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Invasion Leaves Hundreds Dead ISRAELI TERROR IN LEBANON



Israeli column of armored vehicles moves toward Lebanese border.

**Hundreds of Thousands
Protest During
Reagan's Europe Trip**

**Nonaligned Nations
Declare Solidarity
With Argentina**

**Faced With Massive Flood Damage
Nicaragua Appeals for International Aid**

Zionist terror in Lebanon

By Ernest Harsch

After months of preparations and threats, the Israeli regime launched a massive invasion of Lebanon June 6. The Zionist authorities in Tel Aviv undertook this action with the tacit approval of the Reagan administration in Washington.

Aiming to strike a major blow against the Palestinian liberation struggle, some 25,000 Israeli troops, scores of jets and helicopters, and more than 250 tanks and armored personnel carriers poured across the border into southern Lebanon.

This criminal invasion is not only a blatant violation of Lebanon's sovereignty, but a provocation against the entire Arab world. It shows, once again, where the real danger of war in the Middle East comes from.

In launching the full-scale invasion, the Israeli regime claimed to have a "limited" objective: to push the Palestinian liberation forces based in Lebanon some 25 miles north of the Israeli border.

But the whole history of Israeli military aggression in the Middle East shows that the Zionist forces will strike as far and as hard as they can. Their ultimate — and futile — goal is to try to break the back of the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland.

While attacking Palestinian military positions in southern Lebanon, the Israeli invasion is also aimed at terrorizing the civilian population, Palestinian and Lebanese alike.

For two days preceding the invasion, Israeli jets bombarded numerous targets as far north as the Lebanese capital, Beirut. They strafed the Palestinian refugee camps of Shatila, Sabra, and Burj al-Barajneh; the Farkhani section of southern Beirut; and many villages and towns throughout southern Lebanon. Many civilians were killed when a major four-lane highway south of Beirut was bombed June 5.

Altogether, more than 200 Palestinians and Lebanese were killed in these initial bombing raids.

When the invasion itself was launched, Israeli warplanes took care to bomb the main Lebanese oil refinery in the south, at Zaharani. This was part of the Israeli regime's policy of making Lebanon pay a heavy price for the refuge it provides to the Palestinians.

Palestinians resist

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has vowed to resist the invaders. Heavy fighting was reported around such key Palestinian centers as Tyre, Nabatiye, Beaufort Castle, and Kawkaba.

According to a report from Lebanon in the June 7 *New York Times*, "the Palestinians were holding their ground in all of the strongholds and not fleeing north."

The Israeli authorities admitted that Palesti-

nian gunners had succeeded in shooting down one jet and one helicopter during the first day of the invasion. The Palestinians reported shooting down two other aircraft as well.

Although Israeli radio claimed that the invasion was not directed at the 25,000 Syrian troops based in Lebanon, this massive provocation clearly risks a wider Middle East war. Israeli troops have already clashed with Syrian forces in several areas.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was not some sudden decision. Preparations for it had been under way for months.

Since early April, several divisions of Israeli troops had been massed in northern Israel, along the Lebanese border. Israeli spy flights over Lebanon were stepped up. On April 21, Israeli jets bombed a series of villages just south of Beirut and shot down two Syrian jets.

Israeli officials openly declared their readiness to invade Lebanon to strike at PLO bases.

Green light from Washington

Throughout this military buildup, Tel Aviv received continual encouragement from the Reagan administration. This was despite the White House's claims that it was urging the regime of Menachem Begin to exercise "restraint."

U.S. officials refused to condemn the Israeli incursions into Lebanon. On April 20, the U.S. government vetoed a United Nations Security Council resolution that condemned a murderous attack by an Israeli soldier on worshippers at the Dome of the Rock, an Islamic religious site in Jerusalem. The same day, Reagan sent a letter to Begin promising to maintain Israel's military superiority in the region.

Israel is already the largest recipient of U.S. aid in the world. It receives nearly \$3 billion a year from Washington, about one-third of the Israeli national budget.

On May 25, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to increase the amount of grants given to Israel as part of the government's \$1.7 billion Israeli military aid package.

Plans are also under way to supply Israel with 75 U.S. F-16 fighter bombers, worth about \$2.5 billion. This is the largest arms transfer ever arranged between Washington and Tel Aviv.

In May, Adm. Thomas Hayward, the U.S. navy chief, visited Haifa to observe Israeli naval exercises. He publicly revealed that U.S. and Israeli sailors were training together, and "if the need should arise, could work together," according to a report in the June 5 *London Economist*. Moreover, Hayward said, Washington was carrying out surveillance of Syrian and Libyan naval activities.

Emboldened by such expressions of U.S.

backing, Begin ordered the June 4-5 bombing raids of Lebanon. The Israeli government watched to see what the U.S. reaction would be. But, as *New York Times* correspondent David Shipler revealed in a June 6 dispatch from Jerusalem, "Throughout Friday and Saturday [June 4 and 5], Israeli officials report, no word of warning came from President Reagan."

With that assurance, the full-scale invasion was launched.

Washington's attitude was also made crystal clear following the invasion.

At the United Nations, U.S. and British representatives opposed including any direct condemnation of Israel in a resolution passed by the Security Council, which called for an Israeli withdrawal, coupled with a demand that the Palestinians stop fighting the invaders.

In Versailles, France, where Reagan was meeting with representatives of six other imperialist powers, the president and Secretary of State Alexander Haig did not even bother to suggest an Israeli withdrawal. According to the June 7 *New York Times*, "Neither Mr. Haig nor Mr. Reagan, who had a two-sentence reference to the Lebanon situation in his own separate statement on the conference, went so far as to deplore or condemn Israel for the invasion. Mr. Reagan simply urged restraint by 'all parties' and deplored 'increasing bloodshed in that region.'"

According to Haig, Reagan was, however, "extremely concerned" that Syrian forces might resist the invasion. Haig said that the Reagan administration would urge the Syrians not to respond.

Speaking at the United Nations June 6, the PLO's deputy observer, Hassan Abdel Rahman, pointed to this U.S. complicity. Israel's "criminal assault," he said, was being conducted with some of "the most sophisticated U.S. instruments of death."

Former Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami declared that Washington, by providing Israel with jet fighters and other weapons, "was out to have us massacred."

Flimsy excuses

In seeking to cover up the aggressive nature of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Begin government has offered two immediate justifications for the action: the June 3 attempted assassination in London of Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov, and the Palestinian shelling of towns in northern Israel following the June 4-5 bombing raids into Lebanon.

The Israeli authorities have blamed the PLO for the attack on Argov. But Nabil Ramlawi, the PLO's London representative, denied that the group had anything to do with the attempted assassination. He said that the attack served Israeli, not Palestinian, interests. "Our war is in Palestine against the Zionists, not in Europe," he said.

The British government itself discounted the Israeli charges against the PLO. Claiming to have captured several persons thought to have been involved in the attack, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that a "hit list" had

been found that included the name of the PLO's London representative.

In any case, nothing could justify the Zionists' repeated — and deliberate — terrorist attacks against the civilian populations in Lebanon.

"The terrorists may well have come from some extremist faction that has killed not only other Israeli diplomats but P.L.O. representatives," liberal columnist Anthony Lewis said in the June 7 *New York Times*. "But assume that they acted for the P.L.O. itself. Would that justify air raids that killed 200 people, many of them children and women, few of them traceably connected with terrorism?"

Lewis also pointed to the hypocrisy of the Israeli use of the Palestinian shellings as a justification:

"For nine months not a single rocket or shell was fired by P.L.O. gunners into Israel. When Israeli planes bombed Lebanon on April 21 for the first time since the truce started [in July 1981], the P.L.O. did not respond. When there was another bombing on May 9, there was a limited response: about 100 rockets that Israel said caused no damage or casualties. Then, after the massive Israeli bombing last week, the P.L.O. responded with full-scale barages. . . ."

"The argument that aggressive new military action was needed to keep the rockets out turns reality upside-down."

Behaving 'like Europeans'

Quite simply, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the barbaric bombings of civilian targets are part of the Zionist state's general campaign of terror against the Arab peoples. It is standard policy.

As PLO representative Rahman pointed out at the United Nations, "Violence and terrorism are a trademark of the Zionist movement. Before Menachem Begin and his clique came to our land, Palestine, we did not know violence and wars."

Since mid-March, a fierce crackdown has been under way in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights, territories occupied by Israel. Scores of Palestinian youths have been killed or wounded by Israeli soldiers, police, and settlers.

The Israeli wave of terror in the West Bank has included the sending of death threats to many prominent Palestinian figures and the kidnapping and murder of young Palestinians by Israeli settlers. According to a report in the May 15 *Economist*, "two young Palestinians were found dead in the fields in April, one beheaded, the other cut in two."

The Israeli authorities have openly defended their attacks in Lebanon and their policies in the occupied territories, pointing out that they were simply following in the best traditions of their imperialist allies.

In an interview in the May 14 issue of the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot*, Lt. Gen. Rafael Eytan, the Israeli chief of staff, said that a visiting defense minister had recently told the Is-

raeli authorities to behave "like Europe. I told him that's exactly how we behave — like Europeans. Someone steps on our toes, we chop off his head. That's how Europeans have always behaved."

In a letter to Reagan explaining the Israeli justifications for the invasion, the *New York Times* reported June 7, Begin "cited the exam-

ple of Britain fighting in the Falkland [Malvinas] Islands, 8,000 miles from home."

Through their direct backing to the Israeli regime and their own aggressive actions around the world, Washington and its imperialist allies in Europe are thus as much responsible for the death and destruction in Lebanon as the criminals in Tel Aviv. □

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Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.
Managing Editor: David Frankel.
Editorial Staff: Sue Hagen, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.
Business Manager: Sandi Sherman.

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Nonaligned countries back Argentina

Big victory for anti-imperialist forces in Havana

By Mary-Alice Waters

HAVANA — As the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries drew to a close here on June 5, agreement was reached on a strongly worded statement that “deplored the military operations being carried out in the South Atlantic by the powerful military forces of the United Kingdom, supported and assisted by the United States.”

High-level delegations from the governments of more than 90 countries demanded an end to military operations and to “all acts hostile to the Republic of Argentina.” Singling out Washington’s role, they demanded “the immediate end of the U.S. support and military assistance” to Britain, while “renewing their support and solidarity with Argentina’s struggle to eliminate the colonial presence in the Malvinas Islands.”

The final declaration was adopted despite an intense diplomatic effort led by the delegations from Jamaica and a number of other former English colonies that are today part of the British Commonwealth. It constituted a significant blow to the Anglo-U.S. campaign to win support for the brutal imperialist aggression against Argentina.

Since there is every indication that the confrontation over the Malvinas will not end even if the British are successful in militarily retak-

ing the islands, the declaration assumes even greater importance as a stumbling block for the imperialists.

The stand taken by the ministerial conference was a victory for the forces within the Nonaligned Movement, led by Cuba, that are waging a struggle to maximize the anti-imperialist unity of the bloc of nations whose populations comprise the majority of humanity.

As Fidel Castro, president of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, explained to the 34th session of the United Nations General Assembly in October 1979, what binds the nonaligned together, what is common to them all, is their condition as oppressed nations suffering from imperialist domination.

Nothing brings this reality home more forcefully than the fate of Argentina. Two months ago its military government was playing a central role in U.S. imperialism’s war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. Today, that same military junta is being forced to turn to the oppressed and exploited the world over — including Cuba and Nicaragua — appealing for support and solidarity against the powerful Anglo-U.S. military and economic aggression.

Argentine military advisers have been pulled out of Central America, and the Argentine government, which previously was training

counterrevolutionary terrorists in Honduras, has now donated 7,000 tons of wheat to flood-ravaged Nicaragua.

The Anglo-U.S. war to seize the Malvinas Islands was the political focus of the week-long conference here in Havana, the high point of which was the address by Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Méndez.

Costa Méndez, the representative of the Argentine military junta, was forced to emphasize Argentina’s common bonds with the other semicolonial countries, and the common interests of the oppressed nations in opposing imperialist banditry. This was the only way that Argentina could successfully appeal for support in the Nonaligned Movement — a fact that must have been made clear to Costa Méndez shortly after his arrival, when he met with the heads of some of the African delegations. Costa Méndez’s uncompromising speech made it nearly impossible for delegations that were resisting adoption of an unequivocal anti-imperialist stand to hide behind the excuse of the Argentine junta’s reactionary, proimperialist policies.

After paying tribute to Cuba as “the pride of the Caribbean,” and recalling the close economic, political, and cultural links between Cuba and Argentina throughout the history of the two countries, Costa Méndez stated that Argentina stood before the conference of non-

Our Malvinas coverage — it takes money

Intercontinental Press has perhaps carried more coverage on Britain’s war against Argentina than any other weekly magazine in the world. But more important than the amount of coverage is what we have to say.

To begin with, *IP* is a magazine that knows which side it’s on.

Before the outbreak of war, *IP* staff writers — like other revolutionaries around the world — had been eagerly following the growth of opposition to the Argentine military junta within that country’s working class. “Military government under siege” was the title of one article in the February 1 issue of *IP*. Our March 15 issue reported on opposition within Argentina to the junta’s counterrevolutionary role in Central America, and the following issue reported the brutal murder of Ana María Martínez by the junta’s goons.

But we never fell into the trap of allowing our hatred for the junta to blind us to the need to defend Argentina against imperialist

attack — a defense that is the only way of helping to advance the struggle against the military dictatorship.

The April 12 issue of *IP*, which came off the press just days after the eruption of the Malvinas conflict, explained: “The Malvinas Islands belong to Argentina. The workers movement around the world should demand that the British imperialists stop their military threats immediately, and withdraw their forces from the region.”

Since then, every issue of *IP* has been explaining the stakes in this fight and providing the information that is needed by working-class fighters around the world. How did the British labor movement, the Salvadoran liberation fighters, Vietnam and Grenada, the Argentine Montoneros respond to the crisis? The answer was in *IP*.

On-the-scene reports from Britain by Alan Freeman and Brian Grogan appeared in our April 19, May 17, and May 31

issues. In the May 3 issue, *IP* staff writer Will Reissner provided facts and figures showing the semicolonial nature of the Argentine economy, and the same issue carried an exclusive report from Buenos Aires by an Argentine socialist. In this issue, we have a firsthand report by Mary-Alice Waters in Havana on the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

This is the kind of revolutionary journalism that makes *IP* respected around the world. But putting out this kind of magazine takes money. Our income from subscriptions and bookstore sales does not cover our expenses, and that is why we are turning to our readers.

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aligned countries "confronting quite exceptional circumstances in its life, in order to reaffirm the principles and fundamental aims of this movement."

He traced the history of British colonial possession of the Malvinas, and the acts of aggression against Argentina that preceded the April 2 occupation of the islands by Argentina. Costa Méndez made a stirring appeal to the anticolonialist, anti-imperialist struggles that are the common cause of the peoples of the non-aligned countries:

Colonialism is an act of force; it is ongoing aggression. It is the opposite of true peace.

Many peoples, many nations of our Movement can testify, often painfully, to this truth. . . .

The international community has declared that the maintenance of colonialism is a crime. And this movement, the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, has as one of its historic purposes, one of its fundamental principles, the fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and all other forms of foreign domination.

That is why we are here today telling you our truth. . . .

The struggle against colonial domination continues to unfold, because it has been the peoples' legitimate reaction against the preservation of a system of international relations aimed at perpetuating an illegitimate and unjust status quo that benefits only the colonialist and imperialist powers.

Force has served to maintain this status quo.

The great majority of the countries that today form part of this Movement gained their independence through struggles similar to the one we are carrying on for the Malvinas today. This was also the way the Argentine Republic and the other countries of America gained our own independence — through a heroic, liberating effort.

Nor can I fail to recall that nations such as Algeria, India, Cuba, Vietnam, and so many others fought long struggles for their liberation and for their full rights to an independent life.

It is this struggle as well that the peoples of South Africa are engaged in today against the odious apartheid system.

The Argentine Republic has always been in solidarity with these principles of the Nonaligned Movement. The Argentine Republic has expressed its total rejection of the Israeli settlements in the territories occupied since 1967. Argentina has recognized the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence, and the right to form a sovereign state. . . .

The struggle of all these peoples has been and is supported by the Nonaligned Movement.

Might they perhaps have gained independence had they remained submissively respectful of a legal order imposed by the colonialist powers? History answers, and answers roundly: No!

Costa Méndez's words had the impact intended. They gave a tremendous boost to the fight for unconditional support to Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas, and for its right to defend that sovereignty by any means necessary. This fight was organized by the caucus of Latin American delegations, with Cuba and Nicaragua taking the lead.

As Fidel commented to the Argentine and Cuban press later in the day, following a ceremony in which trade agreements between Argentina and Cuba were renewed, the "statements made by Minister Costa Méndez consid-

erably broadened the support of Third World and Nonaligned countries for Argentina."

The extent of the political changes that have already been produced by the imperialist war against Argentina were also noted by Castro in his remarks to the press.

"This struggle has given rise to Latin American nationalist and patriotic sentiment such as I have never seen before," Fidel stated.

"All Latin Americans have felt the Argentine cause to be our own," Fidel went on. "We have suffered the dead and the fallen in Argentina as if they were our own. Argentina's victory is our victory, and an Argentine defeat would be our defeat. But I am sure it will not be the Argentines who are defeated, even if the aggressors achieve partial success. They have created a very serious conflict, with tremendous, disastrous political implications. In my opinion, Argentine firmness is the key that will decide the victory."

As Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmerca expressed it in his opening address to

the ministerial conference, "the United States' supposed alliance with Latin America against extrahemispheric attack, the Monroe Doctrine, the Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty, and the Organization of American States are dead, awaiting only a funeral oration to be laid away forever."

While the Havana conference discussed at length and adopted positions on struggles going on elsewhere in the world as well, it was this advance of the anti-imperialist struggle throughout all Latin America that more than anything else dominated the deliberations and the mood of the delegates.

Grenada's Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman took note of this fact on the floor of the conference, saying that the Nonaligned Movement is today gaining "new strength and respect." And this is due, he asserted, more than anything else to the political course for the nonaligned being charted under the chairmanship of the revolutionary government of Cuba. □

Argentina

Thatcher threatens bloodbath

As debate widens over how to resist imperialism

By Fred Murphy

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has declared her readiness to unleash a bloodbath in order to restore colonial rule over the Malvinas Islands.

"No one in the Government entertains any hope that there can be a peaceful solution at this point," a source close to Thatcher told the *New York Times* June 4. "There is going to be a battle for Stanley, and we know it could be a bloody one."

As of June 6, some 8,000 British troops were preparing to launch a full-scale assault on Puerto Argentino (Stanley), Argentina's last major stronghold on the Malvinas.

The British government flatly rejected all of Argentina's last-minute attempts to offer concessions and achieve a cease-fire. "We have not found anything except intransigence on the part of the British," said special Argentine envoy Brig. José Miret before departing Buenos Aires for the United Nations on June 1, "so we have ceded, or are ceding, everything that is prudent in order to achieve an honorable peace."

But what Thatcher wanted was an abject surrender by Argentina. Thus her representative at the UN Security Council vetoed on June 4 a resolution calling for a cease-fire in the conflict.

The Reagan administration — which has provided key matériel, logistics, and intelligence aid to London — lined up firmly behind the British rulers' uncompromising stance. After Reagan met with Thatcher in Paris on

June 4, a British source told the *Washington Post* that the two shared a feeling "that they'd like to get the assault over as soon as possible."

Secretary of State Alexander Haig disavowed reports that Washington had been pressing for a "pause" in the fighting. "It has not been in the U.S. lexicon to suggest such a pause," Haig told reporters in Paris. Thatcher concurred. "The United States is firmly on our side," she said, "and we are very grateful to them for being staunch allies."

Thatcher has begun calling for direct U.S. participation in her plans for a long-term military occupation of the Malvinas. "I hope we can arrange some other people to help, to have a multinational force with us," she told British television correspondents June 2. "You know, when the Americans asked us to join them in a multinational force in Sinai, I said yes, because it helped peace in that area. And I'm sure we'd have just exactly the same response from them."

During the UN Security Council debate, Argentine Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros denounced Thatcher's call for a multinational occupation force in the Malvinas. Such plans, Ros said, "sadly call to mind similar situations, such as Guantánamo [the illegal U.S. base on Cuban territory]. They also dangerously resemble cases like Diego García [the U.S.-British base in the Indian Ocean] and Ascension Island. The Council must not forget that the latter is the key point for the aggression against Argentina."

U.S. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick joined

her British counterpart in vetoing the UN resolution for a cease-fire. Her subsequent claim that State Department instructions for an abstention arrived too late was a transparent attempt by Washington to limit the political cost it is paying in Latin America for its support to British colonial aggression.

The cost is rising. Another indication of it was the presence of Argentine Foreign minister Nicanor Costa Méndez at the June 2-6 meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in Havana.

Costa Méndez appealed to the gathering for solidarity in his country's resistance to U.S.-British aggression (see accompanying article). He also held three meetings with Cuban leader and chairman of the Nonaligned Movement Fidel Castro, signed a \$100 million trade agreement with Cuba, and expressed his "great satisfaction and happiness at being in this country that has made such history in the Caribbean and Latin America."

Shifts in Argentine politics

Less than three months ago, the Argentine junta was the staunchest supporter in the hemisphere of Washington's belligerent anti-Cuba policies. Costa Méndez's presence in Havana was symbolic of the sharp political shifts the junta has been forced to make in face of U.S.-backed British aggression on the one hand and massive anti-imperialist sentiment among the Argentine people on the other.

Such is the anti-imperialist mood in Argentina today, the *Washington Post* reported June 2, that "to question Argentina's militancy in the long crisis is to be accused of treason. To oppose a radical shift in the country's policies is to be identified with anti-Argentine plots or — worse — with the U.S. Embassy."

According to the June 1 *Post*, "a grass-roots boycott movement against British and American products is gathering strength" in Argentina.

"'Don't feed imperialist parasites!' advises a leaflet distributed by an oil workers' union in Chachopoyas. In Mendoza, a western city, a construction union demanded that 70 companies stop purchasing English and U.S. products, such as those produced by Shell and Exxon."

Trade-union activity has more and more been tolerated by the military regime since the Malvinas crisis began. The government has announced the lifting of restrictions previously imposed on 20 unions. This process began June 2, when full rights were restored to the Federation of Postal and Telecommunications Workers of Buenos Aires, one of the country's largest unions.

Rifts in military hierarchy

The Argentine rulers may be forced to take further steps to head off popular discontent. A dispatch from Buenos Aires to the June 3 *Le Monde* pointed to mounting disagreements inside the military hierarchy over how to proceed in the new situation. While the junta itself reportedly favors backing off from further military conflict with Britain and pursuing negoti-

ations over the Malvinas, a growing faction of officers is said to favor a continuation of the fight. *Le Monde* correspondent Jacques Desprès summarized their stand as follows:

The battle of Port Stanley, whatever its outcome, constitutes only one episode in the total war that the Argentines must carry out to exercise full sovereignty over the Malvinas and consolidate their identity. To achieve victory, the country must provide itself with the means. Militarily, by accepting foreign technical aid wherever it can be had, and "mobilizing the 28 million Argentines." Diplomatically, by breaking relations with Washington and allying with the countries that are fighting colonialism and imperialism. Economically, by refusing to honor the foreign debt, and "putting the country back to work." Politically, by strengthening the ties between the army and the people.

Air Force chief and junta member Brig. Basilio Lami Dozo claimed June 1 that "We already have won the political victory." He expressed hope that relations with Washington could be improved and said the two countries had been "founded on the same principles."

But former army commander-in-chief Lt. Gen. Jorge Raúl Carcagno declared the next day that Argentina should "remain at war against the colonial aggressor." He called for "withdrawing all diplomatic representatives

from the United Kingdom, the United States, and all other countries that support the British war effort." The U.S. and French military missions in Argentina should be expelled, Carcagno said.

For his part, President Leopoldo Galtieri has begun proclaiming that "since April 2, I am a different president." He told a delegation of trade unionists June 2 that "the entire policy of the country will be reevaluated, both at the national and international level."

The disputes that are surfacing among the military brass are an indication of the growing political ferment among the Argentine masses. In the days ahead, discussion and debate will deepen over how best to pursue the anti-imperialist struggle. Argentine workers will gain confidence and seek effective means to defend their country against U.S.-British aggression. They will look for ways to rid themselves of the obstacle to this struggle that the military dictatorship presents.

The best support Argentine working people can receive from their brothers and sisters abroad is mobilizations to demand the withdrawal of the British fleet and occupation force, an immediate halt to U.S. complicity with London's war, and recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas. □

United States

Reagan promises 'peace'

Pentagon document spells out real plans

By Ernest Harsch

"Our goal is peace," President Reagan claimed in his May 31 Memorial Day speech in Arlington, Virginia.

To be honest, he should have added, "But our policy is war."

Coming just days before his departure for Western Europe — and the massive peace demonstrations scheduled there and in New York City — Reagan was clearly seeking to deflect opposition to his administration's actual war policies.

In his speech, Reagan announced that U.S. and Soviet representatives would begin nuclear arms talks on June 29 and pledged, for the first time, that Washington would "refrain from actions which undercut" the unratified SALT II nuclear arms agreement reached with Moscow in 1979.

"With good will and dedication on both sides," Reagan piously declared, "I pray that we will achieve a safer world."

Reagan's aim to defuse antiwar sentiment was so transparent that administration officials openly acknowledged it. In a dispatch from Washington the day of Reagan's speech, *New York Times* correspondent Judith Miller reported, "White House officials said today that they hoped the opening of strategic arms

negotiations and the renewed pledge not to undercut the restraints of previous arms control accords would convince Americans that the Administration was committed to arms control."

But what they did not admit was that the nuclear arms talks are also aimed at diverting attention from the White House's ongoing war moves and military buildup.

Planning new wars

Just days before Reagan's speech, copies of a 125-page Defense Department "guidance" document were made available to some journalists. Signed by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and drafted with the assistance of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and numerous other officials, the document outlines the U.S. ruling class's goals over the next decade for strengthening its military capabilities and its strategy for intervention around the world. It is more explicit and far-reaching than any public speech by any administration official so far.

Columnist Tom Wicker, writing in the June 1 *New York Times*, commented that the program outlined by Weinberger "would have the effect of moving the nation toward a perpetual wartime state."

Among other things, the strategy projects the need for Washington to achieve a larger nuclear arsenal than it now has, one that could "prevail" over the Soviet Union even in a "protracted conflict period" (that is, more than a couple of days). It proposes a more rapid deployment of Trident II ballistic missiles, launched from submarines, and research into new areas of weaponry, particularly in space.

The heart of the Pentagon strategy, however, is a massive increase in conventional forces and weapons.

This reflects Washington's actual goal: to be able to intervene as rapidly as possible anywhere in the world to safeguard imperialist profits and strategic interests. With the rise of revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements in many corners of the globe, the U.S. rulers consider this a life-or-death matter.

The document stresses Washington's possible need to fight several conventional wars at the same time in different parts of the world, stating that "United States forces might be required simultaneously in geographically separated theaters."

Agenda for intervention

To make this possible, Weinberger proposes a series of concrete steps over the next decade:

- A major increase in the size of the U.S. army, from the current 16 divisions (at full strength, some 200,000 combat troops) to 25 divisions (about 300,000 troops). A larger number of them would be stationed abroad.

- An accompanying buildup of air and naval forces, and closer collaboration between them. According to a report by correspondent George Wilson in the May 25 *Washington Post*, the document proposes, "The Air Force should consider designing a 'worldwide deployable' team of fighter planes and communications gear to clear the skies of enemy aircraft threatening vital sea lanes between the United States, its allies and such supplies as oil.

"The Mediterranean, Persian Gulf and Western Pacific are listed as 'key geographical areas' for such an outfit."

In addition, the marine corps is asked to experiment with arming Harrier jump jets — the aerial mainstay of the British forces in Argentina's Malvinas Islands — with tactical nuclear weapons.

- A large increase in the size of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), an intervention force whose purpose is to be able to strike quickly over long distances. It is to be built up to five army divisions, two marine divisions and air wings, 10 air force tactical fighter wings, two B-52 wings and three navy aircraft carriers with supporting ships.

The pretense that the RDF would be used only at the "invitation" of foreign governments is also being dropped. According to a report on the document by Richard Halloran in the May 30 *New York Times*, "As outlined in the paper, the strategy for Southwest Asia, including the Persian Gulf, directs American forces to be ready to force their way in, if necessary, and not to wait for an invitation from a friendly

government, which has been the publicly stated policy."

The RDF was set up under the pretext of countering a "Soviet threat" to the Mideast. But as the Pentagon now indicates, its real targets are popular revolutions such as the one in Iran.

- A new emphasis on providing military aid to regimes allied with Washington. A Special Defense Acquisition Fund would be established to order and stock weapons, including aircraft, that could be sent to these regimes on short notice. Congressional restrictions on U.S. military aid would be ended.

Aid to 'democratic forces'

In a separate but closely related move, the White House is also preparing to increase its overt political intervention in other countries.

On March 29, White House officials revealed that the administration was planning a major increase in direct funding to "democratic forces" in semicolonial countries, and in workers states as well.

In this way, Washington hopes to play various groups off against each other, bolster opposition to governments it is seeking to destabilize, and provide openings for even greater U.S. intervention in the future. In the perverted language of the White House, "democratic forces" never refers to groups fighting against imperialist-backed dictatorships.

Planning for this program has already been under way for six months, according to the officials. Although it was recommended by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, it is a bipartisan venture, involving the national committees of both the Republican and Democratic parties, as well as the bureaucratic leadership of the AFL-CIO union federation and the Chamber of Commerce.

Funds from various government and private sources, according to an official memorandum, would be "devoted to development of democratic forces overseas — free political parties, trade unions, newspapers and enterprises."

Such U.S. assistance is nothing new. It has frequently been used in the past to destabilize regimes that Washington is hostile to, such as the Chilean government of Salvador Allende, the Jamaican government of Michael Manley, and the current Angolan government.

But the openness with which the Reagan administration is now talking about stepping up such destabilization efforts is new. It is intended as a clear political signal that the U.S. imperialists are prepared to intervene directly against any government or political force that stands in their way.

Here and now

The Defense Department "guidance" document and the plans to step up direct assistance to groups in other countries are not just projections for the future, or the fantasies of a handful of officials in the White House.

They are rooted in Washington's *current* war policies, and reflect the aims of the U.S. ruling class as a whole.

The Rapid Deployment Force was set up under the Carter administration for the precise purpose outlined in Weinberger's proposal.

Washington is now directly involved in aiding the British war of aggression in the Malvinas. It is just such air and naval assaults that the Pentagon and Defense Department planners have in mind in projecting a buildup and reorganization of the navy and air force.

Military aid is already being rushed to embattled right-wing dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala, among others. And a campaign of destabilization has been launched against Nicaragua, including attacks by U.S.-backed terrorists operating out of Honduras and assistance to counterrevolutionary "democratic forces" within Nicaragua.

Washington has also begun preparations for the expansion of the number of U.S. troops under arms — through the draft registration program. On May 18, Maj. Gen. Thomas Turnage, the director of the Selective Service System, announced that the government is making a list of young men who have not registered for the draft; an estimated 527,000 remain unregistered, despite considerable pressure on them to do so. He said their names would be turned over to the Justice Department for prosecution.

General Turnage also announced that personnel for 2,112 draft boards are being trained to begin classifying registrants "in the event of a national emergency."

Propaganda smokescreen

All these moves point toward one thing: the U.S. rulers are pushing rapidly, and systematically, toward new wars.

But they cannot admit that, given the widespread antiwar sentiment among working people in the United States. So instead they try to portray their aggressive actions as "defensive" moves designed to stave off a fictional "Soviet threat."

That is also why they are seeking to shift public attention away from Washington's present military actions — in Central America, the Malvinas, and elsewhere — toward the nuclear arms negotiations with Moscow.

That does not mean that the Reagan administration's nuclear arms buildup is just a sideshow, designed to obscure its other war moves. They are directly related. The U.S. rulers are fully prepared to use nuclear weapons if they deem it necessary.

In fact, they *are* using them today, as a gun pointed at the heads of working people around the world.

They are also seeking to use Washington's massive nuclear might to blackmail Moscow into not coming to the aid of governments or political movements facing U.S. aggression.

This is likewise part of the imperialists' economic pressures against the Soviet workers state, a goal that was made explicit in Weinberger's document. It stated that the Pentagon should develop weapons that "are difficult for the Soviets to counter, impose disproportionate costs, open up new areas of major military

competition and obsolesce [sic] previous Soviet investment."

Coupled with this, the Reagan administration is planning to ask its imperialist allies to step up their own economic pressures on the Soviet Union. According to the June 1 *New York Times*, Reagan will propose during his European tour "the withholding of cheap export credits, placing a ceiling on future lending to the Soviet bloc, and a tightening of existing

North Atlantic Treaty Organization restrictions on the sale of strategic goods."

By increasing such pressures on Moscow, the U.S. rulers hope to win a freer hand for their aggressive actions around the globe.

However much Reagan professes that his goal is peace, the plans — and record — of the U.S. government show that the real source of war lies in Washington, and in the capitals of the other imperialist powers. □

Britain

200,000 march for peace

Speakers denounce Thatcher's war on Argentina

By Brian Grogan

LONDON — Some 200,000 people demonstrated here June 6 for unilateral British nuclear disarmament and against the siting of U.S. Cruise missiles on British or European soil. This prodigious turnout was a tremendous slap in the face for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her war against Argentina.

All opinion had expected that the "Falkland factor" would completely undermine the mobilization, which was timed to coincide with Reagan's visit to London. Rather, the gratitude expressed to Reagan by Thatcher and her cronies for U.S. support to British aggression against Argentina was matched by the rejection of Reagan by this largely youthful demonstration.

The overwhelming sentiment of these youth was "for peace." Opposition to Thatcher's war was by no means uppermost in people's preoccupation. Nonetheless, there was complete openness to the slogans raised by many forces on the demonstration calling for the withdrawal of the fleet. There was a lot of attention when a large contingent of *Socialist Challenge* supporters marched into the final rally chanting "Malvinas, El Salvador, stop the bosses' war!"

Every featured speaker at the rally took up the need to oppose Thatcher's war. Arthur Scargill, newly elected president of the miners union, called for stepping up the antinuclear campaign through civil disobedience. "If governments are not prepared to take real steps for peace," he declared, "then we in the general peace movement and in the labor movement are prepared to do so."

Scargill went on to attack the way the Tory press is glorifying Thatcher's war against Argentina. He asked, "Who could see nothing obscene in glorifying war and killing while opposing a 7 to 8 percent pay increase for health workers?" A popular slogan on the demonstration favored health workers presently fighting for higher pay against the government. Many chanted, "For peace's sake, stop the war, pay the health workers more."

The leader of the Labour Party's left wing, Tony Benn, concentrated on the war in the Malvinas. He declared, "we have seen the

media become the mouthpiece of the military, making money out of bloodshed and drowning out the voices of peace, threatening democracy itself."

The war was also the theme taken up by Marxist historian E. P. Thompson, author of the best-selling antinuclear pamphlet "Protest and Survive," and one of the key figures in the rebirth of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Thompson had already made clear at a major teach-in held three days before the demonstration that in his view, "A peace movement that didn't stand up and fight when a war was taking place was worthless." At the rally he described the Malvinas war as a "textbook case of the process by which the pride of statesmen will lead us into World War III." He congratulated Thatcher for "turning round the situation where Britain, not Argentina, is

now the pariah in world opinion."

Thompson went on to expose "the gigantic cover-up of Britain's dirty war." He reported on the cover-up of British operations on the Argentine mainland from bases in Chile, which last week resulted in the blowing up of Argentine Super Etendard planes. He also exposed the way in which the media is using the claim that Argentina had been prepared to use napalm to cover up the real atrocities of the British. The British are using the type of antipersonnel cluster bombs that Washington used in Vietnam. This accounts for the otherwise inexplicable ratio of Argentine to British casualties. Moreover, British forces are using phosphorus bombs, which inflict appalling burns on their victims.

Other speakers included Terry Coven, spokesperson for the U.S. campaign for a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons. He assured the crowd that Reagan does not represent the American people.

The turnout on this demonstration and the support for other mobilizations planned during Reagan's stay in Britain are a sharp challenge to the cringing support to Thatcher given by Labour's official leaders. What has been proven is that hundreds of thousands can be mobilized against Thatcher's war. This could be translated into a major boost for Labour. Instead, as the June 3 special election showed, it is the Tories that are gaining as a result of the Labour leadership's spineless stand. On June 3, the Tories took a previous Labour seat, and Labour dropped into third place behind the Social Democrats. With a fantastically low 48 percent turnout, it is clear that most Labour voters stayed home.

It has never been more urgent to break Labour's support for Thatcher's war. □

France

Protest at imperialist summit

20,000 march despite sabotage by reformist forces

PARIS — More than 20,000 people marched through Paris on June 5 to protest Ronald Reagan's war policies and imperialist pillage. The marchers, who held a rally at the Place de la Bastille, came out in response to a call by a coalition of Latin American support groups, immigrant workers organizations, the anti-apartheid movement, and left political groups including the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), Workers Struggle (LO), the United Socialist Party (PSU), and several Maoist organizations.

It has been a long time since a militant anti-imperialist demonstration of this size has been seen in the streets of Paris. The reason for the large turnout was the presence of Reagan and Margaret Thatcher at the Versailles summit meeting of the leaders of the seven

most powerful imperialist countries. Reagan and Thatcher were seen as symbols of the policy of escalating arms production, genocide in Central America, repression and exploitation, the threat of nuclear annihilation, and the aggression in the South Atlantic.

But the demonstration had to overcome numerous obstacles. As June 5 approached, there was growing pressure on the organizers to cancel the demonstration. In addition, the organizers had to contend with attempts to divert and split the action.

When it became clear that large numbers wanted to mobilize and demonstrate, leaders of the big working-class organizations applied heavy pressure on people not to participate. These reformist leaders claimed that they did

not want to cut across the Mitterrand government's freedom of action.

The Socialist-led French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) and the National Teachers Federation remained silent about the demonstration. The Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), along with the Movement for Peace, supported a call by 100 prominent figures for a national march against "nuclear escalation," but only on June 20 when the summit would be long over and President François Mitterrand would not be embarrassed.

The Socialist Party also applied constant pressure on its supporters not to take part, and SP General Secretary Léonel Jospin made a public statement characterizing the June 5 demonstration as "unilateralist in its aspirations."

Even the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), a sectarian group led by Pierre Lambert that orients to the SP, added its two cents' worth with a last-minute attempt to split the demonstration. This attempt, however, failed. The PCI, which withdrew from sponsorship less than 24 hours before the march, held its own small demonstration on the morning of June 5.

Given the context of the demonstration — the NATO decision to install 572 U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the Reagan administration's support to the armies of El Salvador and Guatemala that are waging war against their own peoples, and the Mitterrand-Mauroy government's ever closer alignment with the broad strategic policies of the Reagan administration — the silence, hesitation, and inactivity by these left forces amounts to complicity.

The people who demonstrated June 5 understood this and pointed the way forward. There were large numbers of immigrant workers. Various Turkish far-left groups had a contingent. Haitians chanted "Reagan — Tonton Macoute," making the point that the dictator in Port-au-Prince is also a creature of Washington.

There were numerous Arab workers who marched behind an immense Palestinian flag, chanting "Begin is a murderer; Reagan and Mitterrand are accomplices." A contingent from the Immigrant Workers House was made up of hundreds of people, since the demonstration coincided with the closing of their own festival.

The contingent from the United Socialist Party also showed they recognized that inaction meant complicity, and they were open in their disagreement with PSU General Secretary Huguette Bouchardeau's decision to attend the closing banquet of the summit the following day at Versailles.

A joint LO-LCR banner led the large contingents from these organizations. The contingent from the LCR and Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) was made up of more than 5,000 people and included numerous delegations from outside the Paris area, giving the demonstration a national character.

The LCR's banners included the slogans

"Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador — Sí! Reagan, Thatcher, imperialism — No!" "Reagan means war, Reagan means economic crisis, down with Yankee imperialism," and "From El Salvador to the Malvinas — a single imperialist enemy."

A concluding rally at the Place de la Bastille was hampered by some police provocations.

Revolutionaries in France and USA issue joint statement on Reagan trip

[The following is a joint statement by the political bureaus of the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, and of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party on the occasion of Ronald Reagan's visit to France.]

* * *

The president of the United States and the president of France, giving full support to British imperialism's bloody war against Argentina, will meet in Paris June 5 to discuss their twin offensive against the toilers at home and the toilers abroad.

Reagan and Mitterrand speak in the name of peace, the better to be able to conduct their wars.

American imperialism has begun a new Vietnam War aimed at reversing the advance of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. The U.S.-armed and financed juntas in Guatemala and El Salvador, aided by U.S. military "advisors," are waging war against the people of those countries.

A less publicized but no less serious war has begun in Nicaragua. U.S. imperialism is pressing forward its drive to overturn the workers and farmers government brought to power by the Sandinista revolution.

Fighting is under way on two fronts. Incursions from the Honduran border by Somozaist forces and Honduran troops trained by U.S. Green Berets occur almost daily. On the southern front, Costa Rica declared a state of emergency aimed against Nicaragua, and in support of counterrevolutionary armed forces led by traitors such as Edén Pastora, with Washington's full support and aid.

Reagan is escalating his political attacks on the workers and farmers government of Grenada, systematically moving to isolate Grenada in preparation for future military moves against that country.

Washington is tightening its noose around revolutionary Cuba; escalating a diplomatic war, carrying out aggressive military maneuvers in the region, and in the latest move, once again barring travel by Americans to Cuba.

The French government — despite its false words of friendship and concern for the oppressed peoples of the Third World — ruthlessly pursues its own imperialist interests and policy.

Mitterrand stands shoulder to shoulder with Reagan in support of Thatcher's war in the

South Atlantic. Despite the police attacks, the rally was able to continue and a number of speakers stressed that this demonstration was the beginning of the rebirth of an active and massive anti-imperialist movement in France. Among the speakers was Peruvian national assembly deputy Hugo Blanco, a leader of the Trotskyist movement in that country. □

South Atlantic.

In response to the threat of the extension of the Grenadian revolution in the Caribbean, the French imperialists have beefed up their naval power in the area, and have expanded French armed forces in the Antilles.

In addition, France is maintaining garrisons of thousands of troops in Black Africa as a counterrevolutionary force on that continent.

Both U.S. and French imperialism are pushing relentlessly forward in the development and deployment of nuclear weapons aimed against the peoples of the world who are fighting for democracy and socialism.

Mitterrand is pressing ahead with research on the neutron bomb; expansion of the nuclear submarine fleet; strengthening the French nuclear strike force; and conducting atmospheric nuclear tests in the South Pacific, which endanger the lives and health of the peoples of that region.

The Pentagon is pressing ahead with its plans for deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. This is done in the face of massive opposition that has led hundreds of thousands into the streets in protest.

Reagan is also implementing plans for development of the neutron bomb while U.S. officials issue statements about the possibility of a "demonstration" use of nuclear weapons in Europe.

This vast expansion of the imperialists' nuclear arsenal is financed by ever increasing war budgets, at the expense of the standard of living of peoples of the world.

Working people in France and the United States have no interest in these war policies, which threaten all of humanity. We have no interest in common with the capitalist class, whose interests these policies uphold. Our interests are one with the oppressed and exploited who the imperialists aim to crush.

Not one penny for the imperialist war budget!

Not one person for the imperialist armed forces!

Jobs, not bombs!

U.S. and French military forces out of Central America and the Caribbean!

U.S. and French imperialism out of Africa and Asia!

Dismantle the U.S., NATO, and French nuclear arsenals now!

The Malvinas are Argentine; withdraw the British fleet now!

Torrential rains result in disaster

Sandinista government appeals for international aid

By Michael Baumann
and Jane Harris

MANAGUA — Hit by six days of relentless rain totaling half the amount Nicaragua normally receives in a year, the government here has issued an emergency appeal for international aid to offset massive flood damage.

The 34 inches of torrential rain have undermined and in some cases threatened to reverse nearly three years of immense progress in employment, agriculture, health, education, and housing since the Sandinistas took power in July 1979.

"The scope of the disaster is the worst the country has been through since the destruction and loss of life in the war of liberation" against ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza, said Sergio Ramírez, a member of the Junta of National Reconstruction, on May 26.

A dramatic response to Ramírez's appeal for aid immediately came from revolutionary Cuba. Fidel Castro pledged that Cuba would halt its own construction projects, if necessary, to provide equipment and trained personnel to help repair the damage.

In the western half of Nicaragua, the rains produced a human tragedy. Preliminary estimates are 100 missing or dead, 40,000 homeless, and known immediate damage of \$200 million.

Yet even these figures do not tell the full story. As of June 2, whole sections of the country remained isolated by washed-out highways and bridges, making a full account of the damage impossible.

'Incalculable' losses

Agriculture, the mainstay of the economy, has been devastated. Losses are reported as "incalculable."

All agricultural work was paralyzed for a week at the height of the winter planting season. Much of the crop that had already been planted was washed away, along with tens of thousands of tons of top soil.

At least 30 percent of the plantings of such basic food crops as rice, beans, and corn were lost, as well as 90 percent of the cotton, the country's main export crop. Some 60 percent of the banana harvest was also lost.

But Nicaraguan peasants are in a stronger position to combat the devastation of crops due to a major confiscation of idle land by the government early in May. On May 23 peasants from 17 agricultural cooperatives received nearly one-tenth of the 100,000 manzanas (1 manzana = 1.73 acres) of land recently expropriated.

These latest land confiscations have nearly equaled, at one stroke, all the land turned over

to cooperatives in the first 34 months of the revolution of July 1979. And unlike the earlier confiscations, which primarily affected open supporters of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza, the latest land seizures have involved idle or abandoned holdings, regardless of the political affiliation of the former owners.

In industry, more than 60 factories, most of them government owned, have been partially or totally paralyzed by the floods.

Intercontinental Press spoke with workers at TEXNCSA textile plant, Nicaragua's largest factory, and at the Rolter shoe factory. The concerns of the unionists at these two plants reflect the concerns of most industrial workers. They are worried about shortages of raw materials. Where raw materials do exist they are concerned that road conditions will not permit their transportation.

However, unionists at both places pointed out that this was no time for tears. Now was the time to get to work.

And work they did. Volunteers from these plants, along with some 2,000 others, spent Sunday, May 30 — Mother's Day in Nicaragua — rebuilding part of the Pan-American Highway.

"Mother's Day had always been such a commercialized holiday," explained Roberto Wagner Aguilar, general secretary of the union at TEXNCSA. "But this year we celebrated it with Sandinista work."

TEXNCSA suffered very little damage because 400 of its 1,200 workers responded to an emergency Saturday night radio call to defend their plant against the floods. Workers spent the following Sunday filling and placing sand bags to prevent flooding of the laboratory and testing department.

TEXNCSA produces 100 percent cotton fabric. Therefore, successful replanting of this crop is a life-or-death issue for its workers, as well as for those in two other smaller textile plants in Managua.

Cuban aid

Workers from some 100 unions who have pledged their Sundays to continue repairing the Pan-American Highway were inspired by the announcement of massive Cuban aid to this and other reconstruction projects.

We have a few problems of our own, Cuban Vice-premier Raúl Castro said May 31, "but if we were reduced to a single loaf of bread, half of it would be for our Nicaraguan brothers."

Raúl Castro delivered this pledge in person as he and an emergency team of Cuban construction, planning, and health officials landed at Managua's Sandino Airport. The Cuban team will work alongside Nicaraguan officials

to evaluate total damage and plan the most rational and efficient way to begin reconstruction.

In the countryside, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), which represents some 90,000 small and medium agricultural producers, has taken on the task of replanting the country's crops.

"Where we can no longer plant corn, we'll plant beans, which have a shorter growing season," the UNAG national leadership announced May 31.

"Where we can't use a plow, we'll sow by hand.

"Our worst enemy is time, and we have to throw caution to the wind to get production going again."

In the cities, the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which organizes the great majority of the country's workers, has been given full authorization to take whatever steps are necessary to get production going again. Union locals at various production and distribution facilities have been encouraged to establish contact with other locals to track down needed equipment and raw materials.

"We can't wait with our arms folded for government ministries and management to resolve the problems," CST General Secretary and FSLN leader Lucío Jiménez declared May 30. "It's up to us to propose solutions to prevent paralysis of such vital industries as the production and distribution of food."

Among the examples to be emulated, he said, were the following:

- A delegation of workers from one margarine plant found a big stock of the raw materials they needed in the warehouse of another plant, recently confiscated from millionaire industrialist Alfonso Robelo.

- The oil workers union has undertaken the responsibility to examine possible alternative roads to the north, to see if fuel can be gotten through to power plants faced with imminent shortages.

- Workers at the Caracol grain processing plant in Managua, who believe that wholesalers are deliberately withholding shipments of grain, have been authorized to use their own militia unit to help the Ministry of Commerce deal with uncooperative suppliers.

- The national CST has informed the Ministry of Commerce that if the present stiff fines and six-month jail sentences do not stop shopkeepers from illegally raising prices, the CST wants to know, "because the workers have decided to participate in the effort to stop profiteering."

The flood hit Nicaragua as it was under siege by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries

who have been carrying out raids for months against the revolution. Attackers have struck along the Honduran border, along the Costa Rican border, and deep inside Nicaragua as well. They have killed Sandinista soldiers, peasants, and teachers, and destroyed bridges.

As they combat the flood, the Nicaraguan people are confronted not only with this ongoing U.S. war, but with the legacy of decades of U.S. exploitation, which makes the reconstruction tasks all the more difficult.

Less than three years ago, when the Sandinista revolution triumphed, the new government quickly discovered how precious little U.S. puppet Anastasio Somoza had left the Nicaraguan people.

Besides a foreign debt of \$1.6 billion, the revolution inherited a network of roads, bridges, and drainage facilities that was totally inadequate for even normal needs and weather. Shoddily built to begin with, and never maintained beyond a bare minimum, the entire infrastructure virtually collapsed in the torrential downpour.

American imperialism, the major backer of the Somoza dictatorship and the major beneficiary of its rule, had the nerve to respond to the call for aid with a shipment of food and a check for a grand total of \$25,000.

It is an urgent necessity for working people, for all supporters of elementary human rights,

to demand immediate, massive aid to Nicaragua. Unions, churches, and antiwar organizations can also help by responding directly to the Nicaraguan government's appeal for funds.

The Nicaraguan Red Cross, the Ecumenical Committee to Aid Development, and the Ministries of Health, Social Welfare, and Commerce have established an emergency committee to collect and distribute such funds.

This committee and the Nicaraguan people urgently need contributions to help recover from the disaster.

Funds can be sent to Account No. 418-05-1113-2, Emergency Relief Fund, Banco Nacional de Desarrollo, Managua, Nicaragua. □

Rights group on Atlantic Coast

Sees progress in Miskitu resettlement areas

By Jane Harris

SAHSA, Nicaragua — In early May, members of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, along with about 20 journalists, traveled by helicopter, van, and jeep to this Miskitu Indian resettlement area. At the invitation and expense of the Nicaraguan government, we went to find out just what life was like for the Miskitus.

Was there any basis in fact for the ugly international propaganda campaign alleging denial of human rights to some 8,500 Miskitus who were relocated in this area from along the Río Coco, which divides Nicaragua from Honduras?

And most importantly, what did the Miskitus themselves think after three months of living here? What had life been like along the Río Coco? Did they think, as the government did, that it was far too dangerous to continue living there?

"We couldn't sleep at night, worrying," Davino Wayla Lucas, a 40-year-old newly trained construction worker told us. "Steadman Fagoth [a counterrevolutionary leader] tricked a lot of people who went over to the other side. I'm glad to be here."

A couple of younger men, also working on constructing prefabricated homes, said they were not sure yet — they were waiting to see just how much better life would be at Sahsa.

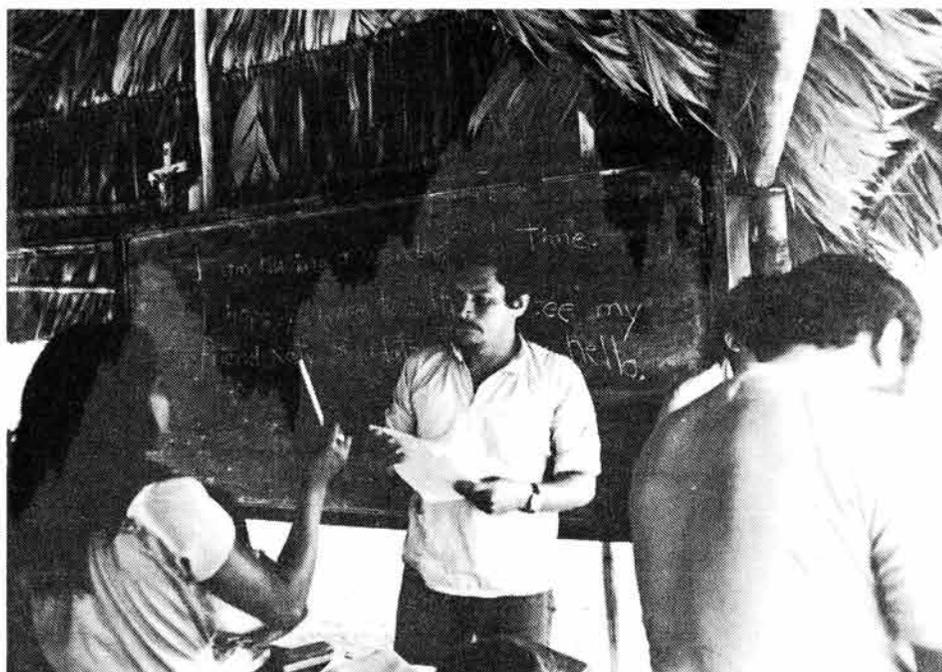
Most women we spoke with seemed to be relieved to have some protection from the *contras*. "In my village, nothing had happened yet," one said, "but if I had stayed there, I'm sure something would have happened."

Children kidnapped

Another woman who had heard that the human rights commission was visiting the settlement, asked if they could help her — with the Honduran government.

"My children were kidnapped and taken across to the Honduran side of the river. Can you get them back for me?"

The Nicaraguan ambassador to the United



Jane Harris/IP

Miskitus are learning to read and write in their native language and in English. Since this report was filed, however, floods have dealt a heavy blow to construction efforts on Atlantic Coast.

States was visiting the settlement and told her that the Foreign Ministry had repeatedly, but without success, urged the Honduran government to allow Nicaraguans in Honduras safe passage across the Río Coco. He told her that the human rights commission's next stop would be in Honduras. There, they would urge the government to follow through on the request.

We stopped in the clinic and chatted with the Mexican doctor and Nicaraguan nurse who have come to live and work at the camp. All Miskitus here, they said, have been vaccinated against malaria, measles, and tetanus. Their clinic was amply stocked with medicines and supplies. Should serious problems arise, they

could be attended to at a hospital in nearby La Rosita.

We observed a grade school in progress and heard children singing and playing. Volleyball seemed to be a favorite among all ages.

Many Miskitus seemed pleased that they were learning skills as carpenters, mechanics, or tractor drivers. These possibilities were never available to them on the Río Coco.

Foreign skeptics voiced doubts that the construction of the prefabricated homes could proceed as rapidly as the Sandinistas thought, given the nine months of rainfall in the region. Yet one Miskitu construction worker, hard at work, said the housing was coming along much

faster than he himself had expected.

A West German photographer, Cordelia Diig, who had visited the camps a couple of months ago, was amazed at the rate of progress. Rows of new prefabricated houses stand near completion, next to rows of temporary housing with thatched roofs and dirt floors.

Borge speaks to rights commission

Unlike most governments in the region, the Nicaraguans welcomed the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights wholeheartedly. Commander Tomás Borge explained to them the difficult "state of alert" and the more recent "state of emergency" that Nicaragua has been operating under for some time. "In Nicaragua, we still have limitations, faults," Borge candidly told the commission. "There are abuses and your presence helps us to resolve these problems."

Before leaving the country, Tom Farer, who headed up the commission, told the press that the members had received the full cooperation of the government, both in form and in spirit. "Whatever we wished to see, we saw," he told reporters. "We felt completely free to talk to people in the settlements," he added.

Farer said that the commission would work as quickly as possible, but he did not know when its report would be available.

The trip to the settlement included a briefing session by representatives of the Nicaraguan Institute for the Atlantic Coast (INNICA). Reporters and commission members were free to ask whatever questions they had of the representatives.

One journalist made an inquiry into the degree of resistance by Miskitus leaving the Río Coco. Another wondered if in hindsight the Sandinistas did not consider their treatment of the Miskitus paternalistic.

Reporters urged to keep grip on reality

The INNICA representative explained to the group: "One loves the land where one was born and wants to die there. [The Miskitus] lost their homes, their cooking utensils, almost everything they had." (Due to increased violence on the border, the move to the settlement was a walk of several days with only a few hours' notice. Pregnant women, the elderly, and small children were helicoptered to the camp.) Reporters were reminded of the alternative that staying along the river posed — possible kidnap, rape, or death.

We were urged not to lose our perspective on the situation — to take a look at the continuing attacks on the border. We were reminded that the first obligation of a government is to protect its citizens.

The spokesperson also pointed out that historically, the Miskitu population had been tricked and deceived — by Spaniards, the British, Americans, and Hondurans. "How could they think we were any different?" he asked the group.

While it was not easy for the Miskitus to leave their ancestral homelands, they seem to be making the best of it, especially after three

months of seeing that the Sandinistas were right about the dangers of life along the border.

Besides the tremendous financial and human resources laid out by the Nicaraguan government (more than \$6 million and 200 square miles of land in 1982 alone), Miskitus were

happy to learn at their May Day celebration that revolutionary Cuba had just given the settlement some 20 mountain trucks, 15 jeeps and 8 tractors. This concrete solidarity will ease the load of constructing new Miskitu communities here. □

Grenada

Mozambican president visits

Thousands celebrate African Liberation Day

By Baxter Smith

ST. GEORGE'S — Pointing or wagging his index finger to underscore his remarks, Samora Machel told an African Liberation Day crowd here May 23 that he was "greatly honored to participate in this rally because we are celebrating our freedom."

The Mozambique president was the featured speaker at the gathering, which turned out several thousand Grenadians.

"Our people," Machel said of Grenadians and Mozambicans, "separated by slave owners and oppressors, are now united again."

The former guerrilla leader, who spoke through an interpreter, said Mozambique was "building a new society without exploitation, without degradation."

He continued, "we still have hunger and underdevelopment. But because of our socialist policies we will get rid of that."

Held at the former race track in Seamount, St. Andrew's parish, this year's rally marked 10 years since militants here first commemorated African Liberation Day in 1972.

In those days of dictator Eric Gairy and his hired thugs, supporters of African — or Grenadian — liberation took their lives in their hands anytime they gathered in public.

But it was victories like Machel's and those

of other anticolonial movements in Africa that helped fuel the New Jewel Movement (NJM) in its determination to oust Gairy.

And this year's rally highlighted the long way that Grenada has come since the days of Gairy. Banners and placards from unions were prominent. Many workers wore colorful jerseys of their unions. Banners and T-shirts from the National Youth Organization and National Women's Organization could also be seen.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop declared that "the struggle of Frelimo [the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front] and the struggles of the NJM were both victorious."

But he warned that attempts were under way "to crush our struggles and roll back our revolutions." U.S. imperialism, which has targeted the Grenada revolution, "is financing and supporting South Africa," an enemy of Mozambique, Bishop said.

Machel, who spent three days here, later traveled to Cuba. He had previously been to Nicaragua. His visit to the region was to solidify with the three revolutions.

In other news here, the government has announced the dates for a series of parish conferences on unemployment and a national unemployment conference.

The parish conferences are occurring in May



Platform at May 23 demonstration. Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and Machel are in center, in fatigues.

and June and will culminate in the national meeting, which will be attended by representatives from the mass organizations, trade unions, training institutions, the private sector, and the unemployed.

To prepare for the conferences, new surveys on unemployment have been taken. Two years ago, at the time of the last poll, 27 percent of

the workforce was jobless.

At the conferences, the government is proposing expansion in agriculture, agro-industries, and fisheries. A spokesperson for the National Cooperative Development Agency said that jobless youth and others at the national conference will be encouraged to set up cooperatives.

of new printing equipment received as a gift from the German Democratic Republic. The equipment includes new presses, and linotype and typesetting machines.

Overseas readers who do not receive the paper can subscribe by writing to: *Free West Indian*, Hillsborough St., St. George's, Grenada. (Cost: US\$32.00 per year.)

Grenada: a reporter's notebook

By Baxter Smith

ST. GEORGE'S — The U.S. government's deportation of 20-year-old Grenadian Suzanne Berkley from Puerto Rico has reinforced in people's minds the continuing hostility of Washington toward the revolution here.

Berkley was deported from Puerto Rico on May 7 after going there to attend a Catholic church conference on Caribbean issues.

Although she had obtained a U.S. visa, she was arrested at the San Juan airport and threatened by immigration officials, who claimed she had gone to the island to organize anti-U.S. demonstrations.

Commenting on the incident in the Grenadian *Free West Indian*, Ann-Marie Marryshow said:

"Well, it's unfortunate the sister was a victim of such a situation. She went to attend a conference on religion, not politics. The authorities responsible for harassing and deporting her should apologise. I also feel she should be compensated by the U.S. authorities for all her expenses involving the trip."

Helen Rhoden told the *Free West Indian*: "That just indicates how desperate imperialism is at this moment against the Grenada revolution. . . . It means Grenadians shouldn't take it lightly, we should step up our vigilance, participating actively in the militia."

Berkley, herself, added: "This incident has given them a concrete example of what Grenada means when it says that it is constantly pressured by the United States."

* * *

Surinamese leader Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse departed Grenada May 15 after a 10-day official visit.

Speaking at an airport news conference, Bouterse said his government supported Argentina in the Malvinas dispute, "because of our point of view on decolonization of the Americas."

The Surinamese leader blasted U.S. President Ronald Reagan's proposed Caribbean Basin Initiative as "not based on the basic needs of the people." He also condemned Reagan's Caribbean military maneuvers.

"It's a matter of time for people to understand the nature of the United States, as being shown again in the case of the Malvinas," he said through an interpreter. "It is clear what position they take. So we think it's very important for all Caribbean states to keep in mind the

real nature of the foreign involvement of the United States."

* * *

Free West Indian, the "national newspaper of Free Grenada," since May 1 has moved to publication two times a week.

The move was facilitated by the installation

Reagan approves nuclear sales to South Africa

As part of its continually closer ties with the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Reagan administration has eased previous U.S. government restrictions on the sale of nuclear materials to that country.

News of this policy came in a May 13 letter from Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige to Senator Charles Percy. Percy had inquired about a pending application to sell South Africa 95 grams of helium 3, which could be used to make tritium, a form of hydrogen used in thermonuclear weapons.

The letter also revealed that this policy shift has been under way for some time, and began under the Carter administration. Since May 1980, it said, five export licenses for purchases for South Africa's nuclear program had been approved, including for the sale of vibration test equipment, which can be used to test the

In its May 15 issue, the *Free West Indian* editorialized against the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba.

The paper pointed out that the realities of the Cuban revolution are the reason for the travel ban.

"Some 38,000 Americans returning to the U.S. every year with these truths on their lips is just too much for Reagan, Haig and their gang who wish to portray Cuba as a repressive, poverty-stricken concentration camp." □

reliability of warheads.

The South African nuclear industry — thanks to earlier U.S. and Western European assistance — is quite advanced. Besides a research reactor and several nuclear power plants, the country also has its own nuclear fuel enrichment plant. Access to enriched uranium is vital for nuclear weapons production.

It is widely thought, including in U.S. intelligence circles, that the apartheid regime has the capacity to build its own nuclear weapons — if it has not already done so.

By easing the way toward greater U.S. nuclear sales to South Africa, the White House has shown its willingness not only to materially aid the South African nuclear program, but has also sent a signal of political encouragement to the white supremacists who rule in Pretoria.

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Communist Party's program for peace

Gus Hall advises electing Democrats to Congress

By Harry Ring

[The following article appeared in the June 4 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

The Communist Party held a national meeting in Milwaukee on April 23-25. It was billed as the "Second Extraordinary Conference" of the party. The first was in 1933.

In a keynote speech, CP National Secretary Gus Hall said there were two reasons for the "extraordinary" gathering — the need to counter the reactionary Reagan offensive at home and to oppose its threat to world peace.

The political line for accomplishing this was laid out in Hall's lengthy keynote speech.

The most striking feature of the speech is how little of it is devoted to the war issue — and, most particularly, to wars Washington is carrying out right now.

This is no oversight.

The purpose of the conference, as spelled out in a text of Hall's report made available at the conference, was to mobilize the ranks of the Communist Party and its youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League, for all-out participation in the 1982 Democratic Party primaries and the November elections.

That and the fight against war do not mix.

You cannot actively oppose the Anglo-U.S. war against Argentina and campaign for the Democrats. They are for that war.

You cannot really fight the drive to militarily and economically strangle the Nicaraguan revolution and stump for the Democrats. They are for the war on Nicaragua.

You cannot seriously champion revolutionary Grenada and be for the Democrats. Like Reagan, the Democrats have a different idea about Grenada.

It would be a hot potato to vigorously oppose the escalated drive against Cuba and be for the Democrats. They initiated the get-Cuba campaign.

How can you say, "Not a cent, not a gun" for the Salvadoran dictatorship and say yes to the Democrats? In Congress, they vote with the Reaganites to send more guns and dollars.

Nor can you fight for unilateral U.S. disarmament and campaign for the Democrats.

Malvinas?

Gus Hall's speech was delivered 22 days after Argentina reclaimed the Malvinas Islands and Britain responded with its armada of gunboats.

Hall's speech literally does not mention the aggression against Argentina.

Central America and the Caribbean get a passing reference. The paragraph on it in Hall's

speech states:

"In Central and Latin America, especially in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba, the basic U.S. policy of aggression continues. But the fast-rising tide of resistance and opposition by a majority of our people and the world has forced the Reagan administration to slow down, re-calculate and maneuver. The tactical maneuvering is a direct response to the increasing pressure."

Certainly popular opposition has been an enormous barrier to Washington's perspective of sending troops to directly intervene in Central America.

But it is dangerously misleading to suggest, as this lone paragraph does, that the U.S.-sponsored war there is winding down.

Military funding for the Salvadoran dictatorship has been increased. More guns are being

shipped in. The U.S. "advisers" are very much on the scene, mapping antiguerrilla strategy. Salvadoran army officers are continuing to be trained in this country.

Washington is continuing to wage its undeclared war against Nicaragua, using mercenary exile forces for incursions from border sanctuaries in Honduras. Nicaraguan villages are attacked. Bridges and strategic installations are blown up. Nicaraguan civilians and soldiers are being killed.

When Havana made known again its readiness to negotiate with Washington for a relaxation of tensions between the two governments, Reagan's response was the reimposition of the Cuba travel ban, a move that underlines the ominous, unrelenting character of the drive against that revolution.

What road to peace?

Peace — as the U.S. Communist Party leaders conceive it — does not mean throwing themselves into the fight against such ongoing wars as those in Central America and the Caribbean, or into the struggle to halt Anglo-U.S. aggression against Argentina.

To the contrary, they see independent moves against such ongoing imperialist aggressions as an obstacle in the path of "peace."

Their concept of peace is to achieve détente between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union. To win such an accommodation with the imperialists they are ready to sacrifice the struggles of other targets of imperialism and to help divert authentic antiwar movements into "safe," ineffective channels — namely, capitalist politics.

That is the key reason for working within the Democratic Party. The CP leadership believes that by helping to keep the workers tied to capitalist politics they can persuade "progressive," "far-sighted" sectors of the ruling capitalist class that friendship with Moscow is a better, more profitable policy.

Certainly the Soviet Union remains under constant pressure from world imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and it is essential to combat that danger.

But this will not be accomplished by subordinating the political interests of the workers to those of the capitalists in the utopian hope of persuading, or even "pressuring," imperialism to change. Quite the opposite.

Actively opposing each concrete, ongoing war, such as the one against the people of Central America, is the only way to block an ultimate attack on the Soviet Union as well as avert nuclear extinction.

Even in terms of U.S.-Soviet relations, the picture Hall paints is dangerously misleading.



Salvadoran troops training in Georgia. Example of U.S. imperialism in retreat?

Hall asserts, "The U.S. role as ruler and dictator of the capitalist world is over."

This being the case, Hall continues, U.S. policies "are a mixture of retreat, maneuver, manipulation, aggression and confrontation, alternating with policies of moves toward arms negotiations, backtracking, defensiveness and peace posturing."

"Maneuver, manipulation"?

For sure.

Even "peace posturing."

But "retreat"?

That is false.

Historically speaking, the U.S. role as world ruler is over. But it will never be persuaded to simply accept that reality and depart peaceably from the scene.

Nor will it accept the "rational" idea that it can avoid its demise by adopting a policy of peace. World imperialism will have to be over-

powered and driven off the stage of history. Fighting it and its wars every inch of the way will reduce the substantial damage it inflicts on its way out.

What are the signs of imperialist "retreat" perceived by Hall?

He points to recent declarations by the Reagan administration that it favors a nuclear arms reduction, after a further buildup. While recognizing this is a fake, he asserts that it does represent "concessions to the popular and congressional challenges."

Yes, popular antiwar sentiment has forced Reagan — and the Democrats — into a "peace posture." But the posture has a single, sinister purpose — to put themselves in a better position to wage war. To suggest that it is a backing away from a war policy serves only to give credibility to the swindle.

And just what is the "congressional chal-

lenge" to Reagan?

To work for the Democrats, the CP is compelled to parrot those Democrats calling for a "bilateral nuclear freeze."

This is a proposition whose sole purpose is to take the fire off U.S. imperialism and the wars it is waging, bolster the myth that the Soviet Union is the real threat to world peace, and set up antiwar activists to be diverted into supporting "peace" candidates of the Democratic Party in the November elections.

"Freeze" advocates in the Democratic Party have been the most persistent partisans of an increase in expenditures for a "conventional" arms buildup — like more battleships — to better prepare for wars in the colonial world.

Hall also argues a major reason to go all out in support of the Democrats is to advance the mounting opposition to "Reaganomics" — the employers' drive against U.S. workers in gen-

Some free advice for British imperialism

The May 19 *Daily World* [the newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party] featured an article assessing the impact of the Malvinas crisis on the British ruling class. It was written by the paper's longtime London correspondent, William Pomeroy.

The article is a striking example of how practitioners of the politics of class collaboration find themselves offering free advice to the ruling class about what is assertedly in its best interests.

It's a bit like the union bureaucrat who, instead of leading the workers in a fight for gains, prefers to sit down with the boss and persuade him that granting some concessions will avoid costly strikes, improve workers' attitudes, increase production and, in the long run, prove more profitable.

Pomeroy's article purports to be simply a report on the debate the Malvinas crisis has sparked within the British ruling class. Actually, that is a thin veneer for what is really intended to be helpful advice to them. Pomeroy's main point is that if the British rulers had not listened to Uncle Sam and sunk all their money in nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union, they would be in a better position to deal with Argentina.

The Malvinas crisis, he reports, is having a "traumatic" effect on the members of the Thatcher government and the ruling circles they represent.

In the past decade, he says, British military policy has been "almost totally oriented toward war with the Soviet Union." To make things worse, the Thatcher government had made the U.S. Trident missile "the centerpiece of that policy."

This, Pomeroy notes, cost so much money that it led to a cutback in conventional arms.

For example, he writes, "Britain's Royal

Navy . . . has been equipped merely to fight a war against the Soviet Union. In obsessive pursuit of that goal the other possibilities in a complex world of developing states and of interimperialist rivalries have been ignored.

"British imperialist strategists," he continues, "are now awakening to the harmful [!] implications of the anti-Soviet course they have been taking.

"For example, they realize that if the Malvinas crisis had developed a year from now, then the most important components of the royal navy task force sent to the South Atlantic — the aircraft carriers, *Invincible* and *Hermes* — would have been sold off or scrapped as part of the rundown to pay for the Trident. Therefore, an effective military confrontation with Argentina would have been ruled out."

As a result of all this, Pomeroy deduces, the British rulers are growing wiser. They "seem to be coming to the view that it is a mistake to be totally transfixed by an assumed threat from the Soviet Union, when threats to imperialist interests can come from many a direction."

In addition, Pomeroy explains, the war with Argentina is costing a bundle and there will have to be cutbacks in British military expenditures.

"The obvious item to be pruned," he sagely advises, "is the Trident."

After this free advice to British imperialism Pomeroy goes on to assure us that "these are problems and dilemmas for British imperialism and its allies. They are separate from the peace movements, and from the campaign for nuclear disarmament, which continue unabated in their own course."

But if the British peace movement fails to take an active stand of opposition to Britain's ongoing imperialist war against Argentina, it will contribute nothing to the cause of world peace.

And if the fight for nuclear disarmament of the Thatcher government is to advance, it will not be done by gratuitous advice to the arms-wielders that conventional weapons are more versatile. It will take determined, uncompromising action by the British workers and all other peace forces against the very real war being carried out by their government today, a war in which the British rulers have already threatened to use nuclear weapons if necessary.

Incidentally, it should be noted for the record that the Communist Party does not limit itself to advising imperialism.

The May 8 issue of the *People's World*, West Coast weekly reflecting the views of the Communist Party, carries an editorial which declares in part:

"Of course, to bring the war to an end will require give on both sides. The Argentines must take into account the aspirations and well-being of the people currently living peacefully on the islands they call their Falkland home. The British must recognize the legitimacy of Argentine claims of sovereignty over the territory."

Concern about the "aspirations and well-being" of those living on the Malvinas should be directed to the British imperialists who have plunged them into the center of a bloody battle.

Meanwhile, the advice to the Argentines is a bit like a sideline observer shouting to a striking picket fighting off a club-wielding cop, "Remember, moderation!"

— Harry Ring

eral and the poorest in particular.

But how can you fight attacks on your living standards and rights at home if you resist building a movement against the dollars and guns being shipped to Central America, or the material now being supplied to the British for the war against Argentina? How can you fight the economic crisis by backing candidates who support the massive budget for these wars?

The Democrats are not only for "Reagan's" war abroad, they have been totally complicit in his moves at home against the working class, from budget cutbacks, to antilabor legislation, to attacks on desegregation, to knifing the Equal Rights Amendment and legal abortion.

They have nothing to do with the mounting opposition to "Reaganomics" — except for trying to exploit the deep popular sentiment against it in order to get themselves elected.

Independent political action

The worst fear of the capitalist politicians — a fear shared by the reformist leaders of the Communist Party — is that this sentiment will be translated by the labor movement into independent political action.

In his report, Gus Hall speaks of the independent forces that are developing "inside and outside" the Democratic Party. The job of the CP, he declares, is to "unite" these forces.

How?

If the CP considers its main job to be work in the Democratic Party, then obviously the only way to unite those "inside and outside" is to try to bring those outside back into the Democratic Party.

This is consistent with a policy that goes back to the mid-1930s. Ever since that time, the CP has stubbornly opposed independent labor political action, counterposing the ruinous policy of supporting "progressive" or "lesser evil" capitalist politicians.

Today, Hall is pressing hard for the pro-Democrat line precisely because the prospects for a working-class break with the two capitalist parties are greater than at any time since the 1930s.

'Mass upsurge'

The growing opposition to the employer offensive and the swift rise of antiwar sentiment are testimony to a developing mass upsurge outside of, and against, the two parties. To speak of a "mass upsurge" inside the Democratic Party, as Hall does, is an obscene joke.

Asserting that "the left and Party cannot afford to sit out the primary election process" now getting under way for 1982, Hall actually says:

"We can't afford to because that is where the mass upsurge is."

Everybody in the CP, Hall declares, must get on the stick.

"We must assign [party] cadre," he insists, "that will make the elections their main and even only activity."

Alluding to criticism inside the party, Hall reports, "Some say we are adopting the lesser evil concept."

Another problem "is the fear some express that we will abandon our campaign for political independence."

Plus, "Some have drawn the wrong conclusion that for the time being we will put the campaign for political independence in moth balls."

For a party that has long taken a dim view of internal disagreement, even this is quite an admission.

Muddy waters

How does Hall answer his critics? Mainly, with a single stroke.

United States

War criminals back 'free world'

Postscript to the war against fascism

By Will Reissner

A former U.S. official has revealed that hundreds of Nazi collaborators were brought to the United States after World War II to bolster anti-Soviet espionage and propaganda operations.

John Loftus, who was with the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, charged on the May 16 CBS television program "Sixty Minutes" that as many as 300 Nazis from Byelorussia in the Soviet Union were smuggled into the United States by Army and State Department intelligence agencies following the war, although their names appeared on lists of major war criminals.

Some were brought in through lightly guarded areas of the borders with Canada and Mexico. Others were routed through countries in Latin America. Still others were smuggled in on cargo planes, having been listed in manifests as freight.

Subsequently, information damaging to these Nazis was removed from files in military archives, apparently by the Defense Department, in order to make it more difficult to determine their real wartime records.

The Byelorussian Nazis were key figures in the puppet government set up by the German occupation army in the city of Minsk in 1941. This government, which collapsed in 1944 when the Red Army drove the Germans out, was responsible for mass murders of Jews and other civilians.

Among those brought to the United States was Ivan Jerczenko, the puppet ruler of Byelorussia from 1942.

Another was Stanislaw Stankievich, who was the editor of an anti-Semitic newspaper and mayor of the city of Borissov. According to Loftus, in 1941 Stankievich "ordered the police to round up the city's 6,500 Jews and kill them all in one day, which they did."

Stankievich, who died in New York City last year, was employed by the CIA-funded

"We should keep in mind," he responds, "that when we swim in large, uncharted seas there are always going to be problems about what strokes to use in swimming. There will be currents, cross-currents and under-currents. We must learn all the swim-strokes so that we are prepared to handle all the currents. That way, we'll eliminate the sink or swim syndrome."

If Communist Party cadres make work in the Democratic Party "their main and even only activity," they have to swim with the stream. Like, they can be for "peace," but not against war. □

Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty

Emmanuel Jasiuk was mayor of the city of Stulpche in 1942, and Stulpche district chief until 1944. During that time thousands of Russian Jews were executed. Eyewitnesses have told the Justice Department that Jasiuk personally ordered the slaughter of more than 5,000 Jews in Kledsk on a single day in 1942.

Franz Kuchel was minister of defense of the puppet government in 1942 and 1943.

Also brought to the United States were a number of members of an SS division that fought for Hitler. The 30th Waffen-Grenadier Division of the SS, made up largely of Byelorussians, was founded by Radoslaw Ostrowski, who entered Byelorussia with the SS Einsatzgruppen, the mobile killing units of the SS. Ostrowski is buried in New Jersey.

Loftus maintains that there is overwhelming evidence that U.S. intelligence agencies "knew that the entire Nazi government of Byelorussia, the president, the vice presidents, cabinet ministers, governors and mayors, police chiefs were all living in America."

That contention is backed up by Anton Adomovitch, a Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty employee who had been a Nazi propaganda writer in Byelorussia and later in Berlin. Adomovitch, who was recruited by U.S. intelligence agents in Berlin in 1950, contends that "the American authorities knew everything about my background."

Another Byelorussian war criminal, Vilis Hazner, is still working for Radio Free Europe. Although he had been suspended from the station when charges against him first surfaced, Radio Free Europe representative William Kratch stated that Hazner had been rehired because "we believe strongly in the presumption of innocence."

In addition to the Byelorussians, Nazis from Germany, Poland, the Ukraine, Romania, Latvia, and Lithuania were also brought to the United States. □

Forging communist consciousness

Fidel Castro speaks to revolutionary youth

[The following are major excerpts from a recent speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro. The speech was given April 4 at the closing session of the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist League. The text is taken from the April 18 English-language *Granma* weekly, published in Havana.]

* * *

Distinguished Visiting Delegations;
Comrade Delegates to the 4th Congress;
Cuban Comrades:

As we all know, the 4th Congress ends today, on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Young Communist League (UJC). While I was formulating some ideas and reviewing notes for this event it occurred to me to look over what I had said 20 years ago, on April 4, 1962, (APPLAUSE) and I really couldn't resist the temptation to recall some of those words and ideas here today; both because of the contrast between the situation prevailing then and now and because of the fact that many aspects of the situation are unchanged.

Twenty years ago I said: "Why are we making a Revolution? Are we making it in our interest? No! We're making the Revolution in your interest. Are we making the Revolution for us? No! We're making the Revolution for you. Can we make the Revolution by ourselves? No! But we can make the Revolution with you."

And further on I said: "We have perhaps encountered the hardest, most difficult situations; we have faced that stage of the Revolution when ideas have to blaze a trail through the forest of prejudices, habits, customs and ideas of the old society.

"We have had to do battle with the entire legacy of the past. But we must admit that we were deeply moved, we felt well rewarded when we started to see in you the fruits of the Revolution we are building, when we started to see in this multitude of young people the people of tomorrow, when we started to see in you the image of the future, when we started to see the justice of the course of the Revolution reflected in you.

"We believe in young people . . . believing in young people means an attitude, believing in young people means a way of thinking.

"All the blood that was shed was worthwhile and all the sacrifices that were made, if we can say this: our society will be a society without exploiters or exploited, without privilege or discrimination!

"Every citizen will become used to viewing a fellow human being not as an enemy, not as a beast against which he has to protect himself, but as a truly human person, as a brother or sister who can help him in time of trouble; he will not see his fellow as a superior or inferior being, but as an equal; merit will take the place of privilege, for merit will be what distinguishes one citizen from another since merit will be the only rule by which a citizen is judged.

"In order to belong to this organization you must give clear and incontrovertible proof of being truly a model young person, a young person truly worthy of being called a Young Communist.

". . . being a Young Communist does not entail privileges of any kind; on the contrary, it means sacrifice and dedication. . . .

"Nobody is obliged to join the UJC: it is an absolutely free association of revolutionary youth. . . .

". . . you must have courage to be a Young Communist . . . dedication . . . vocation. . . . If you are a student you must be the very best student; if you are a factory worker you must be a model factory worker; you must set an example as a comrade . . . an example of self-sacrifice and determination, you must set an example at work, in your studies, in sports, and in your relations with other comrades.

"The Young Communist must above all be a modest comrade; modesty is one of the primary virtues of a revolutionary.

"And the Young Communist must also be willing to give his life for the Revolution and for his or her country without hesitating. . . . The character and the concept of a Young Communist must contain all those traits, all those features, all those virtues so that being a Young Communist will truly be the greatest, most significant and notable honor any young person can aspire to.

"It is important for our young people to understand that their work and their example will be useful not only to their own country but also to all the peoples of Latin America. . . . That is why your mission is so important, for you are not only the standard-bearers of the future, of the most perfect society possible, of Communist society; not only the standard-bearers of the ideas of the future, but also the example . . . the standard-bearers of the ideals of all the youth of Latin America."

To all this we might add that you set the example and are the standard-bearers of the ideals of young people all over the world.

Even though those words were said as early as the beginning of 1962 we had no qualms about proposing the name "Young Communist League" for the new organization. Even then we were opposed to subterfuge of any kind, since the purpose of the organization was to form Communists.

Twenty years have passed. How different things are now! Now we have a much higher level of education and political culture. Now we can say that our revolutionary process would have been inconceivable, the task and mission of our Party would have been inconceivable without the UJC. Although it is true that, as was said in the Report, no success

The most important task is developing a revolutionary consciousness among our young people . . .

or progress gives us the right to stop or rest, it is unquestionably correct to say that this organization has played, is playing now and will continue to play an extremely important role.

I've mentioned several fields in which the Young Communist League is playing an irreplaceable role. Now, let's talk about other fields — for example, defense.

Our young people played a very important role in defense even before the UJC came into being. At Playa Girón, for instance, when they joined the militia, when they became artillerymen, when they took part in the battle against bandits, and so forth, they were already playing a major role. It's precisely our youth that constitutes the source from which we recruit our Revolutionary Armed Forces and our Ministry of the Interior. The immense majority of the officers and fighters in these institutions for the defense of our country and for the defense of our Revolution are young people. And the youth organizations are very strong in both the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior.

Committees and branches of the UJC are playing a fundamental, indispensable role in those institutions as well as in the political and ideological education of young people before and after they join the armed forces. In that work we have an activity of vital importance to our people, to our society, in which Young Communists are also making an exceptional contribution. This can be seen here in the Congress, in the large number of young members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior who took part.

Is the work of the UJC limited to the tasks I have just mentioned? No, of course not. There is also something equally fundamental and of

vital importance, and that is production and services.

Today, according to statistics, one-third of our labor force is composed of young people. And it's in this field that our youth can offer the most universal of its contributions and where it has a growing participation.

The labor movement spoke very highly of the large number of trade union cadres who are Young Communists. And that is one field in which the UJC can do an extraordinary job.

Our Young Communists are struggling to eradicate extravagance, wastefulness and lack of efficiency and to increase production and productivity. We are aware of the important achievements of the young cane cutters, the young members of the Army of Working Youth, the machine operators and the cane harvester operators. We are aware of the efforts they made last year to eradicate sugarcane smut when over 30,000 hectares of land were planted to sugarcane; we are aware of our young people's efforts in construction and other sectors. In other words, our young people and our Young Communists are making an ever greater contribution to production and services. And that is something of vital importance to our country.

Can we imagine a more important task? Well, we could say that there is one more important than all the others, and that is the organization's work in developing a revolutionary consciousness among our young people. (APPLAUSE) And that is something vital, absolutely vital, of decisive importance.

The organization plays a vital, decisive role in developing our young people's attitudes toward study and all their other duties, be it in school, in a military unit, in a factory, in a services unit, as teachers, as doctors, as nurses or intermediate-level hospital technicians. And it is there, in practice, in the everyday struggle, where a really communist consciousness is developed.

New changes can be seen, and we can now really speak of a new attitude, an attitude that is the fruit of these years of work, of the work of our socialist institutions, of our schools of study and work, of our Pioneer organization, of our revolutionary teachers, of our revolutionary schools, of our mass and young people's organizations and of the Young Communist League. Yes, it can really be seen.

The organization's concern to develop young people's consciousness is particularly evident in the unflagging interest it has taken in promoting voluntary work. And that, too, is of vital importance. It is of vital importance because the realities of the construction of socialism oblige us to adopt certain formulas and methods that are not communist, but rather socialist — and you are well aware of the difference between socialism and communism.

There are two formulas: "to each according to his work" and "to each according to his needs." In socialism, every individual is supposed to contribute according to his capacity, and he receives according to his work. In communism, everyone contributes according to his capacity and receives according to his needs.

There were some idealistic moments when we did want to make shortcuts. We had the chance to see the consequences and we were honest enough to recognize our mistakes and rectify them. There's no question about that. And there's no question either that the communist formula is superior to the socialist. Nor is there any question, either, that the dream of Marx, Engels and Lenin was the communist society. Marx himself said that in socialism, distribution was still within the narrow confines of bourgeois law.

Clearly, if, for example, there are two longshoremen and one of them can carry more sacks than the other, let's say the second one can carry only half as many as the first, the poor fellow will receive half of what the other one received. But it isn't his fault that he's not the kind of man who can carry 200 sacks instead of 100 and, for all we know, his needs may be the same as the other's or maybe even greater. Thus the socialist kind of distribution is not fair or at least not wholly fair. And we hope that some day the communist society will rectify this injustice.

Linking wages to work norms is naturally a socialist formula. A worker with more ability and more strength — and often the one with strongest determination — can earn more, of course. But there's always an element of imbalance somewhere. Some men have more aptitude

for a particular thing, more skill, more strength, more endurance than others.

We have to resort to material incentives, because it's a strategy inherent in the transition from capitalism to communism; in other words, a need imposed by the socialist stage. I'll never forget how concerned Che was about all these things, his great vocation and dedication and his exemplary attitude in voluntary work. He'd operate a harvester, cut sugarcane, lay bricks or push a hand truck along the docks, because he practiced what he preached and he was always deeply concerned about these questions.

Nevertheless, we've had to adopt a number of specific measures imposed by necessity, by reality. These measures help in many ways,

I'll never forget how concerned Che was about all these things . . .

they develop the economy and the development of the economy makes for greater resources, which, in turn, makes for greater possibilities for the development of society and of society's wealth. If there's no wealth there'll be very few things to distribute. That is a reality, and in rectifying its idealistic mistakes the Revolution had the courage to adopt the pertinent measures.

But contradictions do arise. And we must guard against socialist formulas eroding communist consciousness; we must prevent socialist formulas from diverting us from our lofty objectives, our aspirations, our communist dreams. We must prevent ideological indolence and misunderstanding of these truths from diverting us from our goal of developing the communist human being.

If someone works harder so as to earn more, that's a positive attitude and, in a certain sense, it helps and makes for greater production, but it is not a communist attitude. If one works more because one will receive a material incentive, one may be useful and may help to increase production and wealth and contribute to development, but that is not a communist attitude.

Reality imposes its rules and its formulas on society, and it's up to the Party and the UJC to develop consciousness. And, I can assure you that being a Communist will never depend on there being vast wealth to distribute, wealth so vast that there's enough to spare — and I can't imagine such a thing as wealth to spare in a world where the population is multiplying like guinea pigs and the natural resources are finite. No, no one can expect communist consciousness to be based on abundant wealth.

The way I see it, in the development of the communist society wealth and the material base must grow hand in hand with conscience, because it can also happen that as wealth increases conscience diminishes. It is important for young people to give thought to this matter; I'm sure they've already done so and I'm also sure they have wondered about it — for I myself have thought about this and wondered about it often — and I'm convinced that it is not only wealth nor the development of the material base or anything of the kind that is going to contribute to the development of a communist consciousness. Far from it.

There are some countries which are much richer than ours. I shan't make comparisons of any kind, that wouldn't be correct, but we do know of revolutionary countries where conscience was overtaken by wealth, and that can lead to counterrevolutions and things like that. But there may be a great deal of conscience without much wealth.

It's not correct for us to name ourselves, or rather our country, as an example. But I am convinced that in spite of our limited wealth and relatively limited material development, our country has been witness to a vast development of conscience and that an example of this is found in our people's internationalist spirit. It is very important to understand all these things, because if we don't understand them we become weaker.

An internationalist consciousness means a complete break with chauvinism, it means combating national egoism, because there isn't an iota of Marxism, Leninism or communism in national egoism.

There have been times when we had to build a road in another country

when we were in need of roads in ours, or we built an airport when we ourselves were short of airports. For example, neither Ciego de Avila nor Sancti Spiritus has an airport and yet we have helped to build airports in other countries. Yes, we do make efforts to help other countries and there may be some who wonder why we help others when we are still short of many things. Such an attitude is not a revolutionary attitude but rather one of national egoism.

First of all, internationalism is also a matter of conscience, and it implies doing without many things in order to help others who are more in need than us because they are much poorer than us. Of course, there's merit in a poor country's sharing what it has with others, and we, who are an underdeveloped country, share with others some of what we have. I believe that that is a demonstration of internationalist conscience. And I also believe that when internationalist conscience and cooperation cease to exist in the world, the future of the world will be really disastrous.

On other occasions I have spoken of situations affecting the underdeveloped world; for example when I spoke at the founding of the Medical Sciences Detachment. Let us think, for instance, of the situation in Ethiopia, a country with 35 million inhabitants and 125 doctors. I believe it had less doctors than the Isle of Youth. I don't know the exact number of doctors in that municipality, but I do know that many municipalities in our country have more than 125 doctors. So there were fewer doctors in Ethiopia, a country with 35 million inhabitants, than in some of Cuba's municipalities.

If we are incapable of asking our doctors to make an extra effort so we can send 10 doctors from a province in Cuba to Ethiopia, or of asking a province to send 20 doctors and another province to send a few others when we know that any province of ours has more, infinitely more doctors than Ethiopia; if we can't ask them to make that extra effort to help us comply with such an elementary duty, then we're really in a bad way.

Well, since an internationalist spirit is to be defended as a principle, I'm convinced that being an internationalist means giving part of what

We do know of revolutionary countries where conscience was overtaken by wealth . . .

you have and being willing to give it. You must be willing and prepared to give something up in order to do it. Naturally, we would prefer to have even more doctors than we have now, working in the hospitals, making sure that they have their rest period following guard duty, and so on, but part of our medical force is engaged in internationalist missions. Still, we haven't remained idle; all the time we are training legions of new, good doctors.

I said that the principle of internationalism is to be defended for its own sake. Now, let's take a look at the other side of the coin: what would have become of our Revolution and our country without internationalism? (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "BEING INTERNATIONALIST MEANS SETTLING OUR DEBT WITH HUMANITY!") How much have we done for others, compared to what others have done for us in so many fields? Hence, the reason for that watchword, to settle our debt with humanity. Beginning with the arms with which we have defended ourselves: how much do you think they're worth? How much is the economic cooperation that is being given us worth?

I don't much like to use this kind of argument because it's not a communist argument. It may be logical, dialectical, but it isn't communist. It does serve, however, to make noninternationalists understand the question a little better; but it's no argument for internationalists.

The argument for internationalists goes like this: help others even if nobody helps us. (APPLAUSE) It's simply a moral duty, a revolutionary duty, a matter of principle, of conscience, even an ideological duty. To contribute to humanity even if humanity has done nothing for us. That's what internationalism means! And we must go on developing this internationalist consciousness which has made great progress in our country. I believe there are many examples of it here.

I said that it wasn't wealth alone that created a communist consciousness. Consciousness must be developed by the Party, the Young Communist League and the Revolution itself. And I also said that our modest country had developed a good deal of internationalist consciousness. We're still egoists; we haven't reached the ne plus ultra of internationalist consciousness but there's much more egoism in the rest of the world than in us, for I believe that our internationalist consciousness is continuing to develop.

I can give you examples of this. When the call for teachers for Nicaragua was issued I believe that a total of 29,500 teachers answered it, and that was a very difficult job, teaching in the most difficult conditions. And yesterday, when the comrade delegate presented me with an album representing 20-odd albums filled with the signatures of the 92,000 teachers ready to take the place of Francisco de la Concepción, Pedro Pablo Rivera, Bárbaro Rodríguez and Aguedo Morales, who were assassinated while carrying on their duty as teachers in Nicaragua, how would you describe that? (APPLAUSE) Isn't that a demonstration of internationalist consciousness? Could anyone doubt it?

How did this spirit grow? Was it by accident, perhaps? No. It was the Revolution that created this spirit, it was the Party, it was the Young Communist League. Needless to say, wealth had nothing to do with it. It was the result of political work, of ideological work, of revolutionary work, of example. It wasn't necessary to be richer than the United States to have an internationalist consciousness.

A communist consciousness, an internationalist consciousness must be developed; as someone said here — I believe it was Landy [Luis Orlando Domínguez], paraphrasing Che — internationalism is the highest rung of communist consciousness. Che said "the highest rung of the human species." Landy said "the highest rung of communist consciousness."

And this is the truth, because every internationalist is a full-fledged communist. Only a communist can be an internationalist. In fact, we could say that it's impossible to be a communist without being an internationalist. This will give you an idea of how important these questions are in the development of consciousness, of their importance in the development of voluntary work among the youth, bequeathed us as a priceless treasure. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Mention was made at this Congress of the lust for gain, and I think it was an important thing to do. I mean lust for gain on the part of some professionals, and certain highly telling examples were given, like the case of an engineer, an architect, or whatever, trained by the Revolution, privately practicing his profession and charging exorbitant fees to workers for drawing up simple plans for home repairs.

A citizen comes to the city hall and is asked to present a plan for his house repairs. An urbanization office or what have you, asks for a little plan. The man charges 800, 900, 1000 pesos for drawing up a little plan. That's robbery being committed by a technician trained by the Revolution, who possibly even works in some enterprise or agency here. I think that's prostitution of the whole concept of self-employment. (APPLAUSE)

Prostitutions of this sort have occurred in connection with various initiatives, various measures adopted to meet this or that need, or owing to an effort made to improve services, or to release manpower needed elsewhere — moves that have immediately been seized upon by poor-spirited and selfish individuals to devalue the original idea; and many things have been devalued here, thanks to the collaboration of many people.

It's repugnant to find out about such cases. Earning thousands of pesos in a few days. Any administrator willing to contract for a group of technicians, a group of qualified workers, anybody, earning thousands of pesos is simply a corruptor of others and is himself corrupted. (APPLAUSE)

We even had these cases involving Party members. What are things coming to? On the one hand struggling for higher consciousness and on the other destroying it.

But there's a sort of chain of events here. For if good ideas foster other good ideas, bad things can foster, on the other hand, other bad things. It's clear that really any technician here who gets a job from the state, who has the chance of using his skills properly, should not

be entitled to do such things. That's not a socialist formula for solving the problems.

A socialist formula would be to have People's Power or someone else set up bureaus, or groups or offices of architects, for example, so that they can help a worker who needs to repair his home.

We must search for socialist formulas rather than capitalist formulas to solve problems, because before we even realize it they corrupt us, contaminate us, just as Landy said in yesterday's session concerning the things that contaminate us and contaminate our consciousness.

Virtue must be nourished but vice springs up spontaneously like weeds and grows by itself. We must bear that in mind. If we do otherwise, while nourishing virtue we are simultaneously paving the way for vice. We must use socialist formulas rather than capitalist formulas in all these matters. That's a reality and we mustn't lose sight of it.

I think no one will be granted permission to carry out these activities anymore. Let those who graduated before the Revolution live according

To contribute to humanity even if humanity has done nothing for us. That's what internationalism means . . .

to the way they were trained. They haven't particularly incurred any debt. But the standards for those who graduated under the Revolution ought to be different.

Our doctors gave up private practice a long, long time ago. And we have a lot of prestigious doctors who could be earning ten thousand pesos in a capitalist country anywhere and yet here they are, earning a modest socialist salary working for our people. These are good examples. (APPLAUSE) And I think that was in part what Tony [Pérez Hertero] meant when he spoke yesterday on ideological questions, on the need to strengthen our youth so that bourgeois ideology could exert no influence on them.

Because, of course, it goes without saying that under capitalism a prominent person like that earns tons of money. That's why a revolutionary consciousness, a communist consciousness, an internationalist consciousness is so necessary, if one is to work for one's own people for less money, under more modest conditions, under harder conditions. That's the sort of technician, that's the sort of revolutionary, that's the sort of Communist we want to train. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We don't compete with Yankee imperialism in the matter of money, with the capitalists who have piled up huge wealth exploiting peoples and exploiting workers. They make off with the most talented people everywhere to achieve technological development and technologies of which the underdeveloped countries are deprived. Yes, they have money.

But we have something more powerful than money and that is conscience. (APPLAUSE) That's why the Communist is more powerful than the capitalist, because a Communist isn't for sale, a Communist has a conscience while a capitalist has money, nothing but money, he has no country. His country is where he can make the most money. Capitalism by nature has no country, it goes where it can earn more.

The Communist is basically an internationalist, but also a patriot. He fulfills his internationalist duty wherever necessary, and he fulfills his communist duty towards his own people. That is the kind of person we want to form. The young people must undertake this mission, they have an opportunity to form people like that with that kind of conscience.

That is why what was said about the lust for gain was quite right. And it should not be limited merely to professionals, because another initiative around which speculation and profiteering developed was the farmers' markets, you know? It was a capitalist formula because that is a capitalist formula, one that takes into account the fact that there are still many small private farmers, the fact that there had been some under-the-table dealings, and in order to develop production of some things which the state, the big specialized agricultural firms, do not usually produce, or to put more things onto the market, such as the things that were being sold under the table or used for individual

consumption, or to get the farmers to work a little harder, such markets were authorized.

Well then, right away a host of middlemen popped up, who didn't produce anything and would buy up and hoard products that in many cases should have been sold to the state for normal distribution. There was one individual who had 50,000 bananas. Imagine, 50,000 bananas stored away, in a warehouse of a Party member.

So we had a free farmers' market. It was a concession we made, to cope with particular problems. We will have to tackle all this in discussions with the farmers to see what measures can be taken. In one year they earned 200 million pesos and paid only 40,000 in taxes.

I think that year's taxes should have been at least 100 million, and since they sell at high prices and earn more than they would by selling to the state, and sometimes things which should have gone to the state end up on the free market, it would be good if that money could go for hospitals, schools, the Pioneers, vacation programs and things like that. (APPLAUSE)

We will allow the free market to continue with strict respect for established regulations, but there will have to be significant taxes.

Here 100 percent of the milk comes from state farms and it is distributed to the people. Practically all. And it's the same with eggs, chicken and pork, nearly all the meat which is distributed to the population and produced efficiently. We don't produce more because we haven't the means. At present we can't produce turkeys to be able to distribute turkeys all over the country, a turkey a week, or what have you, who knows how many would be needed?

So what happens is that somebody sells a turkey at the market for 100 pesos. He has modest quantities of things which the state does not produce on a large scale, not for lack of efficiency but because it lacks the means, because everything it has goes into the production of key foodstuffs which are distributed to the people at low prices and in many cases subsidized.

Of course he doesn't sell eggs for 20 centavos because the state sells all the eggs anybody could want for much less. Who knows how much longer some basic products will have to be rationed; we're trying to do away with rationing as much as possible because rationing is a real nuisance, but we'd be in a fine state if we were to distribute meat on a price basis, because this new bourgeoisie would buy it all up and the worker would go without.

If we were to do as is done in some parts of Europe and put meat on the free market at 10 pesos a pound there would be more than enough meat. But such a policy with an essential item would be wrong, and we are seeking socially just distribution. Capitalists solve everything

We have something more powerful than money and that is conscience . . .

on a price basis, but socialists don't. So when there isn't enough of something there is speculation. Well then, it's right that the free market should be authorized for certain reasons, in pursuit of certain goals.

But I can't conceive of a real Young Communist, not a professional, a Young Communist, selling chickens at 15 pesos or garlic at a peso and bananas at 80 centavos on the free market. Speculating and bringing bananas from hundreds of kilometers away, imagine! I wonder how many people he bribed along the way to get them here and have a warehouse of bananas. No, the free farmers' market is undoubtedly a capitalist method of solving problems.

Well, I hope these problems won't last forever. I hope that this situation will come to an end, with the development of socialist agriculture and of the cooperative farms and the disappearance of this speculative and nonproductive minifundist farming.

That's the way things stand. Let's speak frankly. I believe it's much better to speak frankly and let everybody know that we know what's going on and that we don't like it at all. That's the truth. That's no way to develop Communists or communist farmers.

Unfortunately, there's always a shortage of something. Now then, how are we going to solve this problem? The capitalist way? I believe

that the solution is to be found in local enterprises, in socialist formulas. It doesn't have to be a question of centralization or national planning, but rather of an initiative of local branches of People's Power — for example, opening a factory to make those clothespins or clotheshangers, instead of some character finding out that there are no clotheshangers and deciding to make them himself and sell them on some city corner at a price 10 times higher than their real value.

When a person sells chickens for 15 pesos, even if he did raise them, that person is making more money in several weeks by selling a few chickens than a worker makes in a whole year. Really. And that's just plain robbery. If at least this person would stick to selling chickens to other lumpen elements. . . . And that can happen too. A sort of lumpen class grows up, they trade among themselves and charge one another excessive prices. (LAUGHTER)

I'm bringing up these topics here because I believe there's no better place than this Congress of the Young Communist League to talk about them. (APPLAUSE) These things concern us all, because they are capitalist manifestations, bourgeois, antisocialist, anticommunist and anti-internationalist manifestations, and they promote corruption. But such corruption doesn't develop only in the context of these neocapitalist activities. No! It also develops in the context of purely socialist activities as a result of a lack of control, of weakness, of a lack of strict vigilance.

This was revealed in that operation which I believe was called

A Communist must observe a communist code of morals and a communist code of conduct . . .

"Operation Crocodile." This had to do with the problem of the queue sharks* and the problem with the administrators and employees who allowed themselves to be bribed. There were even tough guys in the queues. But the curious thing is that since we have made great advances in the equality of women, there were tough guys and tough gals, (LAUGHTER) both kinds, lining up in the queues; they grabbed the first places for themselves and divided them up among themselves, so any working woman or housewife there who wasn't willing to pick a fight simply couldn't get an electric fan or things like that.

Why did this happen? The answer is lack of vigilance and controls. Those people had simply taken over control of things.

This all proves that not all lumpen elements left the country from Mariel. Some of them are still here. I knew this, it's nothing new, but now it's clear that we still have lumpen elements here, it's been proved. (APPLAUSE) These characters don't work, they just queue up; they really make a living out of robbing the people. They're thieves, unquestionably, no question that they're thieves. They're full-blooded lumpen elements.

Needless to say, I cannot imagine a Young Communist being mixed up in such activities. A law can legalize robbery, as in the case of a turkey being sold for 50 or 80 pesos or whatever it was, or a head of garlic sold for a peso. But no law can condone immoral conduct. And those things are simply immoral, whether or not the law allows them. And a Communist, a Young Communist simply has to go without some things the law allows him to have, if he wants his conduct to be a moral, revolutionary, communist conduct.

We are not yet living in a communist society and neither do all our citizens observe a communist conduct. That is true. But a Communist must observe a communist code of morals and a communist code of conduct.

I don't want to go on much more. I was intending to discuss the difficult and complicated world situation but I'll limit myself to. . . . (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "SPEAK!" "SPEAK!") Basically I'll

*Here Castro refers to people who illegally obtain advance information when some scarce item goes on sale at a store. They — or people they hire — then line up at the store and buy as much of the product as can be carted away. This aggravates the shortage of the product so it can be sold at a substantial markup on the black market.



George Johnson/Militant

"We know that our young men and women will always march on."

limit myself to reminding you that we live in a world in crisis, a world of great danger, with an arms race that is careering along totally unchecked, resulting from imperialist policy.

I want to remind you of how arms production of all kinds continues to multiply: nuclear weapons, delivery systems, missiles, sophisticated planes, neutron weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons, threatening a world which is also in the grip of the worst economic crisis in living memory, one for which there is no solution in sight.

The world picture is complicated, and likely to become even more so. Imperialist plans to deploy 572 medium-range missiles in Europe pose a huge danger to the socialist community and the Soviet Union, for it is now threatened not only by intercontinental missiles, but by missiles stationed in Europe which could fall on Moscow and other Soviet cities, and on the socialist capitals, in a matter of minutes.

What madness, especially if we remember that the imperialists led the world to the brink of war when 42 such missiles were stationed in our country! Now they want to station 572 more sophisticated versions

The problems in Central America and the Caribbean have become a kind of focal point of international conflict . . .

of such missiles along the borders of the Soviet Union. If such a policy is pursued the danger to the world will surely be great and there is a risk of grave complications.

As far as Cuba in particular is concerned, in addition to the worldwide danger and the general economic crisis, we have the specific perils resulting from imperialist threats which you know about, threats that have forced us to adopt serious measures. They have intensified the economic blockade against us, they are actively trying to tighten it and make life harder for our people, they are strongly pressuring all Western



Prensa Latina

Women's unit of the Territorial Troops Militia in May 1, 1982, demonstration.

countries as regards their financial and economic relations with Cuba. They have been doing all they can to tighten the blockade and cause us problems.

There has also been talk of subversion. You'll remember there was even talk of a radio station which they were going to call José Martí. We are still waiting for that station. So far we have been a bit let down, like the boxer who climbs into the ring only to find his opponent hasn't shown up. (APPLAUSE) I don't know if they were trying to scare us with their radio station, but the fact is that nothing has materialized yet, it isn't even known whether or not it really will be set up. It would be more constructive if they didn't, but you must remember that we are boxers.

On principle we want peace; we prefer to keep boxing to the field of sports (LAUGHTER); and if after all there were a dialectical confrontation between them and us, them with their subversive station and us with our reply, it would be better for there to be no match, that would be more peaceful. However, we had a fitting reply to their subversive radio ready. Of course we'd rather it didn't start up, because it would be a fresh source of friction, irritation and tension. The sensible thing in my view would be for them to drop the whole idea.

Faced by the threats of aggression we have taken many measures and made many plans: for example, on the most efficient way to resist a total blockade of the country. All of you know something about all this by now, what measures should be taken in case of any military action, any surprise attack. We have worked hard and in silence for many weeks, we've made efforts and sacrifices, but we haven't hesitated to make them.

We have increased our defensive potential to the utmost, as was our duty; we have been doing so since last year, since they began threatening us. For it was the threat of blockade and military aggression which led to large-scale delivery of weapons to our country. It wasn't for fun, it wasn't because we wanted to, it was because we were threatened.

That is why we established the Territorial Troop Militia, that is why we have prepared plans against naval blockade and enemy military action of any kind. That is the reason and none other, it is the only reason. We have worked hard and silently, I repeat, to deal with all those risks and we are calm, we are not worried.

There is tension in the area. Everyone talks of this tension, and of the danger in the area, and they are real; the problems in Central America and the Caribbean have become a kind of focal point of international conflict.

From what has been published lately you know a lot about the situation in El Salvador and Nicaragua. You know that many people, organizations and world opinion have spoken out for a negotiated political settlement in El Salvador, for negotiated political settlements in Central America and the Caribbean in general. Many organizations, the UN first and foremost, the Socialist International and others; many countries such as France and Mexico. Not just international opinion, but also public opinion in the United States itself; in the Congress of

the United States there has been support for a negotiated political settlement in Central America.

The U.S. administration has persistently opposed this. They have opted to try to crush the revolutionaries by military means, they have imposed incredible elections in the middle of a civil war, genocide and terror, elections where those who didn't vote risked being murdered by the terror, elections from which the left was excluded. Nobody believed in those elections or viewed them as a solution, only the government of the United States.

The elections haven't solved anything and there is no likelihood that they will. There is rather a likelihood that the far right will take over the government or that there will be some kind of a coalition between the Christian Democrats of the current junta and the far right. We can categorically state that they have solved nothing and that the fascists and butchers will never be able to smash the revolutionaries. (APPLAUSE) No attempt to crush the revolutionaries by force will ever succeed.

The international and Central American situations, plus the situation in the area, all make a negotiated political settlement advisable.

It was in fact proposed by the governments of Mexico and France. Recently, as you may remember, Mexican President José López Portillo reiterated his country's position and called for a negotiated political settlement. The Mexican position was backed by Cuba, Nicaragua and the revolutionaries in El Salvador. It has broad international support.

Imperialism will have to choose between a clearly absurd policy of intervention which is bound to fail or a negotiated political settlement in Central America and El Salvador.

We have publicly expressed our support for Mexico's position and we coincide with the position of Nicaragua and the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

The Mexicans have gone even further; they have spoken of the need for talks and bilateral contacts between the United States and Nicaragua and the United States and Cuba. We have not rejected any of these proposals. This is the policy outlined at the 2nd Congress of our Party and the same policy we have always maintained: we do not refuse dialogue, discussion or negotiations.

At present nobody has the slightest idea whether things will turn out that way. Basically it won't depend on us or the Nicaraguans or the Salvadoran revolutionaries, it will depend on the United States, it is they who will have to choose between one policy or another.

It will depend on whether they recognize reality as such or set out on a collision course against reality; whether they decide on intervention in the area or a political path, the path of dialogue and political solutions.

The belief that the problems of today's world can be solved militarily is an imperialist belief, the belief that they can play the role of policemen, turn back the clock of history, freeze human society . . .

I remember very well that yesterday, following the demonstrations of fighting spirit by our young people, a comrade spoke movingly and profoundly about peace and proposed a resolution supporting the struggle for peace.

I also remember Raúl's eloquent words as he explained that everything we were doing for the defense of the country, the efforts and sacrifices we were making for defense, in fact increased the possibilities of peace, because if we are weak we are in a dangerous position, if we fear the enemy we expose ourselves to danger and encourage attack. If we are strong, courageous and determined, if we are ready to fight to the last drop of blood — as we have said we are, over and over again — the enemy will have to give the matter second thoughts, he will have to calculate the price of an attack on our country.

By strengthening our defenses we are expressing our decision to defend ourselves, to struggle very firmly and heroically, something

which I'm sure imperialism does not doubt. Imperialism hasn't the slightest doubt on that score.

We're bolstering the possibilities for peace, for nothing is further from our thoughts than the desire to wage war. In today's world no one aware of the situation and of the dangers could possibly be in favor of a military solution to the problems. There's no place in today's world for military solutions of any kind.

The belief that the problems of today's world can be solved militarily is an imperialist belief, the belief that they can play the role of policemen, turn back the clock of history, impose their will, browbeat the peoples, freeze human society, block changes; these are precisely the ideas held by the imperialists. They could never be the ideas of Communists, the ideas of internationalists.

The clear, unambiguous stand our country takes has been publicly set forth. It is willing to work in the search for negotiated political solutions to the problems of El Salvador, Central America, the whole region. We support the stand taken by that illustrious friend of Cuba, President José López Portillo, and we do so firmly, seriously.

The Mexicans also suggested — they suggested it publicly, they suggested it to us, they suggested it to the government of the United States — a toning down of language, a sort of verbal de-escalation.

But you kept telling me: "Hit the Yankees hard," and "Fidel, pitch 'em in, Reagan can't hit." (LAUGHTER) You kept urging me not to tone down my language. However, it is my duty to moderate my language. I have, in fact, done so. I have spoken very clearly, very frankly, but with moderation, I think. (LAUGHTER)

In the final count, the essence of a policy does not lie in the virulence of its epithets but in the staunchness of its principles. (APPLAUSE) and we have always been faithful to that essence.

It is unthinkable that fear can ever be instilled in our people, in our Party, in our leadership. On the contrary, our people feel quite at ease, quite serene, quite confident of themselves, quite convinced of their own strength, of their reasons, of their integrity.

Our Party and our Revolution are sure of their history and their glory as well as of their victory. They know that nothing can make us yield, nothing can defeat us, nothing can dominate us. They can sweep us off the face of the earth, but we are aware that if one defends a just cause, being swept off the face of the earth brings glory in its train. (APPLAUSE)

We do not negotiate our principles, nor do we feel any fear; we have our duties and responsibilities, we have our duties to the international revolutionary movement, to world peace and to our own people.

We also have our dreams, we hope our people can go on advancing, progressing, winning new victories. We do not dream as individuals, this is our collective dream, our people dream, our collective soul dreams, you yourselves dream; for the Revolution entails hard work, sacrifices, but it also entails satisfaction, happiness, the conviction of living a life well worth living, of living through an epoch well worth living in.

We feel the great dignity involved in our task and in our work. We're willing to risk anything for this, we are all willing to die for our independence, for our principles, for our Revolution.

That's why I said that peace will prevail if, among other things, the imperialists are aware we're willing to die for it, to struggle for it to our last breath. We live in the hope that peace will prevail, and if we can contribute to it by adding our grain of sand, we do so in all seriousness and in all responsibility.

I want to express to you, once again, our boundless confidence in our youth. We're very happy with the work you've done as reflected in your outstanding accomplishments, your truly outstanding accomplishments.

We're aware of the weaknesses of our own generation, which I mentioned when I began my speech, referring to what I said 20 years ago, what happened to us then. In those days I said we had difficulties in the politico-ideological field.

No one can suggest that the past turned out to be more difficult than the future may be, the times you will be facing. I meant it in a different sense, in a political sense. Everything is different now and so, well,

these are not mere words: today we can count on a youth we didn't even dream of back then.

And something very important, very important indeed: whether we live in conflict or in peace with our northern neighbors, they'll go on being capitalists for a long time yet; there's no way their mercantilism is going to yield the right-of-way to socialism in the short term, no way. And we must go on being ever more socialist, ever more communist, whatever happens, whether there is violent confrontation or peace!

That's why we feel so certain of what we said, of what we wanted — that the new generation should be tougher, more revolutionary, more internationalist and more intransigent than our own Revolution.

I was saying that we were willing to donate an eye, to donate anything necessary; but we, the generation who stormed the Moncada Garrison, who sailed on the *Granma*, who have lived through all these years of hard struggle, we want a donation when we pass away, we want the assurance that we have an increasingly revolutionary people (APPLAUSE) for when we no longer physically exist, to have as of this day

Our revolution does not rely on men and women but on principles . . .

the certainty that everything will turn out to be better, that everything will turn out to be safer, and that our Revolution will be increasingly solid and safe, and relying not just on the men and women, because our Revolution does not rely on men and women but on principles.

That is the donation which we are by no means demanding of you, for it is you yourselves who by your conduct, your attitude and your spirit are offering it to us.

The physical body in itself is of no importance; but ideas are of great importance to us, the future of the country is of great importance to us. I am sure, it gives us satisfaction to think that when [José] Martí fell in Dos Ríos, when [Antonio] Maceo fell in Punta Brava, when so many of our comrades fell during the struggle, they would all have rejoiced to see young men and women like yourselves, a Congress like this one, and to see how far our people and our youth have advanced in their revolutionary spirit, in their sense of justice, in the highest and most humane values. I am certain of that.

We have great confidence — we know that our young men and women will always march on. They'll draw their inspiration from the ideas and the example of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Martí, Maceo, Mella, Abel Santamaría, José Antonio Echeverría, Frank País, Camilo and Che (SHOUTS OF "AND FIDEL!" AND APPLAUSE); from the ideas of the immense and admirable legion of pure, true revolutionaries, of so many marvelous men and women who have made their mark on the world and in our homeland. (APPLAUSE)

We have great confidence that our young men and women will build communism and forge a new world!

Patria o muerte!
Venceremos!
(OVATION)

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Vast election fraud exposed

As regime opens new attack on peasants

By Fred Murphy

Two months after the U.S. capitalist news media universally hailed the Salvadoran elections as a stunning defeat for the revolutionary forces and an unprecedented triumph for democracy, the true scope of the fraud perpetrated by Washington and its local puppets has begun to emerge.

The elections, let's recall, were designed to provide a fresh facade for El Salvador's military rulers and pave the way for further escalation of U.S. involvement in the country's civil war.

Afterwards, in a typical comment, *Time* magazine reported "the most hopeful news from Central America in a long time: the record turnout of 1.4 million voters, more than double what U.S. officials had predicted." The "fundamental political result," *Time* asserted, was "that leftist guerrillas had been discredited."

The liberal U.S. weekly *New Republic* chimed in, hailing "the first honest election in that country in half a century" and "the Salvadoran people who waited hours in lines and braved guerrilla threats."

Now, however, the *New York Times* itself has admitted that the voter turnout was not what it was cracked up to be. The June 4 *Times* quoted a forthcoming study by the Central American University in San Salvador that found "serious indications that lead to the confirmed reasonable conclusion that there was massive fraud in the number of voters."

An article by Thomas Sheehan in the June 3 *Times* summarized the study's findings:

The university researchers argue that the actual number of votes, far from being about 1.5 million [as the regime claimed], could not have exceeded 800,000 and, more likely, was probably about 700,000.

A simple calculation of the number of available ballot boxes and the time required to vote shows that it was physically impossible for 1.5 million people to have voted legally on March 28.

The Central Election Board prepared 4,556 ballot boxes, each able to hold 500 ballots, but since at least 30 municipalities did not vote, only 4,021 boxes were actually used.

The booths remained open for only eight hours on average and in some places did not receive ballots until after midday. At the accelerated rate of two and one-half minutes per vote, the maximum number of votes would be 772,032, or 50 percent fewer than the official final tally. If one uses the Election Board's estimate of three minutes per vote, the maximum would be 643,360, or 60 percent fewer.

Sheehan also noted that the day after the election, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton "enjoined leaders of the political parties from discussing electoral fraud" and that "since then a deputy in the Con-

stituent Assembly has publicly referred to 'the pact' agreed upon by the parties not to mention maneuvers to increase the vote."

In the June 4 *Times*, correspondent Raymond Bonner cited a diplomat in San Salvador who "thought ballot boxes had been stuffed." Another source, Bonner reported, "said he thought the results were inflated at the national telecommunications center, which is run by the army and which received the vote tallies from the provinces."

As further details become known and expose just how phony the March 28 elections really were, the Reagan administration will face still greater difficulty in presenting the new regime there in a favorable light.

End of 'land reform'

This task has already been complicated by the initial measures of the new Salvadoran government. With the acquiescence of the military high command and its handpicked civilian president, Alvaro Magaña, the extreme-rightist majority in the Constituent Assembly has dealt the coup de grace to the former junta's so-called land reform.

The land reform was a fake from the outset; its main purpose had been to give cover to the military occupation of the countryside in April 1980. A minority of peasants did receive provisional titles to tiny plots, however. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations pointed to this program as proof that their Salvadoran puppets were reducing the power of the landlords and helping the country's poor.

The Constituent Assembly voted May 19 to suspend the granting of provisional titles to tenant farmers and sharecroppers working 17 or fewer acres. The latter program was called "Land to the Tiller" and was modeled on a similar plan applied by the CIA in South Vietnam in the 1960s.

Even before the elections, the land reform was stagnating. Under the military-Christian Democratic junta, the key second phase of the reform had been indefinitely postponed. It would have affected most of El Salvador's medium-sized coffee plantations, whose owners, according to the U.S. Agency for International Development, "constitute a considerable element of the country's political power structure."

The assembly also voted to restore a clause in El Salvador's constitution — suspended after the October 1979 military coup — that bans the expropriation of farmland. This opens the way for legal challenges to the reform's first phase, which expropriated farms bigger than 1,235 acres and turned them into government-controlled "cooperatives."

The assembly votes in fact only ratified a process that was already under way. A dispatch to the May 31 *Washington Post* reported that as soon as the new cabinet was in place, rightists began "sending out orders through Agriculture Minister Miguel Myshondt . . . that virtually shut the whole program down." Myshondt is a member of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), the party of death-squad leader Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson.

Raymond Bonner of the *New York Times* talked to Luis Alonso Burgos, a tenant farmer in the village of Las Hojas who had benefited from the "Land to the Tiller" plan:

Last week the owner of the property and a Government lawyer told Mr. Burgos that he no longer had the right to work on the five-acre plot that he sowed a few weeks earlier and for which he has a provisional title.

Rolando Gomero, who works for the Salvadoran Communal Union, said that "every day, more and more" peasants were being evicted from land they had bought under the decree.

According to Mr. Gomero, some 200 families have been evicted recently from their plots in Sonsonate Province, where Mr. Burgos lives. Local military forces were involved in about half of those evictions, Mr. Gomero said. [*New York Times*, May 30]

According to the May 31 *Washington Post*, between 3,600 and 12,000 peasants "have been intimidated, forced or fooled into letting go of tenuously held bits of land since [the] March 28 elections."

Free rein for death squads

While gutting what remained of the land reform, the new regime has also given free rein to the army-linked death squads that kidnap, torture, and murder civilians. Four Christian Democratic mayors and seven election-day poll watchers have been among the victims. "The wave of killings comes amid signs that the human rights situation here generally is worsening after a hiatus surrounding the elections," a dispatch from El Salvador to the June 1 *Washington Post* reported.

Some of the liberals in the U.S. Congress who waxed euphoric over the "huge turnout" in the March 28 elections are now worried at the increasing political cost of arming and bankrolling the rightist-dominated regime. By way of a warning to the Salvadoran government and its State Department sponsors, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously May 26 to cut \$100 million from Reagan's request for \$166 million more in military and economic aid to El Salvador. The committee also voted to cut off all aid if the Salvadoran regime "modifies, alters, suspends, or terminates" the land reform program.

The full Senate and House of Representatives must still vote on these measures. In the meantime, Reagan aides will have to step up their efforts to reassure members of Congress that the bloody new regime, in Alexander Haig's words, "is pledged to reform and is avid in the search for peace." □