the battle after the criminal attack on the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem.

The lack of fear is a striking feature. For the most part the demonstrators are young people, many born after the Israeli occupation began in June 1967. For them, the occupation is not some temporary aberration. Rather it is a reality that they have always known. When they pass through the army checkpoints they do not hide their hatred and when facing the troops they do not retreat.

#### **Soldiers flee from children**

Despite the censorship, the Israeli press has reported on dozens of cases in which the soldiers have had to flee from several dozen schoolchildren. Molotov-cocktail attacks against military patrols are increasing. The army can go into certain neighborhoods and many refugee camps only if it mobilizes large forces.

When Menachem Milson stated that this was not a war against the Palestinians but rather against the PLO, the Palestinian response was clear and massive: "We are all the PLO!"

Palestinian flags appear everywhere — on schools and mosques, in the windows of homes, and on walls. As soon as the occupation forces remove one, new flags appear somewhere else.

Even more remarkable is the heroic resistance of the 13,000 inhabitants of the Golan Heights. "We'd rather die than lose our honor" is a phrase heard through the Syrian Golan. This is not some theatrical slogan. The calm determination of the Golan inhabitants during more than two months of strike has forced the whole population of Israel to take seriously those who stated that "even if it takes several

years, we will continue our struggle until the Israeli government accepts our demands."

Despite the arrest of numerous leaders, the total state of siege, many injuries, hunger, and illness, the population of the Golan remains completely solid.

#### **'We are the Druse of the Golan Heights'**

"If need be, we will establish a big kibbutz so that we can help one another to hold out," we were told two months ago by one of the leaders who is now in prison. Several days ago the strikers decided to authorize the farmers to cultivate their fields again. The farmers will give one-quarter of their harvest to the workers.

"I envy them," Rafiq Halabi stated recently. Halabi, a well-known Druse journalist on Israeli television and a reserve officer in the Israeli army, noted that "at least they have an identity, which I don't." (Quoted in *Ha'aretz*, April 13, 1982.)

In addition to honor and identity, the struggle also involves land. Right after the passage of the law annexing the Golan Heights, Israeli surveyors appeared on the Heights. A person from the ministry of the interior explained that "according to Israeli law now in effect, 90 percent of the land in the Golan Heights now belongs to the state of Israel."

Several days before the strike began, the prefect of the northern region, the infamous Israel Koenig,\* went to meet the Golan nota-

bles, who asked him to reconsider the application of the new law. It is said that Koenig replied that he had not come to deal with them, but to explain their duty to them: "I am Israel Koenig," he added, "and if you don't know me, ask the Arabs of Galilee."

The notables answered: "We are the Druse of the Golan Heights, and if you don't know us, ask the Turks, the French, the English, and the Syrians."

There is no longer anyone in Israel who still does not know who the Druse of the Golan are and what they are capable of. This has helped to change the whole Israeli population's attitude toward their struggle.

#### **Protests in Israel**

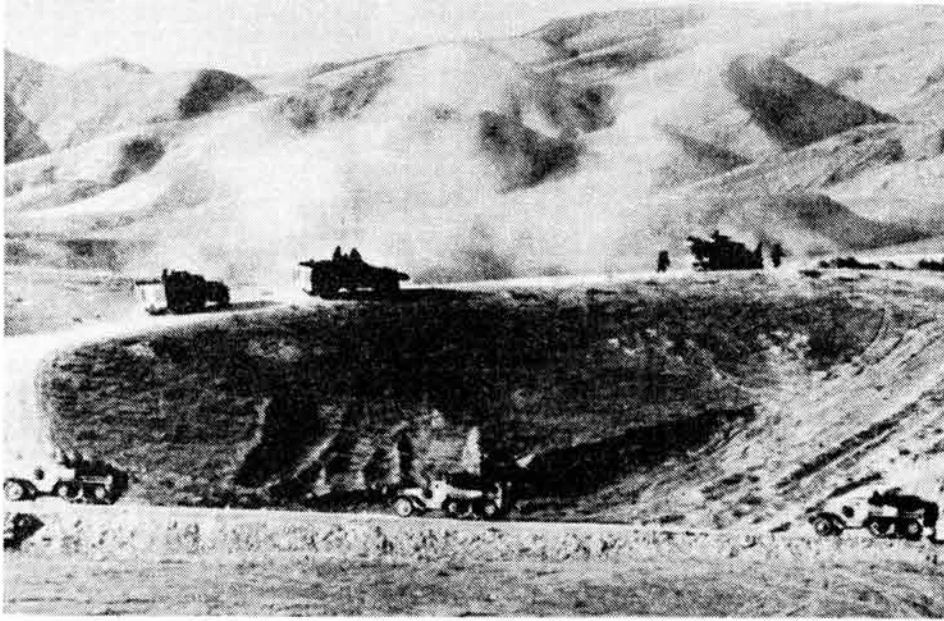
The Golan provocation detonated a wave of protest against the Begin-Sharon government's repressive policy, a wave that is still growing.

This policy has driven the Golan Druse, a population that was distinguished by its seeming integration into the Israeli occupation, to a general strike. It pushed the Druse in Israel — the least politicized segment of the Palestinian population — to solidarize with their brothers in the Golan Heights. It provided an example of organization, determination, and tactical intelligence for the population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The government's policy was too much, including for the Labor Party.

Day by day, new figures are joining the chorus of protests against the barbarous methods of repression used to break the population of the Golan Heights. Included are residents of northern Israel, who strongly resent the absence of Arab labor caused by the strike.

The latest example of the growing opposition to Menachem Begin's policy in the Golan Heights is the position taken by Haim Cohen, the most famous supreme court judge, now re-

\*As the Ministry of the Interior's chief official in the Galilee region, Israel Koenig wrote a confidential report in 1976 on how to reduce the Arab population in the area. Among the measures he proposed were a rapid increase in Jewish settlements, a cut in state subsidies to Arab families, and a program to encourage Arab youth to study abroad while making it difficult for them to return.



Israeli troops on the Golan Heights: enforcing "the law of barbarians."

tired. Cohen stated that it was not Israeli law that was being applied in the Golan, but barbarian law and practices that trample on the most elementary human rights. The long response to this from the army spokesman and the crass attacks leveled against the former judge by Menachem Begin have only given greater attention to Haim Cohen's accusations.

#### Begin's policy backfires

In the midst of the Golan crisis, the government decided to launch a repressive offensive against the Palestinian population and to take on, weapons in hand, more than a million people. The fact that in one month, this policy has led to more than 20 deaths and hundreds of injuries (it is impossible to know the exact figure) proves that the new Sharon-Milson strategy can only be carried out through bloody repression of the entire Palestinian population in the occupied territories.

This policy is not simply criminal. It also seems completely ineffective and counterproductive. Never before has the Palestinian population been so solid in its resistance. The collaborators have never been more isolated. The mobilization has never been more determined.

As the former head of the Israeli security services Avraham A'haitouv noted, in the past "the ministers of defense succeeded in establishing a policy that could be called 'calming the situation' . . . Obviously such a policy is in contradiction with the desire to impose a change in the system of domination in the territories. To impose, by its very definition, means to incite troubles."

After showing that the iron-fist policy has increased resistance, Avraham A'haitouv concluded: "The situation can be calmed. The road is quite difficult, but there is only one path that can lead us to the goal: maneuver and patience. I fear that harsh methods take us further from that objective" (*Ha'aretz*, April 16, 1982).

These views reflect a sentiment shared by a large segment of the Israeli population and by

numerous establishment circles. Moreover, the impact that the criminal policy in the occupied territories is having on Israeli society, and the future that that policy is leading to, has not escaped the notice of those who still dream of a Zionism that is "healthy in spirit and in capable hands."

In the past two months the newspaper *Ha'aretz* has become the mouthpiece for this overall criticism of the government's policy toward the occupied territories.

#### 'Peace Now' takes a stand

Revelations about the crimes that the occupation forces commit daily are pushing more and more people to take a clear position against the government. This is why the Labor Party rejected the proposal to form a government of national unity. Acceptance of Begin's proposal would have caused a split in the Labor Party.

This is also why the Peace Now movement, which had disappeared from the political scene for several months and had refused to take a position on the problem of the occupied territories, finally decided to mobilize against the repression in the occupied territories.

Up to now the Peace Now movement had always intentionally limited itself to supporting the Camp David accords. It mobilized tens of thousands of people only to pressure the government so that the opportunity offered by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's initiative would not be allowed to slip away.

The Peace Now movement, which is close to the Labor Party and is led in part by members of Labor-affiliated kibbutzim, had previously refused to express even moderate opposition to the occupation. For that reason, the March 27 demonstration in Tel Aviv against repression in the occupied territories, called by Peace Now, was a qualitative turning point.

Three days later, the Palestinian population inside Israel expressed its solidarity with its brothers in the occupied territories. There had already been massive mobilizations in solidarity with the population of the Golan Heights,

with even the participation of the Druse notables in Israel who are traditionally close to the regime. Then on March 30, between 70 and 80 percent of the Arab population of Israel heeded the call for a general strike. The strike call was made by the Committee for the Defense of the Land and the Committee of Arab Mayors of Israel.

Although less dramatic than the March 30, 1976, Day of the Land demonstration, the strike on March 30, 1982, was the most massive and united mobilization of the Palestinian population in Israel since 1948.

But resistance to the Begin-Sharon policy is not limited to the Palestinian population and moderate Zionists close to Peace Now. The Likud government also faces very broad opposition among the masses of Jewish people over the general framework of its policy — the attempt to provoke a new war in the Middle East.

Menachem Begin wanted a war before the end of the withdrawal from the Sinai. His own ministers leaked this to the press in order to cause difficulties for the government and prevent it from launching a bloody adventure.

But for Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon, the match has only been postponed. There have been daily statements along these lines over the past two months.

Moshe Ahrens, the Israeli ambassador to the United States, spoke of "preventive war." Foreign Minister [Yitzhak] Shamir promised to "smash the terrorist organizations and their chiefs in their own bases." Ariel Sharon repeats every other day: "It is possible that we might launch an action."

The chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Rafael Eytan, stated: "Israel will take the initiative and, from Israel's point of view, there is no cease fire." Menachem Begin himself solemnly vowed that if a single Jew was killed, the war would take place.

Any incident, like the attack on the Israeli embassy in Paris or the infiltration of some combatants from Jordan, is seized upon and used to build up military strength on the border and create a war hysteria in Israel. The government is also quick to blow out of proportion any alleged guerrilla infiltrations. The aim of this exaggeration is to lend credence to Eytan's assertion that the cease-fire no longer exists.

#### No political consensus

For the moment, the Israeli government's hands are tied by several things. First is the U.S. veto against any military adventure, at least until the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai is completed. But it is equally hindered by the absence of a national consensus on the question.

If a war were to break out, for the first time in the history of the Jewish state the Israeli people would not be united behind the government. Yoel Marcus, one of the most influential Israeli columnists, wrote: "The main reason that Israel was not once but twice so publicly at the brink of war stems from the fact that there is no direct or even indirect military threat and



no military justification to get into a war. If there were a single reason to launch a war now, they would not be talking about it like this, but they would be discreetly preparing and would act by surprise.

"In the four wars we have fought," Marcus continued, "two were provoked by the Arabs, and two launched by Israel. But in none of the four cases was there any doubt, and certainly not in Israel, that no other choice existed."

And he added: "Now the situation is different. Not only the most moderate doves, but even the military specialists do not see the need for a large-scale military initiative. The heating up of the atmosphere is therefore artificial and its aim is to prepare the ground for an objective that is basically political. . . . From this flows the skepticism and the fears of a new war throughout the country, including among the ministers" *Ha'aretz*, April 13, 1982).

In the same article, Yoel Marcus wrote of a group of high officers and ministers around Gen. Ariel Sharon who are pushing for a test of strength. "This group," Marcus notes, "regrets having signed the cease fire [with the PLO], which shackles the hands of Israel and gives some respectability to the terrorists. It is not coincidental that for the second time since Sharon became minister of defense — less than one year ago — Israel finds itself on the edge of a military move that has no apparent military justification, solely because Mr. Sharon thinks that destroying the PLO, wiping the PLO off the map, would be a miracle cure for the political dangers threatening Israel."

#### Begin pushes national unity

In this area the Israeli government is in the minority. It is increasingly rare to find people who think that any miracle cures exist, and rarer still to find people who think that a war can resolve anything.

This is shown by the petition circulated among the inhabitants of communities located near the northern border. The petition states that the Palestinians are respecting the ceasefire 100 percent, and that the signers see no reason for Israel to break the calm that reigns in the north.

Those signing the petition are the same people who less than one year ago acclaimed Menachem Begin's boast that he would dislodge the Syrian missiles in Lebanon in a few hours. The sentiment that the inhabitants of communities in northern Israel are expressing in an active and direct way is widely shared by the workers, even if they do not express themselves actively.

That is one of the reasons why Menachem Begin is so much in need of a government of national unity. And it is also why Shimon Peres of the Labor Party refuses to be drawn into one. Menachem Begin wants to create "national unity" from above in order to help crystallize "national unity" among the masses.

#### Repression and war

Shimon Peres, who is aware of the sentiments of the masses, wants to differentiate

himself from Menachem Begin's adventurist policy, even though the actual differences between Labor and the Likud do not go to the roots of the problem but rather are questions of style. Peres does not want to state that he is ready to join the government until a war has already been declared, since then he could say that once the country is in danger there is no longer any place for publicly expressing differences.

The bloody repression in the occupied territories and the preparations for a military adventure against the PLO and Syria are two faces of a single policy. The utopian goal of that policy is to reverse the course of history and return the political situation to what it was in the 1950s and 1960s by destroying the Palestinian national reality, by breaking the political and military strength of the Arab states, and by renewing the faith of the Jewish population of Israel that Zionism will be eternally all-powerful.

The Zionist establishment and the Israeli bourgeoisie are not mistaken in their evaluation of the gravity of the crisis and in their search for radical solutions. But the Jewish masses of Israel are more clearheaded in their estimate of the real relationship of forces in the region. That is why they refuse to mobilize behind Menachem Begin's war drive and that is also the reason for the fear that the idea of a new war provokes among the majority of Israelis.

The fear of a new war and the refusal to again pay the price for a military adventure that cannot improve the situation of the Israeli masses, either their security or their living conditions, provides the objective basis for the emergence of a vast movement against the war.

As a recent resolution of the central committee of the Revolutionary Communist League (the Israeli section of the Fourth International) explains, "the number one objective of progressive forces today is to do everything they can so that the sentiments of the working masses for peace are transformed into a mass movement against the war and the occupation. The already existing movements (still a minority and isolated from the working masses), which are mobilizing against the occupation and the warlike adventures, must do everything possible to address the broadest layers of the population and offer them a framework for resistance against the policy that, in the final analysis, binds all the Zionist parties against the interest of the workers. The forces of the left, Zionist and anti-Zionist, must do everything to orient the antiwar movement in this direction."

For the first time, Israel is not united against the enemy and goes to war when the bulk of its troops are dragging their feet. This is a radical turning point in the history of Zionism.

April 20, 1982

## Canada: 30,000 protest new constitution

While Britain's Queen Elizabeth signed Canada's new constitution into law in Ottawa April 17, some 30,000 Québécois demonstrated in Montreal. In a militant protest against the constitution, they marched through the streets waving thousands of Quebec flags and chanting demands for independence.

The new constitution is a direct attack on French-speaking Quebec's traditional control over education. It opens the door to economic sanctions and further attacks on Québécois rights. It is particularly aimed at recent gains of the national independence movement such as Law 101, the act passed by the Parti Québécois government in 1977 to protect French as the language of work and study.

The Parti Québécois declared April 17 a day of mourning and called the demonstration along with the nationalist Saint-Jean Baptiste Society. Speakers at the rally included Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) and Fernand Daoust, FTQ secretary general, as well as Premier René Lévesque and members of his cabinet. On April 15 the two other major Quebec labor federations, the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ), issued a joint statement with the FTQ against the constitution.

Before the sea of blue-and-white Quebec flags Lévesque declared, "We refuse to be put in the position of a colony — one more

shackled than ever before — which is what this new constitution aims to do. . . .

"Today, April 17, marks the beginning of a new page in the history of Quebec, a new chapter. It's no longer a history of domination. It is the beginning of its end. Today, right here, we are laying the first brick of our true history. We are a people who have decided to take our own destiny in hand. We'll conclude this chapter, which we will write together, on the day when we become a true homeland, a true country.

"Long live, in advance, the independent and sovereign country that Quebec of tomorrow will be."

The crowd responded with the cry, "Le Québec aux Québécois" (Quebec to the Québécois).

The National Indian Brotherhood also declared April 17 a day of mourning. They called on Native peoples across Canada to boycott the ceremonies and wear black armbands in protest against the constitution, which strips them of many of their rights.

The Montreal demonstration on April 17 was the second massive protest in that city in two weeks. On April 3, some 25,000 workers responded to the joint call of the three labor federations and demonstrated against the economic policies of both the federal and Quebec governments. □

# Victory threatens imperialism

## Morale of Iraqi army crumbles

By Brian Grogan

[The following article is taken from the April 8 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Challenge*. It has been slightly abridged.]

\* \* \*

Iran has scored a major victory against the invading Iraqi forces in the 18 month old Gulf war. Iranian officials have made clear that they have no intention of entering into Iraqi territory. But the Iranian revolution threatens nonetheless to engulf Iraq — much to the consternation of imperialism.

The three wave Iranian counter-offensive against the occupying Iraqi Fourth army corp began on March 22 in the Dezful-Shush region of Khuzestan. The 20,000 Iraqi troops were routed.

The Iraqi army was more numerous and far better equipped than that of Iran. According to the *Guardian*: "Apart from a few tanks, the Iranians' heaviest weapons appear to have been jeep-mounted recoilless rifles." The difference in morale of the two armies was a decisive factor.

Huge crowds came out in Tehran to celebrate the victory on the occasion of the third anniversary of the founding of the Islamic republic. Iranian leaders called for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein of Iraq. But in a speech read out by his son to the crowd, Ayatollah Khomeini made it clear that Iran harboured no aggressive intentions against any other country.

Earlier, the Iranian President Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei declared in a radio broadcast that Iran had no designs on Iraqi territory. "It is the Ba'athist mercenaries who attacked our country and occupied parts of it. Aggression is not in keeping with the dignity of the Islamic Republic," he said.

"The Moslems of Iraq are Iran's brothers," he added. "Our support for them does not mean that we will take our forces into Iraqi territory."

Saddam Hussein had originally gone into Iran on the pretext of a border dispute over sovereignty of the Shatt-Al-Arab waterway. But his real aim was to reverse the gains of the Iranian revolution and prevent its inspiration leading to his overthrow.

In this situation, the repulsion of the invasion by the independent mobilisation and organisation of the workers, peasants, oppressed nationalities and army ranks was the chief task of the day.

Without in any way giving political support to Khomeini (opposing the voting for war credits in the Majlis, for example) revolutionary Marxists in Iran proposing the arming of the masses as the best way to defeat the coun-

ter-revolutionary intervention of the Iraqi Army.

It is despite the restrictions which the Khomeini regime placed on such mass mobilisations that the military victories of the recent past have been won. In doing so they have struck a blow against the reactionary Ba'athist regime, bringing closer the prospect of the demise of Saddam Hussein.

The reactionary Arab states and imperialism will also receive a body blow from any definitive Iraqi defeat. Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan have all given backing to Saddam Hussein, bankrolling the gargantuan costs of the war. Jordan not only provided arms but also dispatched a "volunteer" force.

In the aftermath of the recent defeats, King Hussein of Jordan has visited Baghdad promising the fullest support. President Mubarak has declared that Egypt supports Iraq "as an Arab country."

It is evident that US imperialism will not either stand by. Their economic blockade which has resulted in major hardships for the Iranian people is clearly not enough. As the

*Guardian* explained: "The State Department, reflecting concern that Iran's recent victories over Iraq could eventually alter the political balance in the Gulf region, has called for urgent negotiations."

It is this deepening concern over the potential of the Iranian revolution to inspire revolts in the rest of the Arab region that has led the US to increase their aid dramatically to counter-revolutionary groups trying to overthrow the Khomeini regime.

The *New York Times* recently reported on support for covert actions which "include financing two paramilitary units composed largely of Iranian exiles in eastern Turkey adjacent to Iran, providing several million dollars a year to Iranian exiles groups."

US support doesn't only extend to monarchist groups. The economic journal *8 Days* reports that "US sources say Washington, Baghdad, and Riyadh would all like to see Abol Hassan Bani Sadr restored to power in Tehran, and US officials have had substantial contact with the former Iranian president and his entourage in Paris." Bani Sadr is an alliance with the Mojahedin who have been responsible for a bombing and assassination campaign against the top leadership of Khomeini's Islamic Republican Party.

The recent Iranian military victories will be a signal for the stepping up of attacks on the Iranian revolution. It is the task of socialists to oppose these attacks. □

## Release Iranian socialists!

Two leaders of Iran's Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, are still being held without charges in Evin Prison in Tehran. The HKE is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International.

Atai, a member of the HKE's Political Bureau, has been held since March 29. He was detained at that time by the Tehran Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office, three weeks after the HKE's weekly newspaper, *Kargar*, had published an extensive interview with Atai detailing his experiences during a previous term of imprisonment at Evin.

After the interview with Atai was published, the authorities stepped up harassment of *Kargar* and the HKE. On March 15, Falsafi, who is responsible for printing the newspaper, was arrested by officials from the prosecutor's office. And on March 26, the newspaper's publication was suspended on the orders of the same office.

During the first week of April, a young soldier in Ahwaz named Hassan Sadegh was sentenced to 10 years in prison by a military court. The charge was that he had

read *Kargar* and distributed it to his fellow soldiers.

Other publications of the Iranian workers movement have come under similar attack. The weekly newspaper of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party was forced to shut down, as were the publications of the two tendencies in the majority faction of the Fedayan. On May 1, however, socialists in Iran reported that the paper of one of these tendencies had begun circulating again.

Efforts by those who support the revolution and oppose U.S. imperialism's attacks on it can help to free Atai, Falsafi, and Sadegh. Telegrams such as the following should be sent to Hojatolislam Mousavi Tabrizi, Prosecutor General, Islamic Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran. Send copies to *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, Tehran, Iran:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and opponent of the U.S. government's threats against it, I urge you to release the anti-shah, anti-imperialist fighters Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, who are being held without charges at Evin Prison in Tehran. I also urge the release of the anti-imperialist soldier Hassan Sadegh, who has been unjustly sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in Ahwaz."



# A visit to the Zeledón Sugar Refinery

*What revolution has meant for 3,000 workers in Rivas*

**By Jane Harris**

RIVAS, Nicaragua — If you go south from Managua on the Pan American Highway, and take a left about 30 miles north of the Costa Rican border, you will arrive at the gates of the Benjamín Zeledón Sugar Refinery.

More than a sugar refinery, it is 6,000 manzanas (1 manzana = 1.73 acres) of state-owned property that is being used to feed, house, educate, provide recreation for, and otherwise take care of the needs of the 3,000 workers employed here.

The refinery workers, who had been in the vanguard of the literacy campaign in 1980, are now leading in the defense of the revolution. Thirty percent of them are active in the militias.

Traditionally, workers in Central America enjoy a week of vacation before Easter Sunday. Unfortunately, because of near-daily counterrevolutionary attacks, the Nicaraguan government was forced to suspend the holidays to ensure defense of the population.

Had workers gone to the beaches on vacation, leaving the cities and factories empty, this could have served as a green light to the imperialists and their allies to step up military attacks.

Roberto Hurtado, 26 years old and director of the refinery, said, "Here everybody worked all week, including Saturday and Sunday. Sure, we had some problems but this is natural. You can't change an age-old tradition overnight."

"A battalion of *milicianos* (militia members) from other unions, government workers, refinery administrators — including myself — volunteered to cut cane with the workers during Holy Week."

"Here the workers really work hard," Hurtado added.

## Participation of workers

Working hard in Nicaragua means raising the level of production. Raising the level of production means feeding the country and making sure that the army is well-nourished. Where production is for export, it means dollars will come into the country — dollars which Nicaragua desperately needs to buy the things that cannot be produced here. The most revolutionary and the most patriotic workers are the ones who, understanding this, work the hardest.

While touring the factory with Hurtado, we noticed how friendly the workers were to this top administrator.

Yet it was not always that way.

"The biggest change," Hurtado explained,

"has been in the participation of workers. The board of directors here includes union delegates, management delegates, and delegates from the agriculture ministry."

"This body decides on production plans, investment plans, and also social and financial projections."

## Housing, child care, and schools

During the extensive tour the social benefits of working at Benjamín Zeledón were particularly evident. In fact, 43 percent of a worker's wage consists of benefits.

Initially, 96 homes for families of eight have been built on the nationalized property. The monthly cost per family is a rock-bottom C\$120 (10 córdobas = US\$1), which includes electricity and water. Four apartment buildings for unmarried workers are also available.

A day-care center that accepts children between the ages of 45 days and six years stands next door. Forty children are enjoying it right now, and the projection is to include 40 more in the near future. Workers decide which children most need child care through discussion in the mass organizations, such as the union and the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE).

Also located on the refinery premises are a refinery-subsidized store for basic foods, a bakery, a hospital, adult education courses, an elementary school with 320 students, a secondary school with an equal number of students, and even a stadium. The baseball team is very

good, we were enthusiastically told.

An attractive brand-new cafeteria provides three half-price meals a day for workers. It also serves as a canteen for night workers. Curious and hungry, we checked it out for lunch. For 50 cents, workers get a heaping plateful of rice, beans, salad, plantains, a piece of chicken, and a fresh fruit drink.

## Under new management

Prior to the refinery's nationalization, the former owners had completely decapitalized it, leaving behind a bankrupt factory. It took a half-million dollars just to get production re-started.

Except for two members, the entire technical staff left the country. Today, a brand-new team of about 40 native Nicaraguans, average age 26, is responsible for much of the factory's increased production.

For example, the refinery, although it has grown by 3,800 manzanas through government land grants, did not have to purchase additional supplies of energy to work the land. The technicians, highly motivated and having the interests of the revolution at heart, made use of steam heat derived from the refinery process to produce electricity, saving the refinery \$400,000 per year.

In response to a call from the government to make Nicaragua self-sufficient in basic food supplies, a host of crops have been planted on refinery land. Beans have been planted between rows of sugar cane. Basic grains, rice, cabbage, beets, green peppers, tomatoes, and



Workers line up for lunch in new cafeteria.

Michael Baumann/IP

fruits are growing as well.

Workers and management are trying to maximize the use of the land while minimizing any harmful effects on the environment.

How did the older workers receive the young management and technical staff? "Very well," Hurtado replied. "This was a very popular war and the process of reconstruction is very popular as well. We're working more efficiently now than ever before."

A graph on the refinery's performance dem-

onstrated this very convincingly. And it was evident that this type of information interests everybody, not just management. At the entrance to the refinery a group of workers was standing in front of the chalkboard, where similar production statistics are posted.

The workers took great pains to explain the complex process of sugar refining.

After climbing three flights of stairs, we could look down and see oxen transporting the carts of cane, the cane being lifted, loaded,

steamed, crushed, turning into a honey-like substance, and eventually crystallizing into the familiar sugar that we buy in stores.

The refinery, with all its powerful machinery, reminded me of gigantic steel mills like those in the United States. Yet the big difference was that the workers here, unlike U.S. workers, can be sure that their efforts will be rewarded.

Less than three years of history has already proven this to them. □

## Grenada

# How revolution changed legal system

## *Justice for the working class*

[The following is an interview with Miles Fitzpatrick, the legal consul in Grenada's Ministry of Justice. It was obtained by Baxter Smith in St. George's, Grenada, on April 1.]

\* \* \*

*Question. Can you describe the justice system under former dictator Eric Gairy and what changes have taken place in it since the revolution on March 13, 1979?*

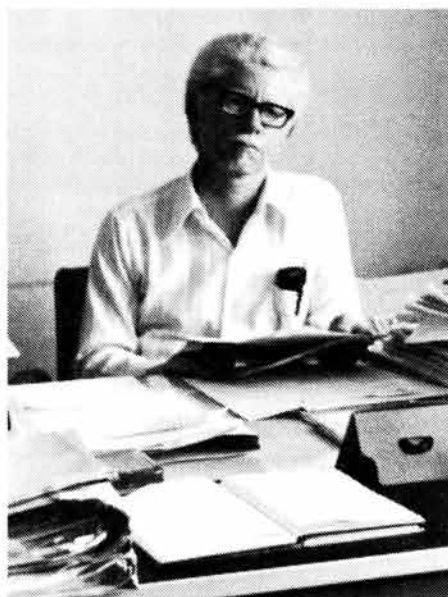
*Answer.* The situation under Gairy was that the local judiciary was corrupted by him. He exercised the power of appointment. Lawyers were subject to severe political pressures, and as a result of that those who went on the bench were not independently minded people. This was shown when Bloody Sunday erupted [in 1973] and the badly beaten leaders of the New Jewel Movement were, in fact, refused bail by the courts, by the magistrates.

The Duffus Commission, which was set up as a result of the events surrounding the disturbances and demonstrations against the Gairy government, found the local magistrates, at least two of them, to be unfit for office.

After the revolution on March 13, 1979, the discredited magistrates either resigned or were requested to resign and did so.

Three new magistrates were appointed from the local bar and it is safe to say that they had the confidence of the local lawyers — many of whom were fed up with the state of justice in the country under Gairy. None of them had any political connections with the New Jewel Movement, as far as I'm aware, and they are certainly not subject to direction from anyone with respect to their rulings.

A problem also arose in regard to the Grenada Supreme Court, which was part of a regional court. Soon after the overthrow of Gairy, pressures were exerted on the new government by regional organizations and governments, under the heading of a return to "constitutionality." The regional Supreme Court removed



Flax Hermes/JP

MILES FITZPATRICK

itself from Grenada. And as a result of that the government had to set up a local supreme court as quickly as possible.

There has been another important change. Before the revolution, appeals from the regional court went to the privy council in England, which traditionally is the colonial final appellate court. Grenada abolished appeals to the privy council after the revolution. There is now a Grenadian court of appeals, comprising three appellate judges.

Insofar as the system of laws is concerned, there has been much greater and more fundamental change. The old parliamentary system is gone. Important legislation is now subject to a process of popular review, rather than parliamentary review, through the parish councils and other machinery.

The actual technical process is that this de-

partment [Ministry of Justice] gets instructions from the cabinet as to when and what law is required. It then puts up a draft. If the law is of social or national importance it is then circulated through the Ministry of National Mobilization to the popular councils, and to any other organizations that may be affected — trade unions, chamber of commerce, depending on the nature of the law — to be subject to discussion. It then goes back to cabinet, where we get final instructions and a final draft.

*Q. What have been some of the other problems that the judicial system has faced so far?*

*A.* One of the problems is that Grenada is a very small island with a small legal profession. There are probably about 20 lawyers in practice, government and private. Normally, if you get one out of every 10 lawyers who is willing to do free work for poor people, you've got plenty. That's 10 percent of your legal profession.

Now the lawyers who were traditionally seen by the masses as accessible, whether or not people had money to pay fees, are the lawyers who are running the government: [Prime Minister] Maurice Bishop and [Minister of Justice] Kendrick Radix. So there is a need for a mass organization legal department, a public defender system in both criminal and civil matters that is not run by the government but that is run by the organizations elected by the people who have the need.

Secondly, we find the department understaffed because the rates of pay are not attractive in comparison with the wealthier West Indian countries like Trinidad or Barbados.

There's also more legal work because the government has taken on the role of the motor in the economy and in economic development due to lack of private investment. As a result of this there are new cooperative sectors, there's a new government corporation sector, government banking sector, agro-industrial sector — all of which sooner or later will have to face le-



gal problems and need legal advice.

What has happened is that a number of lawyers have offered their services out of solidarity with the government and have come in from time to time — some for three months, some, like myself, for a year — from other islands.

In addition, there's the whole problem of law reform.

The Gairy government was probably one of the most backward — if not the most backward — in the West Indies. Because of that, the revolution inherited a set of laws that had not been revised since 1958 and had never been systematically reformed. As a result, legislation that other islands have had for 30 to 40 years still did not exist in Grenada.

So we are engaged presently in putting on the ground a comprehensive review of local legislation with the view of bringing it up to date — not only in conformity with the new social face of Grenada, but just laws that are generally regarded as necessary and which Gairy never bothered to have passed. I give you one example. There's no law dealing with consumer rights at all.

The emphasis of the government has been on workers' rights and women's rights, so you will find reform legislation passed as a priority in those matters over the last two years: maternity leave law, the right to recognition of trade unions, and so on. Other rights, such as consumer rights, revision of the criminal code, are in the chute — awaiting legal personnel.

But there is a limit to how many major laws you can ask your parish councils to discuss in the course of a year. So there is an objective constraint as well as an internal constraint on your rate of progress.

*Q. Are most of the laws that Grenada started with on March 13, 1979, basically the same that existed in other English-speaking Caribbean countries?*

*A.* In fact we started a little behind most of the other islands. For instance we had labor legislation that was nearly 100 years out of date. Countries like Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados, and Trinidad were far in advance of Grenada in labor legislation.

In matters of immediate importance to the trade unions, Grenada has caught up. But you cannot see a law in isolation from its application to and by the people. In terms of the use that the working class has made of legislation that has been passed, Grenada has, in my opinion, gone far ahead of any other West Indian country.

In cases of laws affecting the people and the people's organizations, the people's standard of living and their right to participate in the decision-making process — because of the type of government that exists, because of the growth of mass organizations and their vigilance — those laws are implemented rapidly.

*Q. If you look at the United States in relation to Blacks since the civil rights movement of the 1960s, all of these laws have been passed — guaranteeing the right to vote, equal*

*housing, equal schooling, etc. But they aren't enforced in practice. And so today conditions are as bad or worse than what they were when the laws were passed.*

*A.* Exactly. It's because the institution with the power to implement the law, whether it's the attorney general in America or the state attorney general's office or whoever it is, frequently for political reasons — because of its class interests or the interests of the class it represents — doesn't want to enforce the law.

In Grenada, it would be impossible for me to conceive of an employer who is found to be in breach of the law and reported not having the full weight of the law brought on him immediately.

One case I have in mind was a very dramatic one. It was the first prosecution under the maternity leave law. The employer was a woman, and there was a lot of pressure from middle-class people not to prosecute her, but to give her a warning. But it was clear that she had deliberately dismissed a worker, who was reported to be pregnant. And she was given a very

stiff fine by the court.

The court, of course, had to look at the social situation in which the women's organizations were attending court and were very vigilant as to whether the law would be applied. The New Jewel Movement paper was highlighting this as the first test of the law.

The court had no political instructions, but the court had a social situation in which it was clear that the mobilized population saw this law as defending their interests and were looking for justice to be done. Many of the lawyers protested that it was a harsh penalty, it was a very stiff fine. But nonetheless it showed you where the balance of forces lay in the community — in that case, against the employer rather than for her.

Even a court that is appointed in the traditional method has to operate within a certain social framework. And where it is clear that the establishment in the society is now the mass organizations and no longer the old middle-class representatives then even a court which is traditional in its outlook will respond to that to some extent. □

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# Vietnam seven years after liberation

*'We are proud of having created a firm basis for days to come'*

[The following message by Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, deputy representative of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, was sent to a May 1 Conference on Reconciliation with Vietnam held at Princeton University on the seventh anniversary of the Vietnamese victory over U.S. imperialism.]

[Madame Dung had been invited to speak to the conference. However, the U.S. State Department refused her permission to attend. Representatives to the United Nations cannot go beyond a 25-mile radius from the UN without the U.S. government's consent.]

\* \* \*

Dear friends,

Reconciliation is goodwill to overcome differences and build up friendship.

Your attempt to open a forum on reconciliation with Vietnam deeply moves me. Thank you very much for inviting me to address you.

In the last two decades, the United States and Vietnam were at war, which left losses on both sides. Despite the fact that relations are not yet normalized, our two peoples want reconciliation, normalization of relations, and friendship.

It should be recalled that even during the war years, an important section of the American people worked together with the Vietnamese people for a common goal — to put an end to that war. Many people here worked tirelessly, contributed their precious time, resources, and even their lives. Through their resolute action, American housewives, nuns, students, intellectuals, businessmen, workers and other people were finally successful and literally halted the war carnage.

It was exactly seven years ago today that the people in Vietnam and the United States happily welcomed their common achievement — the war was brought to an end.

In recalling this history, I want to say that reconciliation has been on our agenda quite a long time. It dates back to the early 1960s, when the war got under way. We, the Vietnamese, will always remember the U.S. antiwar movement as helping build friendship between us. It was your antiwar activists that helped strengthen our trust in the American people's love for freedom and justice.

That trust was demonstrated in the very first sentence of the Proclamation of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, read to the world by President Ho Chi Minh 37 years ago. I am sure many of you know that historic statement, which reads:

"All men are created equal. They are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable

rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

"The immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the USA in 1776. In a broader sense, this means all the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the people have the right to live, to be happy and free."

Nothing can testify more vividly to the belief of the leaders and people of Vietnam in the values which we share with the American people. This has been a solid basis for reconciliation in the past, at present, and in the future — for our common efforts to bring about peace in the world.

## Situation in Vietnam today

Seven years after the war, what is the situation in Vietnam today? Those who had been enraged by the failure to strangle Vietnam by force are painting an extremely bleak picture of Vietnam: a crippled economy, human rights violations, endless exodus of refugees, invasion of Kampuchea, so on and so forth.

The Vietnamese felt that life would be simply wonderful when the war was over, when bombings, shellings, killings were stopped. Peace would have a lot to offer: family reunion, rebuilding houses, education, and recreation.

Naturally peace was invaluable. But it also meant a lot of problems to solve, some of which were beyond all predictions. It was the first time in nearly 100 years that Vietnam completely regained its independence, that the dream for which generations had laid down their lives came true.

But it was also true that Vietnam inherited a legacy of havoc and destruction from 14 million tons of bombs and shells — seven times the amount of ammunition used in the Second World War.

Having reunified the country after more than 20 years of partition was a historic and important success. But then the questions became how to incorporate in the new society people who had worked for former regimes. How to enable them to take part in healing the scars of war. How to reorganize the national economy with half of it in the South, formerly dependent on the war machinery and foreign assistance, with more consumers than laborers. How to meet the needs of a normal life in peace — a pressing and legitimate demand of the population after long years of war.

## No miracles

No miracle can help fill in a matter of days 20 million bomb craters; defuse 150,000 tons of unexploded bombs and shells; rebuild

houses in 15,000 villages, cities, and towns which were either razed to the ground or heavily destroyed; take care of 1.5 million disabled persons and nearly a million widows; create jobs for 3 million unemployed, mostly in South Vietnam. It is not an easy business to turn those who got used to serving the war machine for a living — traders, consumers — into productive manpower. It takes quite a while for a generation to get trained in economic and social management, or sometimes in simple things like rice planting.

At the same time, in addition to the above problems, there is a colossal and most difficult one: Vietnam has had no peace. China started a two-pronged war against Vietnam: one on the southwestern border, using the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, and the other in the North, in an open invasion of Vietnam. This has caused heavy losses and stagnated efforts in postwar national reconstruction.

In Kampuchea, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, having betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Kampuchean people and their Vietnamese comrades-in-arms, became the shock troops of Chinese expansionism in Southeast Asia. They not only turned Kampuchea itself into a mass death chamber but also initiated repeated attacks on provinces in Vietnam.

Hundreds of massacres were committed against our population along the borders. In April 1978 six battalions of Pol Pot troops infiltrated Ba Chuc in An Giang Province, 16 kilometers inside Vietnam. They burned down 3,600 houses, herded the villagers into a pagoda and then killed them with guns, grenades, hoes, and knives. There you can now see a mass grave no less horrible than the ones you see in Kampuchea.

On the northern borders, the destruction caused by the Chinese invasion is no less devastating than Washington's B-52 carpet bombing. In addition, China instigated and coerced the Hoa people in Vietnam to flee or cause disturbances or riots to destabilize our country.

## 'State of war and peace'

So it can be said that since 1975 Vietnam has been in a state of peace, then war, and now half war—half peace. In a period of seven years, Vietnam's independence and sovereignty were more than once in peril. Imagine what would have become of Vietnam had we not defeated these aggression plans.

Natural disasters were another problem. Two floods brought about a 3-million-ton rice deficit and 6 million people homeless.

Never before in their history have the Vietnamese people dealt with so many problems at



one time as today. China, given the green light by the United States, is resolved to "bleed Vietnam white," as they put it.

Postwar reconstruction is a huge task. But Vietnam does not receive any significant international capital aid and is subjected to an economic blockade. Pressure has been exerted on different countries to stop economic relations with Vietnam. In the meantime, the threat "to teach Vietnam a second lesson" remains a Damocles sword suspended over our country. Four hundred thousand Chinese troops, massed close to the border, are engaging in daily provocations.

It is understandable that such a tough life, with the constant threat of war, has prompted a number of persons in Vietnam to go abroad to seek a more comfortable life. Many who profit by this situation, organizing illegal departures to make money, have been punished. Our government is cooperating with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and a number of recipient countries to organize orderly departures to ensure the safety of those who leave. Those who are listed on the orderly departure program have normally met with more difficulties with the recipient countries than those rescued on the seas.

#### Communist Party congress

In short, in the past years Vietnam encountered enormous and seemingly insurmountable difficulties. However, as compared with the previous periods of history, the most difficult time has passed. In its recent fifth congress held from March 27 to April 1, 1982, the Communist Party of Vietnam summed up its work from 1975 and drew the following conclusions:

1. Over the past seven years, the Vietnamese people have achieved a number of important objectives: the reunification of the country in political, economic, and cultural fields; healing of wounds of war by rebuilding houses, schools, factories, bridges, and roads; restoring agricultural and industrial production in the two zones of Vietnam.

2. We have successfully defended independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and defeated the two-pronged war of aggression launched from the southwest and north of our country.

3. A number of objectives on construction and improving the people's living conditions have not been met. This is due to the lack of peace, lack of experience, and to deficiencies in economic and social management.

The fifth congress has adopted a number of important decisions on tasks and targets in the economic and social fields in the next 5 and 10 years. Specific measures have been charted to overcome deficiencies and errors, to include more young people qualified in technology and economic and social management in the leadership. Our motto is "all for the reconstruction and defense of the country, for the happiness of the people."

Looking back at the past seven years, we are proud of having accomplished a considerable

amount of work, having overcome difficulties, and having created a firm basis for the days to come.

Noteworthy is the care given to the people. Priority efforts have been made to bring a new life to the disabled, drug-addicted, widows and orphans, prostitutes, pickpockets, and others.

#### Literacy drive

We have rapidly wiped out illiteracy in the areas liberated after 1975. We have been awarded a prize by UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization] for this achievement. At present, 16 million people — one-third of the population — go to school or take training courses. We have developed medicine, gymnastics, and sports. We have elaborated the new Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and institutionalized the people's collective democracy.

Scientific and technical branches have made some progress in meeting the task of reconstruction and defense of the country.

During these difficult years, a group of four Vietnamese teenagers won the first prize in international mathematics competition in London in 1979; young pianist Dang Thai Son won the first prize in the Chopin international contest in 1980; Pham Tuan, the first cosmonaut of the third world, participated in a scientific research flight under the Intercosmos program in 1980.

In the field of foreign affairs, Vietnam has been pursuing a policy of friendship and cooperation with all other countries on the basis of respect for their independence and sovereignty, without interference in their internal affairs. In spite of untold difficulties and obstacles, Vietnam has had economic relations with countries of different social regimes: socialist, nonaligned, and Western countries as well.

In addition to the Thac Ba hydraulic station and the Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh City railways built with the assistance of the Soviet Union, there are the Swedish Bai Bang paper mill, the Danish cement factory, the Australian ox farm, the Indian Murat buffalo farm, the Cuban cattle farm.

The U.S. government and its Western allies cite the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, the missing-in-action question, and the departure of refugees as reasons that make impossible normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam. The United States and China also seek to persuade other countries to use these as reasons to carry out the same kind of crusade against Vietnam. They set the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea as a precondition for improvement in the relations between the United States and Vietnam.

#### No bargaining on sovereignty

We wish to reaffirm that Vietnam has always desired to have normal relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries, including the United States. This conforms to Vietnam's and the United States' interest. But

Vietnam will never bargain or trade the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops for normalization of relations. The presence of our troops in Kampuchea is at the request of the Kampuchean people and is in keeping with the treaty signed between the government of Vietnam and the government of Kampuchea. This is a matter of principle, concerning the sovereignty of Vietnam and Kampuchea, and therefore cannot be bargained.

Vietnam's assistance to the Kampuchean people, to stop genocide and now to defend their independence and sovereignty, constitutes an obligation of ours as a neighbor of Kampuchea. It is just and moral. It is also a question of security, of life and death in the interest of the two peoples.

No one has the right to prevent the five front-line states in southern Africa or the Nordic countries from assisting one another when they deem it necessary to unite in struggle for their common interest. No one has the right either to force Vietnam, Kampuchea, or Laos to leave their neighbor, their comrade, in time of need.

A military and economic blockade in a bid to bleed and weaken Vietnam, to prevent Vietnam from healing the wounds of war, is a policy of base revenge pursued by Peking and aided and abetted by the United States. To prevent food for the hungry, medicine for the sick, milk for the children is criminal and cannot in any way be justified.

Of late, a delegation of U.S. veterans went to Vietnam. Vietnamese scientists have been to the United States, while their counterparts have been to Vietnam. A project of research on the effects of Agent Orange on human beings and the environment is being put into motion. These steps will certainly help promote mutual understanding between us as two peoples.

They show that friendship and reconciliation are natural aspirations of our peoples. Any obstacles are created by those who want them to justify their antireconciliation and hostile policies.

What is necessary is to remove misinformation, to step up education in our countries to enable reconciliation, friendship, and normalization of relations.

The path of cooperation is wide and long. We still have many difficulties ahead. Looking to the future, we are all sure that we will win again. □

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# ANC answers U.S. smears

*South African group hits charges of 'terrorism'*

[The following is a statement by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa on hearings that were held in late March before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. The committee, chaired by Senator Jeremiah Denton, has been seeking to smear the ANC and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule, as "terrorist" organizations.]

[The ANC's statement, which is taken from the March 30 issue of the *ANC Weekly News Briefing*, published in London, was signed by ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo.]

\* \* \*

The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker has condemned what he calls "terrorist activities" and other "violent efforts" by SWAPO and ANC. Testifying before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism on March 22, 1982, he said that these two organisations receive 90% of their military aid and 60% of their overall aid from the Soviet Union.

The derogatory reference by Dr. Crocker to the just struggle for national independence waged by the national liberation movements as "terrorism" is but a feeble attempt by the Reagan Administration at concealing its role as the mainstay of terrorist regimes throughout the world. This Administration, which has self-righteously proclaimed its mission to be the fight against international terrorism, spends huge sums of dollars to prop up fascist dictatorships such as those in El Salvador to continue with their genocidal policies. It is also the same Administration which supports the Pretoria racists not only to conduct a reign of terror against the majority of the people in our country, but also to carry these acts of terror into the neighbouring states with complete disregard for life and property.

Neither the ANC nor the Soviet Union made any secret about the selfless support that the Soviet Union, the Socialist Community and the progressive forces the world over are granting to the people fighting against oppression, exploitation and human degradation.

What, then, is the real objective behind this "revelation" of Soviet assistance to the liberation movements?

For the people of South Africa the latest manoeuvres of the Reagan Administration in Central America are instructive. U.S. imperialism, having failed in its machinations to subdue the people of Cuba and to reverse their revolutionary gains, was confronted with yet another humiliating defeat with the triumph of the struggle of the people of Nicaragua. Added to these defeats the U.S. Administration is now

confronted with the increasing tempo of popular struggles, namely in El Salvador and other countries in the region. In response to these developments the U.S. Administration has adopted a desperate and aggressive stance towards Cuba and Nicaragua.

Similarly, in Southern Africa, imperialism, which has suffered great losses as a result of the victories of the revolutionary struggles waged in the region, seeks to reverse these advances by throwing its full weight behind the racist Pretoria regime.

Fearing the destruction of its stronghold in

Africa by the liberation forces led by the ANC and SWAPO, imperialism now seeks to find a pretext for its aggression in the region. However, this time the excuse for intervention is not Cuba or Nicaragua, but the Soviet Union for its assistance to the liberation movements. It is now clear that the strategy of international imperialism, in particular the United States, is to suppress the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, and to use the racist South African regime to attack the front line states for their assistance to our cause.

The ANC therefore calls on progressive mankind to condemn these dirty manoeuvres by the United States and to give all possible support to the national liberation movements and to the front line states in our sub-continent. For our part we in the ANC shall not rest until we destroy the apartheid monster and create a South Africa that will stand for peace, democracy and social progress.

AMANDLA! MAATLA! [Power!]

## New evidence on South African coup attempt in Seychelles

The leader of an abortive attempt by a band of mercenaries to overthrow the government of the Seychelles Islands last November has testified in a South African court that the apartheid regime was behind the attack.

Michael Hoare — better known as "Mad Mike" through his mercenary exploits in the Congo in the 1960s — revealed that the cabinet of Prime Minister Pieter Botha had approved the mercenary operation in September. Botha, shortly after the attack was turned back by Seychelles security forces, had denied any involvement or knowledge of the plot.

Appearing in court in Pietermaritzburg, where he is being tried with 43 other mercenaries for hijacking a plane from the Seychelles to South Africa following the abortive attack, Hoare presented evidence of his charges May 3 — including an invoice from the South African Defense Force certifying delivery to his home of weapons and ammunition used in the attempt.

Hoare's testimony followed earlier revelations by Martin Dolincheck, an agent of the South African National Intelligence Service, who is now facing trial in the Seychelles.

The Seychelles are a group of 92 islands in the Indian Ocean, 1,000 miles east of Africa. They are considered strategic because they are within military reach of Africa, India, and the Persian Gulf. They also command the main shipping lane for tankers leaving the Persian Gulf.

The present government, headed by President France Albert René, came to power in 1977 after toppling dictator James Mancham, who had close ties with the South African regime.

Since taking office, the René government has:

- Instituted a minimum wage, a housing program, free education and health care, and old-age and unemployment benefits.
- Been active in the Nonaligned Movement.
- Supported African liberation movements, most recently in an appeal to South Africa to spare three members of the African National Congress who are sentenced to die in that country.
- Called for dismantling the U.S. military base on nearby Diego Garcia Island.

In connection with the latter, Washington has accused René of turning the Seychelles into a Soviet outpost.

René, meanwhile, has accused imperialism of mounting three attempts to reinstall Mancham.

In November's try, 50 or so mercenaries arrived at Victoria Airport in the Seychelles, posing as a rugby team delivering Christmas presents to disabled children. Trouble began when a customs officer noticed a gun barrel poking out from amongst the toy trucks.

A 20-hour shootout ensued, at the end of which 45 of the mercenaries commandeered a plane and made for South Africa. International protest later forced the apartheid government to bring charges against them.

The mercenaries left behind in the Seychelles now face trial on treason charges. □

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