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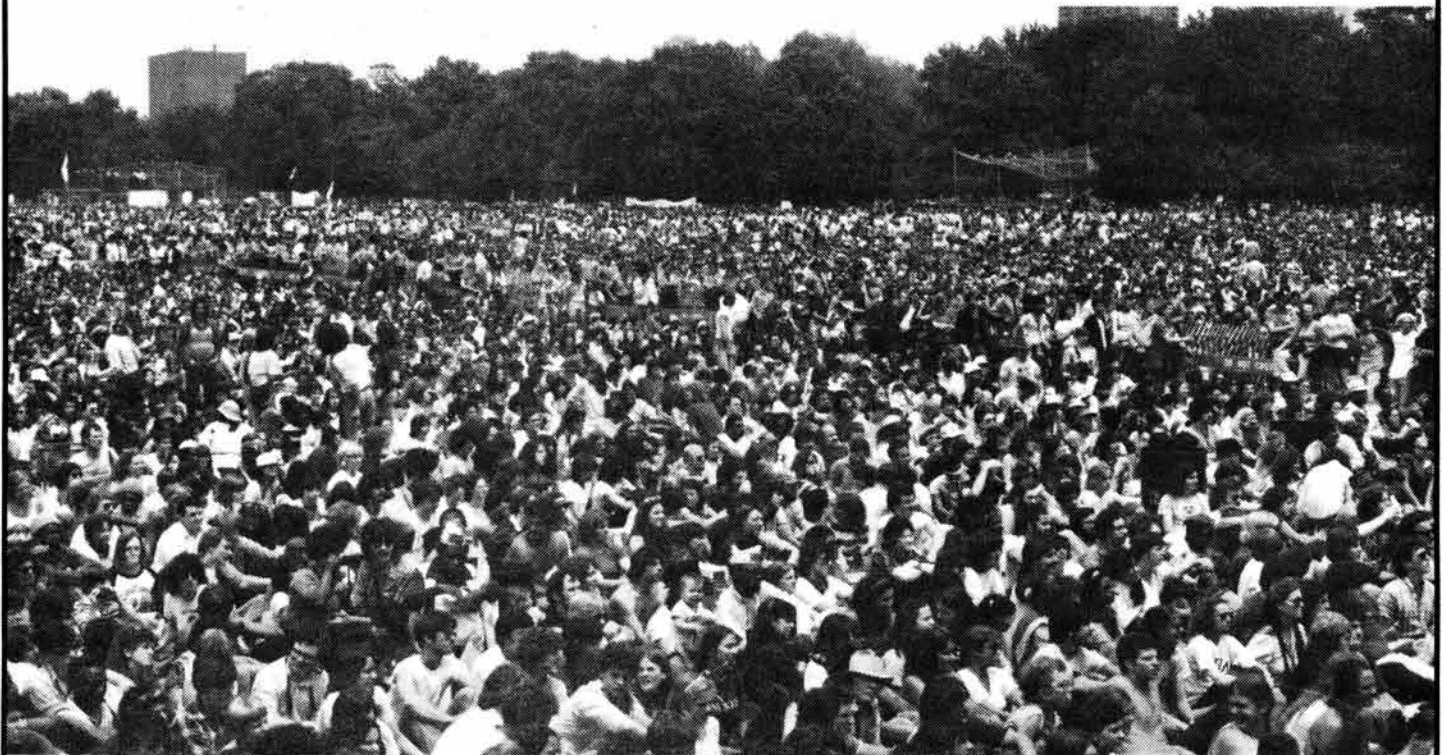
ISRAEL OUT OF LEBANON!

**Why Zionist Forces Invaded
Firsthand Report from Tel Aviv**



Israeli bombers pound Beirut.

Protest Shows Rising Opposition to Reagan's War Drive USA: One Million March for Peace



Part of the crowd at New York's Central Park, June 12.

Duane Shiwell/Perspectiva Mundial

Reagan proposes a new 'campaign for democracy'

By Ernest Harsch

In the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, flanked by trappings of the British monarchy, President Reagan proclaimed a worldwide "crusade for freedom" in a speech before the British Parliament June 8.

Reagan, of course, was not referring to the freedom of working people to fight for better social conditions, democratic rights, or an end to national oppression. The freedom he had in mind was that of the giant corporations of the United States, Britain, and other imperialist countries to continue their plunder and exploitation of much of the world — all in the name of "democracy."

Reagan larded his speech with many of the anticommunist catch-phrases used in Washington and London over the years. He repeatedly referred to Winston Churchill, and even included a paraphrase of Churchill's famous 1946 "iron curtain" speech that marked the opening of the cold war.

Reagan declared, "We see totalitarian forces in the world who seek subversion and conflict around the globe to further their barbarous assault on the human spirit. . . ."

"It is the Soviet Union that runs against the tide of history by denying freedom and human dignity to its citizens."

In response, Reagan emphasized, Washington and its NATO allies need to strengthen their military forces and launch a "campaign for democracy."

Reagan's statements were not the ravings of some anticommunist holdover from the 1950s. They reflect the very real determination of the U.S. ruling class to aggressively defend its worldwide interests — today, in the 1980s.

The speech was a direct complement to the U.S. Defense Department's recent "guidance" document, which outlined a massive program to build up Washington's military might to enable it to intervene quickly in other countries. Reagan's speech was intended to give an ideological justification for intervention against anti-imperialist struggles and socialist revolutions.

The official pretext for such military action has always been the supposed need to defend democracy, deter aggression, and maintain peace.

A day after his London speech, for instance, Reagan stated in the West German parliament in Bonn, "We must continue to improve our defenses if we are to preserve peace and freedom. This is not an impossible task; for almost 40 years we have succeeded in deterring war."

A declaration issued after a NATO conference in Bonn June 10 maintained, "Our alliance has preserved peace for a third of a century."

A third of a century of peace? Anything but.

Among other wars, that period has seen: the massive imperialist aggression in Korea; the French and U.S. wars against Vietnam; the British colonial wars in Malaysia, Kenya, Cyprus, South Yemen, and Oman; the French and British invasion of Egypt in 1956; the Por-

tuguese colonial wars in Africa; the French colonial war against Algeria and the repeated French interventions in Chad, Zaïre, Central African Republic, and elsewhere; the British military campaigns in Northern Ireland; the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic; and the abortive U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba. All show what "detering war" really means in Reagan's dictionary.

In his London speech, Reagan referred to several current examples of this "crusade for democracy."

El Salvador was one — a country ruled by a brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship that has murdered more than 36,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants over the past two and a half years.

Ignoring recent revelations that the Salvadoran authorities had grossly inflated the vote totals in their March 28 electoral farce, Reagan hailed those elections as a "vote for freedom." Nothing could be more of a mockery of the truth. Since the elections, the rate of killings by right-wing death squads has risen sharply.

Another example was the British war against Argentina. Reiterating Washington's support for this blatant act of colonial aggression, Reagan claimed that the British troops were fighting for the principle of "the rule of law" — those laws, of course, that the imperialists themselves draw up.

Under his "campaign for democracy," Reagan has proposed that Washington and its allies in Western Europe escalate their open backing to various "fraternal political and social institutions" around the world. This is nothing more than a plea for stepped-up intervention in the internal politics of other countries — the kind of "subversion" that Reagan accuses Moscow of promoting.

In carrying through their war policies, the imperialists cannot admit what their true

Our Mideast coverage — it costs money

Regular readers of *Intercontinental Press* were not among those taken by surprise when the Israeli regime launched its blitzkrieg into Lebanon on June 6. Writing from Jerusalem in our May 17 issue, Israeli socialist Michel Warschawsky explained how "the general framework" of the Begin government's policy has been all along "the attempt to provoke a new war in the Middle East."

In the March 22 *IP*, we interviewed an Israeli socialist. "The Israeli government thinks that the only way to break out of [its international] isolation is by breaking the resistance to Israel in the Arab world," he told *IP*. "And to do that, it must first destroy the Palestinian struggle by smashing it in Lebanon, which is now the center of Palestinian resistance."

On-the-scene reports from our Israeli comrades not only provide *IP* readers with

an analysis of the Zionist rulers' war drive but also offer a unique view of how this is affecting the Israeli working class and the oppressed Palestinian population within the borders of the Zionist state.

The April 12 *IP* carried an article datelined Tel Aviv that reported on a massive general strike by the Arab population throughout Palestine, and on the "unprecedented demonstration of 40,000 to 50,000 people, most of them Jewish, in Tel Aviv March 27 to protest the Israeli government's attacks on the Arab population."

Likewise, *IP* will continue to provide on-the-scene coverage, translations, and other reports on the fight of the workers and farmers of Iran to defend and deepen their revolution. Iran's recent victories against the counterrevolutionary Iraqi invasion have revealed how deeply the imperialists and their local allies fear the

example the unprecedented popular upsurge in Iran has set for the toilers throughout the Middle East.

It costs money for us to provide such extensive coverage of this explosive part of the world. Articles, reports, and interviews must often be received by telephone from Tehran and Tel Aviv. Like working people all over the world, *IP* is caught in the squeeze of the capitalist economic crisis.

The fact is that the income we receive from subscriptions and bookstore sales does not cover the cost of putting out *Intercontinental Press*. We operate on a deficit. Thus we are appealing to our readers to help us continue to cover the big class battles under way in the Middle East.

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reasons and goals are. Opposition among working people in their own countries would be immediate and massive. So they try to disguise their motivations, using all the arguments about defending "democracy" against spreading Soviet "totalitarianism."

At the same time, their attacks against Moscow are not just a propaganda diversion. Washington's massive nuclear stockpile and its constant efforts to exert economic and political pressure against the Soviet Union are aimed at blackmailing Moscow into not coming to the aid of governments or liberation movements facing imperialist attack.

The repressive and bureaucratic actions of the governments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have certainly given the imperialists considerable ammunition for their propaganda campaigns. Reagan's speech was laced with hypocritical references to Moscow's anti-working-class policies.

But the imperialists' real target is not the privileged bureaucracies that rule in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It is the workers states themselves. Despite the severe deformations caused by bureaucratic rule, the existence of countries where capitalism has been overturned has been an important factor in the spread of the world socialist revolution.

Without Soviet assistance, revolutionary Cuba might very well not have survived in face of Washington's aggression. Without Soviet assistance, Angola might not have withstood the repeated South African attacks and countries in the Middle East would face even more unbridled aggression from the Zionist regime.

In his London speech, Reagan indicated that what he was really opposed to was the basis of the Soviet workers state itself. "Since 1917," he declared, "the Soviet Union has given covert political training and assistance to Marxist-Leninists in many countries."

An important feature of Reagan's speech — and of the discussions held just days earlier in Versailles, France, between Reagan and the heads of state of six other major imperialist countries — was Washington's efforts to increase the economic pressures against the workers states through greater restrictions on trade and loans. The imperialist arms buildup is also used to put economic pressure on the workers states.

Troubles in Europe

Another key target of Reagan's tour was in Western Europe itself.

His phony offers to negotiate nuclear arms reductions with Moscow were intended to undercut the massive antinuclear and antiwar sentiment that was so evident in the huge outpourings in London, Rome, Paris, and Bonn. In his Bonn speech, Reagan even had the audacity to claim, "To those who march for peace, my heart is with you."

At the same time, his anticommunist invective in London was aimed at preparing the ideological arguments for the big class battles that are looming in Western Europe.

Likewise, Reagan has pressed Washington's

allies to shoulder more of the economic and military burden of policing the world.

At the Versailles conference, he pushed hard for the British, French, West German, Belgian, Canadian, and Japanese rulers to cut back on their trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In Bonn, at the NATO conference, he also pressed for increased spending by NATO members on their conventional military forces.

In this, Reagan achieved only limited results. The final statements in both Versailles and Bonn contained vague and limited gestures toward Washington's position, without any specific commitments.

These interimperialist divisions reflect the

enormous pressures they are under from the deep world capitalist economic crisis.

In Western Europe and the United States, more than 20 million workers are unemployed, 4 million more than a year ago. And the number is growing.

The imperialists know that their own countries are increasingly vulnerable to the revolutionary ferment that is sweeping other parts of the world. For them, that makes it ever more urgent to strike out wherever working people stand up for their rights.

That was the real message of Reagan's tour. □

IN THIS ISSUE

Closing News Date: June 13, 1982

LEBANON	532	Israelis wreak death and devastation — by Ernest Harsch
ISRAEL	534	Doubts about war widespread — by M. Shajor
MIDDLE EAST	535	Why Israel is always at war — by Will Reissner
ARGENTINA	537	Thatcher presses attack — by Fred Murphy
USA	538	One million march for peace — by José G. Pérez
	540	Socialist statement to June 12 march
NICARAGUA	542	Reconstruction after floods — by Michael Baumann
	543	Cuba pledges massive aid — by Mary-Alice Waters
	544	FSLN record on human needs — by Jane Harris
IRAN	545	Anger over hoarding mounts — by Mariam Daoud
PERU	546	Belaúnde regime attacks human rights
DENMARK	548	SAP holds its third congress — by Mogens Pedersen
MOROCCO	552	U.S. military gets new bases — by Will Reissner
STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	541	Imperialist war has begun in Central America
DOCUMENTS	549	Argentina's case on the Malvinas — Costa Méndez speaks to nonaligned
NEWS ANALYSIS	530	Reagan proposes a new 'campaign for democracy' — by Ernest Harsch

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Israelis wreak death and devastation

Palestinians offer stiff resistance to Begin's criminal invasion

By Ernest Harsch

In its first week alone, Israel's massive invasion of Lebanon left thousands of civilians dead, hundreds of thousands homeless, and much of the country a war-ravaged wasteland.

"This is a human tragedy beyond ability to describe," Lebanon's representative to the United Nations declared.

The Israeli blitzkrieg, which began on June 6, has once again revealed the racist and aggressive character of the Israeli state. It has shown the extremes of barbarism to which the Zionist rulers in Tel Aviv are willing to go in their efforts to crush the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and to beat back the anti-imperialist struggles of the Arab masses throughout the Middle East.

As of June 13, a cease-fire had been announced between Israel and Syria. But it was extremely shaky, and Israel's continued provocations against Syria still threatened to escalate into a major war between the two countries.

Another cease-fire that had been announced between the Israeli forces and those of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the Beirut area was broken by the Israelis within eight hours, and fighting continued in Beirut and southern Lebanon.

The Israeli authorities initially claimed that the invasion was launched in "self-defense" and that its goal was limited to clearing Palestinian guerrilla forces out of a 25-mile zone in southern Lebanon along the border with Israel.

But their real aims are much broader, as they themselves admitted while the invasion continued to escalate. Basically, the Zionist regime has three closely related goals:

- To inflict a crushing blow against the PLO and its supporters, in an effort to set back the entire Palestinian liberation struggle;
- To punish Syria for its anti-imperialist stance — in particular its opposition to the Camp David accords — and to weaken or overthrow the government of President Hafez al-Assad, and to push the 25,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon out of that country; and
- To convert Lebanon into a virtual Israeli colony, with the south under direct Israeli domination and with a new government in Beirut that would be willing to follow Israeli dictates.

Although the Reagan administration in Washington has tried to adopt the guise of peacemaker and has feigned opposition to the Israeli invasion, it has in fact backed the Zionist regime's aggression to the hilt. U.S. officials have also explicitly or implicitly indicated support for all three of Tel Aviv's objectives in Lebanon.

PLO spokesperson Bassam Abu Sharif,

among others, has blasted Washington as being a "direct partner" in the "mass killings," because of its "green light and full support" to the Israeli invasion.

Thousands slaughtered

The killings in Lebanon have, indeed, been massive.

Using hundreds of tanks and armored personnel carriers, squadrons of jet fighters and helicopters, and warships off the coast, the up to 45,000 Israeli troops preceded their rapid advance northward with carpet bombing and artillery shelling. Their targets included Palestinian military sites, but the overwhelming majority of the casualties were in the Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese towns and villages.

In an effort to cover up this massive slaughter, the Israeli regime barred foreign correspondents from free access to populated areas taken by the Israeli troops. It also ordered the United Nations forces stationed in Lebanon to stop delivering food to Lebanese civilians, so as to cut down even further on outside knowledge of the situation.

Some news, however, has filtered out. According to UN observers, the coastal city of Tyre, a fishing port of 40,000 people, was shelled with high explosives and incendiary white phosphorus bombs, which set fires and caused extensive damage.

After taking Tyre, the Israeli invaders moved on to bombard Sidon, which, with a population of 200,000 Lebanese and Palestinians, was Lebanon's third-largest city.

About 1,000 people, most of them civilians, are estimated to have been killed in the Israeli takeover of Sidon, according to the Lebanese Red Cross.

'Hospitals jammed with wounded'

Beirut itself was a prime target for Israeli jets. Beginning two days before the start of the invasion itself, Israeli warplanes — including U.S.-supplied jet fighters — dropped bombs on much of Beirut's western and southern districts, which are inhabited primarily by Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims.

"Hospitals are jammed with wounded," *New York Times* correspondent William Farrell reported from Beirut June 12. "Stretchers are lined up outside the American University Hospital with people writhing in pain awaiting medical attention. The morgues are scenes of sobbing people looking at mutilated bodies as they seek out lost relatives."

According to Saeb Salam, a former Lebanese prime minister, 1,000 people were killed in Beirut just on June 10.

Even U.S. State Department officials, who have been favorable to Israel, said that more than 10,000 people may have been killed or wounded in the capital alone.

While the bombings concentrated heavily on Beirut and the south, some sorties were carried almost to the northern border of Lebanon. On June 10, Israeli jets attacked a bus convoy 100 miles north of the Israeli border, killing 50 to 60 Turkish workers on their way into Syria.

For those who survived, conditions remain extremely bad. The International Red Cross has estimated that as many as 600,000 persons have been displaced because of the invasion. In many areas under Israeli occupation, water, electricity, and other services have been interrupted because of the fighting. The breakdown of sanitation and the lack of medical care means that many of those badly wounded may die.

In Beirut itself, the bombings have emptied entire sections of the city and disrupted basic services. There are shortages of food and medicine.

In response to appeals for international assistance, the Iranian government has begun sending medical aid and goods to Lebanon. On June 12, the Turkish regime confirmed that it had approved Iranian flights over Turkish territory for that purpose.

Attacks on Syrians

Near the beginning of the invasion, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin claimed, "We do not want to clash with even one Syrian soldier."

However, on June 9 Israeli jets launched a massive attack on the Syrian anti-aircraft missile batteries in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, destroying many of them. The valley is an obvious route for any invasion of Syria from Lebanon, as is the Beirut-Damascus highway, toward which the Israeli forces also began to move (the Syrian capital is only about 50 miles from Beirut).

The Syrian government quickly responded to these provocations, sending its own jets against the Israeli attackers. This led to the biggest air battles in the Middle East since the 1973 war. Despite conflicting claims from both sides, the Syrians appear to have suffered heavy losses.

Israeli forces were bolstered in the Golan Heights — Syrian territory annexed by Israel last December — in preparation for a possible invasion of Syria itself. At least one Israeli bombing raid was mounted against a suburb of Damascus.

Although a cease-fire between the Israeli and Syrian forces was announced on June 11,

Israeli officials began to openly demand a withdrawal or reduction of the Syrian forces based in Lebanon as a precondition for any Israeli withdrawal.

'Reviving' Lebanon?

Such a withdrawal would not only leave Syria more militarily vulnerable to future Israeli attacks. It would also give the rightist forces in Lebanon a freer hand to try to set up a new government allied with Israel.

By the time the invaders had pushed almost to the outskirts of Beirut, various Israeli officials started admitting that one of the purposes of the invasion was to change the character of the Lebanese government and to turn the country into what would amount to an Israeli vassal state.

Tel Aviv's concern about the political situation in Lebanon was greatly heightened by the outcome of the 1975-76 civil war, which pitted Christian rightist forces against Muslim leftists who were allied with the Palestinians. Although the civil war ended in an uneasy stalemate, the leftists and Palestinians remained in control of important sections of Beirut and other parts of the country.

What the Zionists would now like to do is restore to power a government dominated by the Christian rightist groups, in direct alliance with the Israeli regime. Such a government, they hope, would try to keep the Palestinian refugees under tight control and check the growing influence of the PLO.

Over the years, the Lebanese rightists have received an estimated \$100 million in arms from Israel. Those in the south under the command of Maj. Saad Haddad have openly collaborated with the invasion, while other groups in Beirut and the north have been cheering it on.

After the Israeli troops captured the Lebanese city of Damur, the army command issued a statement declaring, "It is our intention to restore the previous Christian glory and to prevent a return of the terrorists."

In Israeli terminology, "terrorists" is an epithet for the Palestinian freedom fighters.

A column in the June 11 *Washington Post* by Israeli ambassador to the United States Moshe Arens was even more explicit.

"A dramatic change in the fortunes of Lebanon will only be possible when the PLO ceases to be a factor in that country," Arens wrote.

"A revived, independent Lebanon, at peace with neighboring Israel, free of the PLO terrorists and the Syrian-Soviet surrogates, would be a boon to all the free world."

In the meantime, the Israeli forces are getting ready for a long occupation of the territories they have seized.

Reporting from Israel in the June 13 *Washington Post*, Edward Cody revealed, "In addition to moving vast amounts of weaponry into Lebanon, Israel is also sending in experienced civilian and military administrators from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to enable it to run civilian affairs in the southern portion of the country for a long period if necessary, according to Israeli military sources."

Maj. Gen. Rafael Eytan, the Israeli chief of staff, declared June 11, "We will not leave one stone unturned. It may take a long time."

U.S. support

Throughout the two days of Israeli bombings of Beirut that preceded the invasion, the U.S. government did not voice one word of criticism. Although the Reagan administration did later call for an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, this was largely for public relations purposes. It still refused to condemn the invasion outright.

On June 8, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick vetoed a UN Security Council resolution that threatened Israel with sanctions for refusing to halt its invasion. All 14 other members of the council voted for the resolution.

A top Reagan aide publicly announced that the president was not considering imposing any sanctions against Israel or interrupting the flow of U.S. arms to that country. Some \$1 billion worth of U.S. weapons are currently in the pipeline to Israel, including nearly 50 M-60 tanks, some 50 155-millimeter howitzers, about 200 M-113 armored personnel carriers, and large quantities of spare parts and ammunition. As part of the Reagan administration's foreign aid bill for fiscal 1983, the White House is asking for \$2.4 billion to Israel, including \$1.7 billion in military loans and grants.

On top of this direct material backing, various U.S. officials have also echoed the Begin regime's demands.

A June 7 State Department communiqué, for instance, declared that "the Palestinians will have to stop using Lebanon as a launching pad for attacks on Israel."

The next day Secretary of State Alexander Haig said that there had to be "some lessening" of the Syrian military presence in Lebanon. Haig reiterated that the Palestinians would have to be kept out of a 25-mile zone in southern Lebanon as demanded by the Israeli regime.

Citing the views of unnamed State Department officials, Bernard Gwertzman reported in the June 12 *New York Times* that these "officials said that . . . the United States shared Israel's view that there could not and should not be a return to the situation that existed before the invasion, a situation in which the central Government in Beirut had no control over the P.L.O. forces, the Syrians and sectarian armies."

Right-wing columnist William Safire, writing in the June 11 *New York Times*, boldly declared that "liberation, and not invasion, is what is taking place in Lebanon today."

An editorial in the same issue showed that the *Times* editors basically agreed with Safire. "Israel asks much to be seen as its neighbor's liberator, but such a liberation is in the interests of both countries, and also of America, for it could bring peace to another Israeli border."

For Washington, the stakes in the Middle East are high. How high was signaled by its

decision to dispatch a flotilla of warships, including the aircraft carrier *Kennedy*, to the Lebanese coast. Ostensibly, its purpose is to evacuate U.S. citizens from Lebanon should that prove necessary, but combined with the various U.S. indications of support for the Israeli invasion, it is nothing but a blatant show of force.

Invasion condemned

While the Reagan administration has backed the Israeli invasion, many governments around the world have condemned it.

One of the strongest condemnations came from the Iranian government. Speaking at a news conference in New York June 8, Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati called for the formation of a united Islamic front to oppose the invasion. "We are declaring our preparedness for war against Israel," he said, and blasted the support given Tel Aviv by "the criminal America."

Fidel Castro, as chairperson of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, dispatched a message to the heads of the movement's member states calling on them to "mobilize their forces" to stop the Zionist aggression, which he correctly likened to the tactics "used by the Nazi hordes in World War II."

Palestinians resist

Meanwhile, despite the Zionists' overwhelming superiority in numbers and military equipment, and despite their announcement of a ceasefire, the Israeli invasion is continuing and is meeting stiff resistance.

Fighting in Tyre, Sidon, Damur, and other towns was intense. Although the Israeli government has tried to play down its losses, it has admitted that more than 100 troops have been killed and some planes shot down.

Despite the slaughter of thousands of civilians by the Israelis, the PLO's political and military leadership remains intact. Several thousand guerrillas are estimated to remain in the areas occupied by the Israeli forces, and they have continued to resist the invaders.

Although the Begin regime initially indicated it might try to take Beirut, a frontal attack on the city could prove extremely costly. Beirut has a population of 1 million and thousands of PLO fighters.

The resistance by the PLO in Lebanon has been coupled with continued protests and strikes by Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights. Demonstrations, street clashes, leafleting, and the painting of slogans have taken place in many towns in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem. During the regular Friday prayers on June 11, Islamic religious leaders in many mosques condemned the invasion. At one mosque in El Bireh, hundreds of Palestinians emerged chanting slogans against the invasion.

According to Elias M. Frej, the mayor of the West Bank town of Bethlehem, the Palestinians "are very proud that our resistance fighters in Lebanon have strongly confronted the gigantic Israeli offensive." □

Doubts about war widespread

Hundreds protest despite chauvinist propaganda

By M. Shajor

TEL AVIV — As the invasion of Lebanon began, all the Zionist parties formed one wall of support to Begin's murderous war. A full invasion was decided on only after Begin met with leaders of the Labor Party and was assured of their support.

The TV, the radio, the newspapers became a huge propaganda machine supporting the war, fabricating lies, and blurring the real facts. The Israeli army, it seemed, was liberating Lebanon from terrorists and from Syrian invaders and was taking special precautions not to hurt the civilian population. Soldiers were shown giving milk to Lebanese mothers, together with happy children of Israeli northern border towns, who were finally freed from fear.

Racist terms are being used like "cleaning the terrorist nests" and "purifying the area." Guerrillas are called "two-legged animals." Bombing of refugee camps is labeled "bombing terrorist concentrations."

In workplaces, in schools, in communities money is being collected for soldiers at the front and heavy pressure is being exerted on everybody to give, even on Arab workers.

All this propaganda aims to cover up the basic truth: that the PLO is a revolutionary movement of national liberation whose strength does not derive from military power, but from organizing and mobilizing the Palestinian masses. The Palestinian people are simply saying: we are Palestinians; Palestine was stolen from us by the Zionist thieves; as long as we are alive we will try to return to our land.

The Israeli ruling class is already taking advantage of the war situation and the vicious chauvinist propaganda in order to step up its drive against the workers. On June 13, Yoram Aridor, the minister of finance, announced that a new series of taxes has been decided on by the government in order to pay for the tremendous expenses of the war, which are estimated at a minimum of \$500 million dollars. The cost of the war will accelerate the triple-digit inflation which already exists in Israel.

In the workplace, an activist in the Bir Zeit Committee — which has mobilized opposition to the Zionist occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights — was fired on the second day of the war, at the peak of the chauvinist campaign. Strikes that had been in progress were called off. Wage negotiations were halted. The bosses are trying to squeeze every sacrifice from the workers in the name of defense of the fatherland.

In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, there were strikes and demonstrations, culminating June 13 with a general strike. One youth was shot. There is a total media blackout on the events in the occupied territories. In these difficult

conditions, there are important and encouraging signs, however.

On June 5, as the government was holding a special cabinet meeting that was deciding on a full-scale invasion of Lebanon, some 2,000 Arabs and Jews from the Committee for Solidarity With Bir Zeit University staged a militant demonstration. The demonstration, which was intended to protest 15 years of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, became the "first antiwar demonstration, taking place on the very first day of the war," as Avi Oz, one of the spokesmen of the committee, said. A big banner at its head read, "No to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon." The first contingent marched past, faces covered with death masks, followed by demonstrators chanting, "Begin, Eytan, and Sharon — get out of Lebanon!" "One, two, three, four, we don't want another war!" "Down with the occupation!" "No to genocide!"

From the outset of the war, it was clear that Begin could lead the Israelis into another war only behind a big lie — "peace in Galilee." He could get support for the limited goal of "cleaning" a 25-mile strip along the northern border "for the peace of Galilee."

During the first days of the war, when this seemed to be the goal, a wave of chauvinist sentiment swept the country. It was reinforced by an almost total news blackout from official Israeli spokesmen, a ban on TV and media reporters entering the war area, and a quick advance of the army, which received clear support from American imperialism.

As it became clear that the Israeli army was getting more and more involved with the Syrian army, raising the danger of an overall war; that Israeli planes were dropping deadly bombs on populated areas, causing tremendous losses to civilians; that the army was driving much further north than the 25-mile line, and aiming at Beirut — more hesitations and criticisms began to be voiced in the media, among fighting soldiers interviewed on TV, and among the general public. *Ma'ariv*, the big evening daily with a rightist, progovernment line, said in its June 13 editorial:

"There is a feeling of doubt, not only among the small circles of Israeli PLO supporters, who base their whole political concept on the belief in the possibility of negotiations with the PLO, but among ordinary Jews who have no such political illusions.

"What is the truth? When will the battle fog disperse? When will the Israeli government renew its connections with the Israeli masses? When will the flow of information be renewed?"

Yanon Barnea, a high school youth, was quoted in the same paper. He asked, "Is this

war just at all? Couldn't we act differently and prevent death and destruction?"

The most important factor undermining the flood of racist and militarist propaganda flowing from the news media is the conduct of the PLO and the Palestinian masses. This is the first war that Israel has waged openly against the PLO. For the first time, the war Israel is waging against the PLO and the Palestinians is posed as the main political problem in the Middle East.

Into this war Israel threw all its military might. Unbelievable amounts of planes, bombs, tanks, cannons, and soldiers have been put into it. Against this military machine, 15,000 Palestinian guerrillas at most — many of them aged 9 to 15 years old — have been fighting bravely. The courage of the Palestinian fighters, who are sacrificing themselves in face of formidable Israeli superiority, is shocking. Israeli soldiers who are aided by U.S. F-15 and F-16 bombers.

The fact that these so-called terrorists are nothing but the fighting, mobilized people, and that they cannot be eliminated without eliminating the whole people, is being discussed by soldiers at the front and by the people at home. The militancy of the Syrian soldiers is also making a strong impression. So is the need to deal with hundreds of thousands of civilian refugees from Lebanon's cities — the unprecedented, barbaric destruction caused by Israel is giving rise to second thoughts.

A big petition appeared in the morning paper *Ha'aretz* on June 11, saying: "Enough. We, the undersigned, call on the Israeli government to stop the war on all fronts and withdraw from Lebanon immediately. The Palestinian problem will not be solved by the IDF [Israeli Defense Force], however strong it may be. The course of the Israeli government is leading to a generalized war in the entire area, thousands more dead and wounded, and thousands of refugees."

It bore several hundred signatures. Another such petition appeared June 13, and still another one will appear June 14. It was organized by a new body called the Committee Against the War in Lebanon. This body organized a militant demonstration June 13 in Jerusalem outside the government offices. And it got coverage on the radio. Some 700 Jews and Arabs showed up and chanted militantly, "No to the war in Lebanon"; "Immediate cease-fire and withdrawal"; "No to the bloodshed"; "There is no military solution to the Palestinian question"; "IDF — withdraw unconditionally"; and so on.

Small picket lines were held earlier in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

Today the cease-fire seems to be collapsing around Beirut. The terrible destruction that Israel inflicted on Lebanon offers no solution, no peace, and no stability. Israel is going to stay a long time in Lebanon and take permanent military control of the entire area south of the Litani River. This war will sow the seeds of the inevitable next one, which will involve Syria, and perhaps the entire Arab world. □

Why Israel is always at war

Zionism and the Arab revolution

By Will Reissner

Once again the Middle East is at war. Israeli troops are in Lebanon. Israeli jets are bombing Beirut. Large areas of that city have been reduced to rubble. Thousands of people have been killed. Hundreds of thousands are homeless.

The Israeli government claims that all this is being carried out in retaliation for the shooting of an Israeli envoy in London. There are few in the world who believe this fantastic claim.

The current war against the Palestinians in Lebanon is another heavy blow to Israel's image internationally. For years, Israeli representatives were remarkably successful in convincing many — especially in the imperialist countries — that Israel was the innocent victim of Arab aggression.

These racists portrayed Israel as a beleaguered oasis of democracy and civilization in the Middle East, a tiny outpost of decency constantly threatened by hordes of bloodthirsty Arabs so blinded by their anti-Jewish hatred that they refused to leave poor little Israel in peace.

Any criticism of Zionism or of Israeli policy was branded as anti-Semitism. Zionist leaders wrapped themselves in the mantle of the Nazi holocaust in Europe to justify their own crimes in the Middle East.

Changing perception of Israel

But over the years there has been a drastic shift in the way that Israel is seen. The brutal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967, and the sight of Israeli troops regularly gunning down young, unarmed Palestinian demonstrators, has helped to expose the real character of the Zionist state and to focus world attention on the plight of the Palestinians.

Moreover, Israel's role as a bulwark of reaction all over the world has also begun to have a bigger and bigger impact. The Zionist government, which backed the French colonial war against the freedom struggle in Algeria and the U.S. war in Vietnam, is today providing arms for the most brutal dictatorships in the world.

In El Salvador, for example, it was Israel that supplied most of the arms to the Romero dictatorship, which was overthrown in October 1979. That regime was so brutal that Washington preferred not to be openly identified with it. The Zionist regime has also played the same role in Guatemala. And when Washington cut off arms sales to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1978, the Israeli government stepped into the breach, providing Somoza with 98 percent of his weapons.

Tel Aviv has also developed a close relationship with the apartheid regime in South Africa, providing it with advanced missiles, electronic warfare equipment, patrol boats, small arms, and other matériel. The Zionist regime has also collaborated with South Africa in the development of nuclear technology.

There are good reasons why more governments today have relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) than with the state of Israel.

A colonial-settler state

Most people in the world have recognized that the real source of continuing conflict in the Middle East is not Arab fanaticism, but rather the colonial settlement of Arab lands by Europeans and expulsion of the Palestinian population.

The Zionists always claimed that the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland in the 1948 war that established the Israeli state was an unfortunate and unplanned side effect of a just struggle.

But the brutal occupation of Arab territories seized in the 1967 war, as well as the formal annexation of the Golan Heights, the continued Zionist colonization of the West Bank, and the most recent of many invasions of Lebanon have made it clear that the 1948 expulsion of the Palestinians was not an aberration, but an essential element of Zionist policy.

Although Israeli leaders use the Nazi holocaust in Europe to justify their claims to the Middle East, the Zionist movement arose long before the Nazis came on the scene.

For the early Zionist movement, which arose at the end of the 19th century, at a time when the imperialist powers were dividing the world among themselves, the idea of establishing a Jewish state somewhere in the colonial or semicolonial world reflected a much larger movement of colonial settlement.

By 1900 there were 750,000 European colonial settlers in "French" North Africa. Similarly, after the establishment of British rule over south-central Africa in the 1890s, a colonial-settler population was established in Rhodesia, now the independent state of Zimbabwe.

Palestine was part of the declining Turkish Ottoman Empire until the end of World War I. The possessions of the Turkish sultan were an obvious candidate for redivision among the European imperialist states, and Theodore Herzl, the foremost leader of the early Zionist movement, expected to find an imperialist sponsor for his scheme of Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Herzl reasoned that "for Europe, we would constitute a bulwark against Asia down there,

we would be the advance post of civilization against barbarism."

Herzl found his imperialist sponsor in Britain. During World War I, Britain and France had secretly decided to divide the Ottoman Empire's Arab possessions between themselves when the war was over. The British took Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq, while the French got Lebanon and Syria.

The British decided to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine in order to use the Zionist settlers as a counterweight to the Arab population, with its aspirations for independence.

As Sir Ronald Storrs, the first British civil governor of Jerusalem, bluntly put it in his memoirs, Jewish immigration could form "for England 'a little loyal Jewish Ulster' in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism."

A symbiotic relationship developed between the British colonial power and the Zionist movement. The British used the Zionists as a local base of support against the Palestinian Arab population, and the Zionists supported British colonial rule — because an independent Arab Palestine was incompatible with their idea of eventually seizing the country for the establishment of a Jewish state.

As late as 1935, at the 19th Zionist congress, David Ben-Gurion, who would later be Israel's first prime minister, declared: "Whomever betrays Great Britain betrays Zionism."

A Jewish state with an Arab majority?

Under British sponsorship, the number of Jewish settlers slowly rose. By 1922, Jews amounted to 11 percent of the population of Palestine; by 1931, nearly 18 percent; by 1936, nearly 28 percent; and by 1943, 31.5 percent of the population, still less than one-third.

Most of the Jews who came to Palestine in the 1930s, fleeing the terror of Nazism in Europe, went to the Middle East only because Britain and the United States refused to allow them entry. The same was true for the refugees arriving in the aftermath of World War II.

But even in 1948, the year the state of Israel was established, there were still twice as many Arabs in Palestine as Jews.

The task of establishing a Jewish state in a territory with a non-Jewish majority posed problems for the Zionist movement. The dilemma was eloquently expressed by Judah Magnes, who was president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem before the establishment of Israel and later left the country in disgust.

Magnes argued that "a Jewish state can only be obtained, if it ever is, through war. . . . You can talk to an Arab about anything, but you cannot talk to him about a Jewish state. And that is because, by definition, a Jewish state means that the Jews will govern other people, other people who live in this Jewish state."

Unless the Arab population was forced out, the new Jewish state would be like South Africa, with a minority population ruling over the majority.

Joseph Weitz, who was head of the Jewish



Israeli soldier guards West Bank settlement.

Agency's Colonization Department, addressed this problem in his 1940 diary. But Weitz did not shrink from the obvious solution to the problem. "Between ourselves," Weitz wrote, "it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country. . . . And there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries; to transfer all of them; not one village, not one tribe should be left."

That policy was carried out in the 1948 war, when 750,000 Arabs were driven from their homes, creating an instant Jewish majority inside Israel.

But the new state of Israel, founded on the basis of expulsion of the Palestinians, could not help but be a tiny enclave cut off from the rest of the Middle East. This fact had tremendous implications.

This enclave could never hope to survive without developing a close military and political alliance with imperialism, agreeing to protect imperialist interests in the region in return for military and economic support.

Zionist expansion

But even with this imperialist support — now from Washington — such an enclave, cut off from its natural economic partners in the Middle East, cannot develop a viable economic life. As a result, there has been a constant push toward territorial expansion, toward increasing the amount of Arab land under Israeli control in order to provide a basis for the Israeli economy.

When the Israeli army seized the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula in 1967, these new territories and markets led to a temporary boom in the Israeli economy.

But at the same time, the seizure of these territories brought with it the renewed specter of a Jewish state with an Arab majority. Today nearly 2 million Palestinians live under Israeli rule. If present population trends continue, within two decades there will again be a Palestinian majority in the area now occupied by the Zionists.

Many Israeli leaders openly acknowledge that their goal is to force another mass exodus by the Palestinians. In January, Reserve Gen. Shlomo Gazit, former head of Israeli military intelligence and now president of Ben-Gurion University, gave a speech outlining his goals for Israel. Gazit views "Eretz Israel" — the Land of Israel — as encompassing all the territory now occupied by the Zionist state, including the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The goal, Gazit argued, must be to "ensure that historic Eretz Israel will remain entirely under Jewish control and, moreover, that it will remain a basically Jewish state."

To maintain this Jewish state, Gazit went on, "a full solution to the problems of the Arabs of historic Eretz Israel . . . must be found outside historic Eretz Israel."

Jewish workers pay a high price

Fewer and fewer Israeli workers still believe that another round of expulsions of Palestinians, or the present war against the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon, can provide a lasting solution to Israel's problems.

The Jewish population has had to pay a high price, and not only in blood, for its role as the bulwark of imperialism against the Arab revolution.

As presently constituted, Israel is a colossal economic failure. Despite the Zionist mythology about making the deserts bloom and creating an oasis of plenty amidst Arab poverty, Israel is an economic basket case totally dependent on huge U.S. subsidies.

Without the infusion of U.S. aid and subsidies, the Israeli economy would collapse. Washington pumps in \$6 million per day in economic and military aid, making Israel by far the largest recipient of U.S. aid in the world. The subsidy amounts to about one-third of the Israeli national budget, nearly \$1,000 per year for every Jewish inhabitant of Israel.

But even with this massive U.S. subsidy, the Israeli economy is staggering under the burden of several straight years of triple-digit inflation. Living standards of Jewish workers are dropping and unemployment is on the rise.

In effect, the Zionist leaders can offer the Jewish masses of Palestine no future except as some kind of Gurkhas of the Middle East, who survive by selling their military services to U.S. imperialism.

'A haven for loonies'

For the Jewish population of Israel, Zionism has turned out to be a dead end. Dramatic evidence of Zionism's failure is the massive emigration of Jews from Israel. Hundreds of thousands of Israeli Jews have left the country, while there are few new immigrants to what

Zionists claimed would be the gathering place for all the Jews of the world. Today there are more Jews in New York than in Tel Aviv.

The few immigrants attracted to Israel today are largely drawn from far-right Zionist groups in the United States. In the April 20, 1982, edition of the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz*, Ehud Ben Ezer commented on this situation in an article entitled "A Haven for Loonies."

He asked: "How come the state of Israel is turning into a haven for lunatics, for extremists and zealots, for misfits from all over the Jewish world, and especially from the United States? How come, moreover, that the best of our sons are leaving Israel for America?"

Ben Ezer lamented: "We have become a haven for all the lunatics of the Jewish world. Where else can a young Jew today walk about freely with a gun in his hand, in uniform or in civvies, while pretending he is a cowboy in the Wild West?"

He concludes that "the lunatics are immigrating to Israel, while the sane are hurriedly leaving it!"

Although most Jews around the world have an emotional identification with Israel, active Zionism has always been a tiny current. Very few Jews have chosen to settle in Israel of their free will. Most who went to Israel did so because alternative destinations were closed to them.

Nearly all the Jews who left Algeria when that country won its independence from France chose to go to France rather than Israel. And today, 80 percent of the Jews who leave the Soviet Union choose not to settle in Israel.

Israel at an impasse

Today many Jewish workers in Israel recognize that the country is at an impasse, that things cannot continue as they have. Many of the fundamental tenets of Zionism are being questioned by Israeli workers.

But until the Jewish workers break from the dead end of Zionism, from the maintenance of a Jewish state based on the oppression and expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs, Israel will be trapped in the vicious cycle of wars against the Arab people.

There can be no permanent solution in the Middle East until Israeli Jews reject their role as oppressors of the Palestinians and as counter-revolutionary shock troops for Washington.

The era of colonial-settler states is coming to a close. The French settlers no longer control Algeria. British settlers in Rhodesia must now adjust to being Zimbabweans. Someday South Africa will become Azania.

And someday, too, Israel must again become Palestine. The Palestinian refugees will eventually win their struggle to return to their homeland. How long their struggle takes, and what forms it takes, is largely dependent on the attitudes of the Jewish population and the development of the class struggle inside Israel.

But one thing is certain. Until the Zionist state is dismantled and a Palestinian state of Arabs and Jews is established, there will be no lasting peace in the Middle East. □

Thatcher presses attack

Reagan renews support as British casualties mount

By Fred Murphy

Buoyed by Ronald Reagan's clear reaffirmation of U.S. support to her armed aggression against Argentina, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has again escalated Britain's war to restore colonial rule over the Malvinas Islands.

Four days after Reagan told a cheering British Parliament that London's 9,000 troops on the islands "fight for a cause, for the belief that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed," Thatcher's expeditionary force launched a major attack on the Argentine defenders of the Malvinas' capital, Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley).

The attack on Puerto Argentino came despite the heavy losses London was dealt on June 8. Argentine jets devastated two big landing craft and damaged another frigate as the ships were putting troops and supplies ashore at Fitzroy, 15 miles southwest of Puerto Argentino.

So serious were the British losses that the Defense Ministry in London clamped a news blackout on casualty figures.

The *New York Times* described the "debacle at Fitzroy" as "the most serious setback suffered by Britain during the war." Hundreds of troops reportedly suffered severe burns. The Argentine government said up to 500 British soldiers may have been killed or injured; unofficial British sources cited in the June 13 *New York Times* put the figure killed at between 43 and 70.

Thatcher demands surrender

Heavy fighting was reportedly under way around Puerto Argentino as of June 13. Buenos Aires charged June 12 that two civilian residents of the capital had been killed and four injured during indiscriminate bombardment by British naval artillery the day before.

"The prospects of the numbers of dead envisaged in a fight for Port Stanley is too horrible for words," said a British naval chaplain quoted in the London *Guardian* June 10. But Thatcher rejected all of the Argentine government's last-minute offers to accept a cease-fire and mutual withdrawal of troops. What she demanded was unconditional surrender.

Military occupation planned

Even if the British rulers succeed in defeating the Argentine garrison on the Malvinas, this will not end the conflict. London is already preparing for an extended military occupation of the islands, and is seeking direct support from Washington to carry this out.

"Thatcher appears determined to turn the Falkland Islands into a British-defended fortress if they are recaptured from Argentina," the *Washington Post* reported June 13. Correspondent Leonard Downie's dispatch from Lon-

don continued:

After already having spent about \$2 billion . . . Thatcher is considering long-term defensive measures that could cost \$500 million a year . . .

Military analysts here said this would mean leaving a British garrison of 3,000 troops or more on the Falklands, protected by Phantom fighter-bombers, Rapier antiaircraft missiles, Nimrod early warning radar planes, transport aircraft, combat and transport helicopters, several warships, and one or two nuclear-powered, hunter-killer submarines.

British officials have left no doubt that such a long-term occupation force will have to be financed through increasing taxes on British working people and new cuts in social services.

Thatcher wants Washington to come up with money and personnel for her occupation force. "I hope we will be able to get some help," she told NBC News June 9. "Those islands are strategically important as well as being important in democratic and political terms, and I hope everyone will realize that. Some very big oil tankers have to go around Cape Horn to get to Alaska. They are to some extent also the gateway to the Antarctic, which will become progressively more important in resource terms to the world as a whole."

Thus the British prime minister spelled out more frankly some of the imperialist interests that are at stake in the South Atlantic conflict.

U.S. troops to islands?

The June 8 *Washington Post* even claimed that agreement had already been reached between London and the Reagan administration on "a multinational, peace-keeping force that could include Britain, the United States, a South American country like Brazil and a Caribbean country like Jamaica, a former British colony."

At the same time, accounts in the capitalist news media portray Washington and other British allies as reluctant to commit themselves publicly to open-ended support of British colonial rule over the Malvinas.

In the June 13 *Washington Post*, Don Oberdorfer wrote that "Britain and Israel went to war for their own reasons with little consideration of the effects on their U.S. ally, which was expected to give loyal support while suffering in silence the injuries caused to other U.S. relationships and interests." Nonetheless, Oberdorfer continued, "Reagan administration officials . . . took comfort that the close U.S. allies are winning. . . . If Britain or Israel were to be threatened with defeat, officials pointed out, far more difficult choices would be forced on the United States."

It is true that Washington is paying a heavy political price for its support to British aggression. But it can ill afford to leave London in

the lurch. The U.S. imperialists are themselves pressing for greater allied support to their own intervention against anti-imperialist and popular struggles in Central America, the Middle East, and elsewhere.

Junta on a tightrope

Meanwhile, the Argentine people remain determined to pursue their fight for sovereignty over the Malvinas and against British-U.S. aggression. This mood was reflected among the huge crowds that turned out June 11-12 during Pope John Paul II's visit to Argentina. The pope repeated the same abstract calls for peace that he made during a visit to Britain the previous week. But according to the June 13 *Washington Post*, "many average citizens seemed to interpret the pope's calls for peace as support for a solution that preserved Argentina's claim to the Falkland Islands."

The military junta in Buenos Aires continues to make concessions in face of the demands for democratic rights that have risen along with the anti-imperialist mood. On June 8, the release of 244 political prisoners was announced by the Ministry of the Interior. Of these, 128 were released unconditionally and 116 released on parole. The same day, a court decision restored property confiscated after the 1976 coup from metalworkers union leader Lorenzo Miguel. Steps were also announced for the restoration of trade-union rights to 8 unions in the provinces; military intervention of 20 other unions had been lifted the previous week.

The Argentine military is aware that it is walking a tightrope by allowing greater scope for political and trade-union activity. Argentine working people continue to suffer the effects of a deep economic crisis, and they place no confidence in a regime that is responsible not only for mounting unemployment but also for the disappearance and murder of thousands of trade-union and political activists from the mid-1970s on.

Having lost through miscalculation the support of U.S. imperialism, the regime has had little choice but to grant concessions to the mass movement. In this way it hopes to stave off a social explosion of the kind that swept Argentina in the early 1970s and led to the end of the last military dictatorship in 1973. "The experience that culminated in 1973 is quite present in all of our minds," Col. Bernardo Menéndez, vice-minister of the interior, told a Buenos Aires radio station June 9, "and there exists the most firm determination not to repeat it."

But as events of the last 10 weeks have shown, the junta's best-laid plans can backfire. As Argentine working people press for effective anti-imperialist measures and democratic rights, they will find ways to take advantage of the dictatorship's concessions to further their struggle against military rule. Their brothers and sisters in Britain, the United States, and other countries can help that struggle by demanding the withdrawal of the British forces, a halt to all U.S. support of London, and recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas. □

One million march for peace

A massive blow to ruling-class war drive

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK — A human sea of 1 million people flowed into Central Park and the surrounding streets of midtown Manhattan June 12 in a demonstration for peace and nuclear disarmament. It was the largest political protest demonstration in U.S. history. The protest was scheduled to coincide with the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament.

Demonstrators came from all over the United States and the world. The majority were in their teens and twenties, but there were substantial numbers of people from all age groups, ranging from toddlers to grandparents. There was a contingent of hundreds of handicapped, many in wheelchairs, who are especially suffering the brunt of Reagan's budget cutbacks.

Relatively small Black and Latino feeder marches came from Harlem and Spanish Harlem, but many thousands more Blacks and Latinos came as individuals or with other contingents. Nevertheless, they constituted only a small percentage of the huge throng.

International contingents

The demonstration began with a rally in front of the United Nations as people were assembling for the march. From the United Nations, the march crossed Manhattan and then headed north two miles to Central Park for a six-hour rally featuring speakers and entertainers. By the time the first contingents of marchers arrived at the rally site, roughly half a million people were already packed in.

At the head of the march were nearly 1,000 people organized by the Vermont-based Bread and Puppet Theater, who staged a four-part presentation on the theme of peace and disarmament. The Vermont contingent was chosen to head up the march because a big majority of towns in that state have adopted nuclear freeze resolutions at their annual town meetings.

Following these came a children's contingent and relatively small labor contingents, primarily from a few New York City area trade-union locals.

Of the international contingents, the largest were the Japanese and Canadian. Onlookers lining the march route broke into applause and shouts of greeting as the Japanese marchers passed them, headed up by a delegation carrying a large banner identifying them as survivors of the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

There were also contingents from English Canada and from Quebec. The Quebec contingent of 2,500 was especially spirited, carrying dozens of blue-and-white flags of that oppressed nation and featuring signs calling not only for peace and disarmament, but also denouncing U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Bri-

tain's aggression against Argentina.

Such signs were the exception in the march as a whole. Overwhelmingly, signs expressed opposition to nuclear weapons, the military buildup, and cutbacks in social services.

Broad range of views

The breadth of political views among the demonstrators was reflected by the presence of a sizable Zionist contingent, along with contingents of Arab students. The Zionists carried signs and wore buttons picturing a dove with slogans of "peace" and "shalom," but their placards did not condemn Begin's invasion of Lebanon.

A number of marchers, including some from Britain, took heated issue with the banner of the Socialist Workers Party literature table in the park. One slogan on the SWP banner said, "Stop the U.S.-British war on Argentina."

Many people throughout the march carried placards printed in advance and distributed widely that held the Soviet Union and the U.S. government equally to blame for the nuclear buildup. One said, "Take the toys from the boys" and showed Reagan and Brezhnev playing with missiles. Another read, "USA-USSR freeze now!"

Very few of the hand-lettered signs mentioned the Soviet Union, however, and only a small minority referred to the bilateral freeze proposal.

Instead, there were banners such as "United campuses to prevent nuclear war," "Make songs not bombs," "Teach peace," "This cloud has no silver lining" (on a mushroom cloud), "Kids want to grow, not glow," "Nuclear war is a once-in-a-lifetime experience," and "End the arms race, not the human race."

People from farming areas carried signs like "Iowans for peace — feed people, not the Pentagon," "Save farms — disarm," and "Grain silos, not missile silos."

Anti-intervention contingents

About 1,000 people in the Hispanics for Survival and Disarmament contingent marched from the predominantly Latino area, El Barrio, in Upper Manhattan, focusing on opposition to U.S. intervention in Latin America. A group of Argentines carried their national flag and denounced British and U.S. aggression against their homeland. Several placards demanded an end to the use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for target practice by the U.S. Navy and other NATO forces. The most popular chant of this contingent was "No draft, no war — U.S. out of El Salvador!"

The Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition and the Anti-Intervention Contingent, the latter initiated by the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador

(CISPES), took a similar political approach. A small group of Palestinians marched with the Third World contingent with banners reading, "Israeli invasion of Lebanon — made in U.S.A."

Another group in this contingent carried banners demanding the ouster of the genocidal Pol Pot clique from Kampuchea's United Nations seat, and one said "End U.S. hostility to Vietnam!"

Among the groups participating in the Anti-Intervention Contingent were Casa Nicaragua, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, and the Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee.

While many other people on the march agreed with the sentiments of these contingents, which expressed opposition to the wars currently being waged by the U.S. government and its allies, these contingents were very small in relation to the march as a whole.

Why people came

Most people were moved to come to the march from a more general sentiment that Washington's foreign policy and arms buildup are breeding new Vietnams and increasing the danger of a nuclear holocaust. The marchers also saw the ongoing cutbacks in health care, education, and social services as the other side of the escalating war budget.

"Look around you," one 45-year-old union member from New York said. "There's war in Argentina, war in the Middle East, and this madman Reagan just wants to add more fuel to the fire."

"I wasn't born when Vietnam started," a high-school student from New York declared. "But I know what happened then, and it's happening again. You don't build all this stuff unless you intend to use it. Look at England. I'm sure the Queen, or whoever, told people there the same thing Reagan's telling us now, how his heart is with peace and all that, and look what happened."

A former hospital technician from Orlando, Florida, wearing a "Red is OK, dead is not" placard, said, "I'm not even slightly pink, I mean, I even voted for Reagan, but I'm laid off and I know it's my paycheck going to build those things."

Two broad political currents

The Central Park rally featured speeches as well as entertainment by big-name artists and other groups. Among the most moving speeches of the day were those by the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who described the ongoing effects of the U.S. nuclear attack on themselves and their families.

A representative of the "downwind people," who live near nuclear test sites in Utah and Nevada, explained how in her town of 200 families, 81 have members with cancer. The leader of an organization of "atomic veterans" — American GIs exposed to nuclear fallout as guinea pigs — also spoke.

The rally also reflected divergent perspectives being put forward within the peace movement.

In the months leading up to the demonstration, there had been a sharp political differentiation among those involved in the action. Two main currents emerged.

The one that had a majority on the planning committee and whose viewpoints monopolized the extensive pre- and post-rally publicity in the capitalist news media wanted to focus the event exclusively on the idea of a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons development by the United States and the Soviet Union. Associated with this current were many of the traditional pacifist and disarmament organizations and forces that look to the Democratic Party.

The second current, composed primarily of Black and Latino groups and radical organizations, was organized in the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition. It called for unilateral U.S. disarmament and pointed out that the fight for peace cannot be effectively waged unless the movement focuses on the concrete wars the U.S. government is waging today.

In addition, this current agrees with the position of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries that behind the wars and threats of war today are the issues of colonialism, neocolonialism, and social inequality. It maintains that there can be no real peace without justice, especially for the masses of the colonial and semicolonial world, who represent the overwhelming majority of humanity.

November elections

Actor Orson Welles delivered the first major speech at the afternoon rally. His remarks were billed as the keynote speech and were widely publicized by the news media.

Welles's speech was dedicated to the theme that, thanks to the peace movement, Reagan is being converted into an advocate of disarmament. Referring to the recent cooing sounds coming from the actor in the White House, Welles proclaimed "Not only our praise, but all our gratitude goes out to a president who listened. . . . He is a part of us."

This revelation met with stony silence from the audience.

Most of the speakers that generally supported the rally committee approach did not agree with Welles that relying on Ronald Reagan is the road to salvation. Randall Forsberg, who was introduced as the originator of the freeze campaign, urged reliance on the Democrats in Congress instead of the Republicans. "Last week, the Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted down the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze resolution. We will remember that vote in November."

"We'll remember in November" — that is, at the time of the congressional elections — was the refrain of Forsberg's speech.

The same approach was projected during a backstage news conference by the June 12 Rally Committee. Norma Becker, a leader of the War Resisters League and of Mobilization for Survival, told reporters that upcoming events included local conferences in the fall "to plan strategy to defeat the nuclear warriors in November."

Big sale of socialist literature

Members of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) registered a big success in the distribution of socialist literature to the huge crowd at the June 12 demonstration.

The *Militant* newspaper, the SWP's weekly, featured the statement reprinted on page 540 of this issue of *Intercontinental Press*, along with front-page articles on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Non-aligned Movement's condemnation of the U.S.-British war against Argentina.

Preliminary figures show that at least 3,600 single copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* — the SWP's Spanish-language fortnightly — were sold. In addition, 535 single copies of the YSA's *Young Socialist* newspaper were sold.

Also sold were some 800 special introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*, along with some \$1,200 worth of socialist books and pamphlets.

An open house at the SWP's Manhattan headquarters following the rally drew more than 300 persons.

Most of the speakers at the two rallies did not mention the various wars the U.S. government is directly or indirectly engaged in.

Exceptions included well-known pacifist Dave Dellinger, who, in brief remarks at the afternoon rally, denounced the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Earlier, at the morning rally, Becker had called for respecting the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The question of war

But the organizers of the rally were generally opposed to any attempt to link the nuclear threat to the numerous wars being waged today by the U.S. government and its allies in Central America, the South Atlantic, and the Middle East.

The need to oppose these wars nonetheless found expression at the rally. Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a leader of the National Black United Front and a central figure in the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition, said Blacks and Latinos joined in the demands of ending the military buildup and redirecting resources toward satisfying human needs.

"But let us remember that as long as SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation] and the ANC [African National Congress] are not allowed to go among their own people in a free and truly democratic Namibia and South Africa, the threat of nuclear annihilation will hang over us.

"As long as Puerto Rico is denied self-determination, nuclear annihilation will hang over us.

"And let us be honest here today. Let us demand that the Israeli armies desist and with-

draw from Lebanon. Let us demand that the Palestinian people have self-determination within the confines of a fully secure order for both Jews and Palestinians.

"Let us remember that as long as little nations like Grenada and Nicaragua and Cuba are threatened by this [U.S.] military machine, and not allowed to dictate their own destiny, nuclear annihilation will continue to hang over us."

Struggle in Latin America

Similar themes were sounded by Isabel Letelier, widow of Orlando Letelier, a member of the Chilean government during the presidency of Salvador Allende, who was murdered by agents of the Chilean junta in Washington, D.C., in 1976.

"I speak to you today at this momentous and historic demonstration for peace as a woman from Latin America," Letelier said. She saluted the struggles of Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans fighting for their rights and self-determination in the United States, as well as the struggle of working people generally for jobs and a decent standard of living. "These are the same rights we are struggling for" in Latin America, she said.

"Our struggle is not a conspiracy; it is motivated by anger — anger at exploitation, anger at military juntas, disappearances, and death squads." Letelier pointed out that these regimes were imposed and are kept in power by the U.S. government.

"Today, all of us are gathered here to say no to war, no more arms to no more Pinochets. You are joined by millions of people in Latin America who refuse to have their lives decided in boardrooms on Wall Street."

Other speeches along the same line were given at the morning rally by Johnston Makatini of the African National Congress, who called for "a worldwide crusade for disarmament, justice, freedom, peace, and social progress"; and by Rubén Zamora of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Salvadoran FDR, who described the horrible suffering and tens of thousands of deaths inflicted on the people of his country by Washington's puppet government.

Makatini, Zamora, and other antiwar speakers — among them the Rev. Ben Chavis of the National Black Independent Political Party and Carlos Zenón, a leader of the struggle against the U.S. Navy in Vieques, Puerto Rico — had also been scheduled to address the afternoon rally in Central Park.

However, these speakers were all placed toward the end of the program, and their turns to speak did not come until after the rally had been scheduled to conclude. As a result, Chavis was cut off after a few sentences. Makatini and Zenón were allowed only to deliver very brief greetings. Zamora did not speak at all.

The message of the million people who poured out for the June 12 demonstration was unmistakable, however. They sent an unequivocal message to Washington that there is mounting opposition among U.S. working people to the imperialist war drive. □

Socialist statement to June 12 march

Peace movement must mobilize against U.S. warmakers

[The following statement was featured in the June 18 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant* — the issue that was sold at the June 12 peace demonstrations in New York and other U.S. cities. It was issued by Mel Mason, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, who is a member of the Seaside, California, city council. Mason is currently a candidate for governor of California.]

* * *

The tremendous outpouring for June 12 demonstrates the widespread opposition to war that exists in this country. Hundreds of thousands of us who have thrown ourselves into the struggle against the deadly threat of nuclear war are asking: Where do we go next? How do we wage an effective struggle for peace?

The only possible starting point in charting a course toward peace is to begin with the fact that wars are taking place right now. Wars initiated or actively supported by the government in our country have begun.

President Reagan has given his full support, including military assistance, to the British government's war against Argentina — a war in which hundreds have already lost their lives. Speaking to the British parliament on June 8, Reagan exclaimed that "on distant islands in the South Atlantic, young men are fighting for Britain. And, yes, voices have been raised protesting their sacrifices for lumps of rock and earth so far away. But those young men aren't fighting for mere real estate.

"They fight for a cause, for the belief that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed," Reagan hypocritically asserted, "and that people must participate in the decision of government under the rule of law."

Israel, one of Washington's closest allies, is driving deep into Lebanon. The Reagan administration's attitude toward this monstrous war of aggression was made crystal clear when its representative to the United Nations refused to condemn Israel. And Reagan talks about the "rule of law."

U.S. war against Nicaragua

Washington is conducting war against Nicaragua. From across the Honduran border, U.S. military advisers and U.S.-financed counter-revolutionaries wage daily raids and battles. Harsh economic measures — especially cruel in light of destructive floods of the past weeks — are part of this effort to try to force the Nicaraguan people into submission.

Already this war is proportionately bigger than the U.S. war in Vietnam in the early 1960s, and it could escalate even more rapidly.

The war against Nicaragua is part of the overall military effort by the U.S. government to halt the extension of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. This includes the mounting aid to the bloody dictatorship in El Salvador, which is waging war against the popular liberation fighters there.

It includes the threats against Grenada, where the workers and farmers threw out a hated dictator three years ago, and against revolutionary Cuba, which the warmakers in Washington assert is the "source" of all the "problems" in Central America and the Caribbean.

Danger comes from imperialists

The fight for peace must begin with a campaign against these shooting wars in which people are dying today because of imperialist aggression.

The biggest danger of nuclear annihilation of humanity comes from the fact that these and other "conventional" wars of extermination against the oppressed and exploited of the world may be escalated by the imperialist warmakers into nuclear war. British naval vessels in the South Atlantic, for example, are carrying nuclear weapons. And the British commanders have orders to use them against Argentina if necessary.

The fight against wars that are taking place right now is an indispensable focus of the struggle to prevent the horror of a nuclear war.

Building on the impetus of the mammoth June 12 demonstration, the forces that want to launch a campaign against the Anglo-American war on Argentina, against the U.S. war in Central America, and against other U.S.-backed wars from the Middle East to southern Africa ought to hold a national conference to discuss and organize such an antiwar campaign.

Campaign against Washington's wars

There are many forces who see the need for campaigning against the specific wars Washington is waging. These include the National Black Independent Political Party, the National Black United Front, and the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition.

There is considerable potential for getting such a campaign underway. Even more than during the Vietnam War, which occurred in a period of relative prosperity, an antiwar campaign today will win support in the labor movement. Every day working people increasingly feel the deepening attacks on their living standards, growing racism, mounting attacks on foreign-born and immigrant workers, attacks on democratic rights and moves to discipline

workers on the job and to subordinate their unions even more to the employers.

The same government that has placed an embargo against the people of Nicaragua, Cuba, and Vietnam is also cutting food stamps, social security, and dozens of other social programs at home.

The same government that is helping to crush Argentina's democratic right to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands is scuttling democratic rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women in this country.

And as the employers' wars abroad escalate, it will be working-class and farm youth who, as in Vietnam, will be sent to fight and die to protect big business interests.

Enemy is at home

An essential element for mounting an effective antiwar campaign is recognizing that the enemy is at home. The enemy is not our fellow workers in Nicaragua, Grenada, or Argentina. It is not the people of Cuba or the Palestinians forcibly displaced from their homeland by the Israeli settler-state.

The enemy is our employers. It is U.S. Steel, Consolidation Coal Co., Exxon, and the other industrial giants and banks.

Many ruling-class politicians try to prevent us from seeing clearly where our class interests lie. They try to cover up their wars and preparations for war by presenting themselves as champions of peace, disarmament, or nuclear freeze.

It is a historically demonstrated fact that the louder they shout for peace, the closer they are to launching war. Senator Kennedy, for example, supports a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons. Yet, he was one of 50 senators who introduced a resolution in the Senate on the eve of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon calling on the U.S. government to do what was necessary to ensure Israel's qualitative military advantage over all Arab countries put together.

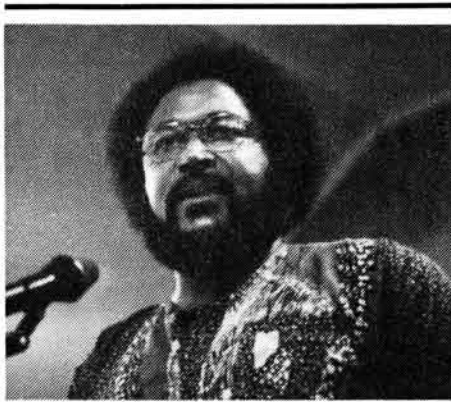
Another one of the fraudulent abstractions used is that the enemy of the people of the world is the nuclear weapons themselves — not the imperialist warmakers.

We are told, in effect, to ignore the reality that there is a capitalist ruling class in this country whose material interests, for markets, raw materials, areas of investment, drive them to make war. And that the nuclear threat stems from these capitalist wars.

Real causes of war

In this way, the cause of "peace" is abstracted from those who wage the wars and whose class interests are served by such wars.

They try to get us to turn our rational and



Arnold Weissberg/Militant

MEL MASON

justifiable fear of nuclear war into an emotional response, instead of clearly thinking through the real causes of war and organizing a struggle against the real warmakers.

If we were to accept the view that arms, not classes, are the problem, then we would put ourselves in the position of saying that the arms that Argentina is using today to defend itself from imperialist aggression are at least as bad, if not worse, than Anglo-American arms. But this is totally false. The fight for peace and against imperialist war would be *advanced* if the whole royal fleet found a permanent home at the bottom of the South Atlantic.

The Nicaraguans, likewise, would strike a blow for world peace if they were to smash the U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary war against them.

Unfortunately, abstract "peace" formulas have found supporters in the peace movement itself.

This includes some of the organizers of the June 12 protest, who want to concentrate on the "peace" issue but duck the issue of ongoing wars.

Peace movement should oppose war

What good is a peace movement that doesn't point the finger at the real warmakers and doesn't mobilize against real war? No good at all. The only effective struggle for peace is one that speaks out and acts against war.

In my campaign for governor of California, I am speaking out against Washington's wars and doing whatever possible to help build a movement against them.

I am also explaining that the only way that the imperialist warmakers will ultimately be stopped is if the workers and farmers in this country disarm them and establish their own government. Only then will the threat of nuclear war be eliminated.

The struggle for such a government means that working people will have to make a definitive break from the Democratic and Republican parties — the parties of the employers. We need to form our own party — a labor party that will have its organizational base in the trade unions and that will make the struggle against imperialist war a central part of its platform. That's the way to stop the bomb and those who wield it. □

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

'Imperialist war has begun in Central America and Caribbean'

[The following statement was issued by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, which met in late May.]

* * *

An imperialist war against the people of Central America and the Caribbean has begun!

Since the revolutionary overthrow of the hated dictatorships in Nicaragua and Grenada three years ago, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the New Jewel Movement, the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean have been on the march. Each day they are deepening their struggle against the imperialist domination that has brought nothing but decades of misery and suffering.

Faced with the revolutionary advances throughout the region, the U.S. ruling class has no choice but to use its massive military power to protect its imperialist interests.

In El Salvador, the people in arms, led by the Revolutionary Democratic Front—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN), have continued to strengthen their political and military capacities and expand their international diplomatic offensive. Following the electoral farce of March 28, the new government of Alvaro Magaña was put together by the Yankee embassy. The number of massacres and tortures has increased. Even the miserable "land reform" of Duarte has been annulled. The latest batch of officers and special troops trained in the United States have returned. The level of U.S. aid has increased to the point where today only three other countries in the world receive more aid than the dictatorship of El Salvador.

In Guatemala, the newly formed unity of the revolutionary forces, and the broadening popular base of anti-imperialist struggle amongst the Indian majority of the Guatemalan people, has been met by the coup of last March that brought to power the military junta headed by Gen. Ríos Montt. While the demagogic declarations about the necessity for Christian love and "civil peace" have multiplied, they have served only as cover for the resumption of imperialist aid. With this support, General Montt is carrying out new and even more brutal massacres in the rural areas, especially against the Quiché Indian people, and stepping up his military offensive against the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG).

While the revolutionary forces of El Salvador and Guatemala are today fighting to overthrow bloody proimperialist dictatorships, the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and

Grenada are mobilizing to fight to the last drop of blood to defend their revolutionary governments and the social, economic, and political advances they have achieved over the last three years.

As the May Day celebration in Managua proclaimed, "We will defend the revolution, building socialism." Faced with these new advances, imperialist aggression against Nicaragua has already reached a qualitatively new level. Daily battles are now being fought with imperialist-armed counterrevolutionary units operating out of bases on two fronts: Honduras and Costa Rica.

A counterrevolutionary government-in-exile is being put together, trying to establish itself on Nicaraguan territory, where it can "legitimately" call for open imperialist intervention.

Economic strangulation and sabotage, diplomatic isolation — all weapons are being used to try to weaken and divide the Nicaraguan people and bring down the first workers and peasants government in Central America, which is moving to abolish capitalist exploitation and oppression in Nicaragua.

In Grenada, a similar process is unfolding as the working people of that island nation deepen their economic and social gains.

Destabilization efforts and other counterrevolutionary operations, financed and directed by various imperialist interests, have been accompanied by massive naval maneuvers in the Caribbean, carrying out simulated landings on Grenada. In fact, the last months have seen a total of four naval maneuvers involving all the principal imperialist powers of NATO. Their goal has been not only intimidation but a dress rehearsal for a blockade and landings wherever in the region imperialism decides to strike.

The problem for Washington is clear.

Behind El Salvador and Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Grenada stands Cuba.

Imperialism's military escalation is aimed at crushing the rise of revolutionary struggles throughout the region. Today it is the Salvadoran people who are suffering the harshest imperialist aggression in the region. But the ultimate objective must be the Cuban workers state, because imperialism knows that Cuba will support the struggles of the people of Central America and the Caribbean to the end. While the Cuban revolution lives, the current reactionary offensive cannot triumph.

The war which is today being waged by Anglo-American imperialism against Argentina is intimately tied to the imperialist offensive in Central America. It too is intended to intimidate the working people of Latin America and teach them that they dare not assert the right to

control their own lands, their own resources, their own destinies.

The Anglo-American imperialist aggression against Argentina, and its consequences throughout Latin America, has created difficulties for the war plans of the imperialists and their allies in the region. But the certainty of a larger and more direct Yankee intervention in Central America and the Caribbean has not changed.

U.S. imperialism will not renounce the use of a single weapon in its arsenal for blocking the extension of the socialist revolution in what it considers to be its own "backyard."

We are living through a decisive moment.

We must fight to prevent the imperialists' war drive from achieving its objectives.

The revolutionaries of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Grenada, and Cuba have not retreated a single step. On the contrary, each day their authority with the people and their capacity to take initiatives on all fronts increases. New revolutionary victories, new workers

states are being born in Central America and the Caribbean.

United, fighting international solidarity with this forward march of the revolution will play a decisive role in the struggles that are coming. Our brothers and sisters on the front lines of battle in Central America and the Caribbean are fighting in the interests of working people the world over. Our struggle is one!

The solidarity committees must be strengthened. The World Front in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People, formed in March in Mexico City, shows the road to follow for the coordination of solidarity work.

The mobilization of the broadest forces in action against the escalating imperialist war moves in Central America and the Caribbean must be a central task.

The Fourth International commits its entire forces to continue and deepen this solidarity work.

No imperialist intervention!

International solidarity with the people of Central America and the Caribbean! □

the country's yearly income from exports.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has personally pledged that Cuba will halt its own construction projects, if necessary, to provide the equipment and trained personnel needed to repair the damage. (See accompanying article.)

Mexico has pledged 175 tons of food and major aid in replanting basic food crops washed out by the rain. The first of a scheduled eight planeloads of food, medicine, and seeds arrived from Mexico June 4. Further shipments are to include 200 tons of a special, fast-growing type of corn, plus 20 tons each of seeds for sesame, rice, and soybeans.

Also on June 4, the first planeload of aid from Spain arrived, bringing seven tons of food, medicine, and blankets. In addition, the International Red Cross has provided 630 tons of food.

All aid sent so far has been put to immediate use. It is, however, a far cry from what is needed. Exact figures are not yet available, but less than \$500,000 in aid had arrived by the end of May.

The government in the best position to help has done little so far. Total U.S. aid as of June 2 was 40 tons of surplus powdered milk and a miserly \$25,000 in cash. In a public relations gesture, Washington has offered to send its own commission to help assess storm damage.

Commander Tomás Borge pointed out June 4 that if the United States really wanted to help, they could begin by releasing the loans to Nicaragua that the Reagan administration froze last year in an act of economic sabotage against the Sandinista government.

So far, Washington has not even responded to the Nicaraguan government's request that the freeze be lifted on two U.S. loan programs — \$14.7 million in housing aid that could be used to provide temporary shelter for 60,000 flood victims, and \$56 million that could be used to buy food.

Temporary housing is a pressing need, for at present more than 100 of the largest schools in the country are being used as emergency

Nicaragua

Reconstruction after floods

Argentina, Mexico, Spain offer aid

By Michael Baumann

MANAGUA — Argentina, itself the victim of an imperialist invasion and economic blockade, has helped set an example internationally by pledging 7,000 tons of wheat to storm-devastated Nicaragua.

"In accordance with the principles of Latin American solidarity, we want the people and government of Nicaragua to know that we will aid you in this emergency, to the extent of our

present capabilities," said Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri, head of the Argentine government, in a cable to Managua June 3.

Cuba, Mexico, and Spain are the three other governments that have acted most quickly in response to Nicaragua's appeal for international disaster aid.

At the end of May, the worst rainstorm in a century caused some \$200 million in damage to Nicaragua — an amount totaling nearly half



Volunteer workers building dikes in Managua. Floods caused some \$200 million in damage and left tens of thousands homeless. Barricada

shelters. This makes it impossible for them to be used for normal educational needs.

The storms have "left us poorer" in material goods, Borge said, "but we are still rich in revolutionary dignity." We cannot count solely on international aid to rebuild the country, he added. This is also our own responsibility.

Nicaragua's mass organizations, militia units, and union members are mobilizing each Sunday in volunteer labor projects to repair roads and damaged housing. In the countryside, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) and the Rural Workers Association (ATC) are carrying out an emergency

reseeding program.

Longer-term plans for supporting recovery efforts are being spearheaded by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which represents the overwhelming majority of the country's urban workers.

Special "construction banks" are being set up at each CST-organized workplace, to be funded by workers working voluntarily Saturday afternoon and devoting their extra wages to the fund. In addition, the CST has initiated a campaign to have workers donate 2 percent of their wages each month to the national Emergency Relief Fund. □

Cuba pledges massive aid

Proletarian internationalism in action

By Mary-Alice Waters

HAVANA — "If the Cuban people themselves had only a single piece of bread, half of it would rightfully belong to our Nicaraguan brothers."

That was the response in Cuba to the appeal by the revolutionary government of Nicaragua for emergency aid to help recover from the devastating damage inflicted by torrential rains and flooding during the last week of May.

That statement, which accurately expressed the feelings of the Cuban people, was made by Raúl Castro, first vice-president of Cuba, as he and a large Cuban governmental delegation arrived in Managua on May 29.

Despite the extraordinary responsibility occasioned by the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, which was being held simultaneously in Havana, the Cuban leadership immediately responded to Nicaragua's appeal by sending a high-level delegation.

According to daily front-page press accounts in Cuba, the Cuban delegation toured the country, working with the Nicaraguan government's commissions, to assess the extent of the damages and determine what aid from Cuba would be most effective. In talks with the Nicaraguan leadership delegation that came to Cuba, Fidel Castro assured them that even if emergency aid affected the pace of Cuba's own development plans, Cuba would do whatever was within its means.

The Cuban leadership also took advantage of the fact that high-level delegations from more than 90 countries were in Havana for the conference of the Nonaligned Movement to press other governments to respond to Nicaragua's emergency needs with substantial material aid.

The offer of the Argentine military junta to send 7,000 tons of wheat to Nicaragua, for example, was a great help. It is also an indication of the degree to which that dictatorship — today under heavy assault by British and U.S. imperialism — has been forced to turn for support to precisely those same revolution-

nary forces it was trying to militarily overthrow only weeks ago.

The toll continues to mount in Nicaragua as the flood waters recede and the extent of the damage can be assessed. When the final count is in, it is expected that the death toll will top 100. More than 70,000 have been left homeless or have had their livelihoods directly affected. Agricultural production has been devastated: 60 percent of the corn and banana crops lost; 30 percent of rice seedlings swept away; 50 percent of the land prepared for cotton planting inundated. Thousands of tons of sugar, cotton, and coffee in the warehouses ready for export were destroyed.

As Nicaraguan Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce summed it up while visiting Cuba, the losses can only be compared to those suffered during the final days of the liberation struggle in 1979 or in the 1972 earthquake that devastated Managua.

"Our evaluation of the situation," he said, "leads us to the conclusion that we have practically been pushed back to where we were on the day the revolution triumphed."

To Cubans, the situation Nicaragua faces today is reminiscent of the early years of the Cuban revolution. They too inherited an economy that was in shambles. Substandard housing conditions left the majority of the population vulnerable to any natural disaster. Cuba faced an economic blockade and military actions organized by U.S. imperialism, including the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. In 1963, the island was hit by Hurricane Flora, one of the worst in Cuban history. It left some 1,500 dead and caused economic damages similar to those suffered by Nicaragua today.

Among those to die in the Nicaraguan floods was a young Cuban teacher, Ana Virgen Robles. She drowned while trying to save the life of a child when the boat in which they were being evacuated capsized. To the Cubans, this death of an internationalist teacher is just one more natural bond that links their fate to that of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Similarly, the round-the-clock effort of the Celia Sánchez Construction Brigade has re-

ceived proud coverage in the Cuban press. The brigade, named after one of the most prominent leaders of the Cuban revolution and made up of Cuban volunteers, has been repairing bridges vital to reopening communications and supply lines to León, Nicaragua's second-largest city. To respond in any other manner to the needs of the Nicaraguan revolution would be unthinkable to the Cuban people.

This political process today unfolding in both Cuba and Nicaragua, the deepening of the revolution in both countries as they work together to meet their common needs, was captured with great accuracy in an exchange between Raúl Castro and a young worker in a Managua factory. The Cuban delegation was touring an important factory that produces chicken coops and other products needed by the rapidly expanding poultry industry in Nicaragua. As they were about to leave the plant, Verónica Cardoza, on behalf of all the workers, told Raúl:

"For 20 years the Somozaist dictatorship prevented Nicaraguan workers from having any relationship with the people of Cuba. But a mere 34 months of full freedom has been enough for the Nicaraguan people to learn what the Cuban revolution and its people really are. We want them to know that without the collaboration, aid, and internationalist spirit of Cuba this modest factory would not exist."

To this heartfelt expression of gratitude, Raúl replied with equal truth: "Even more important than the collaboration Cuba has offered Nicaragua is what Nicaragua has given Cuba and the rest of the peoples of the world through the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution." □

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FSLN record on human needs

Land reform, workers rights, health, and education

By Jane Harris

MANAGUA — If a shred of doubt is left in anyone's mind as to whose interests the Nicaraguan government represents, a recently released report from the Junta of National Reconstruction shows, in facts and figures, that Nicaragua is using all human and material resources at its disposal to improve the lives of workers and peasants here.

At a time when workers throughout the rest of Central America and in the advanced capitalist countries as well are suffering dramatic cuts in their standard of living, the gains produced by the Nicaraguan revolution stand out in sharp comparison.

The fact that these gains were made in spite of an extremely unfavorable economic situation and despite constant military attacks bankrolled by Washington again proves what can be done when a government puts human needs ahead of profits.

Some of the biggest gains were made by the *campesinos*, who for hundreds of years have worked the land with nothing to show for it. Since the revolution, more than 100,000 manzanas [1 manzana = 1.73 acres] of land were confiscated from the rich and given to landless peasants organized into cooperatives. Last year alone some 2,000 peasant cooperatives were organized and consolidated for purposes of increasing production and making services, technical assistance, and credit easier to obtain.

Urban workers also made significant gains. When the Sandinistas took power, only 174 union locals existed and these were largely company unions. The number has risen to 765, all with a voice that the government is quick to respond to.

For example, last year the Ministry of Labor investigated more than 9,000 worker complaints about management violations of labor laws, resulting in awards of more than \$1.6 million to the workers. Some 13,000 examinations of company books were carried out to ensure that workers were being paid the proper wages, and 725 inspections were carried out at factories and ranches to make sure the working conditions were acceptable.

This reporter can personally testify to the results of one such visit. At the Rolter shoe factory in Managua, a shower with hot water (very rare even among Nicaragua's wealthy) was installed within *one week* after the inspection ordered it because workers get covered with sticky dust where the synthetic rubber is mixed.

The Ministry of Labor also secured pay increases for some 17,000 workers, and provided free legal aid to any worker involved in difficulties with his or her employer.

Unemployment, which stood at 40 percent in 1979, dropped last year to 13 percent. This stands in sharp contrast to neighboring Honduras, where 24 percent of the population is out of work, or El Salvador, where the figure is 30 percent. This was made possible by a growth of 8.7 percent in the country's economy — the highest increase in Central America, and one of the highest in the world.

While ex-dictator Somoza left Nicaragua with a foreign debt of \$1.6 billion, the revolutionary government's political priority — despite its poverty — has been to strengthen the country's basic social infrastructure, so as to lay a firm basis for upgrading both productivity and the standard of living for all Nicaraguans.

This meant building and repairing roads, upgrading the railroad and ports, electrifying rural areas, and vastly extending telephone lines. It meant bringing safe drinking water and sewage systems to the countryside. The national bus service, whose fares are 50 percent subsidized, increased its fleet to accommodate 9 percent more riders. The rail service, while limited, increased passenger service by 21 percent and freight service by 18 percent.

While food prices have soared in the capitalist world, prices in Nicaragua of basic food items were virtually frozen through the Nicaraguan Enterprise for Basic Foods (ENABAS). Fifty-five percent of the country's

rice, beans, and corn were distributed through ENABAS at government-controlled prices, making it extremely difficult for private merchants to charge more.

Big strides were made across the country last year in the field of health care, which accounted for more than 11 percent of the country's total budget. Forty-four health centers were built and construction began on five new hospitals. In 1981 more than a million people were vaccinated against polio, more than 400,000 against diphtheria, tetanus, and whooping cough, and 175,000 against measles. The Ministry of Health is providing scholarships to some 1,300 medical students studying inside and outside the country.

In 1981, the number of students — 1 million — was unprecedented. It meant that roughly 40 percent of the population was involved in one or another educational program, including over 200,000 adults. This is a big turnaround from the prerevolution days of 502,000 students of all ages.

Particular attention was paid last year to the Atlantic Coast region, which is geographically isolated from the more densely settled and developed west, taking note of the cultural differences between this region and the Pacific. The largest construction project in the country is a highway, being built with Cuban aid, to link the Atlantic Coast with Managua.

Almost 500 new schools were built in the region last year. Twenty-eight health centers have been built in this area since the revolution, not including the Miskitu resettlement project, Tasba Pry, where more than \$6 million has been contributed in development aid.

Tasba Pry is the new home of more than 7,000 Miskitu Indians who were relocated on an emergency basis to ensure their safety from counterrevolutionary attacks organized out of Honduras.

Nicaragua needs aid!

The accompanying article was written before the devastating floods that struck Nicaragua at the end of May. Those floods caused hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of damage and severely set back the country's efforts for economic construction.

Although many of the gains described in this article were not directly affected by the floods, others were. Roads, electrification projects, telephone lines, sewage systems, rail lines, and other construction projects suffered massive damage and will have to be rebuilt. In addition, much of Nicaragua's cropland was hit by the floods and will have to be replanted. The decline in agricultural income and the expense of rebuilding will put a heavy burden on an already hard-hit economy.

Nicaraguan leaders have appealed for

international aid in helping to overcome the flood damage. As the accompanying article makes clear, such aid will go to help the Nicaraguan people — not, as under Somoza, to a corrupt and brutal dictator and a handful of his friends.

In addition to financial aid, Nicaragua needs antibiotics and all other kinds of medicines; hospital supplies; food, including canned goods, rice, beans, sugar, and milk; 10,000 tents for refugees; clothing, blankets, baby bottles, and cooking utensils.

Governments, humanitarian relief organizations, churches, trade unions, women's groups, and other organizations should be urged to send funds as quickly as possible. Contributions can be sent to: Account No. 418-05-1113-2, Emergency Relief Fund, Banco Nacional de Desarrollo, Managua, Nicaragua.

While huge advances have been made for the Nicaraguan people, they still face enormous problems.

The rising price of imports and the drop in the prices of what Nicaragua exports have hurt industrial production, owing to lack of foreign currency to purchase raw materials and spare parts.

One factor that very strongly hampered progress in 1981 was the need to pour substantial funds into the nation's defense. In addition to a worldwide diplomatic offensive, the Sandinistas did everything in their power to safeguard the revolution from the threat of a direct U.S. invasion, or from one inspired by

Washington. Even U.S. Congressman Michael Barnes, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, has acknowledged that Reagan's actions against Nicaragua amount to "a virtual declaration of war."

The report from the junta, given by Dr. Rafael Córdova Rivas, was presented to the Council of State in early May. This legislative body of 49, mostly workers and peasants elected from the mass organizations (women's, union, youth, Indian), hailed the progress of the past year of the revolution and declared its intention to meet the challenges that lie ahead. □

Iran

Anger over hoarding mounts

Capitalist distribution imposes hardship on masses

By Miriam Daoud

[The following article appeared in the May 4 issue of *Hemmat* (Determination), the newspaper of the Workers Unity Party (HVK) of Iran. The HVK is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"If the past year was officially known as the Year of Legal Government, then the economic terrorists and the wide scope of their activity turned it into the "Year of Hoarding and Overpricing."

This truth, stated in the April 15 issue of *Ettela'at*, indicates the extent of the counter-revolutionary activity of the pillaging hoarders and capitalists. Innumerable goods, from general provisions to necessary spare parts, construction tools, and so on, are being hoarded. This underscores the point that hoarding and overpricing are among the most important issues facing the country and the revolution. They must be remedied without delay.

The hoarder's aim is nothing less than to plunder the masses of people and damage the revolution. Merchants create a black market and artificial price increases by taking advantage of the wartime conditions in the country. By storing away necessary commodities, they pocket a colossal profit.

But it is not only their immediate material interests that drive these counterrevolutionary capitalists. They seek to put the masses under as much economic pressure as possible. Like the imperialists, they want the revolution to face immense shortages and thus discourage the masses from continuing the struggle.

Widespread hoarding

Last year, for example, a huge quantity of goods needed by the people was discovered to have been hoarded. It included 5 tons of slaughtered chickens, 700 tons of onions, 21 tons of cheese, 20 tons of sugar, 50 tons of

tomato paste, and large quantities of wheat, sugar cubes, powdered sugar, and corn oil.

The hoarding of work tools, which the country needs more than ever to increase production levels, is another front on which the merchants and capitalists are doing their destructive and counterrevolutionary work. A telling example of this was the discovery of a large cache of plow blades reported in *Kayhan* last November.

But the crimes of the hoarders have a still greater scope. Greedy and counterrevolutionary merchants even hoard medical supplies needed at the war front. Thus they place themselves on the side of Saddam Hussein's invading regime. According to a report in *Kayhan* last October, 12,000 syringe tubes, 6,550 syringes, 300 units of serum, and a large quantity of medicines were discovered to have been hoarded in Zabol.

The destructive and hoarding capitalists, with their hands on the distribution channels, have sought to use their influence in the state apparatus and the laws that are on the books to give their criminal acts a legal mask.

Cost to society

One example of this was reported in *Sohb-e Azadegan* on February 1. Millions of rials [1 rial = US\$0.012] in goods, including 200 million rials' worth of high-quality pistachio nuts, more than 90 tons of peas, and 3,340 kilos of chicken, had rotted in the central warehouse of the Qods market and had to be destroyed. According to the report, Mr. Salehshur, acting manager of the market, used his legal position to deceive members of the Baseej [volunteer militia] who were in charge of protecting the security of warehouses.

On the same subject, the April 15 *Ettela'at* said: "Storing in government warehouses goods needed by the people is in fact a blatant form of hoarding, particularly when this goes on for months. The country's customs regula-

tions state that imported goods may be stored at customs for two to four months. It must be said that many importers deliberately postpone the release of their goods from customs as a way of hoarding them legally."

The file of complaints against hoarders becomes thicker every day. According to Mahmoudi Ashteyani, chief of the second branch of the Court of Guild Affairs, his court receives some 100 complaints about hoarding every day. This is just one indication of the severity of the problem and the lack of an effective response to the hoarders.

The first step should be the immediate arrest and punishment of hoarders and the confiscation of all their capital by the state. At a time when the country's youth do not flinch from shedding their blood to defend and continue the revolution, how is it possible to ignore the profiteering and sabotage of the counter-revolutionary merchants?

But an effective response requires cutting off the merchant's hands from the channels of distribution. This means a state monopoly over the distribution of basic necessities, implemented under the control of the mass organizations. Government spokesman Mr. Behzad Nabavi, admitting the ineffectiveness of the regime's current tactics against hoarding, has said, "This problem will not be solved by arresting a few hoarders; rather, the state must look at the basic means of distribution" (*Ettela'at*, April 17).

Need to mobilize toilers

At present, commerce consists of a large number of hoarders who import necessary items from abroad and then take advantage of various laws — such as the customs regulations — to hoard "legally." In response, foreign trade must be put totally into the hands of the government — that is, nationalized. All laws that enable merchants to hoard should be abolished. For a decisive battle against the hoarders, it is necessary to mobilize the workers and toilers in a mass struggle against this destructive practice.

Despite a positive plan for the just distribution of basic goods, many items such as rice and cigarettes are still sold on the free market at a price several times higher than the regulated price. Therefore, in addition to a monopoly on the distribution of all basic goods by the state, it is necessary to prevent the continuation of profiteering and the abuse of the state apparatus by providing resources for organizing the workers *shoras* [committees] and those in the countryside and neighborhoods to control distribution. In this way, the workers and toilers can make known who is hoarding and bring them to justice according to the law.

Only through mass mobilizations of the workers and toilers, and the strengthening of their independent organizations, can a decisive struggle be organized against hoarding. In this way, the hands of the destructive capitalists — these allies of the imperialists — can be cut away from the country's economy in this time of war and revolution. □

Belaúnde regime attacks human rights

Interview with member of parliament Javier Diez Canseco

[The following is an interview with Javier Diez Canseco, a deputy in the Peruvian parliament from the Left Unity (IU) coalition and vice-president of the Human Rights Commission of the Chamber of Deputies. *Intercontinental Press* interviewed Diez Canseco in New York on May 18, while he was on a visit to the United States to publicize violations of human rights by the regime of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry. The interview was conducted in Spanish; the translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. One of the themes of your current visit to the United States is that there is a big difference between the image usually presented abroad of the current Peruvian regime — that it is democratic, progressive, respects human rights, and so on — and the reality that the masses of the country face every day. Perhaps we should begin on this point . . .

Answer. I think this image of the Peruvian government is based on the fact that it is the first elected government after 12 years of military rule. It is very easy to produce such confusion in those countries where elections are identified with democracy.

While the Belaúnde government has come after 12 years of military rule, it does not represent a truly democratic force.

First of all, it has not taken up or solved the principal economic problems of our people. Before, inflation was very high; under the current government inflation has remained at 75 or 80 percent for the past two years, and in 1982 it will be 80 percent or higher. Before, the dollar was valued at 240 soles; 19 months later, it stands at 610 soles. There has been a rapid currency devaluation.

This government has not solved the problem of jobs, of underemployment. At present, nearly 63 percent of the economically active population of the country remains less than fully employed. What is more, this government is cutting state spending on social services to unprecedented levels. It is transferring government hospitals to the social security system, which covers only 20 percent of the working population. This is in order to repay debts the state owes to social security. It will leave a substantial sector of the population without medical care.

More than 52 percent of the national budget goes for military spending or to service the foreign debt.

This is not a progressive policy. And its effects do not benefit the people. There are reasons for this policy, however. The govern-

ment believes in the "supply side" theory. It is stepping up the export of traditional products, seeking to return our country to the condition of a raw-materials exporter while giving up the little industrial capacity that we had and doing away with the minimal degree of independence that we had achieved.

The government is also trying to reduce the role of the state in the economy and return to the private sector the productive enterprises owned by the state. Its policy is to reduce taxes on the big national and foreign corporations, while at the same time claiming that there are no funds to maintain price subsidies on basic consumer goods. The latter are being eliminated once and for all.

Finally, this government is almost unconditionally subordinated to the International Monetary Fund, with which it has signed an agreement for an "extended fund facility" of \$960 million. This pact imposes very harsh conditions on our people.

It is evident that such an economic policy can be applied only through mounting repression. Thus, while our ruler does not wear a uniform, his method is becoming more and more dictatorial.

Legislative power is being concentrated in the hands of the executive. For every law adopted by parliament, six are decreed by the council of ministers. The government is wresting control over the judicial branch, subordinating it to the decisions of the executive and dismissing the judges who fail to go along with the regime's policies. Laws and constitutional provisions are being violated in order to repress more effectively all forms of opposition and force the people to accept the government's economic policy out of fear.

All this is leading to a situation that is quite distinct from democracy. Trade-union rights and the right to strike are being curtailed. Wage increases that the government was once obliged to grant are being blocked. The workers' ability to mobilize is being restricted — many strikes have been declared illegal and permits for popular demonstrations are denied. The police often use their weapons to repress such actions.

There have been many cases of bloody repression. The most recent was against the struggle of the peasants of Tarapoto, who were demanding better prices for their corn. Seven were killed and 28 wounded by the police there. We can also point to Cuzco province, where leaders of the peasant movement have been killed.

The police apparatus is using torture more and more systematically, and the government tolerates this. Several persons have already

fallen victim to torture in police stations. Antonio Ayerbe, a student, was beaten to death by the police in a Cuzco jail. A number of women have been raped during police operations. The most notorious case was that of Georgina Gamboa, 16 years old, who was raped by six police officers and held four months in a jail for adults.

There have also been cases of killings during police raids on private homes without search warrants. In the village of Moyobamba, a young peasant, Reymundo Mitma Reyes, was killed when the police simply broke down the door of his house and machine-gunned the first person to move.

This entire situation is one in which the government wants to impose its economic policy on our people, but is running up against significant popular resistance. A government with such an economic policy, one that attacks human rights in such a way, cannot really be a democratic government, even if it originated in an election. Even less, if it is a government that is more and more dependent on the military. Beneath its civilian suit and tie one can begin to see the army boots that are coming to dominate the situation in the interior of the country.

Q. The government claims to be fighting "terrorism" and has decreed an "antiterrorist law." What can you tell us about this?

A. The desperation brought on by Peru's economic situation has given rise to various forms of popular protest. In this context, a small group called Sendero Luminoso [Shining Pathway] has carried out armed actions using dynamite. It has attacked various commercial establishments and Civil Guard posts. More recently, it attacked a prison in Ayacucho and released some detainees.

In my opinion, Sendero Luminoso is a dogmatic and sectarian group. It arose out of the university milieu and is quite isolated. It cannot represent a real alternative for the country. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that this group expresses popular protest in a certain way, especially in Ayacucho, one of the most impoverished areas of the country.

Some rather amateurish actions of this group, along with the activities of some right-wing paramilitary bands, were taken as the pretext when the government adopted Decree 046, known as the "antiterrorist law." The law was imposed by the council of ministers, not voted on by parliament.

The fundamental aim of this law is to repress all forms of opposition to the government. It outlaws not only terrorist acts but also "inten-

tions." The first article of the law states that anyone who "intends to" provoke fear or terror among the population, carries out actions "aimed at" destroying some public building or means of communication, uses "means capable of" affecting national security or international relations, and so on, will be subject to 10-20 years' imprisonment.

In other words, the law is basically aimed at one's intentions, not at concrete actions. And it has already been applied against opponents of the government.

Six or seven leaders of the Cuzco construction workers union were jailed and accused of terrorism under this law. Some of them were brutally tortured and confessions were extracted. Nine months later, after a trial and two province-wide strikes, they were acquitted. It was proven that they had been forced to confess and that they could not have committed the acts of which they were accused.

A municipal council member from a Lima district, Isidro Quiroz, was also falsely accused of committing a terrorist act. After Quiroz had been in jail for 10 months, the accuser admitted in court that he had been lying. But Isidro Quiroz remains in prison.

Worker and peasant leaders from various parts of the country have been charged under this law. It has been used to repress not only the left but all of the opposition forces.

Freedom of thought and expression are also threatened under the antiterrorist law. There are provisions calling for lengthy jail terms for all who publicly defend someone sentenced for terrorism. This is quite serious, especially when applied by a judicial system that is totally prejudiced. It has been revealed in Peru that the nation's attorney general distributed a circular to all local prosecutors ordering them to reject all orders for the release of detainees accused of terrorism.

At present there must be at least 500 persons in jail in Peru, accused either under Decree 046 or for disturbing public order. In an unprecedented abuse, the government is concentrating all these prisoners in Lima. It has even reopened the notorious island prison of El Frontón, which had been closed. Nearly all of Peru's political prisoners in the past have been held there — including Armando Villanueva del Campo of APRA* and Hugo Blanco.

The trials of many of these persons were to have been held in the provinces. By moving the trials to Lima it will be impossible to reconstruct the events that supposedly took place, present the proper witnesses, and so on.

Attacks are also taking place under the provision of the antiterrorist law that allows the police to hold a prisoner for 15 days without bringing him or her before a judge. Those 15 days are often a living hell, in which the most varied forms of torture are applied. In many cases the prisoner is denied access to a lawyer.

Q. Have there been cases of extralegal re-

*APRA — American People's Revolutionary Alliance, the main bourgeois opposition party in Peru.

pression, of the kind we see practiced by the death squads in El Salvador and Guatemala?

A. There are two aspects of this that should be pointed out. First is an open campaign of death threats against members of parliament and opposition leaders. This psychological terrorism has an organizational basis in some right-wing groups. The editor of the main leftist newspaper *El Diario de Marka*, has been threatened with death. Several members of parliament — Rolando Breña, Hugo Blanco, and myself — have received threatening letters or telephone calls. The aim is to create a climate in which actions of this kind could be justified.

There have also been concrete events. The most serious was the murder of three young prisoners who had been hospitalized in Ayacucho. Before dawn on March 13, after an attack on the city and the local prison by Sendero Luminoso, a group of police from the Republican Guards, the Civil Guards, and the political police went to the hospital and seized these youths from their beds. They were recovering from broken bones or recent surgery. They were brutally beaten and machine-gunned at the door of the hospital. A fourth was hanged in his own bed and left for dead.

These young men — Amílcar Urbay, Jimmy Wensjoe, and Carlos Alcántara — were victims of the police terror that is beginning to arise in our country. Their murderers have not been duly punished, despite the fact that the government has had to bring the case before the courts. As of now there has not been one arrest in this case.

So this shows how there is a tendency toward such repression in Peru as well. Close attention should be paid to it.

Q. How have people responded to the mounting repression?

A. The response has been to repudiate such repression and demand the punishment of those responsible. There were demonstrations in the city of Ayacucho, for example, when the three murdered youths were buried. The trade-union and popular organizations have included in their platforms demands for the punishment of those responsible.

More generally, there is resistance to the government's economic policy on the part of various classes of society. A broad array of social forces are being affected by the government's policy. This is particularly so in the provinces, in the interior of the country. United fronts have arisen in many areas. These include trade unions, peasant groups, shantytown dwellers, youth, students, teachers, lawyers and other professionals, local officials, church groups, and opposition political parties. All are acting together. Often, popular assemblies or town meetings called by the local governments draw up lists of demands to be presented to the central government. These assemblies then decide on the forms of struggle to be applied in winning these demands.

These forms of organization, which have

come to be called the "fronts to defend the interests of the people," are spreading. They undoubtedly constitute an important grassroots form that arises out of the experience of the popular movement itself. We think this form of political organization, of struggle, is going to play a big role in the revolutionary transformation of our country.

Q. Does the Human Rights Commission of the Chamber of Deputies play a role in the fight against repression?

A. Of course, the majority of the commission is made up of deputies from the government party. Nonetheless, it is a multiparty institution through which it has been possible to carry out work.

Those of us from the opposition parties have been quite active in exercising vigilance over the human-rights situation in the country. We have prepared many reports at the request of the popular organizations.

Our commission receives some 600 to 800 complaints each year concerning police abuses or violations of trade-union or political rights. Some of these are quite serious. We have carried out investigations — the death of the students in Ayacucho; repressive operations in the countryside; false accusations of terrorism, as in the case of the Cuzco construction workers.

We have traveled to various parts of the country seeking to clarify these situations and in that way help to give voice to the popular protest. We also try to use our parliamentary work to improve the organization, level of consciousness, and capacity for struggle of the popular movement in Peru.

Q. Finally, could you tell us how the workers movement and defenders of human rights in the United States and other countries can lend solidarity to the people of Peru?

A. During this visit to the United States I have found that there is very little knowledge of what is happening in Peru. Most organizations have very little information, but besides that there is the notion that one must pay attention above all to the "hot countries." In other words, that it is necessary to wait until a situation becomes really critical before doing something about it.

I think this would be a big mistake. While it is unquestionable that one must pay special attention to the "hot spots" like Central America — El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua are fundamental places for solidarity work in the present circumstances — one must also look at other places where processes are maturing. In South America I think this means Brazil and Peru, two countries that are of primary importance in terms of the political processes they are going through.

I think it is wrong to wait until there has been a defeat of a popular movement in order to then express solidarity.

The best kind of solidarity is that which

makes possible, or aids, the victory of the people's cause. The popular movements of each of our countries will achieve their own victories. But international solidarity can help these triumphs be less costly, less difficult, less bloody.

In this sense, we hope solidarity work can be

developed in the United States. The U.S. government exercises immense influence on the Peruvian government, to such a degree that Peru is the only country in which a vice-president is also the ambassador in Washington. So it is very important to put pressure on the U.S. government. □

Denmark

SAP holds its third congress

Plans work in unions, peace movement, among youth

By Mogens Pedersen

COPENHAGEN — The Socialist Workers Party (SAP), the Danish section of the Fourth International, held its third national congress here May 7-9. The Congress established three main tasks for the party in the coming period:

- Work in the trade-union movement to strengthen the struggle against unemployment and austerity.
- Activities against the militarization campaign of the imperialists.
- Support for the construction of the Socialist Youth League (SUF).

The period from the autumn of 1982 to March-April 1983 in Denmark will be marked by the negotiations for new contracts. They are conducted every second year; the negotiations are carried out simultaneously, and to some extent in common, by the most important trade unions, which gives the struggle for new contracts great political importance. These negotiations will be conducted at a time when unemployment has hit 10 percent, and after five years of constant deterioration of real wages.

One main activity of the SAP will be a campaign for reduction of the workweek to 35 hours without any reduction in wages or speedup. This demand has been raised by many trade unions, but no struggle has been organized around it. The SAP will stress the central importance of the 35-hour demand for a political counteroffensive by the working class in the struggle against unemployment.

The campaign will stress the importance of this demand for all parts of the working class: employed and unemployed, young workers and old workers, men and women, Danish workers and foreign workers.

This campaign is part of the struggle to build a class-struggle left wing in the trade-union movement — it is a part of the struggle to transform the trade unions into democratic organizations that fight for the interests of the workers.

The employers and the bourgeois parties in parliament will attempt to use the negotiations for new contracts to sharpen the attacks on real wages. They will try to smash "automatic" wage increases, the insufficient cost-of-living adjustment, and the right of many workers to open supplementary local wage negotiations

every three or six months. Therefore it is necessary for the trade unions to organize a counterattack centered on the demand for a 100 percent cost-of-living adjustment.

The struggle for new contracts will probably be accompanied by some turmoil in parliament. Denmark is governed by a social democratic minority government. There is a majority in parliament for the bourgeois parties. But the most important result of the December 1981 elections was the substantial gains of the Socialist People's Party (SF), a left-reformist party.

The vote for SF was an expression of the desire of important parts of the working class that the social democrats stop their collaboration with the bourgeois parties and that the working-class parties struggle together to defend the interests of the working population. The problem is that SF does not want to — and cannot — exploit this development to organize united actions by the workers in the workplaces, in the trade unions, and among the working-class parties for concrete demands that could bring positive results in the struggle against unemployment and deterioration of real wages.

Therefore, a central task for the SAP is to take initiatives to organize the trade unions in the factories and regionally to demand the working-class parties in parliament support the struggle for new contracts.

It is also necessary that these working-class parties use their positions in parliament to engage in initiatives to fight unemployment. First of all, they have to stop subsidizing the employers. They have to initiate a comprehensive plan for useful public works, and take steps to nationalize banks, credit institutions, and important factories. That is, they have to confront the bourgeois parties with the purpose of establishing a government that is a workers government not only in name, but in fact.

At its congress, the SAP decided to strengthen its activities in the ongoing struggle against imperialist armaments. During the last two years broad protests have been organized — including a demonstration of 50,000 — against the latest steps in NATO's armament policy. U.S. imperialism is leading this aggressive arms buildup, but the Danish government is going along with it, in spite of hesitation, a

certain dislike, and some protests.

The mobilizations have been based on three main demands:

1. Against installment of the 572 new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe.
2. Against bases and facilities for NATO troops in Denmark. (The government has accepted a NATO plan for strengthening Denmark militarily in any so-called crisis situation. In such a situation — which is not what NATO calls a "war situation" — 30,000 to 40,000 British and U.S. troops are to be stationed in Denmark.)

3. For a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries. (There is supposedly agreement that there should be no nuclear weapons in Denmark in "peace time," but the British and U.S. troops that are to be brought in during a "crisis situation" can bring nuclear weapons.)

The SAP will be involved in activities to strengthen the struggle against this imperialist arms buildup: in the workplaces and in the trade unions, among the youth, and in the broad antinuclear organization, No to Nuclear Weapons (NTA). At the same time, the SAP will stress that those responsible for the arms buildup and war drive are the imperialist bourgeoisies, primarily in the NATO countries. Therefore, the United States and the other imperialist powers should be confronted with demands for unilateral disarmament.

The SAP will be active in developing both the struggle against the armament policy of the imperialists and against their austerity policy. It will underline the connection between these struggles, for example by propagating slogans such as "jobs and education — not bombs and missiles."

The Socialist Youth League is in the process of consolidating a national, revolutionary youth organization in political solidarity with the Fourth International. Local chapters exist in several towns in different parts of the country. The main priorities for the activities of the SUF are the struggle against unemployment and armament.

It is an important task of the SAP to collaborate with the SUF and support its construction.

Finally, a special task for the SAP in the coming months is the collection of 25,000 signatures to enable it to win a spot on the ballot in the next general elections for parliament.

The third congress of the SAP was addressed by a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, as well as by representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador and Solidarity in Poland. For the SAP, it is an ongoing and important task to strengthen solidarity with the Polish workers in their struggle against the bureaucracy and with the revolution in El Salvador and throughout Central America and the Caribbean. □

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Argentina's case on the Malvinas

Costa Méndez speaks at meeting of Nonaligned Movement

[The following speech by Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Méndez was given in Havana June 3 to the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. Costa Méndez's speech was a dramatic indication of the shift that has taken place in the stance of the Argentine government toward imperialism as a result of the pressures generated by Britain's war of aggression. The speech was televised in Argentina and was printed in major newspapers. The text of the speech is taken from the June 4 issue of the Spanish-language *Granma* daily, published in Havana. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Mr. Foreign Minister of the Republic of Cuba;
Foreign Ministers and members of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries;
Delegates:

First of all I would like to express my happiness and satisfaction at being in the Republic of Cuba, pride of the Caribbean and decisive participant in the birth and development of Hispano-American civilization. Cuba has therefore been united with my country throughout its history by the closest economic, political, and cultural ties.

Gentlemen: José Martí, the Cuban hero, was perhaps the consummate exponent of this history, of this intense cultural and human relationship that unites the two nations. José Martí was a journalist for Buenos Aires dailies.

I also salute, in the host country, one of the most outstanding members of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, to which Cuba has belonged since the movement's origins, and in which it has played such an important part.

The Argentine Republic has participated in the work of this movement since 1964, first as an observer and then as a full member. And today it comes here, facing exceptional circumstances in its life, to reaffirm the fundamental principles and aims of this movement.

Mr. President: at this time my country is fighting against the military and colonial aggression of the United Kingdom, which today is aided by the United States of America.

I must, Mr. President, now clearly explain why we are in this situation.

I want to speak the truth as it emerges from the events, without any commentary.

We have been accused of having made use of force. As I shall take up again later, it was Great Britain that used force 149 years ago. It is Great Britain that today continues using force.

It is Great Britain that brought us to this situation. When peaceful Argentine workers were found on the Georgia Islands engaged in legitimate work with the full knowledge of Great Britain, it was Great Britain that sent us a note signed by Lord Carrington, who was then foreign minister of Great Britain, a note written and conceived in phrases of the most orthodox colonialism, of the most orthodox imperialism.

In this note we were told the following:

"You must withdraw the workers from the Georgia Islands without delay. If not, the *Endurance*, a British warship, will immediately," and I stress the adverb, "immediately pick them up and take them wherever it sees fit."

But, in addition to this, it announced that it had sent nuclear submarines to the region, and it announced that warships would also go to the region.

This, gentlemen, is a clear use of the threat of force, which is prohibited by the United Nations Charter and by all the principles that the member countries of the Nonaligned Movement have ratified year after year.

In face of this threat, in face of the threat of the arrival of warships and nuclear submarines, Argentina limited itself — in an action that was exemplary in its peacefulness, in which not a single drop of the occupiers' blood was shed — it limited itself to occupying its own territory: territory that the Latin American countries had said belonged to Argentina, that the Nonaligned Movement, in Colombo and Lima, had said belonged to it.

Does this constitute use of force? There can be no doubt that Great Britain has been the first to resort to force in occupying the islands, which are, as I said, without any doubt part of our national territory. As I have also stated previously in the Security Council, this British usurpation was maintained since then, and day after day this initial act, which was both illegitimate and violent, was repeated — because beneath the apparent calm and placidity of colonial possession there always lay a basic and necessary element: force to maintain it.

The imperial gendarme was always there, the punitive expedition was always ready, as has now been seen. There was always the threat of punishment against any who would dare challenge the imperial order.

As you know well, gentlemen, the present structure of international relations has not eliminated the use of force. Many times it has limited itself to hiding the use of force. Colonialism is an act of force and is an ongoing aggression. It is the opposite of real peace.

Many peoples, many nations of our movement can provide testimony, sometimes painful testimony, to this truth. Colonialism is the opposite of real peace. It has been, and will be as long as it exists, something that causes conflicts and violence.

The international community declared that the maintenance of colonialism is a crime. And one of the historic reasons for the existence of this movement, the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries, one of its fundamental principles, was the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, and every other form of foreign domination.

That is why we are here today speaking our truth.

The United Kingdom violated this fundamental principle to the detriment of my country and cut off a part of Argentina's territory. And today the United Kingdom continues its criminal attitude by trying to recover that territory by force.

Mrs. Thatcher has said that aggression must not be rewarded. I would ask you: what would the history of Great Britain, and perhaps the history of the world, have been like if this truth had been applied during the 19th century and during the 20th century to Great Britain's conduct? Aggression must not be rewarded. But Great Britain never applied this truth to its conduct. Nor did the United States of America apply it.

Yes, gentlemen, they say that aggression must not be rewarded. And this is precisely what the Argentine Republic seeks after standing powerlessly through 149 years of occupation of the islands by Great Britain stemming specifically from an act of aggression that is today being replayed, 149 years later.

Mr. President: all this means that supposed transgressions of form are being condemned in order to divert attention from the substance. The present repetition of the principles of this case is, with obvious bad faith, being used to obscure the true nature of the events.

It should be very clear that the Argentine Republic has never rejected the path of dialogue in order to solve controversies. Proof of this was the peaceful appeal that my country made for nearly a century and a half to the United Kingdom, calling on it to transfer the territories from its illegal occupation. And proof was provided by the fruitless dialogue that Argentina maintained for 17 years in the United Nations framework.

I repeat: my country is not in agreement with the use of force to change borders, to add to territories, or to pursue objectives of domination.

In its 172 years of existence, Argentina has never used force in a

border problem, to extend its territory, or to solve any diplomatic controversy.

But neither can Argentina agree that this principle be unjustly used so that the perpetrators of flagrant abuses should indefinitely continue usurping the benefits of their spoils. On the contrary, how can we explain the struggle initiated many years ago in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa to eliminate colonialism and to permit the rise to independence of free nations with full possession of their sovereignty and territorial integrity? This struggle, the struggle against colonial domination, took place and continues to unfold because it has been the legitimate reaction of peoples against the preservation of a system of international relations aimed at perpetuating a status quo that is illegitimate, that is unjust, and from which only the colonialist and imperialist powers benefit.

Force has been used to maintain this status quo.

The great majority of the countries that today form part of this movement won their independence through struggles similar to ours, to the one we are waging today for the Malvinas. This was also the way the Argentine Republic and the other countries of America won 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 their full rights to an independent life.

This is also the same struggle 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, and Argentina has recognized the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to independence, and to establish a sovereign state.

It clearly reaffirmed this in the Emergency Assembly of the United Nations in 1980, and repeated it this year in 1982. There is no doubt about it.

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

Would they perhaps have gained independence if they had remained submissively respectful toward a legal order imposed by the colonial powers? History answers this, and it answers unambiguously. It says: No!

The situation my country faces today belongs almost to a prehistoric age because it involves a struggle against one of the last vestiges of colonialism in America.

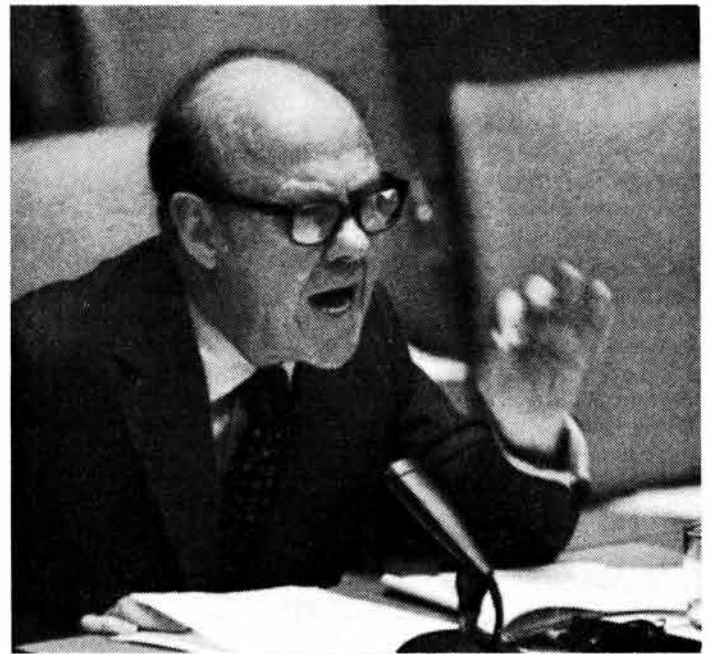
The consequences flowing from a reinstatement of British domination over the islands would be very clear.

We would certainly find ourselves facing the establishment of a new neocolonial system. They are already thinking, and they are already openly saying that they would have to set up military pacts and establish a security system in the South Atlantic, naturally with participation of the United States and South Africa. And this, as you well know, would gravely affect the peace, the security, the independence, and the development of all the coastal states of Latin America and southwestern Africa, which naturally would not be admitted to this alliance, nor would they want to belong. (APPLAUSE)

This would be an unacceptable manifestation of the political and military expansionism of these great powers. In addition it would be a repetition of experiences that are already well known, very well known, very well known indeed by the nonaligned countries. I am referring concretely to the military presence of the great powers, and of the United States in particular, at the Guantánamo Naval Base [in Cuba] and on the island of Diego García [in the Indian Ocean], which is so similar in many of its aspects to the case of the Malvinas.

On the island of Diego García, Great Britain, which is today so zealous about the principle of self-determination, saw not the slightest problem in moving an entire population in order to cede this island to the United States for completely clear military purposes. I am also referring to [the military presence on] Ascension Island, the consequences of which we are suffering in an absolutely direct form.

Gentlemen: I want to make it very clear to this forum of the nonaligned countries that the Argentine Republic will not consent in any form to



COSTA MÉNDEZ

the establishment of military bases, it will not consent in any form to the establishment of military bases or to the stationing of forces on the Malvinas Islands that are not forces of its own nationality and exclusively aimed at the defense of its territory.

Mr. President; gentlemen: my mention of the establishment of military bases is not some rhetorical appeal that I am making before you. Through statements, which have not been denied, by its principal representatives — its prime minister, its foreign minister — the United Kingdom has made this proposal very clearly and has left no room for any doubt.

Another principle has been used to discredit the Argentine Republic. It has been said that Argentina does not recognize the right of self-determination. For the United Kingdom to set itself up as the defender of this right, which it has always denied until the moment when the weight of historical evolution has forced it to give liberty to many of the peoples who formed part of that empire, is an attitude whose cynicism I would venture to stress.

This assertion is neither capricious nor arbitrary. Great Britain follows a path, in real terms, that clearly violates the right of self-determination of peoples when it feels its selfish interests are affected. It should suffice to note its traditional position in the sphere of international relations, its international position in the General Assembly of the United Nations, in the Security Council.

Among the nations of Asia and Africa there have been victims of this policy of denial of the principle of self-determination.

For its part, the Argentine Republic, which is independent precisely because it used the principle of self-determination, has always been a clear defender of this right — and I would say it has been one since even before the creation of this movement. The principle is inscribed in Argentina's foreign policy and it is inscribed in the charters and in the declarations of the Latin American countries.

I need only mention the emancipating campaigns by the founders of my country who brought self-determination to other Latin American nations in the past century, and the conduct in this regard that the governments of the Argentine Republic, without any ideological or political distinction, have followed from then until now.

The United Kingdom has invoked defense of the right to self-determination of the 1,800 inhabitants of the Malvinas Islands. I cannot help but point out that in this special and particular case the Argentine Republic cannot recognize the right to self-determination inasmuch as the original Argentine authorities and population were expelled by the British aggressor and deprived of any chance to return to the islands.

That is: if the right of the peoples of the islands to self-determination were conceded, this would involve the self-determination of the colonizers, who would be given the opportunity to legitimize their installation by force in a territory that is not theirs.

All the nations of the world have with good will and historical rigor interpreted free determination to be an inalienable right of the peoples that is directed at accelerating emancipation from the colonial system.

This is the real sense of self-determination: to accelerate independence and emancipation from the colonial system.

The right to self-determination in the case of the Malvinas is nothing more than a false facade to hide the real colonial structure that exists in these islands. The inhabitants there can decide very little, because the inhabitants have very, very little.

A single company with a colonial and monopolistic structure, the Falkland Islands Co., whose structure and charter comes from the time of Queen Victoria, holds 46 percent of the land and 90 percent of the business. The remaining 54 percent of the land belongs to 23 owners, the majority of whom do not reside on the islands.

Is this the local population that can exercise self-determination? As I said, the land, the trade, the transportation between islands, the communications, and almost all the fundamental economic aspects in the life of the islands are controlled by people who do not live on them. This corresponds, gentlemen, to the most orthodox colonial life.

The inhabitants are kept content by giving them rights, more apparent than real, to make decisions, while a single company and a handful of people control the life of the islands.

However, gentlemen: here, something else is decisive. Argentina has never been unmindful of the legitimate rights of the inhabitants of the Malvinas to a life of dignity within the framework of their traditions, beliefs, and customs. And it has formally stated this in all the forums it has attended.

Gentlemen, there is more. The most notable improvements in the living standards of the islands are due to initiatives and actions taken by Argentina. The airline, the shipping line, the oil, the gas, the most essential foods, the medicines, they all come from Argentina, because the islands are Argentine, because they lie alongside Argentina, because they are geographically part of Argentina.

The Argentine attitude was recognized by the General Assembly of the United Nations in two different circumstances: in Resolution 3160 and Resolution 31/49.

What did the Assembly say there? It said it congratulated Argentina for its contribution to the well-being and development of the islands. This has probably been ignored in many international forums.

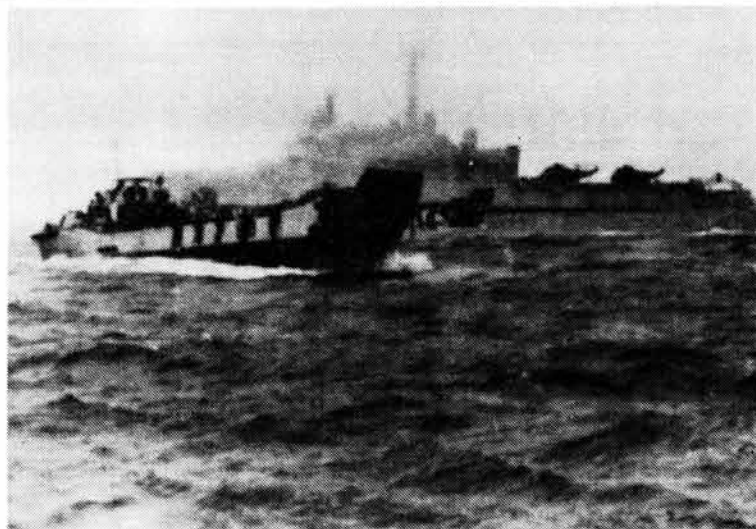
Argentina has not denied a single one of the legitimate rights of the inhabitants of the Malvinas and it is ready to provide the guarantees requested to assure this.

And this flows from reality, from the entire geographic reality: since the times of independence these islands belonged to the sovereign dominion of the Argentine Republic. It inherited them from Spain and no one has ever questioned this legitimate right. Therefore these islands do not belong to those casual and usurping inhabitants; these islands have always belonged to the sovereign domain of the Argentine Republic.

The curious thing in this case is that the people whom Great Britain claims are qualified to decide the fate of the island group are, in their majority — and I emphasize this aspect — are in their majority dependent on those who really exert economic and political control over the islands from London. And this is the curious form of self-determination that Great Britain proposes.

Gentlemen, what we are asking in this assembly is quite simple: the participants in the conference can repeat what was already said at the First Summit Conference of Chiefs of State: "The participants in the Conference call for the immediate cessation of any occupation of a colonial character and the restitution of the territorial integrity to the legitimate people in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America where such violations may have taken place, as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil."

Gentlemen, this declaration of the First Summit Conference of Chiefs of State, held in Belgrade in 1961, would seem to have been conceived



British boats landing troops on the Malvinas.

for the case of the Malvinas, and can be repeated today virtually without adding even a comma.

Mr. President: from its beginning, the United Kingdom's armed aggression was accompanied and supported by illegal coercive measures of an economic nature, applied by the majority of the principal members of the European Economic Community, as well as by the United States, and also by other Western powers in a form and to an extent without precedent.

Have these same Western powers perhaps applied similar measures against other countries, like South Africa, which have repeatedly violated and are still violating basic principles of international behavior, in particular the right of neighboring peoples to self-determination and of neighboring states to territorial integrity? Why this difference? Why sanctions against Argentina and no sanctions against South Africa?

The Argentine Republic can in no way accept these coercive measures as sanctions since we have not committed any crime. They are simply illegal and arbitrary decisions aimed at aiding and abetting colonial aggression. They are sanctions that violate the Charter of Economic Duties and Rights of the states and clearly show — and I stress this — that unless these injustices are corrected, the North-South dialogue has been constituted as a real fraud.

This economic aggression that we are suffering is an obvious example of the policy that the countries of the North adopt when actions around the demands of the developing countries affect their selfish interests.

Mr. President: the Argentine Republic, in this grave historic situation, has come here, within the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, to clearly expound the truth and justice of its cause.

We are certainly most warmly grateful for the support we have received from the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in our struggle for our demands, from the time of the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Nonaligned Countries in 1975 up to the present. But today we repeat, with true passion, our request for support in this most dangerous moment, not for Argentina, not only for Argentina, but for Latin America and for the entire movement.

We repeat our request for support and understanding of our cause. This is not only the cause of a government, nor is it only the cause of the Argentine people. It is the struggle of all the peoples of Latin America for an American territory. It is the struggle of all those, like those present in this hall, who have confronted or are confronting colonial aggression to any extent, in any form.

Argentina promises to act in defense of the principles and purposes of the nonaligned, which are simply the principles that aim to establish a system of international relations based on justice, on peace, and on the development of peoples, and Argentina is sure that it will receive from this assembly the aid and the support that will permit it to maintain its territory intact and untouched.

Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE) □

U.S. military gets new bases

Reagan tries to bolster King Hassan

By Will Reissner

On May 27 the Reagan administration and King Hassan of Morocco concluded an agreement giving the Pentagon use of two Moroccan military airfields. Such installations could be crucial in any U.S. military intervention in the Middle East or Africa.

The document itself was not made public — an indication that the Moroccan regime is nervous about reaction to the deal.

In return for Moroccan agreement to allow the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) to use the air bases, Reagan has asked congress to provide \$100 million in military sales credits for Hassan's government, which is bogged down in a desert war in the Western Sahara, where Moroccan troops are fighting against the liberation forces of the Polisario Front.

The Reagan administration will also ask for \$20 million specifically to upgrade bases the RDF will use in Morocco.

The agreement is the latest in a series of moves to provide the Rapid Deployment Force with facilities throughout the Middle East. Similar agreements have been reached with the governments of Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, and Oman.

Human rights violations

One week before the agreement with Hassan was signed, Amnesty International released a report detailing human rights violations in Morocco and charging that authorities are holding political prisoners incommunicado and torturing them.

According to the June 1982 issue of *Amnesty Action*, the publication of the U.S. chapter, "more than 100 people identified by AI as prisoners of conscience have been in prison for at least five years. In addition, a fair trial has been denied to many of the hundreds convicted in the past year after confrontations in June 1981 between striking workers and security forces."

The report also lists some 90 people whose arrests have never been acknowledged but who were seized by security forces in southern Morocco since the start of the war against Polisario in 1975. Amnesty International added that it "believes the real total of people who 'disappeared' after being seized in Morocco is substantially higher."

Hassan's role

Washington, however, is unconcerned about Hassan's dictatorial rule because of his support for U.S. policies in the Middle East and Africa. He played a major role in arranging the initial meetings between Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat that led to the U.S.-sponsored

Camp David accords.

In addition, at the urging of the Carter administration and David Rockefeller, Hassan provided sanctuary for the deposed shah of Iran, whose son now lives in the Moroccan capital, Rabat.

Hassan has also provided important services as a defender of imperialist interests in Africa. In 1977 and again in 1978 he sent 1,500 Moroccan troops, transported by U.S. aircraft, to Zaïre to put down revolts by opponents of the Mobutu dictatorship.

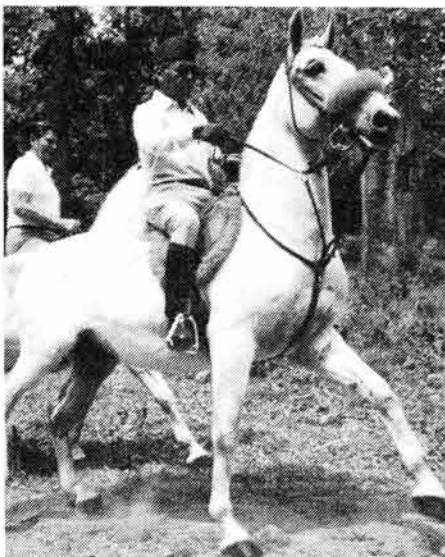
The Moroccan military has also played an important part in the U.S.-South African campaign to destabilize Angola. Hassan's army has provided training and weapons for the rightist guerrillas of Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

'Count on us'

The Reagan administration has been outspoken in its support for the Moroccan monarchy. The current U.S. ambassador, Joseph Reed, has on a number of occasions publicly assured Hassan: "Count on us; we are with you." Reed is a former vice-president of David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank and had previously been Rockefeller's liaison with Hassan and the shah.

The U.S. ambassador has vowed to bring all of U.S. influence in Morocco to bear in bolstering the monarchy, including the "entire diplomatic spectrum — from the Peace Corps to the C.I.A."

A steady stream of high-ranking U.S. officials has been to Rabat since the end of last



Reagan and King Hassan during Hassan's visit to Washington in May.

year. Hassan has been visited by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, then-CIA Deputy Director Bobby Inman, Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Defense Intelligence Agency chief Gen. James Williams, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Charles Percy, Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Thomas Hayward, and Vernon Walters, formerly deputy director of the CIA and now one of Haig's chief lieutenants.

Hassan has also been visited by such "private citizens" as Richard Nixon, who visited Morocco twice in less than six months, and David Rockefeller, who was last in Rabat in March.

All this high-level concern over the state of the Moroccan monarchy is well-founded. The country is staggering under the combined burden of the continuing war in the Western Sahara and a calamitous economic situation brought on by a combination of the costs of the war as well as a severe drought and slumping export prices.

In March 1981 Morocco received a \$988 million rescue loan from the International Monetary Fund, the second largest such loan in the IMF's history. In return, the IMF insisted on the imposition of austerity measures. Increases of 80 to 100 percent in the prices of basic foodstuffs provoked a general strike in Casablanca in June 1981. The protest was brutally suppressed by Hassan's army, with hundreds of people killed and hundreds more arrested.

It is estimated that Moroccan war spending amounts to at least 40 percent of the total national budget. A large part of that bill is paid by the Pentagon and by the Saudi Arabian monarchy. Morocco is the second largest recipient of U.S. military aid in Africa, surpassed only by Egypt. The Saudi regime provides an annual \$1 billion subsidy to Hassan.

Moroccan troops stymied

Notwithstanding the U.S. military aid, and an increase in the Moroccan armed forces from 70,000 troops in 1975 to about 180,000 today, Moroccan control over the Western Sahara is limited to a small area in the northwest of the territory — what the Moroccan regime describes as the "useful triangle."

The "useful triangle," which is surrounded by a 250-mile-long, nine-foot-high wall of bulldozed sandbanks, behind which 40,000 troops are stationed, encloses the Western Sahara's large phosphate mines. But the Polisario Front controls about 90 percent of the land area, and has the military strength to inflict punishing defeats on Moroccan troops who venture beyond their fortifications.

Moroccan troops occupied the former Spanish colony of the Western Sahara in 1975 when the Spanish colonial army withdrew. The Polisario Front has been fighting for the country's independence since then, and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) it has declared has been recognized by the Organization of African Unity, which voted in February to admit the SADR to full membership. □