

# Intercontinental Press

combined with **IMPREGOR**

Vol. 19, No. 8

March 9, 1981

USA \$1

UK 40p

## Opposition Mounts Against U.S. Military Threats to El Salvador



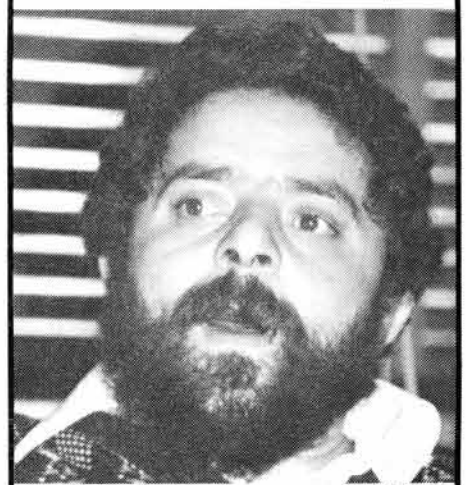
Seattle demonstration on January 31 is one of many taking place throughout the world.

Jim Levitt/IP

***Britain: Labour Party  
Moving Left as  
Economic Crisis Deepens***

**Spain: Huge Protests  
Condemn Attempted  
Coup by Rightists**

**Brazilian Workers'  
Leaders Jailed**



Fred Murphy/IP

Luís Inácio da Silva ('Lula'), one of eleven union leaders sentenced to prison terms for leading strike.

## Free the Brazilian Workers Leaders!

By Steve Bride

A Brazilian military tribunal has tried, convicted, and jailed workers' leader Luís Inácio da Silva ("Lula") and ten others. The court managed all this in less than forty-eight hours, in a trial closed to all international observers.

The trial was held on twenty-four hours' notice, presumably to minimize the number of international observers the military would have to turn away at the door. Sentences for the eleven (two others were found innocent) ranged from two to three-and-a-half years.

This, for the "crime" of leading a strike.

The defendants were all leaders of a strike of 150,000 metalworkers in Brazil last April and May. At its high point, that strike mobilized 325,000 workers in solidarity actions in and around São Paulo.

Of more immediate concern to dictator João Baptista de Figueiredo, however, was the fact that many—Lula best known among them—were also leaders of the Workers Party (PT).

Founded in the wake of the strike, the PT was originally based on the large industrial unions of São Paulo and other cities in southern Brazil. Today, though, it has committees throughout the country, and will field candidates for the 1982 elections. Lula himself, a recent poll showed, is running second in the race for governor of the state of São Paulo.

That is one reason why, in addition to jailing them, the government also barred the defendants from ever holding political or union office.

Another is that earlier attempts to stop the PT had not worked all that well. Terror attacks—in which the military was implicated by congressional deputies—claimed the life of at least one PT leader. PT headquarters in São Paulo, Jundiaí, Campo Grande, and other cities were vandalized or bombed. Still, the PT continued to grow.

So Figueiredo moved to the trial. Reaction to it came fast.

From the United States, William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), fired off a telegram to the regime condemning its "suppression of Brazilian workers' basic human rights." If Lula and the others were not released, Winpisinger warned, the "international labor movement will have to consider taking serious concrete measures" to protest the action.

And representatives of the United Auto Workers and United Food and Commercial

Workers, who arrived in Brazil from the United States too late for the trial, have indicated that they may remain in Brazil for the appeal. That is set for March 11.

Warnings of another sort came from a section of the U.S. capitalist class. In a February 23, 1981, editorial, the *New York Times* cautioned Figueiredo that he risks "an explosion" if he "ignores the lessons of Gdansk" and jails Lula, whom the *Times* called Brazil's Lech Walesa.

When Figueiredo first took office in 1979 he promised a "democratic opening" in Brazilian politics. Workers promptly availed themselves of this and launched the biggest strike wave the country had ever seen, capped by the metalworkers' strike.

Government repression and threatened mass firings eventually forced the strikers back to work. Soon thereafter, charges were filed against Lula and other strike leaders.

With Lula's return to Brazil on February 13, following a tour of Europe and the United States, the stage was set for their

trial, then scheduled for February 23.

On February 15, a crowd of 6,000 turned out for a defense rally in the São Paulo suburb of São Bernardo. Similar demonstrations were held in other cities.

Alarmed by this, and by recent revelations of torture carried out by the military in the early 1970s, the regime on February 19 went so far as to detain Argentinian Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel. The latter was in Brazil speaking out in favor of reparations for torture victims.

Pérez Esquivel was later released after protesters had rallied in front of police headquarters.

It was in this atmosphere that the trial, which had earlier been postponed indefinitely, was rescheduled for February 25.

Sensing that the government was less than sincere about giving them a fair hearing, the defendants and their lawyers boycotted the proceedings. The eleven who were convicted presented themselves the next day at government security offices. There, they were to sign papers that would allow them to remain free pending appeal.

But the judge who was to cosign those papers was allegedly on vacation and therefore unavailable. So Lula and the rest went to jail.

This move is an attack on the entire Brazilian labor movement. To win their freedom and a lifting of the sentences, Lula and his comrades need the broadest possible international solidarity. □

## U.S. Rulers Debate Loans to Poland

By David Frankel

Calling it "a first step toward aiding the hard-pressed government of Poland," *Washington Post* correspondent Don Oberdorfer reported February 23 that the Reagan administration has decided to let the Warsaw regime defer repayment of more than \$80 million owed to the U.S. government.

According to Oberdorfer's sources, "A longer term and more imposing plan of assistance to Poland is under study within the [Reagan] administration. . . ."

During the last months of the Carter administration, the Polish regime had requested a \$3 billion package of loans, deferred debt payments, and other types of "emergency assistance." This request was passed along to Reagan.

Just the fact that such a plan is under discussion in Washington is an indication of the shift in the relationship of forces on a world scale over the past two decades.

Despite the U.S. grain embargo aimed at Moscow, and Washington's refusal to sell certain types of technology to the Soviet Union and East European countries, the U.S. rulers are no longer strong enough politically and economically to try to strangle the Soviet and East European

workers states through the kind of de facto economic blockade that was imposed on them by Washington in the 1950s, and which is still in force against Cuba. This represents a gain for the world working class as a whole.

However, the announcement that Reagan would provide at least some aid to the Polish government came just five days after he had outlined his plans for massive cuts in the U.S. budget, including in foreign aid programs—aside from those providing arms to capitalist dictatorships such as the one in El Salvador.

Reagan's move also followed an announcement by Moscow of a four-year moratorium on Polish debt payments.

How does Reagan's aid to the regime of Stanislaw Kania fit in with his anticommunist foreign policy, and with his budget-slashing at home?

Despite the seeming contradiction, Reagan's policy on Poland is completely consistent with his overall approach. Slashing social welfare programs in the United States and trying to whip up anticommunist hysteria over El Salvador are both intended to protect and increase U.S. corporate profits. That is also the case with

Reagan's moves on Poland.

Official figures place the Polish government's debt to imperialist banks at \$23 to \$25 billion. The U.S. share of this debt is estimated at \$2.5 billion.

As the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* noted February 8, "Since the Gdansk strikes six months ago, Western bankers, prodded by their respective governments, have been busily putting together economic aid and trade packages designed to keep Comrade Kania's show on the road."

The *Guardian* added that "the bankers are pressing on because they see precious little alternative unless they are to lose their investment and the politicians their international stability and detente."

Its heavy foreign debt requires Poland to pay more than \$10 billion per year in principal and interest. Hence the discussions within the Reagan administration—and at an international banking conference that began in Paris February 23—of larger-scale financing for the Kania regime.

Such a program, Oberdorfer pointed out, would probably "require explicit commitments by the Warsaw government to implement economic reforms so that the aid would not be wasted."

What kind of "reforms" is Oberdorfer talking about? He does not say, but *New York Times* columnist William Safire, a former White House aide in the Nixon administration, took up the question February 12.

As Safire explained, "... the West cannot be expected to come up with the \$7 billion in credit needed this year without some specific commitments from Poland—and the Soviet Union—that the causes of the distress will be cured. Let's say, for argument's sake, the Russians allow the Poles to join the International Monetary Fund. . . .

"The IMF would then extend credit to Poland, as it did to Zaire and Brazil, with hard-nosed requirements that the Polish economy set its house in order. That means curbing imports, stopping subsidies, raising worker productivity and tightening the belt generally."

Sound familiar? That's the Reagan program in the United States, the Thatcher program in Britain—in short, the worldwide program of the capitalist rulers to maximize profits and drive down wages and living conditions of the working class.

As Safire was quick to point out, the bureaucratic regime in Poland is already willing to implement such a policy.

Austerity, Safire said, "is exactly what the Soviet Government wants, and the Polish Communist Party wants; but such austerity is exactly what the Polish freedom workers of Solidarity do not want. Lech Walesa wants a five-day workweek, not the current six; more wages, not less; lower consumer prices, not higher."

If an agreement were reached with the Western banks, Safire continued, "The Communist Party will use the I.M.F. re-

quirements as the excuse to deny Solidarity's demands. Polish workers will be forced to sacrifice, and Communists will blame the capitalist bankers."

If only Safire's concern about the sacrifices of the working class extended to workers in the United States—let alone those in the semicolonial countries oppressed by the imperialist banks.

Safire concluded that it would be a mistake for the Reagan administration to undertake any large-scale program of loans to Poland. He argued that the propaganda loss would outweigh any financial gains.

Whatever the Reagan administration

decides on this issue—and the question is apparently still under discussion—Safire made the real considerations of the U.S. rulers quite clear.

If Washington had any interest in helping the Polish workers, it could take much of the economic pressure off of them simply by providing long-term, low-interest loans to Warsaw, without any strings attached.

Reagan is ready and willing to give lip service to the demands of the Polish workers and to score some easy propaganda points against Moscow. But when it comes to hard cash, that's a different matter. As in the United States, profits come first. □

## In This Issue

Closing News Date: March 2, 1981

EL SALVADOR	196	Can Reagan Back Up Threats? —by Fred Murphy
CUBA	197	Castro Responds to U.S. Threats
NICARAGUA	200	Nicaraguans Reaffirm Support for Salvadoran People—by Matilde Zimmermann
	201	Slanderer of FSLN Arrested —by Matilde Zimmermann
	202	Country Mobilizes to Bring in Cotton Harvest—by Arnold Weissberg
CHILE	203	Reagan Lifts Sanctions
GUATEMALA	204	Murders "Under Direct Supervision of President"—by Anibal Yañez
	204	The Regime's Terror Machine
BRITAIN	207	Labour Party Moves to Left as Economic Crisis Deepens—by David Frankel
ZIMBABWE	209	Regime Puts Down Troop Mutiny —by Ernest Harsch
CHINA	210	Social Tensions Rising—by David Frankel
CANADA	211	Quebec Says "No" to Attack on Rights —by Joe Young
INDIA	212	Rail Workers Strike Across Country —by Vibhuti Patel
USA	213	Immigration Police Target Workers Movement—by Nelson Blackstock
	216	Are Police Covering for Atlanta Slayings?—by Cindy Jaquith
SPAIN	224	Huge Protests Denounce Rightist Coup Attempts—by David Frankel
DOCUMENTS	198	Salvadoran Insurgents Answer Reagan's Charges
	217	International Resolution of Cuban Communist Party

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

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

**Editor:** Mary-Alice Waters.  
**Contributing Editors:** Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

**Managing Editor:** Steve Clark.  
**Editorial Staff:** Gerry Foley, David Frankel, Ernest Harsch, Janice Lynn, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.

**Business Manager:** Sandi Sherman  
**Copy Editor:** David Martin.

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

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

material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Can Reagan Back Up Threats to Cuba and El Salvador?

By Fred Murphy

Despite opposition from allies abroad and a growing debate at home on the danger of "another Vietnam," the Reagan administration has stepped up its military intervention in El Salvador and its threats against Cuba.

El Salvador is "a situation in which Cuban activity has reached a peak that is no longer acceptable in this hemisphere," Secretary of State Alexander Haig said February 27. He termed Cuban solidarity with the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador "externally managed and orchestrated interventionism" and threatened, "We are going to deal with it at its source."

A flotilla of more than forty U.S. warships—including an aircraft carrier—has been assembled in the Caribbean Sea, ostensibly on a training exercise.

"These vessels and aircraft clearly could be used for some kind of blockade of Cuba," the *Washington Post* said February 25, "or to enforce some kind of U.S. threat to take action against vessels that cross a certain line off the El Salvador coast."

Under a plan reportedly approved by Reagan's National Security Council February 27, Washington will send \$25 million more in military aid to El Salvador; this includes naval patrol boats, helicopters, and radar equipment. Thirty more military advisers are also to be dispatched. (At present, Washington claims to have only twenty-seven advisers in El Salvador.)

Republican Senate leader Howard Baker said February 25 that he favored sending up to 150 advisers, "to train our friends on how to defend themselves against the onslaught of rebel forces that are financed by Russia and equipped and manned in some cases directly by Cubans."

### 'White Paper'—Ominous Parallels

Washington's campaign to frame up the Salvadoran rebels as agents of Moscow and Havana was launched in mid-February, using "secret documents" allegedly captured from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

This "evidence" was summed up in a State Department "White Paper" released February 23.

After charging that the FMLN had received shipments or promises of "nearly 800 tons of the most modern weapons and equipment" from an elaborate network stretching from Hanoi, through Moscow, Addis Ababa, and East Berlin, to Havana and Managua, the State Department concluded: "It is clear that over the past year the insurgency in El Salvador has been

progressively transformed into another case of indirect armed aggression against a small third world country by Communist powers acting through Cuba."

Washington's charges bore ominous resemblance to those leveled against the Guatemalan government in 1954 and the Cuban government in 1961. In each case, they provided the pretext for imperialist aggression.

On May 17, 1954, the State Department denounced the democratically elected Arbenz regime in Guatemala for having purchased 2,000 tons of arms from the Soviet Union. Vessels bound for Guatemala were halted and searched by the U.S. navy. One month later, Arbenz was overthrown by a right-wing invasion force organized by the CIA.

On April 3, 1961, Washington issued a White Paper accusing Cuban leaders of having organized the "delivery of the revolution to the Sino-Soviet bloc." A key piece of evidence was the charge that "since the middle of 1960, more than 30,000 tons of arms . . . have poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba in an ever-rising flood." Just two weeks later, Cuban counterrevolutionaries—armed, financed, trained, and transported by the CIA—tried to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón).

### Salvadorans Reject Charges

The FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador flatly denied the State Department's charges in a statement released in late February.

The FMLN and FDR said they acquired their weapons on the international market, captured them in battle, or manufactured them in their own shops. The only "incontrovertible truth before the international conscience," the statement said, "is the growing provision of arms and military

training" by Washington to the Salvadoran junta. (For full text of FMLN-FDR reply, see page 198.)

Aside from the "documents," Washington's evidence was scanty in the extreme. It consisted mainly of photographs of a truckload of weapons supposedly captured in Honduras. It was claimed that the serial numbers corresponded to those on U.S. arms once captured by the Vietnamese. Referring to this, one U.S. official quoted in the March 2 *Newsweek* let the cat out of the bag: "Whether or not [the documents] are authentic doesn't matter. The real proof is that the [weaponry] is there."

Whatever the case, the workers and peasants resisting the brutal junta of El Salvador have a moral right to obtain arms from any available source. Freedom fighters throughout history have done the same.

Even Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., an author of the State Department's 1961 White Paper on Cuba, acknowledges this today. "Two centuries ago American revolutionaries accepted aid from France," Schlesinger wrote in the February 23 *Wall Street Journal*. "This did not prove that they were disciplined agents of European monarchy, only that they were fighting for their lives."

### Defiance From Mexico

When Washington sponsored the invasions of Guatemala in 1954 and Cuba in 1961 and sent its own troops to the Dominican Republic in 1965, it was able to count on near-unanimous support from the semi-colonial regimes of Latin America. The Organization of American States (OAS) served faithfully as U.S. imperialism's "ministry of colonies."

But times have changed. Today, as a Latin American diplomat quoted in the March 1 *New York Times* put it, "There is no chance of getting a majority of the member countries of the Organization of American States to support a collective action in El Salvador."

In a futile search for such a majority, Reagan sent ex-CIA official Gen. Vernon Walters on a tour of Latin American capitals. But the general got a cool reception wherever he went.

Walter's first stop was Mexico, where he managed to meet briefly with President José López Portillo (earlier news reports had said incorrectly that López refused to see him).

The day after Walter's visit, López Portillo publicly defied Washington and gave



State Department map shows alleged route of Nicaraguan arms to El Salvador.

a hearty welcome to Cuba's minister of economic cooperation. The Mexican president declared that Cuba was the Latin American country "most dear" to Mexico and told his guest to "give an embrace to my commander [Fidel Castro] and a very fraternal salute to the people of Cuba."

On February 24 López Portillo denounced "the unscrupulous arrogance of military power," reiterated his call for "a political solution" in El Salvador, and complained that Central America was being "elevated to the undesirable category of strategic frontier." He called for "rigorously preserving the principles of self-determination and nonintervention."

General Walters fared little better during the remainder of his trip. In Brazil, the Foreign Ministry found the State Department's "proof" to be "not conclusive." Leading officials there "repeated their opposition to any type of intervention in El Salvador," the *Washington Post* reported February 27. The *Post* story continued:

In Buenos Aires, Walters stressed that he was making no "request" of the Argentine government and that he was not seeking a possible blockade of Cuba. Argentine officials neverthe-

less, were touchy at the suggestion that they might follow the U.S. lead just because Washington beckoned.

Similar sentiments were expressed in Venezuela, where Foreign Minister José Zambrano complained that Washington was "trying to transfer its confrontation with the Soviet Union to Latin America."

Costa Rica's President Rodrigo Carazo—like Venezuela's Herrera Campins a firm supporter of the Salvadoran junta—warned February 21 that U.S. military intervention in Central America would produce "an explosion of unimaginable consequences."

General Walters's last stop was Panama, where an earlier effort by Washington to pressure the government had backfired badly. Shortly after taking office, Secretary of State Haig sent a diplomatic note to the Panamanian government complaining of the latter's friendly ties to Cuba and charging that Panama was being used by the Cubans to send arms and trained fighters to El Salvador.

"It is false that Panama is being used to send troops and weapons to El Salvador," President Aristides Royo replied, accord-

ing to a published account by Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez. "The only country that has used our territory against our will to interfere in El Salvador is the United States." (*El Espectador*, Bogotá, February 15.)

#### U.S. Position 'Morally Dubious'

While Washington's effort to line up support in Western Europe eventually produced perfunctory statements of sympathy from the British and French governments, the main effect was to focus public attention on the brutality of the armed forces in El Salvador and the growing U.S. military role there.

When the State Department's Lawrence Eagleburger was in Britain, for example, the London *Sunday Times* featured an eight-column exposé of a massacre of 300 refugees by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies. An accompanying editorial termed the Salvadoran regime "a reactionary tyranny" and rejected Washington's position as "politically dangerous and morally dubious."

In the Netherlands, Eagleburger was met by a demonstration protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Shortly before he arrived, the Dutch Chamber of Deputies had passed a resolution calling for an end to U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta.

Eagleburger's visit to West Germany coincided with an effort by the Schmidt government to encourage negotiations between the Salvadoran junta and the FDR. Thus Schmidt was reluctant to make any statement implying support for Washington's belligerent stance toward the rebels. Schmidt's Social Democratic Party (SPD) is on record supporting the FDR.

On February 17—the day Eagleburger arrived in Bonn—the SPD youth (Jusos) called on Schmidt to reaffirm West German backing of the FDR. "European governments," the Jusos' statement said, "must not accept the fact that the U.S. government is more and more openly supporting the Salvadoran military junta." They called for defending the principle of self-determination "even when this leads to conflicts with the United States."

Eagleburger did not even bother to visit Sweden, where the government has expressed itself in an especially clear way. "American military assistance" to El Salvador, a recent statement from Stockholm said, "does not promote peace but only leads to a prolongation of the fighting."

#### Big Debate Opening Up

The hesitations voiced by Washington's allies in Europe are also finding expression in ruling-class political circles in the United States itself. While Reagan was able to line up broad, bipartisan support for his warnings to Cuba and Nicaragua, no consensus exists for trying to impose a military solution in El Salvador.

The growing debate was most clearly

### 'We Will Fight for Every Inch of Cuba!'

[The following are excerpts from Fidel Castro's speech in Moscow February 24 to the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The Yankee imperialists are now seeking to brand as terrorists the national liberation movements and the struggles of the peoples for social change. To be a revolutionary or even to be progressive or fight for democracy means, for them, to be a terrorist. With such lies and fallacies they are removing the last fig leaf of human rights and once again proclaiming themselves the gendarmes of the world.

Brandishing the specter of intervention in Latin America, they are threatening the patriots of El Salvador and Guatemala with sinister plans for aggression. They are arming the bloody and truly genocidal governments of those nations.

They have launched gross slanders against the socialist and progressive countries in an effort to show that what is happening in Central America is not the result of the just rebellion of the peoples against crime, longstanding oppression, and pitiless imperialist exploitation, but rather the consequence of supposed international conspiracies.

At the same time, they raise obstacles, harass, and try to intimidate the revolutionary people of Nicaragua.

They aid and encourage the most corrupt and criminal dictatorships of our continent. And they undermine the work of every government that speaks with its own voice or seeks to improve the lot of its people. In this way they expose their aim of implanting a more and more ironhanded domination throughout the hemisphere.

Ninety miles from our homeland, there are voices that proclaim the need to destroy us. We are openly threatened with the imposition of a military blockade. The most drastic measures are being analyzed, with the aim of erasing from Latin America the example of socialist Cuba, and of punishing the Cuban people for their friendship with the USSR and the socialist community, and for their unshakeable solidarity with the people of Africa and the worldwide revolutionary and progressive movement.

Cuba can never be forced to yield!

We are building the new socialist society with calm resolve. We are completely dedicated to creative labor. With the same dedication, however, we are preparing to defend the homeland, which we fought for more than 100 years to liberate.

We will fight to the death for every inch of soil if imperialism dares to attack our socialist homeland!

We will not reject the olive branch if it is offered, but neither will we retreat in face of aggression.

Principles are not negotiable!

reflected in testimony by ex-U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White before a House subcommittee on February 25. White speaks for those policy-makers who fear the consequences at home and internationally of giving unconditional backing to the bloodstained regime in El Salvador.

In arguing against Reagan's proposals, White acknowledged that "the chief killer of Salvadorans is the government security forces."

"The security forces in El Salvador have been responsible for the deaths of thousands and thousands of young people," White declared. "Are we going to send military advisers in there and be part of that activity?"

White also said that "there never has been a serious investigation of the deaths" of the four U.S. Catholic women missionaries murdered in El Salvador last December.

Fifty-three members of the House of Representatives have introduced legislation to cut off all U.S. military aid and sales to El Salvador. One of the sponsors, Rep. Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, told a Baltimore audience February 9 that on a fact-finding trip to Central America she learned that rape was a "systematic method of terrorism" used by the Salvadoran junta's armed forces. Women refugees "told us babies are thrown into the air and used for target practice," Mikulski said. "Women are quartered, their breasts cut off."

"Everywhere I went," Mikulski said, "I

asked: 'Are these atrocities also committed by the left?' 'No,' they answered, 'Always by the military.'"

#### No More Vietnams

The Reagan administration's recent moves have touched off a flurry of columns and editorials in the U.S. capitalist press warning against getting involved in "another Vietnam."

Writing in the *Washington Post* February 28, columnist Philip Geyelin found "some enormously unsettling similarities" to Vietnam "in the Haig/Reagan approach to El Salvador."

"Even the administration's protestations of what it will *not* do have a familiar ring," Geyelin wrote. "There will be no American combat troops; American boys, to paraphrase Lyndon Johnson in 1964, will not fight wars that El Salvadoran security forces are supposed to fight."

A reporter asked President Reagan on February 24 if he saw any danger of the United States becoming involved in El Salvador "to the point that we might not be able to extricate ourselves easily."

"No, I don't think so," Reagan said. "I know that this is a great concern. I think it's part of the Vietnam syndrome, but we have no intention of that kind of involvement."

Speaking at the Pentagon later in the day, however, Reagan asserted that U.S. troops were withdrawn from Vietnam "not because they'd been defeated, but because they'd been denied permission to win."

And when Secretary of State Haig assured foreign diplomats February 17 that "we do not intend to have another Vietnam in El Salvador," he added in the next breath, "and engage ourselves in another bloody conflict where the source rests outside the target area."

The "source" Haig would like to "target" is Cuba, and perhaps Nicaragua as well. Washington's threats are not being taken lightly in either country—the workers, peasants, and students are being armed and organized into militia units, and other defense preparations are being made.

In El Salvador itself, despite fierce repression, the revolutionary forces are regrouping and preparing for further battles. And, in the United States, Reagan faces developments such as the boycott of military shipments to El Salvador by dockworkers on the West Coast and the series of rallies and marches planned for coming months by the movement against military registration and the draft.

Washington was "denied permission to win" in Vietnam by the fighting people of that country, by American soldiers who refused to keep fighting, and by the millions who took to the streets in the United States and elsewhere to demand a halt to the war.

A similar combination of efforts among the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, workers and youth in the United States, and the solidarity movement around the world can now play a crucial role in denying Washington "permission to win" in El Salvador. □

## Salvadoran Rebel Leader Answers U.S. Charges

[The following statement was issued in late February by the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador.]

\* \* \*

In recent days, ad hoc delegations of the State Department of the United States government made trips to various European and Latin American countries, with the goal of convincing the governments they visited of Soviet support for the armed insurrection of the Salvadoran people.

This diplomatic offensive of the U.S. government has as its object to convert the Salvadoran case, at the world-wide level, into an example of supposed "Soviet expansionism." By presenting the Salvadoran problem in this way, the U.S. government is attempting to put to the test those governments which it considers friendly, relative to their availability to undertake a position of alignment at the service of a policy of confrontation of blocs.

In the face of this maneuver which the government of President Reagan is carrying out, acting as if it were also the de facto government of El Salvador, the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador declares:

1. The FMLN-FDR emphatically denies that it has received arms from the governments of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Cuba, Russia, or any other government.

It has taken the Salvadoran people more than ten years to acquire and develop all the resources which now allow it to successfully carry out its political-military struggle against tyranny. In the course of these years, the means used by the Salvadoran people to acquire their instruments of war have been very diverse. Many of the arms have been manufactured by our own combatants. Others, of U.S. manufacture, have been recovered by our people's army in combat against the army of the Salvadoran government. Others have been acquired on the international market, depending on a broad solidarity of peoples and organizations throughout the world to facilitate such transactions.

To involve governments in the provisioning of resources for the Salvadoran peoples' forces is something which reveals, besides bad intent, an excessively simplistic analysis of the facts on the part of the United States government.

Until now, the only incontrovertible truth before the international conscience is the growing provision of arms and military training with which the United States government has helped the army of the Christian Democratic/military junta of El Salvador. This is reality and not mere speculation, a reality which the United States government has created and continues to create each time in greater proportions, being fully aware of the fact that its military aid is used to kill El Salvador's civilian population and North American nuns.

It is the United States, not the government it accuses, which is really intervening in the internal affairs of El Salvador and threatening the peace of the continent. The Reagan administration, therefore, lacks the moral credibility to accuse other governments of providing military aid to

the Salvadoran peoples' forces.

By pointing this out, we do not detract from the legitimate right which the Salvadoran people have to avail themselves of support from any people or government to carry out their just struggle, as much at the political and diplomatic levels as in any other dimensions of this same struggle. The fact that we have this right, nevertheless, does not mean that we have used it to secure military aid from governments which are in solidarity with our struggle. To do so would have meant that we would be serving up on a platter to U.S. imperialism a reason to launch accusations of all kinds, which as a matter of fact, is now happening.

They turned to launching such accusations when the moment had arrived to justify a more direct and massive involvement in the internal conflict of El Salvador. It makes no sense to think that we would have fallen into the error of compromising ourselves and compromising other governments, when actually we have depended on many other possibilities to resolve our logistical problems in the military sphere.

2. The evidence with which the United States State Department is attempting to demonstrate the interference of Russia, Ethiopia, Vietnam, Cuba, and other countries of the socialist camp in the case of El Salvador, are completely false. They are also far from the reality of the process of the Salvadoran people's struggle and they ignore the broad, pluralistic, and unconditional solidarity which that struggle is receiving from all parts of the world.

All governments and people are abundantly aware of the methods which the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States uses to fabricate this "evidence." They are also aware of the repugnant methods, including torture and the use of lies, used by repressive governments like the Christian Democratic/military junta of El Salvador to obtain testimonies from its political enemies and to produce incriminating documents.

The lack of credibility of the United States government, as well as the inaccuracy and inconsistency of the evidence by which it is attempting to justify its accusations against the governments mentioned above, turn the maneuver of the State Department into a genuine insult to the intelligence and dignity of the peoples and governments to whom its diplomatic delegation has been sent. To the elements of uncertainty which characterized the Carter administration, the U.S. government now adds an effort to confuse the European governments in an irresponsible way. As was to be expected, the first reactions of those governments give evidence of their correct vision of the Salvadoran conflict and their growing lack of confidence in the rationality of United States foreign policy.

3. In the first place, the maneuver of the U.S. government attempts to justify its

support to the military regime of El Salvador. Until now, they have justified that support and have demanded support internationally by alluding to the supposed centrist and reformist character of the Salvadoran junta. This justification was losing its validity to the extent that the junta's repressive and antipopular policies were becoming evident on a global scale.

This explains the change in tactics, which consists of inventing a different argument: the danger of Soviet expansion.

In the second place, the Reagan administration is trying to isolate internationally the legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people: the FMLN and the FDR. Precisely because it knows of the broad, solid, and pluralist international backing which our people's struggle has, the U.S. government has implemented a campaign clearly directed at modifying the position of influential governments in regard to the case of El Salvador.

This effort has led Reagan to act blindly before the European countries, particularly NATO members, whom he offends when he tries to impose on them the dangerous alternatives of yielding to pressure based on prefabricated evidence or risking a political confrontation with the United States.

Finally, the campaign of lies of the U.S. government has as its goal to neutralize opposition to its increasing military intervention in El Salvador.

4. For the purposes of its legitimate liberation struggle, the Salvadoran people have received moral, political, diplomatic, and material solidarity from many peoples and governments of the world, including the people of the United States.

Hence, for those same governments and peoples, the United States' campaign looks absurd, because it is intended to distort the sources and the meaning of the broad international backing on which our people rely in their struggle.

Nobody can be convinced that the strength of the international support for the struggle of the Salvadoran people is a product of the expansionist intent of Russia, when the backing of the working classes, churches, social organizations, and governments of the majority of the countries of the West is already evident and public.

5. We want it clearly understood, once again, that one of the fundamental reasons why we are fighting is precisely to rescue our national independence. The practice of successive U.S. governments to dictate to other peoples who can be their friends and "acceptable" allies is a policy for the history books, as the positions of Mexico, Panama, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Cuba, and many other countries in the whole world demonstrate.

The government of President Reagan can give orders to the Christian Democratic/military junta of El Salvador, since it controls and directs it at will.

But the government of Reagan cannot impose any position on the Salvadoran people, because they have already had enough of imperialist domination and have decided to regain their sovereignty. In the exercise of this sovereign will, which until now has been denied them, the Salvadoran people (as is already expressed in the platform of the Democratic Revolutionary Government) will promote relations of cooperation with the greatest possible number of peoples and governments in the world, without imperialist interests interfering in any way in the determination of these relations.

We have never hidden from anyone our fraternal relations with the peoples and governments of the socialist camp. Nothing bad and much good is in that. And that is how civilized peoples and governments who are genuinely interested in detente and in global peace understand it. Therefore, we consider that the only viable policy for countries like ours is that of nonalignment. We adhere to this and we are disposed to implement it consistently, with the conviction that the victory of the people in El Salvador is the only way to achieve it.

6. The Political-Diplomatic Commission calls on friendly governments and peoples which have viewed the struggle of the Salvadoran people with sympathy, as well as those who at least have understood its justice, firmly to reject the action of the United States government, which constitutes a fraudulent maneuver by which it is trying to deceive international public opinion and prejudice the legitimate interests of the Salvadoran people.

The Political-Diplomatic Commission asks solidarity movements spread through all the continents to denounce this action of the United States government as a new demonstration of its open intervention in the internal affairs of the Salvadoran people. This action also proves the surrender, the incapacity, and the discreditment of the military/Christian Democratic government, which allows another government, that of the United States, to undertake the task of defending it.

The Political-Diplomatic Commission denounces to governments allied with the United States the grave risks to world peace implied in this posture of the United States of perverting the national character of the Salvadoran people's struggle and of promoting an interpretation of that struggle as part of the cold war which the new government of the United States is promoting. Such actions present grave risks for the security of the European peoples and of all peoples of the world.

For our part, we are open to political solutions which do not betray the interests of our people. But we are not intimidated by the threats of the United States. Our people's will to struggle and the solidarity of the peoples of the world will once again defeat unjust imperialist aggression. □

## Nicaraguans Reaffirm Support for Salvadoran People

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—The anniversary of the assassination of Augusto César Sandino on February 21, 1934, was commemorated here in a week of political meetings and demonstrations that clearly showed the deepening of the revolutionary process over recent months.

The Nicaraguan revolution is under increasingly sharp attack from Washington and from reactionary elements within the country. Using the pretext of an alleged transshipment of arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas and stories of human rights violations, the Reagan administration has launched a campaign of military threats and economic reprisals against Nicaragua.

Two themes emerged during Sandino Week: the country's determination to stand fast against this mounting pressure, and the role of the vanguard party, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), in leading this process.

Speeches, articles, and days of ideological study stressed the revolutionary content of Sandino's writings and actions. As government leader Sergio Ramírez pointed out in a speech, it is political suicide to disavow Sandino in Nicaragua. So the people who are against everything Sandino fought for try instead to neutralize him by stripping away the anti-imperialist and proletarian character of his ideas.

This is difficult to do in a country where one of the most popular Sandino quotations is "Only the workers and peasants will go all the way." Sandino also said, "My greatest honor is to have been born among the oppressed."

Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge pointed out in one of the week's major addresses, "He didn't say that his greatest honor was being a businessman or being associated with private enterprise or being a landowner. He said his greatest honor was being a child of the oppressed classes."

Nicaragua's solidarity with the revolution in El Salvador is one of the things that has most angered Washington and has led to increasingly threatening measures by the Reagan administration. The State Department has circulated stories about an "invading force" of one hundred Nicaraguan guerrillas and about Nicaraguan government involvement in shipping arms to the revolutionaries.

The latest fabrication involves an individual who claims to be a lieutenant in the Sandinista army (a rank that has not existed in Nicaragua since the overthrow



TOMÁS BORGE

Fred Murphy/IP

of Somoza) and says he was sent to fight in El Salvador.

One Managua newspaper suggested that the North Americans who apparently made up this "soldier's" life story ought at least to have consulted their friends here so that they could have given him a Nicaraguan sounding name.

In speech after speech during Sandino week, Nicaraguan leaders reiterated their firm political and moral support for the people of El Salvador, but insisted that all allegations of direct Nicaraguan involvement in the war are false and are only a cover for a real and an escalating U.S. military intervention.

"Revolutions are not exported and the FSLN is not interested in exporting its revolution," Sandinista leader Víctor Tirado told 1,000 workers at the opening session of the week's activities on February 17. "What really is exported," he continued, "is counterrevolution."

Minister of the Interior Borge took up the question of arms as part of his answer to the slanderous article about Nicaragua in the February 16 issue of the U.S. news magazine *Time*. Borge explained that during the war against Somoza, the Sandinistas captured most of their weapons from the National Guard, but that the rest were bought in the United States itself.

"Is there anyone who does not know that there is a Mafia in the United States?" Borge asked. "A Mafia that does business with anybody, selling arms and drugs. Obviously we never bought drugs from them. But arms, yes, we did buy arms and we told them what we were going to do with them.

"Is there any doubt that our Salvadoran brothers and sisters are doing the same thing, exactly the same thing?" Borge asked. "The Salvadoran junta is also getting arms from the United States. The army of the oppressors and the guerrillas are fighting each other with weapons they both got in the United States."

In addition to threatening military action, the United States government is using its economic power to try to bring the Nicaraguans into line. The economic reprisal that is most bitterly resented here is the suspension of loans to buy U.S. wheat.

The campaign of lies about Nicaragua, the economic reprisals, and the military threats all have the same purpose: to pressure the Nicaraguans into retreating from their revolutionary internationalism and their defense of the interests of the most oppressed sectors of society. To stand up to this kind of pressure requires a revolutionary leadership, and building the FSLN was the theme of the Sandino Week activities.

This was particularly clear at the rally held February 21 in the little town of Niquinohomo, where Sandino lived as a child.

With the exception of Carlos Núñez, who was out of the country, the entire National Directorate of the FSLN attended the rally. So did all five members of the governing junta.

A highlight of the rally was the post-humous issuing of the first FSLN membership cards to about sixty heroes killed fighting against Somoza, and then to a similar number of current leaders of the government, army, unions, and mass organizations.

Tomás Borge spoke to the crowd of more than 5,000 about what it means to be a member of the FSLN. "Being a member of the FSLN is a privilege," he said, "but not a privilege like inheriting a big ranch or a factory or a famous last name. Rather it is the privilege of making sacrifices, of being modest, of having self-respect, courage, discipline, and revolutionary humility."

Being a member of the FSLN means "working without looking at the clock," Borge explained. It means "thinking



twenty-four hours a day about the poor, the oppressed, the exploited, about those for whom the FSLN was formed." It means being "first to toil and last to rest." It means putting the collective needs of society ahead of any personal interest or comfort.

There are certain people who will never make it: "Those who are corrupt, the cowards, opportunists, misers, those who vacillate, conceited people, those who are not capable of dreaming about the future, of crying when a child dies or laughing when a child sings, those who have the souls of slaves, those who have sold themselves to imperialism, those who are incapable of love."

Being a member of the FSLN carries with it very big responsibilities, Borge warned, and little in the way of recognition or reward except a membership card. "How much would you sell your card for, Edén?" Borge asked.

Edén Pastora, "Commander Zero," led the 1978 FSLN raid on the National Palace.

"You would not sell it, and none of us would sell ours for all the dollars in all the banks in the world, not for the treasures of the Thousand and One Nights. What would you ask for your card, Fernando? Would you trade it for the Nobel Peace Prize?" Father Fernando Cardenal, who led the national literacy campaign, has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

What is required of Sandinistas, Borge explained, is being "the vanguard of the vanguard." The responsibilities of leadership are made even more difficult by the international situation he described.

"The unpatriotic capitalists and the imperialists have been overthrown in Nicaragua, but they are fighting to hold on. We must keep our guard up, be watchful and suspicious. They don't have power anymore, but they are fighting back like cornered beasts and are attacking us.

"They use lies in a cruel way to confuse our people. They use their newspapers and radio like heavy artillery to bombard us with their archaic and putrid ideas. They are trying to blackmail us economically; they threaten to take the food out of our mouths and bring us to our knees; they are doing everything they can to convince us that crime is a necessary evil.

"They attack our people's efforts to learn to read, our first steps in becoming masters of science, of art, of technology. . . . They try to convince us that it is impossible for a people to be masters of their own destiny. They say our democracy is totalitarianism. They say international solidarity is foreign intervention. They want to rob us of the right to be Nicaraguans, to be Sandinistas, to be patriots, to feel solidarity with the people of Latin America. This struggle—which will be long, difficult, and violent—can only end in the defeat of the old and corrupt society, it can only end in revolutionary victory." □

## Slanderer of FSLN Arrested in Managua

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—The U.S. cutoff of wheat credits to Nicaragua followed immediately on the heels of public charges by José Esteban González that the Sandinista government violates human rights. The two events are closely linked in the minds of many people here. González is widely considered to be partly responsible for the imperialists taking bread out of the mouths of the Nicaraguan people.

There was an angry demonstration at the airport when González arrived in the country February 13, and repudiation of González was a common theme during the week of Sandino activities.

González was arrested in Managua February 19 and indicted under the special law on security and the maintenance of public order, passed July 20, 1979. The prosecutor has charged that González's slanders about political prisoners, disappearances, torture, and oppression in Nicaragua and his attempts to get foreign governments to cut off foreign aid have caused economic damage to the country and endangered peace.

The trial is scheduled to begin March 2. If convicted, González could be sentenced to two years in jail.

González is the president of an organization called the Permanent Commission on Human Rights (CPDH). The government has made it clear that González is being charged as an individual and that the CPDH will be permitted to resume operation as soon as it decides to comply with the laws pertaining to the registration of organizations.

It is becoming obvious, however, that the CPDH is much less concerned with protecting rights than it is with disseminating the propaganda of the Social Christian Party, to which its leaders belong. Some of its activities make no sense from a civil libertarian point of view—such as appealing to the governments of Argentina and Chile to protect human rights in Nicaragua.

González's reactionary friends claim that he and the CPDH have a long history of fighting against repression. But a CPDH statement printed in the June 4, 1979, *La Prensa* shows that the organization was hardly in the vanguard of the struggle against Somoza.

Written six weeks before the overthrow of the dictator, the statement did not mention Somoza or take sides in the civil war then raging. Instead, the CPDH appealed to the Andean Pact countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela) as "the democratic nations of the continent" to intervene in Nicaragua.

Since his arrest, González has reiterated and even added to his charges that there are 8,000 political prisoners in Nicaragua

and 800 "disappeared," that torture is common, and that the Sandinista government is as repressive as Somoza.

In the political reality of Nicaragua today, such statements seem to be the ravings of a mad man and almost harmless. But González's slanders are not for Nicaraguan consumption. They are designed for Nicaragua's enemies; and the more outrageous the story, the better his audience likes it.

Coincidentally, during the week of Sandino commemorations, the work of the special tribunals set up to try Somozaist National Guard criminals was completed and they were abolished by decree. The government took the opportunity to make a full public report on the trials of the people González calls political prisoners.

The tribunals considered the cases of more than 6,000 Somozaist prisoners charged with crimes ranging from simple theft to mass murder. Nine hundred and seventy-nine were freed for lack of evidence and 563 were freed without trial because their crimes were relatively minor. Of the 4,550 who actually went to trial, 4,331 were convicted and 219 acquitted.

Each defendant was tried individually in proceedings lasting an average of twenty-five days. They all had defense attorneys and all the trials were open to reporters and international observers. About fifteen cases are still pending for a variety of technical reasons and these have been turned over to the regular courts.

It is widely known that the Sandinista government abolished the death penalty as soon as it came to power. There have been charges, however, that most of the ex-National Guard received the maximum penalty of thirty years in prison. But the figures show otherwise. Just under 40 percent were given jail terms of one to five years, with a big majority of these sentenced to less than three years. Less than 20 percent received sentences of twenty-five to thirty years.

Despite detractors like José Esteban González, the human rights record of the Sandinistas is a proud one. This was acknowledged by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (CIDH) at the opening session of its third conference, in Costa Rica, on February 24.

While expressing concern about the escalating oppression in Guatemala and El Salvador, the CIDH singled out Nicaragua for praise for its consistent commitment to human rights. □

You won't miss a single issue if you subscribe.

# Nicaragua Mobilizes to Bring in Cotton Harvest

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—Responding to appeals from the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the Government of National Reconstruction, tens of thousands of Nicaraguans have turned out to help harvest this year's cotton crop.

Cotton is the country's second leading export, worth US\$128 million this year, and a failure in the harvest would have extremely serious consequences for the national economy.

The unions have taken the lead in organizing voluntary participation in the campaign. On Sunday, February 15, more than 1,100 Managua construction workers left for a week in the harvest.

"Look, compañero," one worker told the FSLN daily *Barricada*, "the workers are ready to be the first to defend the revolution. We are the vanguard of the process."

The workers, from some thirty-five municipal worksites, went off chanting slogans in solidarity with El Salvador. They were members of the construction workers union (SCAAS), Central Sandinista de los Trabajadores—(CST—Sandinista Workers Federation), and the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front).

The workers will continue to receive their full wages while they pick cotton, as well as thirty-three córdobas per quintal of cotton (C\$10=US\$1; 1 quintal=100 lbs).

Another 1,200 left February 19 as part of the "final offensive in the harvest," as a *Barricada* headline described it.

The "final offensive" is being organized by the Coordinadora Sindical de Nicaragua (CSN—Trade-Union Coordinating Committee of Nicaragua), which includes the CST, FO, the Rural Workers Association (ATC), and most other labor organizations in the country.

"The CSN has begun an organized mobilization of the workers to harvest all the cotton that was planted and thereby avoid a serious blow to the country's economy," explained Carlos Cuadra, Frente Obrero delegate to the CSN, at a February 13 news conference. "Since the triumph of the people the economy has been besieged by imperialism and reactionary sectors of society with the clear intent of slowing down the advance of our revolutionary process."

The CSN is organizing brigades from nationalized and private workplaces. Workers from the nationalized sector will continue to receive full wages while they harvest, and in all cases workers who don't go will have to make up for the absence of those who do to keep production at its normal levels.

The campaign to save the cotton began January 20 with a call from Minister of Agricultural Development Commander Jaime Wheelock. "It is the whole people

who will have to bring in the harvest," Wheelock declared.

The mass organizations, such as the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE), the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS 19), the ATC, and local and national unions immediately began organizing their members to participate in the harvest. "Harvest Committees" were formed in cities and towns to coordinate the work.

Within a few days, the Ministry of Education announced that secondary schools in the provinces of León and Chinandega, both major cotton centers, would close for two weeks. Nearly 3,000 students left to work in the nationalized cotton fields. Others joined the coffee harvest, which was going on at the same time.

On the following Sunday, January 25, thousands of residents of León, Managua, and other cities took part in a "Red and Black Sunday" of volunteer labor. (Red and black are the colors of the Sandinista

flag.) Among them was Vice-minister of the Interior Commander Luis Carrión.

*Barricada* transformed itself into a campaign newspaper, reporting on the harvests' successes and urging greater participation. *Barricada* also printed instructions for harvesters, among them: wear boots, a long-sleeve shirt, and sunglasses; wear a hat, but one that doesn't have too wide a brim; bring water, and have someone in your group bring aspirin, cotton, and mercurochrome.

On January 27, following the first big Sunday mobilization, the FSLN daily ran a page of pictures, and noted that among the volunteers there was "no sign of COSEP" (the organization of big business) or the various bourgeois parties.

Fresh energies were added to the campaign almost daily. Dozens of participants in the First International Conference in Solidarity with Nicaragua went to pick cotton with Commander Jaime Wheelock. Seventy-five members of various diplo-

## A Day in the Cotton Fields

MANAGUA—Picking cotton is no easy job, as two members of the *Intercontinental Press* reporting team and a ten-year-old friend discovered February 22.

Unlike assembling cars, the work itself is not physically demanding. Much like assembling cars, however, the work environment can be very unpleasant. It is, in a word, hot.

The relentless sun is the reason that people piled into trucks and buses at 5:00 a.m. to head for the cotton fields. It's nice and cool at 6:00 in the morning, and the heat does not really get to you until 10:30 or 11:00. We left from the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), one of the main assembly points for volunteers who had decided to spend a Red and Black Sunday picking cotton.

Packed onto a flatbed truck with seventy-five people of all ages, we rode down a dirt road, dust getting into our eyes and between our teeth. Unloading, we picked up our sacks and headed for the gaps between the rows of cotton plants.

The theory is easy: Simply pluck the ripe bolls as cleanly as possible. Avoid twigs and leaves. Use both hands. When your hands are full, stuff the cotton into your sack. When the sack is full, trade it for an empty. Wear a long sleeved shirt to protect your arms from the branches of the cotton plant.

Many of the volunteers concentrated

on recovering cotton that had already fallen to the ground. This is slower work, because the cotton must be cleaned. Others picked each plant clean as they worked their way down the rows. No one seemed to be in charge, but everyone seemed to know exactly what to do. You could see that many of the harvesters had been out before.

It was a community affair, with friends joking and small talk exchanged. Children ran ahead, adding to their parents' harvest.

Around 9:00 a.m., a few people started to take breaks. An invisible voice on a bull horn asked us to work on, since we were only putting in a half day. The voice also asked us to take pains to pick the cotton cleanly.

An hour later, it was break time, and we took twenty minutes out for the sandwiches and oranges we had brought. A fire department tank truck supplied water.

Shortly before noon, the overhead sun drove everyone from the fields. The three of us had filled two bags—about as much as one experienced picker might have picked. We found out later that more than 7,000 Managua residents had volunteered that Sunday, including 1,000 soldiers. Some 4,500 plan to stay with the harvest for two weeks. The government hopes to complete the giant undertaking by mid-March.

—Arnold Weissberg

matic missions joined the first Sunday mobilization.

Three hundred forty-eight students at the Sandinista Police Academy took a one-week break from their studies to harvest cotton, with the slogan "Let's raise production and smash the counterrevolution."

On January 30, Commander of the Revolution Víctor Tirado led a group of 500 volunteers into the cotton fields for three days.

On February 1, with the universities shut for three weeks, more than 6,000 students piled onto trucks at 6 a.m. and headed out for the Chinandega cotton fields, which were short 20,000 workers. The students pledged to harvest sixty pounds a day each, which would make their total harvest worth more than C\$20 million.

February 1 was another Red and Black Sunday, but even bigger. *Barricada* described the scene: "From the early hours of Sunday morning, in the streets leading to the highways to the west, you could see trucks filled with workers and young people of both sexes, wearing big sombreros, heading for the cotton fields to volunteer their labor."

According to an estimate of the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA), some 70,000 people volunteered from Managua alone the first two Sundays in February, including some 8,000 public employees and 15,000 CST members.

A highlight of the campaign was the participation February 4 of the five members of the Junta of National Reconstruction. They were accompanied by 120 workers from the Casa de Gobierno (Government House), students, and a number of journalists.

Moisés Hassán was reported to have picked the most of the five, with sixty pounds. Junta member Rafael Córdova Rivas, a member of the Democratic Conservative Party (PCD), told *Barricada* that harvesting cotton was nothing new for him. "All my life I have worked in the fields. I used to get up at four in the morning."

Participation extended to every sector of society interested in supporting the revolution. The small merchants association from the Managua suburb of San Judás voted to take part, as did the merchants of Managua's Eastern Market. This group logged a total of 2,000 hours in the fields.

A brigade of families with children studying in Cuba—the Farabundo Martí Brigade—also took part.

The Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario* reported February 16 that the entire city of León had rearranged its schedule to help with the harvest. The work day now began at 4 a.m. "Nicaragua will not be rebuilt only by good intentions," a resident said.

Although Nicaragua traditionally experiences a labor shortage for the cotton harvest, this year's situation was worsened by several factors.

The most important was the higher standard of living the revolution has provided to the country's small peasants. Many of them used to have to work in the harvest to make ends meet, but now, with higher prices for the products of their small holdings and easier access to credit, they are able to get by without becoming wage laborers for part of the year.

In addition, the vast majority of the 30,000 foreign workers—from El Salvador and Honduras—who work in the cotton harvest failed to appear this year because of the tense military situation.

Another factor was the death of thousands of peasants in the war against Somoza.

Added to all this was the relatively late coffee harvest, which took hands away from picking cotton. The coffee harvest could not be ignored since coffee is the country's leading export.

The big national mobilization to save the cotton harvest has made clear that private cotton planters—only about 15 percent of cotton planting is nationalized—are incapable of organizing the harvest on their own.

In a particularly striking example of this, some 1,200 university students were sent to the properties of Alfonso Robelo, a leading capitalist figure and former Junta member. Robelo resigned from the government nearly a year ago. (An INRA spokesperson told *Intercontinental Press* February 12 that Robelo had not yet paid the students).

## Reagan Lifts Sanctions Against Chile

The U.S. State Department announced February 20 that it was lifting the ban on Export-Import Bank financing for U.S. products sold to Chile. It also invited the Chilean navy to take part in joint exercises with U.S. warships.

The sanctions against Chile had been imposed in November 1979, following Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet's refusal to extradite three of his former secret police officers. The three had been indicted by a U.S. grand jury on charges of planning the 1976 Washington, D.C. murders of Orlando Letelier, a former member of the Allende government, and Ronni Moffitt, an American activist in the movement against the Chilean dictatorship.

When the Carter administration first imposed the sanctions—a minimal gesture to begin with—the State Department accused the Chilean authorities of condoning "an act of international terrorism."

The ending of the sanctions comes at the same time that the Reagan administration is rushing arms to the junta in El Salvador under the very same justification of com-

batting "international terrorism." While unable to openly oppose the mobilizations, *La Prensa* has done its best to suggest both that the FSLN is at fault for not foreseeing the labor shortage, and that the mobilization really isn't necessary. The paper has tried to discourage students from participating, suggesting that their place was really in the classroom, and that the whole thing could be done faster and cheaper by simply sending the army and militias to the cotton fields.

In one case, a small group of youth from Robelo's Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), a capitalist party, showed up drunk for a Red and Black Sunday and tried to provoke a fight with the unionists and Sandinista youths waiting for the trucks to take them to the fields.

The MDN members were kept off the trucks because of their provocative behavior, but *La Prensa* leaped to their defense the next day and accused the Sandinista youth of having engineered an assault on them.

However, *La Prensa's* efforts to sabotage the harvest have had little, if any, effect, judging from the continued high turnout across the country.

Figures were available only through January 31, at which time about 30 percent of the cotton harvest had been completed. On February 19, the CSN reported that 28,000 workers were needed to complete the harvest successfully, and announced plans to recruit the unemployed to fill the gap. □

batting "international terrorism."

The apparent inconsistency was too much for even some U.S. senators. "By the revocation of this measure against Chile," Sen. Claiborne Pell declared, "the new administration is setting a bad example for its campaign against international terrorism."

An editorial in the February 23 *Washington Post* termed the lifting of the sanctions "an appalling decision signaling that right-wing thugs can get away literally with murder on the very streets of Washington and cutting the moral heart out of the Reagan anti-terror campaign."

Reagan's decision to seek improved ties with the blood-soaked Pinochet dictatorship, his support to the murderous junta in El Salvador, and his appointment of right-wing ideologue Ernest Lefever to head the State Department's top "human rights" post are intended as clear messages to the peoples of Latin America.

As far as the U.S. government is concerned, anything goes when it comes to defending U.S. dominance and the capitalist system. □

## Guatemala Murders 'Under Direct Supervision of President'

By Aníbal Yáñez

The international human-rights organization Amnesty International issued a report on Guatemala February 17 charging that President Romeo Lucas García directly supervises the activities of an intelligence agency that carries out political assassinations.

In the extensive document on human-rights violations in Guatemala, Amnesty International said that "routine assassinations, secret detentions, and summary executions are part of a clearly defined program of government," coordinated by a specialized agency that functions in the presidential palace "under the direct supervision of President Lucas García."

"Policy decisions and the selection of who is to 'disappear' and be killed are said to be made after consultations between the top officials of the Ministries of Defense and the Interior, and the Army General Staff, who command the forces responsible for the abuses."

The report went on to offer details on the organization of this agency:

This presidential agency is situated in the Presidential Guard annex to the National Palace near the offices of the president and his principal ministers, and next to the presidential residence, the Casa Presidencial. Known until recently as the Centro Regional de Telecomunicaciones (Regional Telecommunications Center), the agency is situated under two rooftop telecommunications masts on the block-long building. . . .

In 1974 a document from the records of a United States assistance program described the Centro Regional de Telecomunicaciones as Guatemala's principal presidential-level security agency, working with a "high level security/administrative network" linking "the principal officials of the National Police, Treasury police, Detective Corps, Ministry of Government, the Presidential House, and the Guatemalan Military Communications Center."

The National Palace complex makes it possible for the security services to centralize their communications and also to have access to the central files of the army intelligence division, which are reported to be housed in the presidential residence itself. The files are believed to include dossiers on people who were political suspects even at the time of the overthrow of the government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz in 1954—they include Colonel Arbenz's active supporters in the left-wing political parties of the time.

The operations of this secret-police apparatus have resulted in the "disappearance" and murder of nearly 5,000 persons by the regime's security forces since Lucas García assumed power in June 1978, according to figures cited by Amnesty International. Another 615 persons detained arbitrarily are listed as "disappeared."

Among the victims named in the report are trade-union leaders, teachers, students, peasant leaders, social workers, and Catholic priests.

The conclusions published by Amnesty International coincide with the verdict on Guatemala reached by the Fourth Bertrand Russell International Tribunal. Meeting last November in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, the tribunal had been convoked to consider charges of violations of the rights of indigenous peoples in the Americas.

The Russell Tribunal condemned Lucas García's government and accused it of having committed acts of genocide. It also declared the Lucas regime guilty of systematically violating the basic human rights of the Indian peoples of Guatemala.

(The Russell Tribunal was inspired by the humanist philosopher and Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bertrand Russell, with the aim of making "the conscience of humanity" international law. The tribunal is composed of leading figures from the fields of science and law. The First Russell Tribunal was held in 1967 to judge war criminals; it took up the role of the United States in the war in Vietnam.)

The conclusions of the Russell Tribunal on Guatemala were published in their entirety in the January issue of *Frente*, the international publication of Guatemala's Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR).

FDCR representatives attended the tribunal and provided evidence to prove the charge of genocide against the Lucas García regime. Their testimony focused on the mas-

sacre at the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City on January 31, 1980.

The FDCR delegation was composed of representatives of the Committee for Peasant Unity (CUC) and the National Committee for Trade-Union Unity (CNUS). Another delegate, a doctor, offered testimony on the use of phosphorus bombs by the police in their brutal assault on the Indian peasants who had occupied the Spanish embassy.

The CUC delegates—representing the Ixil, Quiché, Cakchiquel, Mam, Kekchí, and other Indian nationalities that live in the Guatemalan countryside—provided a moving account of the murders of their compañeros from the Quiché region who had occupied the embassy to demand the withdrawal of the army from their communities.

The testimony of the Guatemalan peasants was heard for two hours by an audience filled with internationally prominent figures and representatives of institutions such as the World Council of Churches and Amnesty International, as well as journalists from many countries. The peasant's account was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

"The peasants' presentation to the Russell Tribunal," the *Frente* article said, "marked an important achievement for the revolutionary and popular movement of Guatemala. It demonstrated not only the level of repression carried out by the government, but also the advances the people are making in their struggle—especially the integration of the Indians in the process of liberation." □

### A Report From Inside the Government

## Guatemala's Terror Machine

[The following article by Elías Barahona y Barahona appeared in the November 23, 1980, issue of the Italian weekly *l'Espresso*. Barahona, a member of the Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (EGP—Guerrilla Army of the Poor), managed to infiltrate the Guatemalan government of President Romeo Lucas García, becoming press attaché to the minister of the interior. He left Guatemala in late 1980 and began exposing the activities of the regime's paramilitary terror squads.

[The translation is taken from the February 11 issue of *Direct Action*, a socialist

newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

\* \* \*

In 1976 Donaldo Alvarez Ruiz, recently appointed minister of the interior to the then president of Guatemala, Eugenio Laugerend García, decided to set up a press and public relations office to improve the bad image of his ministry.

At that time I was secretary-general of the media workers' trade union, having previously been active as a student leader at the University of San Carlos and later in the

Guatemalan Journalists Association. For these reasons the minister's advisers thought that I would be the right person to head the new office and the minister personally asked me to accept the post.

I talked it over with the leaders of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, of which I was and am a member. They suggested that I should definitely take advantage of the opportunity to infiltrate the government.

So I gave up my job as union secretary, changed my lifestyle, and did everything I could to get a reputation as a reactionary, traitor, and social climber. This wasn't difficult since it is common practice in Guatemala for the government to buy off mass leaders by offering them well paid jobs in the public service.

In this way I managed in the space of a year to become a confidante of the minister and remained one until several weeks ago when I took advantage of special leave to flee Guatemala in accordance with orders from the EGP leadership who were afraid that I might be unmasked at any time. However the four years I spent at the ministry were enough for me to find out what tactics the government uses in its work of repression of the progressive organisations.

In Guatemala there are two very active far-right paramilitary organisations: the Anticomunist Secret Army (Ejército Secreto Anticomunista—ESA) and the Squadron of Death (Escuadrón de la Muerte).

Together they have been responsible for the slaughter which has in the last months of this year taken the lives of over 2000 people, including mass leaders, peasants, workers, students, professionals, and members of religious organisations. In June and July alone 568 people were murdered and another 75 kidnapped.

At this point in time the members of the ESA and the Squadron of Death no longer even spare women, children, or the elderly. A recent example is the killing of René Matute Iriarte and Roberto Castillo Mendoya, the young sons of two teachers at the University of San Carlos, who had themselves managed to escape an ESA attack. Another example is the shooting of people taking part in the funeral service for the secretary of the municipal workers union, Miguel Angel Melgar. In this attack the sister of the dead unionist and two other people were killed. The homicidal madness of these people stops at nothing.

On the morning of July 14 I was talking with minister Ruiz in his office when he was informed by telephone that a police chief, one Natareno, had been executed. The minister flew into a rage and called the chief of the secret police, Manuel de Jesús Valiente Telles. "Manolo," he said, "they've killed Natareno. You know what you have to do." Half an hour later about 40 hooded men armed with machine pistols arrived at San Carlos university campus and began firing at the crowd of students who were getting off the buses to go to their lessons. Twenty-five

were killed and 14 injured. I later heard that the Squadron of Death had claimed responsibility for the attack.

### Unionists Kidnapped

As for the Anticomunist Secret Army, on June 21 an ESA commando unit burst into the offices of the National Workers Federation (Central Nacional de Trabajadores—CNT) which is three blocks from the presidential palace and alongside the headquarters of the second corps of the national police. In one room 35 leaders of the main workers' unions were holding a meeting. The ESA force compelled the unionists at gunpoint to leave the building, and also destroyed the office files. Since then nothing has been heard of the 35 unionists, but it isn't difficult to guess their fate.

President Lucas García denied any involvement on the part of his government in this operation. Such a denial is a little barefaced when one considers that during the whole operation the traffic police had stopped all traffic in the streets around the union headquarters.

Moreover two days later, Monday June 23, I came across Captain Carlos "Chely" Herrera, one of the best known ESA butchers and an officer in the army's G-2

section. I had struck up a friendship with him and every now and then we would go and have a drink together. When he saw me he asked, "What did you think of the job? Now we've finished with those ballbreakers." "Was it really you," I asked. He said it was and I commented, "Very well done."

"Chely" often gave me good information. I had only to flatter him a little for Chely to boast of all the exploits of the ESA. At times, however, he would admit that it hadn't been the ESA but the Squadron of Death. I know that he was referring to the secret police, and in particular to that Manuel de Jesús Valiente Telles whom I mentioned before.

Of course the terror hasn't spared journalists either. On October 20 José León Castañeda, the union secretary, was murdered and in July another five journalists were killed, all at the hands of the ESA. The Interamerican Press Society has itself recognized that it is very risky to be a journalist in Guatemala and condemned four attacks on journalists last year.

Intellectuals form another persecuted group. In the month of July alone 20 university teachers at San Carlos university were killed, most of them along with their wives. This was because the ESA struck when they

## To keep up with the liberation struggles in Central America . . . You have to read *Intercontinental Press*!

*Intercontinental Press* is the only English-language weekly in the world with a full-time bureau in Nicaragua. IP regularly carries:

- On-the-scene reports from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, Grenada, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and other countries in Latin America . . .
- Speeches by revolutionary leaders like Fidel Castro, and translations of key documents such as the program of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front . . .
- Exclusive interviews with figures like Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Sandinista Workers Federation leader Iván García, and Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco . . .

AND, every week *Intercontinental Press* does the same for the whole world. For the best coverage of developments in Iran, Ireland, South Africa, the Middle East, Western Europe, Poland, China—read *Intercontinental Press*.

Clip and mail today

Yes! I want to subscribe. Enclosed is  \$35 for a full year of IP.  
 \$17.50 for six months of IP.  \$8.75 for a three-month introductory subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

were leaving home together to go to work.

Recently five priests were murdered, their sole crime being that of preaching the need for a land reform for the peasants.

I've made this brief summary of the massacre that is under way in my country so that the world may realise the size of the tragedy being suffered by the Guatemalan people. This manhunt, as far as I was able to ascertain, is being carried out in the framework of a "pacification program to eliminate communism" which anticipates, according to government estimates, the killing of another thousand Guatemalans before the end of this year. Only in this way will the authors of the "program" be able to say that it has been fully realised.

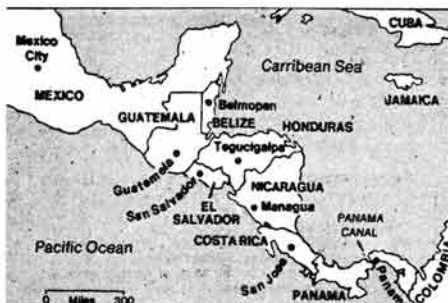
### 'Pacification Program'

The program's inventors are the president of the republic, Lucas García, and his gang of generals, as well as Aníbal Guevara Rodríguez, the minister of defence, René Mendoza Palomo, commander in chief of the army and, of course, Donaldo Alvarez Ruiz, minister of the interior. They are the brains behind the ESA and the Squadron of Death, while the middle level co-ordinators are finance minister, Hugo Tulio Buscaro, Colonels Hector Montalbán and Oscar Perucina, heads of military intelligence, and Germán Chupina, superintendent of the national police.

The "pacification program" was suggested by the United States a short time before President Carter launched his human rights policy. Its aim was to cut off all popular protest and perpetuate the power of the military government which had already been in control for 12 years, thanks to electoral fraud. I learned of this plan in mid-1978, when Ruiz called me to ask for some suggestions for a propaganda campaign that would serve to divert people's attention from the large number of murders which were already being openly attributed to the government. "Eliás, think of something that would explain so many deaths without the blame falling on the government," the minister told me.

He then put forward his theory of the "opposed extremisms," which consists in attributing the killings and kidnappings to underground groups of the extreme right and extreme left, thus making the Lucas García government appear as a victim, and hence interested in finding means to carry out a pacification. And in fact the "struggle against the opposed extremisms" became from that time the slogan used by the government both inside the country and for international public opinion.

While we were still trying to give a precise form to the theory of opposed extremisms I asked the minister one day where on earth we could get hold of far right groups. This problem didn't exist with regard to the left since they could easily be identified with the guerrilla struggle. The minister answered that the Anticommunist Secret



Army and the Squadron of Death were available for the job, being organisations that had been "at rest" for some time. With a smile of triumph he took some blank sheets from a pigeon hole. They bore two different letterheads: one the hammer and sickle split by a thunderbolt, the symbol of the ESA, and the other the skull and crossbones, used by the Squadron of Death. "Maybe the president will give us his authorisation," Ruiz said.

### Death List

The next day he told me that the president had thought the idea was excellent and should be put into effect as soon as possible. I was therefore given the job of writing a draft of the communiqué with which the ESA would announce its return to activity. He also handed me a list of 36 names of students, peasants, workers, and professionals whom the ESA would condemn to death. "For the time being," the minister said, "we'll write these communiqués, but later Colonel Montalbán will have to attend to them. As for those of the Squadron of Death, we will handle them ourselves along with Colonel Chupina and Valiente Telles."

The ESA, in its role as a military-police apparatus, has a headquarters in a building on Seventh Avenue, between Fourth and Fifth Avenue, right in the city centre alongside the presidential palace. The majority of its members are army officers trained in the USA by the CIA. Some of them have also done courses in Israel, Argentina, and Chile. For its actions the ESA has available all types of vehicles, from helicopters to armored cars and motorcycles. It can also make use of underground prisons and numerous private houses as places of torture. The Squadron of Death, unlike the ESA which prefers firearms, uses knives and nylon cord for strangulation. It then cuts off the head and hands of the victim to make identification difficult.

Its headquarters is behind the offices of the investigation branch of the national police, in Eighth Avenue, between Third and Fourth Avenue. Both the ESA and the Squadron of Death have their own secret cemeteries.

Much of the information that is used by the two groups to draw up their lists of victims comes from military secret service files, as well as from the trade union department of the ministry of labor and business circles.

Colonel Chupina, the superintendent of

police, is very much appreciated in industrial circles for his efficiency. When an industrialist complains because some trade unionists are creating problems in his factory Chupina's usual reply is to say: "Don't bother telling me stories; give me lists with names and addresses. . . ." And, in fact, several days later, those trade union leaders disappear, kidnapped or murdered by the Squadron.

The brutality of the Lucas García government, combined with his ignorance and his unrestrained ambition for power and wealth, has prevented the realisation of the program suggested by the USA—of underground repression behind a democratic and conciliatory facade.

This has produced a certain worsening of relations between the Guatemalan government and the Carter administration. Carter's human rights policy has met strong opposition here, and not even the visits of Undersecretary [of State] William Bowler, in January, and then James R. Cheek, deputy undersecretary, in April, have been of much use.

During their visits, however, the two officials met with Vice-President of the Republic Dr. Francisco Villagrán Kramer and the secretary of the Christian Democracy in Guatemala, René de León, in order to study an alternative to the Lucas García government which would also be more "flexible" than the one being used by the US in El Salvador.

In the face of this apparent worsening of relations with Washington, President Lucas García went on a counteroffensive, receiving in April a secret visit from Dr. Roger Fontaine, an adviser to Ronald Reagan, who advised him to be patient until the American presidential elections, because then Reagan would give him all the economic and political support necessary to intensify the repression and do away with the spectre of communism in Guatemala.

The governments of Israel, Chile, and Argentina are also giving logistical, political, and military support to the Guatemalan government. Ruiz, the minister for the interior, went to Chile in October 1979 where he was decorated with the Order of the Liberator by Pinochet himself. The minister returned from Chile enthused by the school of the Chilean *carabineros* and a little put out by the fact that, while the Guatemalan army had 100 officers down there undergoing training, "his" police had not even sent one.

As a result he seconded 75 police officers to Pinochet's school so that they could be trained as well as the army officers. But that's not all: an almost equal number of police and army officers from Guatemala are presently in Argentina to learn interrogation techniques and the tactics of repression.

□

You won't miss a single issue if you subscribe.

## British Labor Moves to Left as Crisis Deepens

By David Frankel

Still licking the wounds from the defeat inflicted on her government by Britain's coal miners, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher arrived in the United States February 25 for a four-day visit.

Just a week earlier, Thatcher suffered her biggest reverse since taking office in May 1979. The threat of a national miners strike had forced her to back down and scrap plans for closing up to fifty mines.

"The events of the past few days have reduced the implementation of the government's economic policies to a shambles," declared the Institute of Directors, a business group that has been among Thatcher's strongest supporters.

For British working people, however, Thatcher's defeat at the hands of the miners was one of the best pieces of news since the Tories took over the reins of government twenty-two months ago.

### Economic Disaster

Like Ronald Reagan in the United States, Thatcher came to office by promising to solve the economic problems plaguing Britain. Like Reagan, she called for slashing government spending on everything except armaments, for cutting taxes, and for decreasing government regulation of business.

The result has been an unmitigated disaster for the British workers.

- Inflation, 10 percent when Thatcher's Conservatives came in, is now 15 percent.
- Britain's gross domestic product fell by 5.5 percent in 1980, and Thatcher has assured the country that 1981 "will be another hard year."

- At the end of 1980, unemployment stood at 2.24 million—the highest figure since the spring of 1933. By February 24, official figures put the number of jobless at 10.2 percent of the labor force.

Sir Terence Beckett, director of the Confederation of British Industry, warns that by the end of the year the number of unemployed is likely to reach 3 million.

"I'm afraid that in the early stages bringing down inflation means that you have increasing unemployment, and I don't know any other way of doing it," Thatcher blithely remarked in an interview in the February 16 issue of *Time*.

The Thatcher government continues to promise salvation, if only the workers keep quiet and go along with its plans. As Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Geoffrey Howe put it recently:

"We can beat all the forecasts with moderate pay settlements, by getting rid of

our worst working practices, and by getting away from the habit of striking."

### Deep Radicalization

Not surprisingly, the British workers have declined such invitations. The Tory



Thatcher's policies have been a disaster for British workers.

assault has led to a deep radicalization within the trade unions and in the working class as a whole.

In November, 150,000 people demonstrated in Liverpool against unemployment. On February 21, the Labour Party and the Scottish trade unions organized a march for jobs in Glasgow that was the biggest demonstration seen in Scotland in more than fifty years. And the Labour Party and trade unions are organizing another massive anti-Tory action, a march from Liverpool to London that will begin on May 1.

Nor has the protest been limited to the issue of jobs. On October 26, some 80,000 people marched in London to protest nuclear armaments, particularly the new U.S. Cruise missiles that Thatcher is seeking to deploy on British soil.

As in the other imperialist countries, the British rulers are carrying out a militarization drive as part of their overall offensive against the working class. While cutting some \$1.8 billion in spending for schools, hospitals, and other social welfare programs, Thatcher decided last July to spend \$14.5 billion on new nuclear submarines

armed with Trident missiles.

She boasts that arms expenditures will be up by almost 9 percent in real terms in the first three years of her government. Against this background there has been a dramatic shift to the left by the Labour Party, a shift that reflects the growing pressures from the ranks of the trade unions.

### Labour Moves Left

Labour's move to the left was clearly registered at the party's October 1980 conference. That conference voted:

- To campaign for a thirty-five hour workweek with no cut in pay, and to resist all plant closures.
- To nationalize big new sectors of British industry.
- To withdraw from the European Economic Community (the Common Market).
- To abolish the House of Lords, the unelected upper chamber of the British Parliament.
- To demand a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament and massive cuts in the arms budget.

Because of the depth of the crisis of British capitalism, the workers have been forced to look for political solutions. A response limited to the trade-union level is completely inadequate, and that has become clear to broad layers of the working class.

But the problem in the past has not been just the Labour Party's reformist program. Even when Labour's formal program offered relief to the workers, its members in Parliament could not be relied upon to carry it out.

Thus, the previous Labour government presided over a 12 percent drop in the real living standard of the working class, and a doubling of unemployment between 1974 and its defeat by Thatcher in 1979.

The October 1980 Labour Party conference took the first steps toward reining in the Parliamentary Labour Party. It adopted a measure for the reselection of members of Parliament by their local party branches in their constituencies before each election. And it took the election of party leader—who fills the post of prime minister if the party wins a majority in Parliament—out of the sole control of the parliamentary party for the first time in the Labour Party's history.

January 24 was set as the date for the Labour Party to hold a special conference to decide on the formula for electing the party leader.

Between the October and January con-

ferences, the Labour Party's right wing launched a public fight. Right-wing leader Shirley Williams announced at the end of November that she would not be a Labour candidate in the next election because "I cannot honestly expound and defend" the party's policies.

According to Williams, the attempt of the majority in the party to assert its control over the parliamentary party was a "threat to representative democracy."

Replying to the threat of a right-wing split from the Labour Party, and to the claims that the party would be weakened if the left did not abandon its fight, *Socialist Challenge* (the weekly of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International), pointed out in its January 22 issue:

"Control of party policy and of any electoral college [for the election of the party leader] has to be wrested from the right wing-dominated Parliamentary Labour Party, not just in order to ensure that the next government implements socialist policies, but so that a massive campaign of action can be organised to bring down the Tories."

Responding to the hypocritical claims that limiting the independence of the party's parliamentary deputies was a violation of democracy, *Socialist Challenge* quoted Arthur Scargill, the president of the Yorkshire miners union, who declared:

Our party does not belong to a select bunch of MPs. It was created out of the womb of the trade union movement and belongs to all of its members! . . .

These prima donnas in Parliament apparently want the privilege of sponsorship by a trade union and/or the party and at the same time demand the luxury of independence.

A person who wants to act independently in Parliament should stand as an independent candidate and not use the Labour Party merely as a vehicle for propelling them into an exclusive club in the centre of Westminster.

In the same issue of *Socialist Challenge*, Carol Turner explained the real stakes in the struggle. "Reselection of MPs and the movement's right to elect the Labour leader is part of the fight to break the Labour Party leadership from collaborating with the bosses and defending their interests. . . .

"The fight for democracy within the Labour Party and the unions is a battle over different class interests."

#### 'A Turning Point in Labour History'

At the October conference, Michael Foot was elected party leader. Although Foot's election was a maneuver designed to keep left-wing leader Tony Benn out of the top position, Foot stands far to the left of the kind of Labour leader that the British capitalists would like to see. Following the October conference he announced that if he becomes prime minister he will send all Cruise missiles in Britain back to the United States.

Foot's proposal at the January 24 conference was that Labour MPs be given 50 percent of the votes in choosing a party leader, with trade unions and local party organizations each having 25 percent.

However at the conference itself a motion giving the trade unions 40 percent of the votes, with the parliamentary delegation and the local party branches each getting 30 percent, was what was passed.



Tony Benn, a key leader of Labour Party left wing.

That was the proposal supported by revolutionary socialists, since it was the one before the conference that went the farthest toward cutting down the power of the MPs.

Although many trade-union leaders who voted for the proposal would have preferred not to, they would have had even greater difficulty explaining to their members why they opposed a bigger say for the trade unions in the Labour Party.

"This result has been a turning point in British labour history," Tony Benn told *Socialist Challenge* following the conference.

"Today's decision," Benn added, "will make it more likely for the Labour Party to win the next general election, because it will help bridge the credibility gap between what we promise while in opposition and what a Labour government actually does.

"It will give encouragement that a process of democratic change can be carried through the whole of society."

#### 'Drift Towards Extremism'?

Right-wing forces in the Labour Party, backed to the hilt by the capitalist media, lost no time in expressing their anger at the idea of the working class being able to exercise control over its representatives in Parliament.

"To allow blocks of votes [from the unions] to choose the future prime minister of this country is an outrage, a disgrace,"

fumed former Foreign Secretary David Owen.

Owen, together with former Labour cabinet members Shirley Williams, William Rodgers and Roy Jenkins, announced the formation of a "Council for Social Democracy" January 25 and attacked what they called "the drift towards extremism in the Labour Party." They have made it clear that they intend to break with Labour and form a new party.

Expressing support for the NATO alliance and the Common Market, their statement declared, "Britain needs to recover its self-confidence and be outward-looking, rather than isolationist, xenophobic or neutralist."

Filling Britain with nuclear missiles is not "xenophobic" according to these right-wingers. That is playing "a full and constructive role" in NATO.

The imperialist media, both in Britain and internationally, could hardly restrain its dismay at the result of the conference. The *London Times* complained January 26 that "the outcome was worse than even most of the pessimists had expected."

"As an exercise in democracy, it was a fraud and a farce," the February 1 *Manchester Guardian Weekly* declared.

"Policies that Britain's allies find worrisome, if not utterly daft, are thus acquiring a disturbing legitimacy," the editors of the *New York Times* said February 3.

And *Time* magazine warned in its February 16 issue of "a noisy, growing clique of radical leftists, given to raising clenched fists and shouting Trotskyite slogans, who are maneuvering to capture the levers of party power."

A similar red-baiting article in the February 16 issue of *Business Week* tried to blame the radicalization in the labor movement on a handful of agitators.

"With several of Britain's largest unions increasingly dominated by small but militant Trotskyist and Communist factions and local Labor committees dominated by leftist socialists," it said, "a move further to the left is certain."

But the real subversive in Britain is not the organizations of the left. It is the capitalist system itself, which cannot meet the needs of the working people and is driving them to seek alternatives.

#### Who Are the Real Monetarists?

While the fight within the Labour Party is far from over, the left wing is in a stronger position than ever. The shift in the Labour Party will encourage resistance to Tory attacks within the working class as a whole. And new class battles will help to drive the Labour Party further to the left.

In light of this situation, Reagan and his advisers no doubt had mixed feelings when they welcomed Thatcher to the United States February 25.

"President Reagan could not draw any comfort from our experiment," noted Alan



Budd, director of London's Center for Economic Forecasting. "But perhaps he can at least learn from our mistakes."

Reagan's advisers, mindful of the fact that his policies are virtually identical to Thatcher's, have taken pains to point out where the Tories have gone astray from the monetarist economic theories of Milton Friedman.

But as Deputy Prime Minister William Whitelaw succinctly explained, attractive as Friedman's theories may be for the capitalist rulers, "In the real world, you cannot destroy your steel industry and remain an industrial power of any standing."

Nevertheless, having surveyed the wreckage of Thatcher's economic plan,

Reagan's advisers have concluded that she did not go far enough. They recommend an even bigger dose of the same medicine for the United States.

Perhaps Reagan and his henchmen really believe that American workers will not fight back when their living standards are attacked. In any case, they—like Thatcher—will soon find out different. □

## ZANU and ZAPU Supporters Clash

# Zimbabwe Regime Puts Down Troop Mutiny

By Ernest Harsch

For a week in mid-February, Zimbabwe was the scene of major battles between supporters of the country's two governing parties. Just ten months after Zimbabwe won its independence, the tensions within the coalition government could not have been more apparent.

The fighting started on February 7 in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest city, when troops belonging to the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) mutinied and attacked members of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the party of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

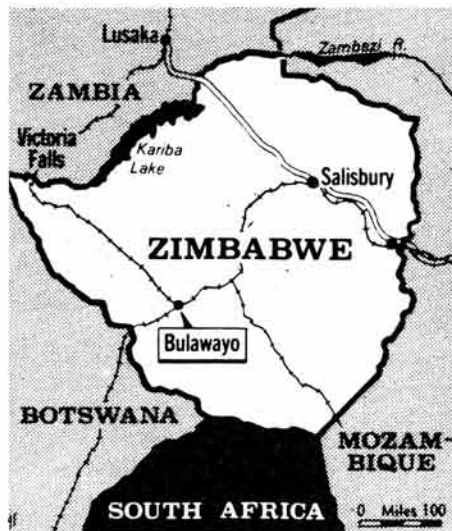
The clashes soon spread to Glenville barracks on the outskirts of Bulawayo and to Connemara barracks near the city of Gwelo. Three of the nine battalions of the newly formed National Army disintegrated along party lines, and former guerrillas belonging to the military wings of the two parties also opened fire on each other.

Prime Minister Mugabe warned the rebels, "All who challenge the authority of my government and the people of Zimbabwe by force of arms, or who mutiny or revolt, declare themselves the enemies of the people, and I am determined to descend on them with a hammer."

Forces loyal to the government, including Black troops of the former Rhodesian Army, counterattacked with artillery, tank, and air support. The fighting was intense. By February 13 the rebellion had been put down.

Estimates of the number of dead reached as high as 300, most of them former guerrillas. About 1,000 residents of Bulawayo were left homeless.

The government announced that it would court martial the leaders of the mutiny and took steps to disarm the rebellious units. It was careful, however, to absolve the top political and military leadership of ZAPU of any direct role in the rebellion. During the course of the fighting, ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo reaffirmed his alliance with Mugabe, declaring



that the two of them "are working well together indeed."

But the political frictions between ZAPU and ZANU are long-standing and remain very real.

ZANU originally emerged from a bitter split in ZAPU in 1963. During the course of the long struggle against the white minority regime of Ian Smith, ZANU became the most active and influential of the two liberation movements. Occasionally, the rivalries between ZAPU and ZANU erupted into armed clashes between their supporters. In 1976 the two organizations formed an alliance against the Smith regime, known as the Patriotic Front.

The strength of this alliance was a key element in forcing Smith to step down, but during the preindependence elections in February 1980 ZAPU and ZANU ran as separate parties. Mugabe's party garnered a decisive overall majority, although ZAPU won most of the seats in the western part of the country, where the minority Ndebele population lives.

The fact that ZAPU's strongest support is among the Ndebeles and ZANU's among the majority Shona population is a

factor reinforcing the frictions between the two organizations.

During the February rebellion, Mugabe blamed the unrest on ZAPU members who never became "reconciled to the fact that they lost the election." He added, "Now there are those who think they can reverse the defeat by taking up arms."

Mugabe's government and party, however, are not free from blame for the heightened tensions. Prominent ZANU leaders have publicly attacked ZAPU and Nkomo. Some went so far as to call for the establishment of a one-party state, leading to fears among ZAPU supporters that their party would eventually be suppressed. In September, thousands of ZAPU supporters demonstrated in Bulawayo to protest against ZANU's control of the state radio and television.

Two months later, the first major armed clashes between ZAPU and ZANU supporters erupted in Bulawayo. Fighting lasted for several days, leaving fifty-eight persons dead.

In January, Nkomo, who had served as minister of home affairs (which oversees the police), was removed from that key position and offered a less significant one. He protested that the move was "a complete violation of our understandings."

Although Nkomo later accepted the compromise post of minister without portfolio, with some responsibility over military and security affairs, the cabinet reshuffle nevertheless deepened the antagonisms toward ZANU among sectors of Nkomo's party. The mutiny in Bulawayo came just a week after the cabinet dispute had apparently been resolved.

The fighting in Bulawayo was a reflection of the tremendous pressures bearing down on Zimbabwe's first Black government.

Although the white settler community has lost its grip on political power, whites still enjoy a significantly higher standard of living than Blacks and the country's several thousand white farmers dominate commercial agriculture. About 70 percent

of the Zimbabwean economy is controlled by imperialist interests, predominantly British, South African, and American.

Before Zimbabwe gained its independence in April 1980, the country was saddled with a constitution that included provisions designed to protect these imperialist and settler economic interests.

At the same time, the imperialists have refused to provide the Zimbabwean government the level of economic assistance they promised before independence. The regime has estimated that it will need more than \$2 billion in outside assistance and investment over the next five years to help develop the economy and rebuild the country from the ravages of the war.

Meanwhile, the political consciousness and hopes of the Black workers and peasants had been greatly heightened by the independence struggle. They now expect to see significant improvements in their daily lives.

Black workers, radicalized by the anti-colonial struggle, have begun to act to advance their class interests. Several major strike waves have swept the country since independence, and in many enterprises new unions and workers committees have been formed. In the countryside, landless peasants in some areas have taken over abandoned or unused land owned by whites.

The government has tried to control this

upsurge, in some cases sending police against rural "squatters" or threatening striking workers.

But the Mugabe regime has also responded with important reforms. Steps have been taken to carry out land reform. Workers have been granted a minimum wage. Tens of millions of dollars are being spent to greatly improve health and education. Blacks are rapidly being appointed to positions of responsibility. There are no political prisoners in Zimbabwe today.

These are important gains for the Zimbabwean masses. As they have shown through their strikes and other actions, however, much more remains to be done.

Further social advances for the workers and peasants can do much to help build a strong unity among the various African peoples of Zimbabwe and overcome any petty factional disputes that arise among the anti-imperialist forces. But a failure to move forward can only generate further frustrations, possibly leading to new fratricidal outbursts like the one in Bulawayo.

The imperialist powers—most immediately the powerful apartheid regime in neighboring South Africa—will certainly seek to exploit such divisions to try to maintain their domination over the country. And as the long history of imperialist oppression in southern Africa has shown, it is the Zimbabwean masses who will suffer. □

from the army-run state farms where they work, demonstrated for much of November, holding sit-ins and hunger strikes.

"When troops were ordered to end the demonstrations, violent clashes broke out in at least three areas, according to Chinese sources from Xinjiang, and many youths were injured and several score killed. . . .

"Meanwhile, Shanghai authorities have begun to round up thousands of youths who fled the farms and returned to their homes, youths who had been sent to the farms in the 1970s. Under considerable pressure, a first group of 340 agreed to go back to Xinjiang, but Shanghai sources said that many more are refusing to do so."

Parks also mentioned several student protests, each involving thousands of students. These were in Kaifeng, a city in Henan province; Hefei, the capital of Anhui province; and Changsha, the capital of Hunan province.

"One of the potentially most explosive protests occurred in Shanghai in late December, when more than 5,000 unemployed youths demonstrated for three days in the center of the city."

Shanghai officials agreed to expand their job-finding program, but with the economic situation as it is, such moves can only postpone new confrontations.

China has as many as 20 million unemployed in the cities, and millions of additional industrial and construction workers are expected to be laid off in each of the next four or five years as unprofitable factories are shut down and new projects are deferred or cancelled. Just since the beginning of this year, Peking has cancelled some \$1.5 billion in contracts with Japanese corporations.

Inflation, meanwhile, was unofficially estimated at 15 percent to 18 percent last year, according to Parks.

"Labor unrest, including some brief strikes, had been reported by Chinese sources in Liaoning and two other industrialized northeast provinces, Heilongjiang and Jinlin, in Inner Mongolia and neighboring Shanxi province over the last three months. More recent reports have come from southern and south-central China.

"A small number of people who wish to throw the nation into chaos are attempting to break away from the leadership of the party to form so-called free trade unions," the newspaper Yangtze River Daily, published in the industrial center of Wuhan in Hubei province, said in a recent editorial, giving no further details of this union activity. . . .

"The party newspaper People's Daily, while urging the official trade unions to play a more active role, warned last month against 'anarchism and ultraselfishness' among industrial workers."

Clearly, it will take more than a new crackdown on opposition elements to solve the Peking regime's problems. □

## Social Tensions Rising in China

By David Frankel

"Freedom of speech does not mean that you can simply say what you want to say or what you like saying," the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) newspaper *People's Daily* warned in a long article February 16.

The newspaper listed regulations issued in 1955 that made it illegal to publish any book or magazine that is in opposition to government policy, and noted that these rules would be enforced.

A February 18 article in the CCP theoretical journal *Red Flag* also called for the suppression of dissidents. According to a Reuters dispatch, the article tried to link activists in the movement for democratic rights to the hated Maoist faction in the CCP and accused them of calling for a second Cultural Revolution.

According to the Reuters summary of the *Red Flag* article, "Many of these dissidents have distributed anti-Communist and reactionary leaflets, and some have even set up illegal magazines alleging that a new 'bureaucratic class' has been formed in China. . . ."

Apparently the CCP leadership is fearful that dissident groups, many of which are Marxist, may find a mass response to their ideas among an increasingly restive popu-

lation.

In a February 8 article, *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Michael Parks reported that "inflation, unemployment, unsafe working conditions, an unresponsive bureaucracy, an acute housing shortage and the hundreds of thousands of urban youths" exiled to remote rural areas following the Cultural Revolution have combined to create an atmosphere of great social tension. This has been reflected recently in street demonstrations, hunger strikes, and work stoppages, according to Parks.

"Memories are still fresh of Shanghai, the country's largest city, being paralyzed by demonstrations two years ago by angry, out-of-work youths," Parks noted.

"The discontent is just beneath the surface—it is palpable and it is building," a Chinese writer said after returning from a seven-week tour of major cities. "In many places the hopes of three years ago had already turned to impatience last year, and now the malaise might lead to serious trouble."

Parks reports: "In Xinjiang, China's westernmost province, bordering the Soviet Union in Central Asia, several thousand youths, originally from Shanghai and wanting to return to the metropolis

# Quebec Says 'No' to Attack on Rights

By Joe Young

[The following article appeared in the February 23 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Socialist Voice*.]

\* \* \*

MONTREAL—Over 715,000 Québécois have signed the biggest petition in Quebec's history. The petition circulated by Solidarity-Quebec was presented to Premier René Lévesque on February 12. It reads as follows: "I demand that the constitution of Canada be neither repatriated nor amended without the agreement of Quebec."

Over 200,000 signatures were collected in a four-day petition marathon January 30 to February 2 by thousands of workers, students and nationalist militants who fanned out all over Quebec. This immense mobilization shows the determination of the Quebec nation to say no to Trudeau's attack on their rights.

Why such a massive outpouring in Quebec

### Trudeau's Constitutional Plan

In 1980, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau unveiled a constitutional plan aimed at depriving the French-speaking people of Quebec of their national rights.

Trudeau wants to amend the constitution to include a "charter of rights," which, among other things, would guarantee the perpetuation of English-speaking schools in Quebec. One of the main demands of the Québécois national liberation movement is for compulsory schooling in French and the use of French at work and in the government and courts, both as a means of preserving the culture of the Québécois and in order to help eliminate the privileged status of the English-speaking minority within Quebec. Law 101, passed in 1977 by the Quebec provincial government, helps protect such French language rights.

Because the Canadian constitution is still based on the British North America Act of 1867, amendments to the constitution must be passed by the British Parliament at Canadian request. In an attempt to ease passage of his "charter of rights," Trudeau has proposed to "patriate" the constitution by bringing it fully under Canadian control.

against Trudeau's unilateral repatriation? Why have hundreds of thousands of Quebec workers mobilized behind the leadership of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) to support the campaign of Solidarity-Quebec?

### Trudeau's Plans Revealed

A secret External Affairs Department telex message recounting an exchange on November 10 between Mark MacGuigan, the Secretary of State for External Affairs (referred to as SSEA), and Norman St. John-Stevas, then the British Government House leader, sheds a lot of light on why the Québécois feel so threatened:

"Stevas asked if charter essential at this time. SSEA replied that charter is heart of the matter—the language rights, mobility rights essential to Cda's future. Cda would seek amendment to entrench charter even if we were not now seeking patriation. If forced to choose we would drop patriation rather than charter. Stevas then suggested charter should be entrenched in Cda after patriation. SSEA replied charter essential as part of written constitution at the same time as patriation with an amending formula." (our emphasis)

### Quebec Labor Backs Petition Drive

The Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ), the largest union federation in Quebec with over 350,000 members, has been one of the main forces behind circulation of the Solidarity-Quebec petition. The following are major excerpts from a statement by the FTQ which appeared in the November 1980 issue of its monthly publication, *Le Monde Ouvrier*, explaining the FTQ's support for the petition campaign.

\* \* \*

The FTQ is mobilizing all its forces for the success of Solidarity-Quebec because it is convinced that unilateral repatriation of the constitution would be directly against the fundamental rights of Québécois workers.

This is what Fernand Daoust [the general secretary of the FTQ] explained while inviting all of its affiliates to circulate the petition among their members and to gather the maximum number of signatures...

Even if constitutional questions appear complex and technical at times, the

It couldn't be clearer. The whole operation aims at rolling back the gains the Québécois have made in recent years in defending their language and winning more control over their lives. These gains encourage the fight of the Québécois to determine their own future—to challenge the discrimination they face on the level of language, wages and employment, to challenge the domination of Quebec by foreign English Canadian and American corporations. They threaten Trudeau's vision of a Canada based on the denial of Quebec's national rights. Trudeau's charter aims above all to take away from Quebec control over language rights and to destroy Law 101 which has led to important advances for French in Quebec.

Because of the massive opposition centered in Quebec, Trudeau's unilateral repatriation is in deep trouble. A committee of the British parliament has recommended nonacceptance of Trudeau's proposal because of the mounting opposition in Canada. Given the heat coming from the opposition in Canada it looks less and less likely that the British parliament will acquiesce to Trudeau's scheme.

### NDP Leadership Under Pressure

Here in Canada, cracks are appearing in the New Democratic Party (NDP) leadership's shameful support to Trudeau. During a recent two-day caucus of the NDP's MPs [members of Parliament] and MLAs [members of the Legislative Assembly] from Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan Attorney-General Roy Romanow warned that the federal party's support for the Liberal constitu-

present attack of the Trudeau government is simple and brutal and the consequences for the conditions of Québécois workers are direct. The introduction of the federal rights charter would have the effect:

a) of nullifying Quebec's hiring regulation in the construction industry. This means that Québécois construction workers would not have priority for jobs on the James Bay construction site. . . .

b) of putting into question Quebec's whole language reform. Introducing bilingualism into Quebec would affect the language of work. Our gains on this level remain fragile.

c) of permitting exclusive control over our natural resources to escape from our control. This means they would no longer be exploited to promote the best economic development of Quebec. . . .

For these reasons, which correspond to the daily needs of workers, the FTQ has led the labor movement in this campaign. We must all sign the petition. Our fate depends on it.

tion package threatens the future of the NDP. He told the federal members that the party is split and that the time has come for someone to tell Trudeau the substance and the method of his constitutional reform are wrong. Only one of the six federal NDP MPs in attendance indicated he would support Ottawa's package.

Romanow's opposition to [federal NDP leader Ed] Broadbent's support for Trudeau does not flow from a recognition of Quebec's rights; rather it stems from the conflict between the federal government and Saskatchewan over control of natural resources. However, it reflects growing unease among NDP members with the undemocratic nature of Trudeau's unilateral repatriation.

The federal NDP's support to Trudeau does tremendous harm to the interests of working people in both nations. Without NDP support, Trudeau's phony anti-Quebec constitutional package wouldn't have a chance of being implemented.

By speaking in the name of workers in English Canada, Ed Broadbent and the NDP leadership play into the hands of Trudeau, the Liberal Party and the capitalist class as a whole, whose main strategy is one of divide and rule.

Nothing frightens our rulers more than the prospect of workers in English Canada supporting the struggle of militant Quebec workers for their national rights. A combination like that is hard to beat. On the other hand, if this unity can be blocked, not only can the current drive to deny Quebec basic rights succeed, it can be used to beat back struggles taking place in English Canada.

Finally, the capitulation of the NDP leadership to Trudeau has far-reaching political implications. It completely undermines the possibility of workers in English Canada taking joint political action with Quebec labor to defeat the federal Liberal government and the Tories and put into effect in Ottawa a government that acts in the interests of the workers of both nations.

The historic battle of the Québécois against Trudeau's constitutional proposals is the front line in the fight for human rights across Canada today. Native people, women, unionists and others have every interest in taking a clear stand in support of the demand raised by Solidarity-Quebec and the hundreds of thousands of Québécois who have signed the petition.

Much can be done. In the NDP, the unions, and other organizations discussions can be organized on why the constitution should not be repatriated or changed without Quebec's agreement. Speakers from Solidarity-Quebec can be invited to explain the point of view of the Québécois. Motions supporting the text of the Solidarity-Quebec petition can be adopted. And the petition can be circulated as widely as possible in offices and on the plant floors.

Copies of the Solidarity-Quebec petition can be ordered from Solidarité-Québec, 825 est rue Sherbrooke, Montreal, Canada. □

## Regime Answers With Brutal Repression

# Rail Workers Strike Across India

By Vibhuti Patel

BOMBAY—Since late January, about 40,000 locomotive drivers, firemen, helpers, and other railway workers have been conducting labor actions around the country to demand that the railway administration and the government meet their demands.

One of the main demands of the drivers is for a revision of pay scales. The railway ministry had appointed a commission to look into pay changes, and it submitted its report in December 1979. But under one pretext or another, nothing was done. Finally, this January, the All-India Locomotive Running Staff Association (AILRSA) warned the government that it would embark on industrial action if the commission's recommendations were not immediately implemented.

In addition, the drivers are protesting against the Railway Board's decision to introduce "bullet" special goods trains, which run from one end of the country to the other without changing crews, in violation of all safety rules and an agreement limiting shifts to ten hours a day.

According to the AILRSA, several major accidents recently were due to this violation of the safety rules. Because of the long runs, old and defective cars develop hot axles and other technical troubles that can lead to derailments. In addition, the physical and mental exhaustion of the drivers increases the risk of accidents.

Under this situation, the AILRSA raised demands for an eight-hour shift of duty, a running allowance, a change in pay scales, and an end to victimization of militant unionists.

On January 28, three days after the AILRSA released its declaration, drivers, firemen, and other locomotive staff in regions around the country started taking mass "sick leave." By February 5, about 40 percent of all locomotive workers had joined the strike.

As during the massive 1974 railway strike, this time also the railway workers are divided because of the stance of the two main railway unions, the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF) and the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen (NFIR). While hundreds of railway workers were being victimized and arrested, these two unions conducted negotiations with the Railway Board and unhesitatingly declared that they would not support the strike of the locomotive drivers.

As a result of the widespread disgust with the policies of the AIRF and NFIR,

militant workers have started forming new unions organized on the basis of their work categories. Since its inception in 1972, the AILRSA has been in the vanguard of the railway workers. It is the same union that during the 1974 railway strike bravely fought the government and railway administration and boosted the morale of the strikers.

From the beginning of the year, the Railway Board has moved to victimize the AILRSA and other similar unions affiliated to the All-India Railway Employees Confederation (AIREC). Hari Singh Choudhury, the vice-president of the AILRSA, and many other office-holders of the union have been transferred, charged with rule infractions, or dismissed.

The government has let loose its repressive machinery and is using the provisions of the National Security Act on a massive scale. The chairman of the Railway Board declared that the board had been given a free hand to use the NSA to deal firmly with "anti-national activities" on the railways.

According to union sources, more than 500 railway workers, including workers from categories other than the locomotive running staffs, have been dismissed from their jobs or arrested.

Emergency rule has been declared on the railways, and the territorial army is being used to break the morale of the strikers. The railway management has begun to hire replacements for those who have been arrested, dismissed, or suspended. In Cuttak, at the Talcher Railway Colony, workers have protested against the raping of their wives by company goons. The houses of activists have been ransacked and union offices have been raided and occupied.

Despite the government's massive repression, the railway strike is spreading.

Initially, the workers wanted to limit their actions to goods trains. But as a result of the brutal measures undertaken by the Railway Board and the government, they are now refusing to handle passenger trains as well.

Despite the Railway Board's slanders about the "anti-social activities" of the locomotive running staffs, the strikers have won support from other rail unions. The AIREC has appealed to all trade unions, civil-liberties organizations, and individuals to come out against the government's inhuman treatment of the railway workers. Many have already done so. □

## U.S. Immigration Police Target Workers Movement

By Nelson Blackstock

[The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in the March 6 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

Through their suit against the government, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) have succeeded in lifting the lid on a vast secret police network—virtually unknown to all but those responsible for it.

Even its victims have often had little idea about what was really happening to them and why.

What is involved is a quarantine. A quarantine not of a disease, but of political ideas. Ideas that the rulers of this country wish they could seal off at the border—thus blocking the contamination of American workers. The ideas they fear most are those of Marxism.

Of course they can't really keep these ideas out of the country. Some workers here are already infected. But they can and do use deportations and the threat of deportations to silence critics and to harass and disrupt legal political organizations.

The target is much broader than the socialist wing of the labor movement. Ultimately, it involves all workers.

The agency chiefly responsible for enforcing this quarantine is the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

### Socialist Lawsuit

The story is told in material the court ordered turned over to the socialists. The SWP and YSA suit is set to go to trial March 16.

The material includes a foot-high stack of secret INS memos spanning almost thirty years. It includes sworn testimony taken from a top INS official; testimony from a high-ranking officer in the visa section of the State Department; and internal FBI files related to INS actions.

The INS and the State Department were added as defendants in the suit late last fall. Already included as defendants are the FBI and CIA. The suit asks for an end to spying and harassment, and \$40 million in damages.

"A few people might have suspected some of the things in these files were being done," said Larry Seigle, SWP Political Committee member, "but they never had any way of knowing for sure. It always appeared, for example, that socialists were singled out for special treatment. Now we have hard evidence, in the INS's own words.

"By bringing all of this to light, the socialists have performed a valuable service for many people here and around the world," he said.

"By unmasking the political basis for many deportation proceedings—that seemed on the surface to be for mere technical violations—these revelations provide strong legal basis for fighting back politically," Seigle stated.

Data now in the hands of the socialists document the following:

- An INS "Subversive Deportation Program." Carried out behind the scenes, it officially began in the 1950s and continues in one form or another today.

- A stable of INS informers parallel to FBI informers.

- INS collusion with the FBI, the CIA, and state and local police.

- INS collusion with secret police of foreign governments, including South Africa.

- A special INS relationship with police agencies in Canada and Mexico. Together they conspire in identifying and targeting for harassment suspected "subversives" in each country.

- A years-long, secret—and ultimately unsuccessful—attempt by the INS to prove the SWP "advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. government."

- A secret campaign to deport SWP members.

- An FBI-INS plot—eventually aborted—to get SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs indicted for perjury.

- The existence of INS "subversive libraries," made up of literature expressing forbidden ideas.

- An INS "subversive index," listing the names of native-born Americans as well as of noncitizens.

- New facts on how the U.S. government keeps out international visitors whose thinking doesn't correspond to its dictates.

Before going into details of these new revelations, let's look at the historical roots of this assault on our rights.

### A Weapon Against Labor

Deportation as a weapon against the labor movement is not new. In this century, in fact, it has been one of the major weapons of the employers and their government.

After World War I the government faced a militant labor movement. It included a fair share of politically conscious radicals, many of them immigrants.

As the authorized FBI history, *The FBI Story*, explains, the government tried in vain to find them guilty of violating some law. Finally, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer came up with the answer—deport them.

On January 2, 1920, in a series of swift, midnight raids, 4,000 in thirty-three cities

were rounded up. Many were ultimately deported. The grounds were that they had "advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. government," thus forfeiting their right to stay here.

The stage for the "Palmer raids" had been set by a red scare whipped up in response to a strike wave the previous year. On November 1, 1919, coal miners across the country walked off the job. Earlier that fall steelworkers had struck in their first big attempt to organize on an industrial union basis.

The employers, assisted by Attorney General Palmer, went on a red-baiting rampage. T. T. Brewster, chief spokesman for the coal operators, announced that the coal strike was being waged under direct orders from Lenin and Trotsky. The "reds" were generally pictured as "foreigners."

This general assault had the hoped-for dampening effect on labor militancy. They helped to bring about a decade of relative labor quiescence.

While nothing as dramatic as the Palmer raids occurred in later years, selective deportations were readily used when needed.

To understand the new material in the possession of the socialists, we need to come up to the year 1952—the depths of the witch-hunt.

After World War II, the government went on a drive to curb the power of the labor movement. This included an effort to get radicals out of the unions, and out of political life in general.

On the international level the cold war with the Soviet Union was raging.

If communism was to be contained abroad, at home it needed to be stamped out.

The official INS secret manual is among the items secured by the socialists. Currently in use, it says that "the most important weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the exclusion and deportation processes." It is a how-to-deport-them manual.

### Hunting 'reds'

The statutory basis for this is the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. It placed new, undemocratic restrictions on freedom of movement.

Specifically banned from citizenship were foreign-born members of the Communist Party. This was made retroactive, so those who had already been granted citizenship could be deported for having lied on their applications.

Under the law, hundreds of suspected CP members and sympathizers were hounded and deported.

The Socialist Workers Party was not

named in the law. However, organizations "advocating the violent overthrow of the government" were subject to the same penalties as the CP. Since the SWP has never advocated this, there are obviously no grounds for government action.

Nevertheless, the INS launched a years-long quest to prove the SWP advocated the violent overthrow of the government. If the INS could establish this strongly enough to withstand a court challenge, they could move against SWP members with the same dispatch with which they were able to move against members of the Communist Party.

Page after page of the INS files describe the effort to prove the SWP calls for the violent overthrow of the government.

Through the 1950s and early 1960s, these files show, the INS actively recruited informers—in addition to calling on FBI finks when needed.

INS attention at one point focuses on the 1941 Smith Act convictions. Eighteen socialist and trade union leaders were sent to prison for their ideas.

In their trial, they openly explained what socialists stand for. They answered all questions.

After studying the material on the Minneapolis trial, the INS investigators write their interpretations: In court, they say, the tricky SWP tries to "enunciate its policy in the most innocuous form; in other words, the general aim is to make the Party policy appear as 'legal' as it is possible to make it."

The INS also monitored SWP election campaigns. Scattered through the files are pieces of election literature. Their attention was apparently captured by an October 30, 1962, article in the *New York Times*, headed, "Trotskyite Party Leaders Claim Vote Support From Cuban Crisis."

One of the more shocking items is an actual photocopy of an SWP nominating petition—revealing the INS was scouring the lists of people who signed for the right of socialists to be on the ballot in search of names of noncitizens to be targeted for harassment or deportation.

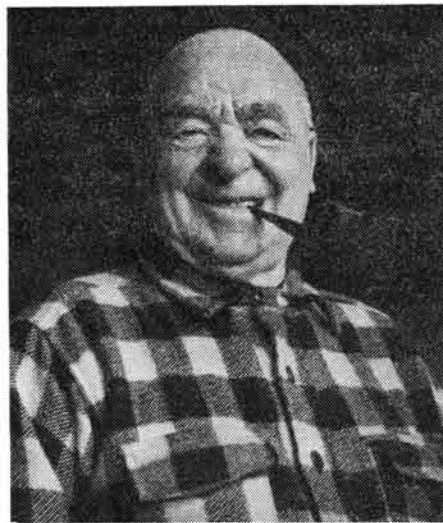
Despite all their informers and all their analysis of socialist literature, the INS couldn't pin anything on the SWP. In a document dated October 23, 1964, after at least twelve years of looking, they were forced to write: None "of the informants . . . could unequivocally state that the S.W.P. party line was the overthrow of the United States government by force or violence."

### Move to Deport

The files show the INS dogged the trail of foreign-born socialists.

One was a suspected SWP member who, the INS learned, had contact with the socialists while a news correspondent in China in the 1930s. The INS lined up a fink, a former seaman, who was willing to finger him.

Since he was born in South Africa, the INS collaborated with the notorious secret police of the apartheid regime in its moves to deport him.



Longtime SWP leader Carl Skoglund was hounded by the INS for almost twenty years until his death in 1960. The INS began its efforts to deport him in 1941. In 1954 he was held on Ellis Island for six months pending deportation to Sweden. At the time of his death, Skoglund was free on a \$1,000 bond.

Also under INS scrutiny was Joseph Vanzler, who wrote under the pen name of John G. Wright. He was a translator of Leon Trotsky and a leading contributor to SWP periodicals.

In 1958 the INS initiated deportation proceedings against a man solely on the basis of his membership in the SWP. Although he was born in Canada, George Scythes had lived in this country for well over twenty years when the INS tried to deport him.

After a five-year court fight, the INS lost. The U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago ruled, "... we find no substantial evidence that the SWP advocates or teaches . . . the violent overthrow of the Government."

This ruling was a terrible blow to the INS. It would seem on the face of it that this would settle the thing. The INS would stop worrying about the SWP. But that's not what happened.

The files show a flurry of memos on the advisability of appealing. But in the end, they decided against it, figuring a Supreme Court ruling to the SWP would be an even bigger blow to the INS.

(It is noteworthy that the INS has, in fact, never succeeded in deporting a single member of the SWP or YSA.)

Distressed at this outcome, the FBI was eager for the INS to take a fresh shot at the SWP. In an April 7, 1964, memo, the FBI said, "Obviously any case seeking to deport an individual because of association with the SWP immediately becomes in effect a trial of the SWP itself.

"A successful prosecution of the SWP," the memo continues, "would be of extremely great value not only to the INS but to the entire Federal Government."

Nonetheless, the INS and the FBI couldn't get it together to mount another prosecution on these grounds.

After the courts slapped the INS down in the Scythes case, a few things changed. But not much.

The INS reclassified the SWP as a category III organization. The INS, it turns out, keeps its own enemies list of "questionable" organizations. The list is taken largely from the old House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

Staffed by professional right-wing zealots, red-baiters, and stool pigeons, HUAC threw the subversive label around with reckless abandon.

The INS has five categories on its list. The Communist Party is number I, it being proscribed by name in the 1952 law.

An organization in the number III category, such as the SWP, is one "which has been held, or which appears, on the basis of all available information, not to be within the proscription of the Immigration and Nationality act." The question, then, is why is it still on the list at all?

Whatever the nuances between the various categories, one thing is certain. If the INS puts an organization on this list, it and its members can expect trouble.

As a matter of fact, it may well not make any difference what category your organization is in since the official INS policy is now (and has been from at least the mid-1960s) to find some other pretext to deport you rather than on open political grounds. They look for a technical violation, even for Communist Party members. And given the intricacy of the law, it's not hard to find some place you made an error.

Thus, a foreign-born worker—who perhaps never had anything to do with a suspect group but whose name had been submitted by some spy, maybe one paid on a commission basis for names turned in—could suddenly find himself hit by a deportation proceeding. The real motivation behind it—since it would be on technical grounds—would be a mystery.

Why does the INS do it this way? The reason is that what they are doing can't stand the light of day. Workers have fought long and hard for the democratic rights they enjoy. They will not give them up easily.

The ruling class understands this and tries to avoid taking the question head on if possible. That's where the lies and underhanded subterfuges come in.

This leads to a contradiction between what they do and what they say.

### Marroquín Case

You can see this in the case of Héctor Marroquín. A member of the SWP and YSA, he was ordered deported in 1979.

Supposedly, Marroquín's political views were not at issue. He was being denied asylum in the U.S., the INS said, because his life wouldn't really be in danger if he were deported to Mexico. This was despite massive evidence presented to the INS documenting the threat the socialist faced.

(Marroquín had escaped to the U.S. after

being falsely charged with "terrorism." Several of his friends who did not escape were murdered or "disappeared.")

At his deportation hearing it was clear Marroquin's political views were on trial. "The U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kinds of people," proclaimed INS prosecutor Daniel Kahn. The immigration judge said Marroquin should go to "Castro's Cuba." Then, in a legal brief to the appeals board, the INS lawyers claimed the right to keep out an "avowed Marxist."

Later, however, when the case reached the appeals board, the INS changed its tune. "The government concedes that its trial attorney was incorrect when he stated that Marxists can't get political asylum," the gov-

ernment then said. This is more in line with their stated public policy.

Now with the release of INS files on Marroquin's case, new evidence has come to light proving that the move to deport Marroquin is now and always was political.

Included among the documents is an odd page. Carelessly typed, it has nine numbered items, all obviously indicating one thing—that Marroquin is a member of the SWP and YSA.

But that is not an issue in the case. Nobody has ever denied it.

Also among the files is a page from "Information Digest." A shady publication indeed, at last report it was put out by one John Rees, on the staff of right-wing Congress-

man Larry McDonald. It has all the earmarks of a conduit for FBI spying.

"If the case against Héctor is not political," asked Larry Seigle, "then what is Information Digest doing in these files?"

Dated November 25, 1977, the page deals with a recent conference protesting the deportation of undocumented workers. The page says nothing about Marroquin, although it does note that the SWP was among conference sponsors.

"This strengthens Marroquin's case," said Seigle. "But not only his. Taken together, the stuff in these files will help all the others who face deportation for political reasons."

The INS also used technicalities to move against Marian Bustin. A socialist coal miner and native of Scotland, Bustin has been threatened with deportation since 1977.

## State Dept. Exclusion List: From Belgium to India

When the Iranian students seized the American embassy in Tehran they proclaimed to the world that they had uncovered a "den of spies."

Now, through the socialist suit, new evidence has come to light to confirm that charge—not only in Iran, but throughout the world.

As a matter of routine, it turns out, all U.S. embassies and consulates around the world spy on citizens of countries where they are located.

This came out in pretrial testimony taken from Cornelius Scully, an official in the visa office of the State Department.

Scully admitted that U.S. consular offices abroad regularly collect data on socialist and communist organizations and individuals.

There is, he said, something called the Coordination Division (formerly known as the Security Division) to which he would refer the name of a questionable applicant for a visa.

Scully's testimony came after the addition of the State Department, along with the INS, as defendants in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

Scully said that the State Department regularly exchanges the results of its spying with the FBI.

Furthermore, Scully came out and boldly stated that if a visa applicant "had been a member or was currently a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I think the Visa Office would render an opinion that that membership rendered the alien excludable."

Scully said that he himself happened to know about the SWP from reading about them "outside of the scope of my official duties" and from working on one case—that of Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International from Belgium, who was for a time banned from entering the U.S.

Scully confirmed that the State Department keeps a list of individuals for possible exclusion if they apply for a visa.

Among the documents turned over to the socialists is a communication from the FBI to the State Department informing them that a seventeen-year-old from India had written the YSA in 1971, thus making him eligible to go on the lookout list.

How long would he remain on the list? Sixty-three years, Scully answered, since the policy is to keep an individual on until they are eighty!

"It's important that the American people—and people around the world—know that this is the policy of the U.S. government," said Larry Seigle of the SWP Political Committee.

"On the basis of the flimsiest evidence they will put you on a secret list—with you never knowing it—and keep you out of this country all your life."

Restrictions on the right to travel are an instrument of U.S. foreign policy, he said. "They throw the doors wide open for somebody like the shah or Somoza."

Interestingly, when asked what would happen to a visa applicant who "noted that he was a member of a Cuban exile [right-wing terrorist] group known as Omega 7," Scully after consulting with a government lawyer, refused to answer.

"Government policy was spelled out in the 'Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America,'" Seigle said.

Issued by a group of disgruntled government employees, this document said in reference to Cuban exile terrorists and right-wing Nicaraguans and Guatemalans: "... no attempt has been made to restrict their mobility in and out of the US or to interfere with their activities."

This required, the paper said, the cooperation of "at least four agencies: INS, CIA, FBI, and US Customs."

—Nelson Blackstock

## INS and Canada

Another section of the INS files shows how the agency takes action against visitors with socialist views from other countries.

In sworn testimony taken from top INS official Glenn Bertness, he confirmed the existence of special Mexican and Canadian border programs. He said the INS would keep out somebody "if we have information that indicates that they are members of a proscribed organization."

Where would this information come from? In the case of Mexico, "usually [from] the local authorities immediately on the other side of the border . . . local police or the local Mexican immigration."

A significant number of the INS files deal with Canada. One astonishing document gives an indication of the degree to which Canadian cops pass on "adverse" information on Canadian citizens.

It is a letter on which the letterhead has been blocked out. But it is signed by a D.E. McLaren, "Insp., for Director of Security & Intelligence."

The letter is addressed to the Immigration Attaché, United States Embassy, Ottawa, Ontario. It is a response to an inquiry about some of the Canadian socialists spotted at SWP events in Seattle.

The letter says, "Extensive investigations have been carried out relating to the Trotskyist movement in Vancouver, B.C., however, we have nothing as yet to offer concerning the above named persons that would assist your Department. You will recall in our letters of October 28, 1957 and January 3, 1958 . . . we furnished adverse and biographical data [on Canadian socialists], to date we have nothing to add to that information which you already possess."

"We realize the course of action your Department would favour when these individuals next make application for admission to the United States. It is regretted we cannot afford you the necessary information to attain this end.

"Should anything of value be received at this point, you shall be so advised."

This is among a series of documents on a prolonged effort to block Canadian socialists

from attending public SWP forums in Seattle.

At one point, according to the files, the INS "illegally" broke into the socialist offices and photographed a literature display.

The INS itself spied on forums, taking down license numbers. When Tom Kerry, an SWP leader, came to town to speak, the INS put all border crossings in Washington on alert to block the entry of the socialists from Canada.

Disappointed that the two socialists in whose home Canadians have been visiting are native-born citizens, the INS wants to do something to them anyway. So they put them on their "subversive index."

The files do not say whether the INS was ever successful in barring the two Canadian socialists who were the main objects of their frantic moves. (It says that they, like other Canadian socialists, were put on a lookout list.) However, a *Militant* call to the headquarters of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada got the answer: "They weren't able to get into the United States for years."

"This is outrageous," said Larry Seigle. "You have the INS keeping Canadians from coming into this country solely because of their ideas. Not because of anything they've done. Just because of what they think."

The files reveal the INS conducted an operation around the YSA convention in 1971.

INS spies discovered that "four Canadian and three Mexican delegates [attended] the convention" in Houston. A memo says that they are expecting data on "additional foreign delegates" from the FBI.

The memo orders a "subversive-deportation type of investigation" of each delegate. An inquiry is to be made to the State Department to see if there was "willful misrepresentation" in visa applications.

As for the Canadian delegates, the INS will send all it knows about them to "the Liaison Officer at Ottawa . . . and request that he contact the Authorized Source [that is, Canadian cops] for additional information."

The key issue raised by all these files is the same one that is emerging as central to the entire socialist case against the government:

Does the government have the right to deport you—or keep you out of the country, or spy on you, or harass you, or get you fired—because you are a socialist?

In their recently submitted plan for their line of defense at the upcoming trial, the government comes out and squarely bases itself on its "right" to take such action against socialists or anyone else with a viewpoint they don't like—whether they have done anything against the law or not.

The trial plan flatly states that "advocacy of views such as those held by the SWP [is] grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denial of naturalization."

The government doesn't say what those views are. Do they include opposition to nuclear power? Support for equal rights for Blacks? For women? Support for trade

unions? The belief that capitalism isn't the best possible social system?

"In the course of this trial we will be explaining exactly what our views are," Larry Seigle said. "We expect that thousands of

workers will want to hear more about those views. They will side with our right to voice them, and their right to hear them—free of government harassment and threats of deportation." □

## Eighteen Black Children Slain Since 1979

# Are Police Covering for Atlanta Slayings?

By Cindy Jaquith

[The following article appeared in the March 6 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

You turn on the television and see the pictures of eighteen murdered children. And you can't help asking, Why don't the Atlanta cops find the killers?

The murders stretch back to 1979. The victims, all Black, range in age from seven to fifteen. All but two are male.

Can you imagine no arrests if eighteen white children were the victims?

Yet the Atlanta police, and their FBI helpers, insist they have no clues.

Says Police Commissioner Lee Brown: "It is difficult for local people to separate what is happening in Atlanta from the killings of Blacks in Buffalo . . . and other incidents. There is a temptation to believe there is a major conspiracy against Blacks, but I certainly don't buy that."

This has been the police line from the beginning. Denying the killings are racially motivated, they have steadfastly refused to investigate terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, which openly boasts of its military training camps in several parts of the South.

In fact, to divert the heat they are feeling from Blacks and whites alike, the police are increasingly trying to blame the Black community itself for the terror.

A front-page story in the February 22 *New York Times* reported that ". . . many law-enforcement officers involved in the investigation believe that some victims may have been killed by someone in their immediate or extended family."

The *Times* says the cops "also speculate that drugs or drug dealing may have been involved," with the children "being used as unwitting runners."

Including the seven-year-olds? Apparently. "Virtually all the victims came from homes with one parent or no parent and spent much of their lives hustling for odd jobs and good times on the street," the *Times* says.

This outrageous attack on the victims and their families—on the Black youth especially—is aimed at convincing people not much can be done about murders like these. They're always happening in the

Black community, according to this racist logic.

There's also a sinister implication that the cops are out to "catch" a Black suspect they can pin the killings on.

The cover of "crime prevention" is being used to justify stepped-up harassment in the Atlanta Black community as a whole. A 7 p.m. curfew has been imposed on youth. They face jail and fines for violation. And in the state legislature, bills have been introduced to reinstitute the death penalty.

David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, recently did his part to bolster the police campaign. Challenged at a campus speaking engagement, Duke agreed to donate \$1,400 to the Atlanta investigation. His publications director James McArthur told the *Atlanta Journal*, "We believe the killer is black, and when he's caught, it will have repercussions in our favor."

The cops' story, backed up by scum like Duke, is raising more and more questions about what the police actually are doing and why they are keeping their investigation wrapped in total secrecy. Some have begun to suggest that a cover-up is involved to shield the police themselves.

ABC-TV news said February 24 that "one of the many theories" circulating in Atlanta is that "a regular police officer could be involved in luring the children away."

The March 2 *Newsweek* reported: "A fifth-grader at Kirkwood Elementary School, according to principal Jesse Lanier, recently suggested that the killer might be a policeman—not such a far-fetched idea, investigators reluctantly admit, since an officer could approach children without making them suspicious."

Black children have begun talking of the murderer as "The Man," *Newsweek* says, a common street term for cop.

Who is the real target of the cop-FBI investigation in Atlanta?

Why do the police rule out a racist conspiracy, refuse to even consider known right-wing paramilitary groups as suspects?

Why won't the FBI and local cops open their files on such groups, which they admit they have informers in?

Who are they protecting? □



## International Resolution of the Cuban Communist Party

[The following is the official English-language text of the "Resolution on International Policy" adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, held in Havana December 15-20, 1980.]

\* \* \*

I. Having reviewed the last five years' achievements in implementing the foreign policy agreements adopted by the 1st Congress and the basic guidelines set forth in the Party's Programmatic Platform and having listened to the thoroughgoing report on this subject made by Comrade Fidel Castro,\* First Secretary of the Central Committee, the 2nd Congress expresses its wholehearted approval of the Cuban Revolution's international activity during this period, viewing it as a major advance and the basis for significant progress in the coming years.

The Congress notes that the key aim of Cuba's international policy has been and is its contribution to the cause of socialism, the liberation of the peoples, progress and peace. The Cuban Revolution's foreign policy is based on Marxist-Leninist principles, proletarian internationalism, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, close bonds of solidarity with the communist, workers' and revolutionary movements everywhere; and militant support of the national liberation movements and all peoples that are struggling to develop and defend their vital historic interests. From this platform, on behalf of all Communists and the Cuban people as a whole, the Congress reaffirms the validity of this policy, to which we have always been and will remain loyal.

Our experience during these years confirms the need for firmly adhering to revolutionary principles. Aware that the Cuban people's historic goals are the same as those of other peoples, our free and sovereign homeland subordinates its national interests to the higher objectives of socialist and communist progress; the peoples' liberation; the defeat of imperialism; and the eradication of colonialism, neocolonialism and all other forms of oppression and discrimination of individuals and peoples.

The 2nd Congress considers the struggle for peace to be the most vital, decisive international task and urges the Party, state and all other organized forces to redouble their efforts in this sphere.

The basis of our Party's foreign policy is its historic, lasting alliance with the Soviet Union, based on our common ideology and goals. The importance of this unity in stimulating proletarian internationalism, backing the Cuban people's heroic determination to defend their independence and their Revolution at whatever price may be required and as a solid basis for our socioeconomic development efforts has been dramatically confirmed during the past five years. The Congress notes the exemplary nature of these relations and reaffirms the determination of the Party and the people as a whole to work steadily to improve and strengthen them.

Our Communist Party and the revolutionary state it directs will also continue working to strengthen their fraternal ties with the Parties, governments and peoples of the rest of the socialist community. The Communist Party of Cuba will spare no efforts to help achieve unity among all the forces of the international communist movement on a principled basis.

\*For a summary and assessment of Castro's main report to the congress, see *Intercontinental Press*, February 9, p. 101. The text of Castro's speech at a mass rally in Havana December 20, on the closing day of the congress, appeared in *Intercontinental Press*, January 19, p. 17.—IP

The 2nd Congress specially stresses the need to continue working unreservedly for unity of action by the three great forces of the modern revolutionary process: socialism, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement. We Communists and all other Cubans will firmly continue our struggle against the imperialist strategy of breaking up the revolutionary movement, opposing all efforts to divide these forces as they merge in a single torrent struggling for socialism, communism, social progress and peace.

The Congress once again confirms the indestructible ties that make the Cuban Revolution a part of the great family of Latin-

---

### **Our free and sovereign homeland subordinates its national interests to the higher objectives of socialist and communist progress . . .**

---

American and Caribbean peoples—whose problems, concerns and destiny our people share.

II. The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba salutes the great victories the peoples have won since the 1st Congress.

We greet the Nicaraguan people's triumph with deep revolutionary joy. In staunch, heroic struggle, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the Nicaraguan people overthrew and wiped out Somoza's brutal tyranny—which US imperialism had installed and kept in power—making way for a genuine, deep, popular, antioligarchic and anti-imperialist revolution.

Under the leadership of the New Jewel Party, the people of Grenada won a resounding victory which has given life and energy to the struggles being waged by the former European colonies in the Caribbean.

At the time of the 1st Congress, Angola was battling against the attacks launched by the racist regime of South Africa and its reactionary allies, supported by imperialism. Under the leadership of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the late President Agostinho Neto, the Angolan people won a victory that marked a turning point in African politics in favor of independence and revolution.

The Ethiopian people's extraordinary triumph in overthrowing the semi-feudal monarchy allied with imperialism was consolidated when a genuinely revolutionary leadership assumed power, mobilized the masses and drove out the traitorous Somali invaders.

The 2nd Congress proudly acknowledges the modest, truly internationalist role that Cubans, fighting bravely alongside heroic Angolans and Ethiopians, played in Angola's second war of liberation and in socialist Ethiopia's victory over the aggressors on the eastern and southern fronts. Thousands of members of our Party and other representatives of our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces participated in these noble missions, and their exemplary attitude fills us with pride and satisfaction and does us honor.

We also express our joy over the important victory won by the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe in defeating the maneuvers of imperialism and the reaction. The Zimbabwean people's victory is eloquent testimony to the justice and invincible strength of the cause of independence and people's liberation. It marks an important step toward the final elimination of colonialism and

racism in the African continent and throughout the world.

In one of the most far-reaching political and human events in recent years, the people of Kampuchea, backed by Vietnam's solidarity and support, wiped out the genocidal regime that the Beijing rulers had maintained in their country. A new, people's revolutionary Kampuchea is rising from the ruins.

In another important victory which we greet with joy, the heroic Vietnamese people firmly beat back the expansionist, hegemonic Beijing clique's craven, criminal attack on them, thus preserving Vietnam's independence, defending the territorial integrity of the other countries of Southeast Asia and helping to preserve world peace. By attacking Vietnam, China's leadership revealed its true essence and the collaboration and support provided by its Yankee imperialist allies for its criminal actions. Even now, the Vietnamese people are constantly threatened and attacked all along their

---

## **Socialist ideas are becoming more attractive and influential all the time . . .**

---

border with China; we must maintain our vigilance and solidarity with Vietnam.

The reactionary monarchic regime of the Shah of Iran, US imperialism's ally and special gendarme in the Middle East, was toppled by the sweeping upsurge of the Iranian people, paving the way for significant anti-imperialist changes that knocked imperialism's entire system of influence and action off balance, forcing it to readjust its positions in that vital region.

We are pleased to salute the revolutionary victory of the Afghan people, who overthrew the despotic, semi-feudal regime in their country, and we denounce the maneuvers by imperialism and its reactionary allies aimed at undermining the revolutionary process that was initiated in that country in April 1978.

These great victories of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America confirm the course of events predicted in the agreements adopted by the 1st Congress. Socialism, which emerged with the triumph of the great October Revolution, is now a reality in four continents: New revolutionary processes are opting to build socialist societies on the basis of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism: working-class struggles in the industrialized capitalist countries are on the rise; the national liberation movement is extending its scope and deepening its content; the role of internationalist solidarity carries greater weight; and socialist ideas are becoming more attractive and influential all the time.

These factors show that the characteristic feature of our period is the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and the deepening of all aspects of the general crisis of capitalism. These victories also reaffirm the 1st Congress' position that any people that decides to struggle for its freedom today can overcome even the most difficult obstacles and the most aggressive imperialist powers if it has wise political leaders who can mobilize the masses and are supported by the forces of socialism and international solidarity.

III. Recent events in the period 1975-80 have confirmed the 1st Congress predictions as to how the international situation would develop. Every international event that has occurred during this five-year period proves that the world correlation of forces decidedly favors socialism, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement.

In the new, perturbing international atmosphere in which this 2nd Congress is taking place, the most reactionary imperialist sectors' threats against the process of détente—threats which our Party Congress denounced five years ago—have now stalemated that process, bringing the world to the brink of a new cold war period, with the real possibility of world war.

The decisive influence of the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace made possible an incipient, difficult process of relaxing international tensions, a process that mankind found both encouraging and hopeful. Imperialism—especially US imperialism—is wholly responsible for its paralysis.



FIDEL CASTRO

Because of the strong pressure that the United States brought to bear on its European allies, NATO decided to install intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, with the obviously dangerous aim of qualitatively tipping the military balance in its favor by directly threatening the Soviet Union and the European Socialist Countries. Meanwhile, imperialism has deployed its military strength, creating rapid deployment forces; modernizing and extending its network of bases throughout the world; stepping up its aggressive naval presence in the Arab Gulf and the Indian Ocean; escalating its military activities in the Caribbean; trying to rebuild its military alliances in southeast, central and southwest Asia; and indefinitely postponing its ratification of SALT-II.

All these expressions of military superiority are designed to impose its world domination, dust off its cold war tactics and block the upsurge of the peoples' revolutionary movement to win true and definitive independence.

In spite of the prevailing situation, the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba believes that détente can be saved mainly because of the firm and consistent peace policy practiced by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, with the support of all other progressive forces. An essential factor is that this policy is based not on weak military positions but on the full capacity to defeat any attack. Not even the most aggressive imperialists can deny that a nuclear adventure launched against the Soviet Union would bring about their own destruction.

The capitalist regime is bogged down in a prolonged crisis that is undermining its economy and exacerbating its sociopolitical contradictions. The effects of this are felt most acutely in the countries of the so-called Third World. This is a complex situation in which millions of people are faced with the terrifying prospect of hunger and uncertainty, and the most backward, warmongering sectors of imperialism are stepping up their activities. It is incumbent on us to halt these reactionary forces.

The battle for peace is one of the basic objectives of the 2nd Congress. The struggle to keep imperialism from pushing mankind into a nuclear holocaust has greater significance and immediacy than ever before. Our country has worked hard for a just and universal peace, defended the creation of an atmosphere of détente and supported disarmament and an end to the arms race. We will continue working along these lines. Our Party gives great priority to the efforts to establish a broad world front of all those who defend peace and peaceful coexistence in order to actively oppose the resurgence of warmongering policies, imperialist and reactionary blackmail and interventionism. We will continue to devote our most active efforts to this vital priority task.

We Cuban Communists denounce the Chinese leaders' treasonous policy, which has done great harm to the world revolutionary movement. China's policy is a serious threat to world peace and a stimulus to warmongering adventurism in international life. China's rapprochement with US imperialism has gone beyond occasional points of agreement and now constitutes an alliance that includes very specific military agreements. The lamentable example of China shows the tragic consequences of supernationalism and betrayal of socialist and internationalist principles.

A review of the present world situation shows the persistence of serious focal points of conflict that threaten world peace.

The 2nd Congress agrees that US imperialism will not accept the democratic social changes that some of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are making, following the kind of independent policy that imperialism brutally opposed before the advent of the Cuban Revolution. In answer to the victorious revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada and to the people's revolutionary uprising in El Salvador, imperialism has arrogantly attempted to reimpose its control over Central America and the Caribbean, the subregion it considers to be of "special interest." The US military presence in the Caribbean has been increased considerably; spy flights have been stepped up, especially over Cuba; and military maneuvers have been staged in an unsuccessful attempt to intimidate our people and others that are struggling for their liberation.

This imperialist policy, a new version of the big stick and gunboat approaches, is creating a tense and dangerous situation in Central America and the Caribbean, where the peoples are threatened with direct US military intervention that seeks to destroy the revolutionary process.

The 2nd Congress alerts all progressive, peace-loving forces to this dangerous situation and its unpredictable consequences.

US policy on the Middle East has sought to subject this region to its total domination by trying to wipe out the Palestinian resistance and undermine the consistent efforts of Algeria, Libya, Syria, Democratic Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization (in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front) and other progressive countries in the area. Through the Camp David Agreements—which have been roundly denounced by the international community—US imperialism fosters the establishment of an aggressive, reactionary alliance with Israel and the Egyptian regime.

We condemn Zionism and its expansionist practices, which inflict enormous suffering on the Palestinian people and are a permanent threat to all Arab peoples and to other peoples in that region.

We Cuban Communists reaffirm our solidarity with the just cause of the Arab peoples, especially the Arab people of Palestine, and express our conviction that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East must be based on recognition of the legitimate rights

of the Palestinian people, including their right to a sovereign state led by the PLO, and on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories.

Imperialist attempts to take over the energy resources of the Arab Gulf states and establish new military bases there have made the situation in that region particularly explosive, with the concentration of a dangerous military force that seriously threatens international peace and security.

The Congress stresses its concern over the continuing armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, two progressive non-aligned countries. This conflict weakens the united front of struggle against imperialism and Zionism and may further exacerbate the already problematical economic situation of the non-oil-producing countries of the so-called Third World and the international situation in general. The Congress hopes that a solution will soon be found to this war, which has already taken a high toll in lives and material goods.

Reviewing the situation in the Southern Cone of Africa, the Congress noted the persistence of a dangerous focal point of conflict emanating from Pretoria's aggressive policy and reaffirmed its staunch solidarity with Angola, Mozambique and other front-line countries under constant pressure and attack. The crisis of white racist minority rule has become more acute in South Africa as the patriotic forces are stepping up their struggle for full rights, freedom, equality and social progress.

The people of Namibia are continuing their struggle for independence, opposing the maneuvers to apply neocolonial solutions contrary to their legitimate aspirations and rights.

As the African revolutionary struggle advances, the imperialists continue their economic and military—including nuclear—collaboration with the criminal, reactionary South African regime so it can continue to act as an imperialist gendarme in the area.

The 2nd Congress reaffirms its most energetic condemnation of the ignominious apartheid regime and the Cuban Party's and people's militant solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and with their respective legitimate representatives, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress (ANC).

---

## **The struggle to keep imperialism from pushing mankind into a nuclear holocaust has greater significance and immediacy than ever before . . .**

---

The situation in the Horn of Africa is still tense, because Somalia refuses to renounce its expansionist aims and persists in attacking Ethiopia. Recently, it signed an agreement with the United States for the establishment of US military bases in its territory. The delegates to the 2nd Congress strongly denounce this agreement as a further threat to peace.

The increased imperialist military presence in the Indian Ocean is a provocation and a serious threat to world peace and to the independence and sovereignty of the surrounding states. We express our support for the proposal made by Madagascar and other countries to hold a conference that will contribute to making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

IV. In the five years since the 1st Congress the statement in the Programmatic Platform on the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries' importance in international relations has been confirmed.

The 6th Conference of Heads of State and Government, held in Havana in September 1979, made a valuable contribution to peace and promoted efforts to wipe out injustice, inequality and oppression and to attain real socioeconomic development in the developing countries.

As a member of the Movement and its current Chairman, Cuba has worked hard to implement the decisions and resolutions of the Havana Summit Conference and will continue to do so.

Fulfilling the mandate of the 6th Summit Conference, Comrade

Fidel Castro, Chairman of the Movement, addressed the United Nations General Assembly presenting the Summit Conference's main agreements and the view of the international situation contained in its Final Declaration.

In discussing the economic plight of the underdeveloped countries, he presented the basic points of a proposal for alleviating this situation through the provision of at least \$300 billion in additional resources to finance development.

This important proposal has been given broad support by these countries in international organizations and has forcefully emphasized the essential link between the problems of development and the struggle for peace.

Aware of the Movement's need for internal unity in order to bring all its strength to bear in international policy, Cuba is anxious to find a just and harmonious solution to the differences that sometimes arise among its members and may even lead them to oppose each other. With this in mind, Chairman Fidel Castro has made every effort to lead Iraq and Iran to work out their contradictions by means of peaceful negotiations.

V. The 2nd Congress reaffirms the historic significance of the democratic, popular, anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles that the peoples of Our America are waging for national liberation, socialism and the definitive defeat of imperialism.

The experience of the past five years has also confirmed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the crisis that exists in US foreign policy and the insoluble contradiction between the interests of US imperialism and those of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. In this regard the continuation of the international economic crisis of capitalism has made it increasingly evident that the United States is no longer able to lull the countries in the region with reformist promises.

It is also clear that Latin America's serious problems of underdevelopment cannot be solved as long as the transnational corporations and the US financial system exist for they offer only greater economic deformation, an unbearable economic structure, the sacrifice of nonrenewable natural resources wasted by the US consumer economy, discrimination in trade and enormous foreign debts. These are the factors that have widened the gap between US interests and those of a considerable number of governments

that refuse to be manipulated like puppets any longer.

The Cuban Revolution's historic defeat of US imperialism, its internal consolidation, its hemispheric relations and its influence are constant factors in the new reality in our continent.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that the 1979 revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada constitute the most important gains for the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and the Caribbean since the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. These victories show that our Revolution was no exception and confirm the historic need for social revolution and the possibilities for decisive action by revolutionary forces to overcome imperialist domination in this hemisphere.

In addition to the resounding peoples' victories in Nicaragua

---

### **The victories in Nicaragua and Grenada show that our Revolution was no exception and confirm the historic need for social revolution . . .**

---

and Grenada, the 2nd Congress also considers other situations in Latin America and the Caribbean to be very important.

The development of the revolutionary national and social liberation movements is accompanied by an upsurge or revival of the mass movement in a number of countries. Both phenomena are expressions of the economic and political crisis of the system of imperialist and bourgeois domination in the region, and they also show the maturity of the workers, peasants, young people, women and other sectors that are fighting alongside their vanguards.

Mass militancy in our region has reached a high point not only in some Central American countries but also in Bolivia, where the people have put up firm resistance against the military assault. In Chile and Uruguay, patriots are giving increasing signs of their repudiation of the neofascist tyrannies' attempts to hold on to power by means of deceitful pseudodemocratic maneuvers.

The Latin-American working class has also revealed its fight-



Homeless child in Colombia. "Latin America's serious problems of underdevelopment cannot be solved as long as the transnational corporations and US financial system exist."

ing spirit since the 1st Congress. Huge strikes in Perú, Ecuador and Colombia and the ongoing workers' struggles in Argentina indicate what the Latin-American proletariat can do when it combines national unity with correct leadership.

Unity of the revolutionary forces in some countries and steps toward unity in others have been decisive factors in the evolution of the Latin-American revolutionary national and social liberation movements. The tremendous importance of the solidarity and fighting unity among Communist Parties and other revolutionary groups was brought out with the support that a number of organizations gave the Nicaraguan people's struggle.

The role of Social Democracy and other political and ideological trends must also be taken into consideration in describing the situation in Latin America in this period. Without ignoring Social Democracy's reformist policy, its activity in the region and democratic, antidictatorial positions that provided points of contact for joint actions with the people's revolutionary movement should be noted.

At the same time, most of the leaders of the parties aligned with Christian Democracy maintained a stance against the people, in line with US policy in the continent, thereby losing the support of broad sectors of honest, progressive Christian Democrats.

Significant leadership sectors of the Catholic Church and its clergy not only proved more realistic in approaching our people's main political, economic and social problems but also showed an encouraging understanding of how to solve them. This trend offers very positive prospects for unity between Marxists and Christians, an essential in the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation.

The struggles in Latin America and the Caribbean have reached a crucial stage. In spite of the different characteristics of the revolutionary movements, forms and levels of the struggles and proportions of the working class and progressive sectors that are involved, all of them have the same historic goal of anti-imperialist national liberation.

Meanwhile, the United States has shown that it intends to use all the means necessary to try to maintain its hegemony over the region. In those countries where it can't keep reactionary regimes in power, it does everything possible to turn aside the most advanced ideas and positions of the people's revolutionary movement, to divide its forces, present pseudoreformist approaches and corrupt the sectors that are the least committed to the cause of their peoples.

The Congress reaffirms that the struggle against imperialism in our continent will not be simple or easy in the years to come. Latin America and the Caribbean are sure to be an area of singular confrontation in the world struggle against the capitalist system and for peace and social progress.

The 2nd Congress once again sends a message of solidarity to

---

## **Huge strikes in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia and the ongoing workers' struggles in Argentina indicate what the Latin-American proletariat can do . . .**

---

the Salvadoran and Guatemalan people, that are fighting for full freedom; to the Nicaraguan and Grenadian people, struggling to overcome the difficulties involved in building a new society, to the Bolivian, Chilean, Haitian, Uruguayan and Paraguayan people, opposing their countries' bestial military dictatorships; to the Argentines, who are struggling to have their democratic rights respected; and to all Latin-American revolutionaries seeking national and social liberation for their peoples.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba reaffirms its staunch support for the Puerto Rican people's struggle for national independence. It also reiterates its firm backing for the Panamanian people's historic struggle for full sovereignty over

the Panama Canal and for the Belizean people's just aspirations for independence and territorial integrity.

In the coming years, Cuba will express its continuing solidarity with all patriotic, anti-imperialist governments that have decided to oppose Washington's domination with dignity. In this regard, we especially esteem the firm, progressive positions that Mexico has taken on such important matters as peace, energy, development and opposition to US interference in our countries. Cuba will maintain its strategic guideline of seeking the broadest possible unity for national independence, progress and democracy in the region. Our Party, therefore, encourages and supports all sovereign actions and attitudes by Latin-American and Caribbean governments and political forces protecting their legitimate national interests and promoting more just and equitable economic relations.

VI. As part of its foreign policy, the Communist Party of Cuba places priority on participating in the international communist movement and the alliance with all other progressive, anti-imperialist forces that support national liberation, peace and social progress.

The 2nd Congress ratifies what Comrade Fidel Castro said in his Report to the 1st Congress: "The Communist Party of Cuba considers itself a modest but reliable detachment of the international communist movement. Proletarian internationalism is expressed, above all, in the essential unity, cohesion and determination of those all over the world who have taken up the banners of Marx, Engels and Lenin and are giving their efforts and even their lives to implement the revolutionary program those men proposed for mankind. Our Party participates in this with its own independent views but, at the same time, with complete loyalty to the cause of Communists the world over."

On the basis of these principles, our Party is devoting and will continue to devote special attention to strengthening its ties of friendship and solidarity with the other Communist Parties, national liberation movements and people's revolutionary parties throughout the world.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that our long-standing, close ties of friendship with Parties, organizations and movements have been extended and strengthened, and relations have been established with a large group of progressive political forces and parties all over the world.

Our contacts with Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties—especially in Western Europe and Latin America—have also been greatly extended.

On examining Cuba's participation in the international democratic and progressive movement, the Congress places great value on the contributions that the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Peace Council, the International Union of Students, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Permanent Congress of Latin-American Workers' Trade Union Unity, the Latin-American Continental Students' Organization and other international organizations have made to the struggles for national liberation, social progress and world peace. Therefore, the Communist Party of Cuba promotes the most active participation in these bodies by all our political, mass and social organizations.

VII. The 2nd Congress confirms that the state agencies charged with developing and implementing the foreign policy principles set forth in the Programmatic Platform and in the Resolution on Foreign Policy adopted by the 1st Congress have done so correctly.

Cuba's foreign policy has been and will remain a true reflection of the positions and principles of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Cuba's permanent ties with the other countries of the socialist community and especially its relations of deep fraternity with the Soviet Union are of the greatest importance.

The 2nd Congress of Cuban Communists emphasizes the importance of the protocols for coordinating plans for 1981-85 that were signed with the USSR and other socialist countries and the stability they give our country's economy and urges that we continue to integrate our economy with those of other members of

the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, consolidating and extending our forms of economic cooperation and giving a new boost to the development of trade with those countries.

In our state relations, the ties of friendship and cooperation that unite our homeland with the countries that are building socialism in Asia and Africa or that have decided, after defeating their oppressors, to advance toward this goal, following the principles of Marxism-Leninism, are especially meaningful.

Our Party places great value on the strengthening of the fraternal relations between Cuba and the progressive and revolutionary countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Because of

---

## **Cuba's relations of deep fraternity with the Soviet Union are of the greatest importance . . .**

---

our common struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialist rule and the reactionary tyrannies, we are linked to these governments by historic ties of solidarity and friendship and by our united efforts to achieve progress within the international community.

In close and permanent union with the other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other developing countries, Cuba has been very active in all forums—especially the United Nations and its agencies—supporting the just causes of these countries, their true independence and economic and social development. Our country has hosted several international meetings in this period, and it will continue working hard in this direction.

The promotion of the widest international cooperation and Cuba's active participation in the most important regional and world events and conferences are also part of the permanent work of our state agencies.

Programs of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with countries in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America have been considerably increased in the last few years and constitute a basic element in Cuba's foreign relations.

Since the 1st Congress, Cuba has extended its state relations to a large number of countries, mainly members of the Non-Aligned Movement, in spite of US imperialist pressure and harassment and some former metropolises' hostile reactions to our policy of solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Diplomatic relations were either established or renewed with Botswana, Burma, Chad, the Comoros, Ecuador, the Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Iran, Jordan, Lesotho, Libya, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Nicaragua, the Niger, Rwanda, the Democratic Saharawi Arab Republic, Saint Lucia, Sao Tomé, Seychelles, the Sudan, Suriname, Togo, the Upper Volta, Zaire and Zimbabwe, and relations were renewed with Costa Rica at the consular level.

As exceptions to this tendency, both Somalia and Morocco decided to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba in response to actions carried out in fulfillment of our internationalist duty—in the first case, because of our cooperation with Ethiopia in its victory over the Somali invasion, and in the second, because of Cuba's support for the just cause of the people of Western Sahara and recognition of the Democratic Saharawi Arab Republic.

Latin America continues to be the scene of continuous political battles, expressed in the relations between Cuba and her neighbors. Even though the Cuban government has reiterated its readiness to establish normal relations with all countries that are willing to respect our sovereignty, the problem of diplomatic relations with Cuba continues to be, for some, a political and ideological problem, and, for others, a matter of political cowardice and subjection to imperialism. The most reactionary forces in Latin America refuse to admit the possibility of diplomatic ties based on the principles of ideological pluralism. This explains why, in addition to our known and firm rejection of the regimes in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Haiti, Guatemala and El Salvador,

there are still other countries with which we do not have diplomatic relations—a situation for which the governments of those countries are entirely responsible.

Recently, the improper, illegal use of the right of asylum by anti-social elements seeking to leave Cuba illegally who were encouraged by the protection given them by some governments in the area triggered an energetic response by the Cuban government, which repudiated the use of such tactics to stir up trouble and make propaganda against our Revolution, in connivance with US imperialism.

This strained our relations with certain governments—especially the government of Venezuela, that was more interested in protecting criminals than in reaching agreements guaranteeing reciprocal respect. The situation between our two governments deteriorated even more with the monstrous attempt to exonerate those responsible for blowing up a Cuban plane off the coast of Barbados.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba again stresses that one of the aims of the Cuban people and their Communist Party is to achieve Latin-American and Caribbean unity, as the best means of attaining our historic continental goals and the democratic and independent consolidation of each of our countries. Cuba will continue to work actively in the Latin-American Economic System (SELA) and other regional economic agencies that uphold a progressive line representing the interests of the countries in the area.

The results obtained in the last five years in Cuba's state relations with the developed capitalist countries, based on equality, mutual respect and reciprocal benefits, have corroborated the justice of the Party's policy in this sphere.

Even though successive US administrations have continued to exert pressure to extend the blockade of our country, the contradictions between the United States and the other capitalist countries—especially their economic contradictions—have hindered the effectiveness of these attempts and have enabled our state agencies to work to raise the level of our economic and political ties with other countries.

The 2nd Congress reaffirms the course of this policy, which is aimed at extending and developing Cuba's relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries in the world, regardless of their social regimes and political orientations, as a contribution to the



Cuban troops in Angola.

establishment of a climate of world peace and understanding.

VIII. The 2nd Congress has devoted special attention to analyzing the relations between Cuba and the United States.

An examination of this problem shows that, at first, the Carter administration indicated its interest in reducing the tensions with our country and took some steps in that direction. However, with the failure of its attempt to negotiate Cuba-US differences from positions of force and to make the eventual lifting of the blockade conditional on modifications of our Revolution's principled policy toward the revolutionary movement, the US administration adopted a hard line in political statements and hostile actions against our country.

Anti-Cuban policy was mainly manifested in the various artificial crises the Carter administration provoked to counter Cuba's growing influence in the international arena and meet the needs of its domestic policy: Cuba's supposed participation in the Shaba events [in Zaïre], the presence of MIG-23 planes in Cuba (an alleged danger to US security and an attempt to deny Cuba's right to adequate defense equipment) and more recently the presence of Soviet military personnel—who have been in our country since 1962.

Meanwhile, the aggressive international policy the US government developed to generate a cold war climate was expressed in a hard line on Latin America—especially following the revolutionary triumphs in Grenada and Nicaragua—basically characterized by the constant exacerbation of tensions in the Caribbean. The US military presence in the area became more visible with the establishment of the Caribbean Joint Operational Contingency Force, whose General Staff is located in Key West, and interventionist activities in Central America were stepped up to neutralize the peoples' revolutionary upsurge and especially to harass the Cuban Revolution by renewing spy flights over our territory and planning maneuvers against our country, including landings at the Guantánamo Naval Base—a crude exercise in invading our country.

The 2nd Congress reaffirms that Cuba is and will continue to be an internationalist country that practices militant solidarity with the peoples struggling for liberation and national independence and that this principle of our international conduct is non-negotiable under any circumstance.

We Cuban Communists believe that there is a historic need for normal relations among all countries in the world, based on

---

### **Cuba's internationalist policy serves only one interest: the defense of the peoples' freedom and self-determination . . .**

---

mutual respect and recognition of international law and the sovereign rights of states.

The 2nd Congress reiterates that the normalization of relations between Cuba and the United States will contribute to a healthier political climate in Latin America and the Caribbean and to world détente. Therefore, it expresses Cuba's serious, responsible desire to solve the historic disagreement created by the United States' hostility toward the Cuban Revolution.

At the same time, the Congress reiterates that the adoption of steps leading to the normalization of relations with the United States is dependent on the US government's willingness to lift the blockade, return the territory occupied by the Guantánamo Naval Base and refrain from violating Cuban sovereignty.

IX. During the five years since the 1st Congress, Cuba has upheld the internationalist focus of its foreign policy.

The imperialists make every effort to slander and distort the true nature of this modest, disinterested aid that Cuba offers its brothers and sisters in other parts of the world.

The peoples know the truth, however. They know that, although Cuba has occasionally provided significant military aid in exceptional situations of foreign aggression and in response to the request of sovereign, legitimate governments, this is not the

only—nor even the main—form of Cuba's cooperation with the fraternal peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

This policy of solidarity is implemented by all our people, in the services that thousands of Cuban technicians and specialists in many different fields provide wherever their technical assistance is required—in the most remote parts of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Guinea; the forests of Nicaragua; and hospitals in Kampuchea.

This cooperation has acquired tremendous prestige.

What most concerns imperialism is precisely the impact of this example of relations that are truly based on friendship, respect, and solidarity. It is not easy to combat this, because, even with their enormous resources, the imperialists have nothing like it to offer the peoples—which is why they resort to lies, threats and compromises.

The 2nd Congress reaffirms that neither threats nor flattery can make Cuba surrender. The Cuban people and their leaders are not frightened by the fact that aggressive mobile forces equipped with the most modern arms are stationed a few kilometers from our coasts, nor are they intimidated by military maneuvers. Rather, they reject them energetically, defending their firmly held principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The threat of a total blockade will only lead Cuba to increase its preparations to confront this or any other action.

Cuba's internationalist policy serves only one interest: the defense of the peoples' freedom and self-determination. It is based on universally recognized international principles; does not threaten the sovereignty of any other state; and constitutes an effective aid to the economic, cultural and social development of the poorest, most needy countries in the world. It is a source of pride for the Cuban people to practice this policy—either while risking their lives or while making the daily sacrifices inherent in being away from their homeland and families, living in the most difficult conditions.

Our solidarity is directed toward all the peoples of the world, but it especially responds to a historic pledge dating from the time of our struggle for independence—a pledge to stand by our sister peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, against any exploitative imperialist country or oppressive tyrannical regime. It implies absolute respect for those who respect our sovereign rights. It is never tarnished by betrayal of loyally offered friendship. It is and will continue to be the greatest pride of our people and of their Communist Party.

The 2nd Congress, expressing the deep feeling of Cuban Communists and the people as a whole, proclaims its determination to continue applying this noble, generous and unselfish policy of internationalist solidarity, a harbinger of the relations that will exist in the liberated, socialist society of the future.

Finally, the 2nd Congress wishes to express its great appreciation to Comrade Fidel Castro, our First Secretary, for his activities in leading and implementing the international policy of the Party and state. The fruitful development of our close ties with the Soviet Union and the other sister socialist countries; our homeland's active role in the worldwide revolutionary, communist and national liberation movement; our country's activity to solve the serious economic problems that affect the underdeveloped countries and its constructive, unifying work within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; the establishment of fruitful relations with a growing number of states, based on mutual respect; Cuba's prestige and influence in the most important international organizations are achievements in which the tireless work and attention of Comrade Fidel Castro were essential. The Congress salutes that effort, which has meant so much for our Revolution, and expresses the Party's and all the people's desire to advance—solidly united around Fidel, the Political Bureau and the Central Committee—toward new victories for socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba entrusts the Central Committee with carrying out, guiding and controlling the implementation of the present Resolution. □

## Spain: Huge Protests Denounce Rightist Coup Attempt

By David Frankel

Huge crowds took to the streets throughout Spain February 27 to repudiate the attempted military coup carried out by ultrarightist officers in the army and Civil Guard a few days before.

An estimated 1.4 million people marched in Madrid. More than half a million demonstrated in Barcelona, 150,000 in Valencia, and tens of thousands turned out in Seville, Saragossa, Valladolid, and other cities throughout the country.

Among the most popular slogans in the Madrid protest were "Liberty! Liberty! Liberty!" "Democracy Yes; Dictatorship No" and "The people united will never be defeated."

The protest was called by the four biggest political parties in the country—the governing Democratic Center Union, the rightist Democratic Coalition, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party.

A joint statement by the four parties was read at the demonstration in Madrid. According to a report in the February 28 *New York Times*, "The crowd roared at a passage in the statement, which demanded a full investigation of the military uprising, and applauded and cheered at a sentence that said: 'The people are not willing to be spectators of their history—instead they will be protagonists of it and know how to behave as such.'"

Just four days before this massive outpouring, a detachment of some 200 Civil Guards stormed into the parliament and took the entire legislative body hostage. At the same time the commander of the Valencia military region declared a state of emergency and deployed tanks in the streets of the provincial capital. Rebel forces also took over the state-run television station outside Madrid.

But this was only the tip of the iceberg. The plotters had widespread sympathy in the Spanish officer corps, which is filled with holdovers from the Franco dictatorship. Among the planners of the coup were at least four top generals, including the army's deputy chief of staff, Gen. Alfonso Armada Comyn.

Of the country's nine regional military commanders, one immediately declared his support for the coup. Six others, according to a report by Ronald Koven in the February 26 *Washington Post*, "remained silent about the coup far into Tuesday morning."

"When the mutinous civil guardsmen began surrendering last week," *New York Times* correspondent James M. Markham reported March 1, "Spanish television viewers were treated to the unsettling



JUAN CARLOS

spectacle of the soldiers supposedly 'arresting' them clapping the rebels on the backs and permitting them to retain their assault weapons."

Had the army rallied to the plotters, however, the result would have been a civil war. That was made crystal clear by the size and spirit of the February 27 protests against the ultrarightists.

The rightist plotters ignored the mood of the masses and the social and political factors that would have made it suicidal for the capitalist rulers to join in their adventure. Under these conditions, King Juan Carlos refused to go along with the coup.

With the collapse of the rightist conspiracy, the capitalist media internationally and every procapitalist political current within Spain have joined in singing the praises of Juan Carlos and the virtues of monarchy.

As the U.S. State Department put it, the king's leadership was "instrumental in ending the crisis."

"It was the King who saved the situation," claimed *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Jane Monahan.

"In truth," the editors of the *New York Times* asserted February 25, "Spain's two-year-old democratic system was saved by the King and the regular army."

"This proves the value of having a King," Alfonso Osorio of the Democratic Coalition declared.

When the Spanish parliament reconvened February 25, *Times* correspondent Markham reported, "the mere mention of King Juan Carlos . . . brought the 344 legislators cheering to their feet."

But what was remarkable about the coup was not that it failed, but rather how far it

was able to get. There is no indication at all that any substantial sector of the Spanish ruling class was prepared to back such a move.

While the king refused to go along with the adventure launched on February 23, he also made clear his refusal to allow a thorough purge of the armed forces.

The capitalist rulers want to be able to hold the threat of a rightist coup over the heads of the masses. Such blackmail helps to restrain the workers movement and strengthen the hand of the reformist leaders who use the rightist threat as an excuse for their own inaction.

In a statement made immediately after the failure of the coup and published on February 26, Juan Carlos warned: "An open and harsh reaction by political forces against those who committed acts of subversion in recent hours would not be advisable. It would be even more counterproductive if such a reaction was extended generally to the armed forces and the police."

A particularly dishonorable role in this affair is being played by the Social Democratic and Communist leaders who have so far agreed to the cover-up demanded by Juan Carlos and who have joined in the promonarchist propaganda.

Santiago Carrillo, the head of the Spanish Communist Party said February 25: "In the long hours that some of us were kept incommunicado, we were all aware that the only person who could oppose this adventure was the head of state."

And what about the millions who marched February 27? Obviously they thought they had some role to play.

The capitalist rulers and their supporters within the working-class movement would like to see Juan Carlos play the role of an arbiter, a strongman seemingly standing above the class conflicts in Spain and lending stability to the Spanish state.

However, it takes more than a buildup in the mass media and some adulatory speeches by the likes of Carrillo to create such a figure. The first requirement for a Bonapartist figure to achieve success is the demobilization of the working class as a result of a big defeat. And it is precisely such a defeat that the capitalists do not feel confident that they can inflict.

Far from being a stable, strong, and confident regime, the abortive coup of February 23-24 revealed the extent of the Spanish state's instability. And Spain is not the only country in Europe where the underpinnings of capitalist rule are so shaky. □