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Vol. 21, No. 12

June 27, 1983

USA \$1.25 UK 50p

Behind the Tory Victory in Britain



Imperialists Try to Split PLO on Way to New Mideast War



Israeli troops in Lebanon.

Reagan Lashes Out at Nicaragua After Sandinistas Expose CIA Plot

Sandinistas expose CIA plot

By Steve Wattenmaker

At a news conference in Managua June 6, the Nicaraguan government announced that three CIA agents operating under U.S. embassy diplomatic cover had been ordered to leave the country. Lenín Cerna, head of Nicaraguan State Security, documented the trio's attempts to organize internal opponents of the revolution to commit economic sabotage and murder Sandinista leaders.

The U.S. government then compounded its provocation by closing six Nicaraguan consulates in the United States and expelling 21 Nicaraguan diplomats and their families. Washington also revoked Nicaragua's right to operate charter airline flights between Miami and Managua.

These hostile acts fit into a pattern of escalating military and political moves by U.S. imperialism. Washington is moving step by step toward an all-out war to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution and to reverse the advance of the workers and farmers elsewhere in Central America and the Caribbean.

Caught red-handed

Speaking at the news conference, Cerna documented how the U.S. agents had worked to organize counterrevolutionaries to carry out terrorist acts.

Cerna identified Linda Pfeifel, embassy political affairs officer, as a CIA agent responsible for contacting rightist political parties and trade unions and encouraging them to carry out sabotage.

Embassy first secretary David Greig was identified as CIA station chief in Nicaragua. Ermila Rodríguez, the embassy's second secretary, was exposed while attempting to organize an attempt to assassinate Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto.

At the news conference, Cerna presented videotapes and photographs of these agents in operation. He also displayed a variety of technical devices the three had used in their dirty work.

However, the most damning evidence was provided by two Sandinista double agents. Both had pretended to be cooperating with the CIA while they were actually loyal to the revolution.

One of the double agents, Marlene Moncada, described how the CIA approached her while she was working in the Nicaraguan embassy in Honduras. She reported the contact to the Nicaraguan government and agreed to let the CIA think they had recruited her.

After she transferred to the Foreign Ministry in Managua, she was assigned to poison D'Escoto. Videotapes at the news conference showed embassy secretary Rodríguez meeting clandestinely with Moncada.

On May 31, Moncada received a coded

radio message directing her to pick up a bottle of Benedictine liqueur in a lot behind a Managua restaurant and pass it on to D'Escoto. Chemists who later analyzed the contents of the bottle found it had been adulterated with thalium, a deadly poison that is used in insecticides.

Moncada's reward was to be \$5,000 in a foreign bank account. Another CIA agent, David Johnson, told her not to worry: "We're experts at this. We never fail."

Links to right-wing party

The other double agent was Lt. Jorge Rous-tán, sub-director for the Nicaraguan Institute of Territorial Studies. He testified that his CIA contacts had arranged for him to work with the Conservative Democratic Party (PCD) to carry out acts of sabotage.

Mario Castillo of the Conservative Youth was designated to coordinate these terrorist attacks.

PCD member Carlos Icaza traveled to the United States to receive espionage training, Cerna reported, and returned to teach Castillo how to use electronically sophisticated radio equipment, which was also displayed at the news conference.

Castillo was arrested and Icaza took refuge in the Venezuelan embassy in Managua.

Commander Henry Ruíz, minister of planning and a member of the national directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), explained that the CIA plot demonstrates that the U.S. rulers are moving toward "more open war, which includes attacks, terrorism, physical elimination of leaders, political penetration, theft of economic information, and other methods."

But, as Ruíz explained, the CIA actions also reveal imperialism's desperation.

"The most valuable thing for the enemy to do right now is to eliminate the revolutionary leadership, because they [the enemy] have not been able to make their program, nor their politics, nor their military operations effective, while at the same time the revolution has had the capacity and ability to defend itself against imperialist aggression," Ruíz said.

'Secret' war

U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Anthony Quainton tried to stonewall the embarrassing revelations, calling the charges "absurd." However, when pressed to explain the evidence the Sandinistas had assembled Quainton could only reply, "The United States government never comments on the intelligence role of individual personnel."

Cerna responded that if U.S. officials thought the charges were false, they could prove it by drinking the bottle of liqueur destined for D'Escoto. The bottle was on display

at the news conference.

Small and poverty-stricken Nicaragua obviously has no rational interest in picking a quarrel with Washington or in trying to provoke the imperialist giant to the north. At the same time, the way the Sandinistas responded to the CIA plot, laying the charges before the whole world and expelling those responsible for carrying it out, shows the strength and confidence of the Nicaraguan revolution. This whole experience will serve to convince more Nicaraguans about Washington's real intentions toward their country.

The only absurdity, in fact, is Quainton's denial. CIA operations against Nicaragua are the most open "secret" in U.S. politics. Since early 1982 press reports have chronicled the CIA's role in organizing and bankrolling the *contra* gangs who have been attacking Nicaragua from camps inside Honduras and Costa Rica.

Both houses of Congress are in the midst of an ongoing debate over how to handle the "covert" war against Nicaragua. Top U.S. officials openly admit that the CIA is backing rightist efforts to topple the revolutionary government. Retiring U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. E.C. Meyer told the June 10 *Washington Post*, "I support covert action in Nicaragua. I believe there is a role for it. . . . The way the Nicaraguans are responding, we must be having some success down there."

And only several days before Nicaragua unmasked the CIA's newest intrigues there, the White House admitted that it had proposed a CIA operation to overthrow the government of Suriname.

The truth is that the gangster-style operations like the one broken up by the Sandinistas have been the CIA's stock-in-trade for nearly four decades, and the whole world knows it. Even the editors of the *New York Times* cynically admitted that the charges documented by the Sandinistas are "not, alas, unthinkable."

Consulates closed

Seizing the opportunity to level another blow against Nicaragua, Washington used Managua's expulsion of the three CIA agents as a pretext to close Nicaraguan consulates in six U.S. cities.

Consular officials in New York, San Francisco, Houston, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Miami were ordered to close their offices and be out of the country in 24 hours. Some 50 other Nicaraguan consulate personnel and their families were ordered to leave by June 10.

In addition to setting the stage for wider military intervention, the expulsion of the Nicaraguan diplomats aims to isolate working people in the United States from learning the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution.

Closing the consulates and restricting charter flights will make it more difficult to travel to Nicaragua. Visas will be obtainable only through the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, D.C.

The expulsion of the diplomats also means that consular officials across the United States

will no longer be speaking in public to those interested in learning the truth about Nicaragua.

Supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution turned out on an emergency basis to protest the expulsion order and express their solidarity with the diplomats who were preparing to leave.

El Salvador escalation

While the CIA was orchestrating attacks against the Nicaraguan revolution, Washington was moving on other fronts to widen the war in Central America.

- The House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly June 7 to continue funding military aid to El Salvador. The bipartisan 416-to-2 decision requires only that the Reagan administration certify that the Salvadoran regime is making a "good-faith effort" to track down the killers of eight U.S. citizens murdered in El Salvador since 1980.

- The Salvadoran army announced June 10 the beginning of a major sweep of San Vicente and Usulután provinces with the stated purpose of clearing the provinces of FMLN guerrillas. The entire operation, involving 4,500 Salvadoran troops, is patterned on the "rural pacification" program used in Vietnam.

Development efforts aimed at winning over the peasantry will supposedly follow the military offensive. But as in past sweeps by the Salvadoran army, the real objective of the action will be to concentrate murderous repression against the civilian population in an attempt to deny the rebels their base of support.

- The Pentagon announced May 26 that it had worked out an agreement with the Honduran government to open a new training camp for Salvadoran army troops at Puerto Castilla on Honduras' Caribbean coast. The base will be run by 120 "Green Beret" Special Forces officers who will join the 62 U.S. military "trainers" already assigned to Honduras. Another 130 army and air force personnel have recently been assigned to Honduras, bringing the U.S. military complement there to more than 300.

The June 3 *New York Times* reported that the White House was already reviewing plans to go "substantially beyond" the new level of 300 advisers in Honduras.

- In line with upgrading its use of Honduras as a major war staging area in Central America, Army Chief of Staff Meyer told the *Washington Post* that the Pentagon was conducting a "high priority" study of building six new air fields in the country.

Troops from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers are already supervising the expansion of the military airport at Comayagua, a \$13 million project financed by Washington.

- The Reagan administration is also increasing the number of military personnel in El Salvador itself. The White House announced the 25 U.S. military doctors and medical corpsmen are being assigned to work primarily in San Salvador's military hospital. When they are in the field, they will carry weapons.

Meanwhile, top administration officials continue to mount a carefully orchestrated public relations effort to float the idea of sending U.S. combat troops to Central America.

Army Chief of Staff Meyer was the latest figure to join in this campaign to undermine the deeply felt antiwar convictions of the U.S. working class. Asked by the *Washington Post* how many military advisers should be sent to

Central America, the general replied:

"I don't believe there should be a stated ceiling on how many military go down there."

As for the direct intervention of U.S. combat troops, Meyer said that this would have to be "an option that would have to be considered" if the situation in El Salvador was still deteriorating after elections scheduled for later this year. □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: June 13, 1983

FEATURES	357	Legacy of U.S. chemical war in Vietnam —by Will Reissner
BRITAIN	340	Behind Tory victory in elections —by Brian Grogan
NICARAGUA	343	Attacks from Costa Rica mount —by Jane Harris
MIDDLE EAST	344	Israel pushes toward a new war —by David Frankel
ISRAEL	345	Widening protests confront Begin
PERU	348	State of emergency decreed —by Steve Wattenmaker
CHILE	349	Regime still using torture
PANAMA	350	U.S. bases a staging area for war —by Steve Wattenmaker
PUERTO RICO	352	Springboard for U.S. intervention —by Roberto Kopec
USA	353	Gains in unity for Salvador solidarity movement —by Larry Seigle
SURINAME	355	CIA plot revealed — by Ernest Harsch
SOUTH AFRICA	368	Three freedom fighters hanged —by Ernest Harsch
DOCUMENTS	360	Revolutionary leadership in Cuba —by Raúl Valdes Vivo
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	364	The European Nuclear Disarmament conference
NEWS ANALYSIS	366	"No to war, no to nuclear missiles!"
	338	Sandinistas expose CIA plot —by Steve Wattenmaker

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

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INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS (ISSN 0162-5594) is published every other Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August for \$25 per year by Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

flects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

To Subscribe: For one-year subscriptions in the U.S. or Canada send US\$25.00. Subscription correspondence should be addressed to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-6933.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send US\$35.00 for one year; US\$17.50 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland.

We prefer payment in bank drafts or postal checks payable in U.S. dollars because of the charges involved in clearing personal checks drawn on other currencies. However, personal checks will be accepted, with an additional 5 percent added for clearing charges.

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

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

Behind the Labour Party's defeat

An expression of the crisis of working-class leadership

By Brian Grogan

LONDON — Margaret Thatcher's victory in the British general election and her winning a parliamentary mandate for five more years for her government is a bitter blow to working people in Britain and throughout the world.

Her victory will embolden the bosses' attacks on the working class and strengthen Reagan and the international imperialist counteroffensive. It will undermine the confidence of more backward workers that it is possible to defend their rights against Thatcher's vicious assaults.

Thatcher was backed by every serious bourgeois force. She had the backing of the bosses' organizations, the banks, the Confederation of British Industry, and the Institute of Directors. The boards of 21 top British companies signed a much publicized statement calling for her return to power. And of course she had the near unanimous backing of the bourgeois press.

They all gave a blanket endorsement to Thatcher's record and pronounced their confidence in her program for the next term.

Ronald Reagan managed to give her an electoral plug in a thinly disguised statement issued at the Williamsburg summit. Even the Japanese bourgeoisie poked its nose into the campaign in the shape of a threat by Datsun not to set up a car factory in Britain if Labour was returned to office.

Thatcher's plans for working people

Thatcher chose not to fight the election on her record, which has been disastrous. Nor did she campaign on her proposals for the next five years, which amount to a dramatic attack on the workers.

Instead she concentrated on exposing the contradictions in the Labour leadership and its program and on a campaign of red-baiting. Nonetheless, through a series of leaks, some of her precise plans became known.

Thatcher will:

- Increase unemployment beyond the present real 4.5 million to 6 million;
- Privatize large sectors of the nationalized industries, including British Telecom and parts of British Leyland;
- Push ahead the destruction of welfare services and introduce a two-tier health system, with decent medical care only for those who can pay;
- Introduce further draconian anti-union legislation, including provisions to weaken the links between the unions and the Labour Party;
- Dramatically increase police powers and step up the repression of Black people;
- Install cruise missiles, strengthen Bri-

tain's ties with NATO, and back Reagan's counteroffensive, especially in Central America.

A Thatcher 'landslide'?

Thatcher achieved a 144-seat majority in the House of Commons. Yet the remarkable fact is that such a majority was gained on the basis of a 2 percent fall in the percentage that she polled compared to the last election, and a much greater fall in the actual proportion of the electorate voting for her. She was elected on a mere 43 percent of those voting (31 percent of the electorate). The Tories actually got the smallest vote this century for any government achieving an overall majority.

The Tory press talked gloatingly about the Tory landslide and about an overwhelming endorsement of Thatcher's policies. But the reality is that the clear majority voted against the Thatcher government. Only the workings of the British electoral system masked this fact.

Indeed, Thatcher was unable to win any serious section of the Labour Party vote. The working class remains profoundly hostile to Thatcher and everything she stands for. The truth of the matter is that this election was not so much a Thatcher victory as a Labour defeat.

Labour's defeat is severe and should not be minimized. But the attempt by bourgeois commentators to characterize it in historic proportions is misplaced.

Comparisons with previous low points of Labour support in 1931 or 1922 are historically inaccurate. Despite its low overall poll of 28 percent, Labour maintained its position in the industrial heartlands of Britain and therefore returned 206 MPs to Parliament. By contrast, in 1931 Labour received 31 percent of the poll, but coming on the back of the defeat of the 1926 general strike and a deepgoing split in its ranks, it achieved only 52 seats, losing ground among industrial workers.

Continuing class polarization

In essence, the 1983 election still shows a continuing polarization of British society. Scotland and Wales voted massively for Labour. The Tory Party was virtually wiped out in these heavily industrial areas. The northern and western Midlands industrial region remained solidly Labour, as did the working-class areas of London. Moreover, although the solid Labour vote was smaller this time, all reports indicate that this vote was more committed and the campaign activists more enthusiastic than any time since the 1945 Labour landslide.

Black people voted massively for Labour. Seventy-one percent of Black people in Lon-

don voted Labour.

But outshining all this and crystallizing a new situation in British politics was the success of the fighters for a united Ireland in the Northern Six Counties of Ireland. Gerry Adams, vice-president of Sinn Fein, was elected by a 6,000-vote majority. Overall, Sinn Fein polled 90,000 votes, making them the majority party of the nationalist working class in Northern Ireland.

So, despite all the vain hopes of the bourgeoisie and the Tory press, Labour remains the mass party of the British working class and is still capable of reasserting its full position by the time of the next election. The electoral showing of the so-called Alliance parties does not change this judgment.

The Alliance was a bloc between the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party (SDP, a split-off from the Labour Party). This bloc polled 6.5 million votes, or 26 percent of the electorate. But this resulted in a mere 22 seats in Parliament. The SDP in particular, despite taking votes from Labour, lost all but 6 of the 29 seats that it previously occupied.

The Alliance leaders and most of the Tory press blame this result on the workings of the "first past the post" [i.e., "winner take all"] British electoral system. But the fundamental reason for its showing was that the Alliance's vote was primarily of a protest character. It has not managed to root itself in any stable social layer. It remains primarily a party of the rural areas and the suburbs, and was backed by no serious bourgeois force.

Why Labour lost

Any explanation for Labour's defeat must begin with the war in the South Atlantic last year. Britain's victory over Argentina in the Malvinas was not just a defeat for the Argentinian working class but a defeat for British workers too. Up to that time Thatcher was trailing Labour in the opinion polls. But her chauvinistic campaign allowed her to galvanize behind her leadership the middle layers who were wavering in the face of the assault she had unleashed. The Labour leadership, far from opposing Thatcher, tried to present its own chauvinist case for victory over Argentina.

This detestable reaction by the Labour leadership was only a specific instance of a deeper and more general crisis of leadership that the British working class faces.

The truth is that Thatcher's assaults on the rights and living standards of the working class over the last five years have been achieved with the acquiescence of the right-wing Labour and trade-union leadership. There have been

victories against Thatcher and the bosses, but such victories have been gained despite the sabotage of the right-wing leaders. What is worse is that on many occasions these leaders have intervened to grab defeat from the jaws of victory. Most signally, they have totally failed to support the fightback against unemployment, let alone provide a perspective to mobilize the anger and opposition of the working class to the mass unemployment policies of the Thatcher government.

Behind all this the working-class vanguard have been striving to forge a more adequate leadership for the Labour Party and the unions. A number of left victories have been scored in various unions. And of course, the Labour Party swung decisively to the left at the Wembley conference in October 1980. As a result, the manifesto presented by the Labour Party in these elections reflected the policies pioneered by Tony Benn and the left-wing activists. Yet the leadership team, elected by the parliamentary caucus of the Labour Party, which is not accountable to the ranks of the party, remained dominated by the old, failed workhorses of the right.

Labour's election manifesto

The Labour manifesto pledged to reduce unemployment below 1 million in five years. It pledged unilateral disarmament and withdrawal from the European Economic Community. It promised to nationalize more sections of British industry and impose planning on others. "To make British industry work for Britain, rather than Britain work for British industry."

It committed itself to furthering women's rights and to weakening the racist immigration laws.

Faced with such a program, the Tories launched a massive red-baiting campaign on the basis of the biggest advertising budget ever seen in British elections. Its efforts centered on showing the similarities between Labour's program and that of the tiny Communist Party and charging that Labour's program would take away democratic rights.

The Fleet Street press waded in with the dirtiest press campaign perhaps of all time. It politically utilized the opinion polls to do as much damage to Labour as possible. It highlighted findings damaging to Labour and hid those that would reinforce it.

All the polls greatly exaggerated Thatcher's support and talked up the support for the Alliance. Undoubtedly, they were a major factor in conning many people into backing the Alliance in those places Labour could not hope to win, thus boosting the overall Alliance vote.

This by itself, of course, could not have led to the dire Labour results. British workers are brought up from birth to distrust what Tories have to say. What made this campaign tell was the main Labour leaders joined in the cats' chorus. They openly and cold-bloodedly sabotaged Labour's campaign by publicly rejecting



Right-wing leaders fought against perspective of linking Labour's election campaign to extraparliamentary actions such as People's March for Jobs.

the central tenets of the party's manifesto during the election campaign itself.

Right-wingers sabotage Labour

Denis Healey, Labour's main public spokesperson in the campaign, led the pack. In the middle of the campaign, he took it upon himself to denounce the manifesto commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament. And just after this had been patched up, in weighed James Callaghan, ex-Labour prime minister, on the same theme. Thus, Labour's biggest vote-catching issue — the commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament — was turned into a liability.

Equally, on the economic issues. Despite Labour Party policy, the Labour leaders interpreted the manifesto as requiring wage restraints under a Labour government — the issue which turned working-class opinion against the last Labour government in 1979.

The economic program in the manifesto under all circumstances was utopian. Unemployment could not have been drastically cut without breaking the capitalist stranglehold over the economy. But at least the manifesto included proposals to transfer resources away from the military and into job-creation, and measures attacking some of the privileges of the rich.

In the hands of the right wing, however, even these mild reforms were dropped in favor of the ridiculous suggestion that the future Labour government would borrow its way out of the economic crisis. This is especially laughable to working people since it was the intervention of the International Monetary

Fund in bailing the British economy out during the last Labour government which signalled the Labour government's turn to a ferocious assault on the living standards of the working class in 1976.

Of course, such sabotage was not some aberration. For the past two years and more, workers have been opening their daily paper or turning on the television to see some right-wing Labour leader denouncing the policies of the Labour Party, or charging that it had been taken over by "extremists."

"The Labour Party is sick," intoned shadow cabinet economic minister Peter Shaw. "It is time to act against the conspiracy."

James Callaghan, ex-Labour prime minister, agreed and added, "I want the Labour Party to win the next election, but not the Labour Party as it has come to look in recent months."

Every single one of the right-wing leaders joined in on this, so much so that they organized a witch-hunt against "Trotskyists" inside the party and succeeded in expelling the editorial board of the left-wing newspaper *Militant*.

People's March for Jobs

There is no question that it was this rightist campaign which laid the basis of support for the Social Democratic Party in the first place, and it was the deliberate sabotage in the election campaign itself which boosted the alliance just when they were facing extinction. Before the attack on Labour's defense policy, the alliance was showing a mere 14 percent in the

opinion polls.

Little wonder that an election campaign led by these types of leaders failed to draw in worker activists in a campaign of explanation and organization. Little wonder, too, that these leaders fought tooth and nail against hitching Labour's campaign to the mass activity of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament or the People's March for Jobs, or any other mass action initiative during the election campaign.

The People's March for Jobs in particular was a magnificent opportunity to show the reality of Labour's alternative to the Tories. This march had set out from Scotland before the calling of the election, and has marched through every industrial region and major city in the country. It culminated on the Sunday before the election in a 50,000-strong demonstration in London.

This march could have inspired and galvanized working people, but instead it was shunned by Labour leaders, who at first attempted to prevent it getting off the ground. And a possible three-quarter of a million turnout was therefore undermined in the mass demonstration at the culmination of the march.

This reality, understood by every Labour and trade-union activist, will now be an important component in the post-mortem that will now open up inside the Labour movement — particularly in the campaign around the election of a new Labour leader, as Michael Foot has decided to resign at the next Labour Party conference in October.

Prospects for left

The right wing predictably is arguing that it was the "extreme policies" that accounted for Labour's defeat. The situation in the Labour movement is such that the left trend, however, is unlikely to be reversed. Unfortunately, the fact that the main left leader, Tony Benn, failed to win a parliamentary seat will prevent this situation from being consolidated in the leadership of the Labour Party.

The direction of the class struggle will reinforce the weight of the left. This election was called at the time thought most favorable for Thatcher. The economic situation is showing a slight upturn, and inflation is at its lowest level in 15 years. But the illusion created in the minds of many people that the worst was over will soon be shattered as Thatcher goes for deeper assaults on the wages and conditions of British working people. Already there is a majority against Thatcher. This is bound to increase.

During the last four years of recession, British industry has seen sharp productivity increases. But this has primarily been the result of mass unemployment and large-scale bankruptcies — which in turn have been used as a battering ram to force massive changes in working practices leading to speed-ups and a marked increase in the rate of exploitation.

During this time, the take-home pay of those in work, however, has actually increased by 16 percent over the rate of inflation. This, incidentally, is one of the reasons why a layer of

skilled workers voted for Thatcher.

But the historic crisis of British capitalism means that these economic gains have been nowhere near sufficient to meet the increase in inter-imperialist competition. No longer can the ruling class allow any significant layer of workers to raise their standard of living, and still more shopfloor rights need to be overturned. This demands the shackling of the unions and the destruction of the shopfloor organization of the working class.

Workers will fight back

A fightback against such an assault on a broad scale is guaranteed given the continuing organizational strength of the working class.

Immediately after the election, Arthur Scargill, militant mine union leader, reflected this pressure of his base. "In order to resist this government," he pronounced to rapturous applause from miners, "we should undoubtedly need to take extraparliamentary action and that includes the possibility of political strikes to prevent the massacre of our health, education, housing, and social services."

Other left leaders, including Ken Livingstone, the leader of the Greater London Council, and even to some extent Tony Benn, have expressed similar sentiments.

An index of the real situation in the organized labor movement was revealed by two recent left victories.

A couple of months prior to the election, rail workers rejected one of the most right-wing trade union leaders and replaced him with a left leader. The sacked general secretary, Sidney Weighell, had been the one who had campaigned for the resolution at the Labour Party conference demanding the witch-hunt of left-

wingers.

Then, just one day before the election, telecommunication workers in their conference kicked out for the first time the right-wing executive committee and replaced it with one dominated by the left. It had been the representative of this union on the Labour Party National Executive Committee, John Goulding, who had masterminded the day-to-day tactics of the witch-hunt.

Perspective for struggle

So the perspective of Labour movement activists is to place their fight over the next period in the framework of preparing for an all-out confrontation with this government with the aim of replacing it before its five years is up. Of course in the short run the Tory victory will have a depressing effect on such struggles.

This fightback perspective will be aided by the deepening of the mass campaigning for nuclear disarmament. The activity of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will now increase as the date for the siting of cruise missiles approaches. This campaign will help deepen the anti-imperialist consciousness of the working class, especially as the fight against the missiles intermeshes with Reagan's war in Central America, where Thatcher is a strong supporter of Reagan's policies.

Anti-imperialist consciousness and the fight against the Tories will also be massively reinforced by the success of Sinn Fein and their continuing proletarian turn toward the struggles of working people in the Six Counties.

British workers have received a drubbing in these elections, mainly as a result of the tactics of our own leaders. But we are not mourning, we are organizing. □

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Attacks from Costa Rica mount

Edén Pastora forms open alliance with Somozaists

By Jane Harris

MANAGUA — Costa Rica, Nicaragua's neighbor to the south, has become the second staging ground for the U.S.-organized war against the Sandinista revolution.

It was announced in the United States May 30 that Costa Rican civil guard forces have begun training at the U.S. Army School of the Americas in Panama. And counter-revolutionaries based in Costa Rica have already opened a "southern front," beginning in mid-April.

Among the leaders of this military operation are ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora, millionaire and ex-Nicaraguan junta member Alfonso Robelo, and Brooklyn Rivera, a former leader of Nicaragua's Miskito Indians.

The three claim to be revolutionaries, based on the fact they all played some role in bringing down the Somoza dictatorship.

Pastora in particular, in the year following his open break with the Sandinista leadership in March 1982, had sought to present himself internationally as a "more democratic alternative" to the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). One, moreover, not tainted by any connection to the Somozaist National Guard.

He charged that other Sandinista leaders had turned the country over to Cuban-style "communism." He pledged to drive the Cubans out and return to the original Sandinista program, which in his version would no longer include such topics as anti-imperialism or land reform. And, he claimed, he would never collaborate with the National Guard.

Actions speak louder than words

But when Pastora, Robelo, and Rivera, along with several notorious right-wingers, banded together in the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE), their actions proved no different from those carried out by the ex-National Guardsmen operating out of Honduras under the name Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN).

In fact, there are increasing indications of collaboration between the two groups. After Robelo met with U.S. Undersecretary of State Thomas Enders in Washington April 29, White House spokesman Alan Romberg explained that Robelo had discussed Nicaraguans' "response to the FDN-ARDE group."

Robelo, when asked by reporters how he viewed the FDN, referred to them as "valiant patriots who are fighting for freedom." The April 29 *New York Times* quoted him as saying, "We cannot consider the F.D.N. our enemies."

The April 30 *Washington Post* reported that Robelo and Pastora no longer oppose CIA



PASTORA

funding to the FDN, and a dispatch in the May 15 *Post* explained why: "Pastora has . . . begun receiving U.S. assistance through FDN supplies."

Nicaragua's head of State Security, Commander Lenín Cerna, explained the FDN-ARDE alliance this way in an interview with *Barricada Internacional* May 16:

Pastora, as well as Robelo, has faced reality, Cerna said. "They have to survive and the only thing that can sustain them is precisely the CIA."

And the CIA, Cerna continued, "began to pressure them to ally with the Somozaists, independently of their personal ambitions."

"The revolution is consolidating more and more, and this forces Robelo and Pastora to negotiate with the CIA concerning their participation with the National Guardsmen."

Wanton destruction and murder

Concretely this means ARDE's activities mirror those carried out by the FDN in the north. For example, some of the actions carried out by Pastora's group last month consisted of:

- Trying to ambush the car carrying the Sandinista regional secretary to May Day festivities in the southeast province of Río San Juan — an action that did not succeed.

- Destroying a \$1 million boat given to peasants on Lake Nicaragua's Solentiname Island by trade unionists in West Germany.

- Killing 11 peasants in one attack, all members of the militia or mass organizations, and threatening some 20 families who do not support ARDE's actions.

Most of the attacks organized out of Costa Rica have taken place in Río San Juan, an extremely isolated area abandoned by the Somoza dictatorship.

Unlike the northern frontier, Río San Juan provides no mountains for the counter-revolutionaries to hide in.

Because of these unfavorable geographic conditions, the ARDE forces are trying to move northeast into the town of Nueva Guinea, where they hope to take the only highway in the region. To do this would require a broad base of support to feed and protect them, which they do not have.

One of the counterrevolution's supporters who was working on building these contacts over the last three months, a Spanish priest by the name of Timoteo Merino, was recently expelled from Nicaragua.

Costa Rica, which formerly enjoyed the nickname "Switzerland of Central America," has been far from impartial in aiding the counterrevolution.

Collaboration of Costa Rican regime

While Nicaraguans estimate counter-revolutionaries in the south to number between 500 and 700, Costa Rican officials say the figure is 1,200. Yet they have expelled only 3 from their territory.

Sandinista leaders have provided the Costa Rican government with ample proof of the existence of at least 12 counterrevolutionary camps, along with their exact location. Yet none have been broken up.

Instead, the Costa Rican civil guard captured two Sandinista soldiers, claiming they had stepped onto Costa Rican territory, and held them for over a week.

Some Costa Rican peasants captured by the Sandinistas have reported they were offered as much as 5,000 *colones* [US\$1 = 40 *colones*] to fight for the ARDE.

Some prisoners have said their orders in Costa Rica were to kill Cuban, Soviet, and Bulgarian communists. When they crossed the border, they found the killing was indiscriminate.

While casualty figures in the north are still much higher (at least 600 Nicaraguans killed since January), the number of those killed or wounded in the south is mounting steadily.

On June 4 two battalions of Sandinista Youth members who had been fighting first in the north and then in the south returned to Managua, 38 fewer in number.

One professor at the National University here told *Intercontinental Press* that her classes had been cancelled all week. As the "news poured in of different student leaders killed in combat," she explained, the outraged campus could not carry on with classes as usual. □

Israel pushes toward a new war

Imperialists try to split PLO as part of preparation

By David Frankel

One year after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Middle East is headed for still another Arab-Israeli war. The political campaign to prepare the next war is already under way. It includes scare stories about Soviet missiles and military advisers in Syria. Also involved is the propaganda hailing the so-called troop withdrawal agreement between Israel and the Israeli-installed government in Lebanon, propaganda that portrays opponents of an Israeli-dominated Lebanon as obstacles to peace.

Another part of this political campaign is the ongoing attempt by the imperialists to sow division and distrust among all those forces standing up against their domination of the Middle East. The U.S. and Israeli rulers want to break the alliance between Syria and the Soviet Union and to encourage divisions between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the various Arab regimes.

At the same time, the imperialists are trying to split the PLO itself. Disputes within the PLO, involving longstanding differences, are being played up in the media. This is part of the attempt to discredit and divide the Palestinian liberation movement.

Israeli war aims

Both the movement toward a new war in the Middle East and the pressures on the PLO stem from the same imperialist offensive — an offensive that reached a high point with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on June 6, 1982.

Taking off from the opportunity provided them by the Camp David treaty with Egypt, the Israeli rulers hoped to crush the PLO. The Palestinian national liberation struggle has been the main stumbling block for Washington and Tel Aviv in the Middle East. There is no compromise that could satisfy the demands of the Palestinian masses and leave Israel intact. Moreover, by refusing to abandon their struggle, the Palestinians have made it impossible for most Arab governments to risk a deal with Israel.

Success in destroying the PLO in Lebanon, the Israelis calculated, would deal a devastating blow to the liberation struggle of the Palestinians in the Arab territories grabbed by Israel in 1967, and would open the way to establishing a rightist government in Lebanon that would agree to an Israeli-imposed treaty.

Destruction of the PLO would also open the way for King Hussein of Jordan to enter negotiations with Israel. Ultimately, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin aims to force Syria as well to sign a Camp David-type treaty recognizing Israel and leaving it in possession

of the territories it has gobbled up.

Along the way to his dream of a Middle East dominated by an Israeli-U.S. "strategic consensus," Begin is also considering the possibilities of keeping a piece of southern Lebanon to add to Israel's rapidly growing collection of Arab territory.

These were the objectives that the Israeli ruling class had in mind when it invaded Lebanon last year in a move that it had been building up to ever since the outline of the Camp David treaty was agreed to in 1978. But most of these objectives remain unfulfilled. The Israeli rulers intend to attain their aims by a new war.

A history of aggression

Nobody can say whether the next Arab-Israeli war will be provoked by Israel in a month or a year, or whether the pretext will be found in Lebanon or in the Golan Heights. But the Israeli rulers know that they are in a far stronger position than the Arabs militarily, and they are itching to use their military superiority to attain the political advances that have so far eluded them. How successful they will be is another question.

Israel has been on the military offensive in the Middle East ever since it was established in 1948. In the 1948 war, Israeli forces drove more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs from their homes. The Israeli state expanded on all fronts. In 1956 Israel launched an attack on Egypt and grabbed the Sinai Peninsula. In 1967 it again attacked its Arab neighbors, seizing territory from Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. In 1973 it defeated an attempt by Egypt and Syria to win back their territory. In 1982, it invaded Lebanon.

Repeated wars and military attacks, however, have failed to crush the resistance of the Arab masses, especially the Palestinians. Not even the savage massacre in West Beirut was able to do that.

This brings us to the other side of Israel's drive toward war. Its growing military power notwithstanding, Israel is a deeply divided society, and its militarism stems from weakness as well as strength.

Deepening class polarization

While Begin has been rushing ahead with the de facto annexation of the occupied territories, confiscating more Arab land and expanding the Zionist settlements on the stolen acreage, he has been unable to break the resistance of the 1.3 million Palestinians in these areas.

According to a secret Israeli report disclosed by the BBC June 2, since the war in Lebanon

protests against the occupation in the West Bank and Gaza have increased 69 percent.

Even worse from the point of view of the Israeli capitalists, the national liberation struggle in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has begun to win more and more support and solidarity among the 600,000 Palestinian Arabs living inside Israel's pre-1967 borders.

The impact of the world economic crisis on Israel, and the country's growing international isolation, have combined with the tenacious resistance put up by the Palestinian people to push forward the class struggle inside Israel. The deep national division between Palestinians and Jews in Israel is now accompanied by a more and more evident class polarization in the society as a whole.

Israeli workers today are confronted with a perspective of endless war, economic hardship — including an inflation rate of more than 130 percent — and increasing attacks on democratic rights. At the same time, the liberal veneer that used to coat the reactionary content of Zionism has largely worn off. The dominant ideology by which Israel justifies its oppression of the Palestinians is increasingly taking the form of a swinish right-wing nationalism that is alienating a significant sector of the Jewish population. Amos Elon, a prominent Israeli intellectual and journalist, summed up this point in the February 4 issue of the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* by saying, "we are progressing toward apartheid."

Basic problems not solved

By invading Lebanon last year, the Israeli ruling class did not solve any of the basic problems that it faces. More than ever before, world attention and sympathy was focused on the PLO and the liberation struggle that it leads. Furthermore, the issue of Palestinian national rights and a Palestinian homeland emerged as a central issue in the Middle East for Israeli workers as well. The Lebanon War was the first since 1948 in which the Palestinians were seen by all as a central combatant.

And the fight put up by the Palestinians under the leadership of the PLO has made no small impact inside Israel. Nearly 500 Israeli soldiers have died as a result of Begin's "Peace for Galilee" operation, compared to 983 in Israel's 1967 war against the combined armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Another 600 Israeli soldiers have been permanently disabled over the past year.

Instead of uniting Israeli society, the war in Lebanon divided it even further. Big antiwar demonstrations took place during the siege of West Beirut, and others have continued, de-



Israeli rulers have failed to crush PLO. Above, Palestinians demonstrate in West Bank.

manding the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon (see following article).

Referring to the U.S.-sponsored agreement on Israeli-Lebanese relations worked out in May, Labor Party politician Michael Bar Zohar complained, "No paragraph in the agreement can erase the new divisions in our society."

Internationally, the siege of West Beirut and then the barbaric massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps opened the eyes of millions to the real character of the Israeli state. Instead of solving the problem of Israel's international isolation, the war in Lebanon deepened it.

Big blows to Palestinians

Nevertheless, the Israeli rulers are continuing to push ahead on the course that was marked by the invasion of Lebanon. Although they failed to put the PLO out of action, overwhelmingly superior Israeli forces — both in numbers and firepower — dealt a substantial military defeat to the Palestinian liberation

struggle last year.

Thousands of Palestinians were killed and wounded by Israeli military operations in Lebanon and by the Israeli-organized massacre in West Beirut. Some 15,000 Palestinians have been rounded up and are being held without charge in Israeli concentration camps. The PLO has been driven underground in most of Lebanon. Its leadership was forced out of Beirut and must now operate largely out of Syrian-controlled areas.

On top of these blows to the Palestinian struggle, there is an ongoing attempt to disperse and demoralize the Palestinian population. Dozens of Palestinians have been kidnapped and murdered by the rightist gangs armed and financed by Israel. Palestinian civilians continue to be arrested and carted off to concentration camps by Israeli occupation forces.

Meanwhile, Israeli settlers in the West Bank have more and more turned to the methods of terror being used by Begin in Lebanon. Kidnappings, beatings, shootings, and outright murder are being used by these fascist goons

against an unarmed civilian population. An increasingly vocal and sizable segment of the Zionist settlers and their supporters in government are calling for the expulsion of several hundred thousand Palestinians as a means of breaking the resistance to Israeli colonization.

But such decisive steps could only be carried out in the context of a new Middle Eastern war. As far as the Israeli rulers are concerned, a new war is necessary precisely because the last one failed to accomplish their objective of finally breaking the resistance of the Palestinian people.

Even in Lebanon, where the Israeli government came the closest to accomplishing its aims, resistance continues. The authority of the rightist government installed under the guns of Israeli tanks hardly extends beyond the boundaries of Beirut. A general strike called to protest the anniversary of the Israeli invasion June 6 shut down the Muslim areas of Beirut along with Sidon and Tyre — the chief cities of southern Lebanon, both under Israeli occupation. The strike had this effect despite the fact that Israeli occupation forces arrested more than 200 people in the days leading up to it, accusing them of collaboration with the resistance.

While Beirut has been turned into an anchorage for the U.S. 6th Fleet and a base for U.S., French, Italian, and British ground troops, the imperialists have a long way to go before they turn Lebanon into a stable proimperialist enclave. This requires first of all the withdrawal of Syrian forces and the elimination of the PLO.

U.S. support for Begin

Washington, which stood behind Begin's invasion of Lebanon, is continuing to back his course toward a new war. Immediately after the U.S.-sponsored agreement between the Israeli and Lebanese governments was reached in May, President Reagan announced plans to go ahead with the sale of 75 F-16 fighter planes to Israel.

Shortly before the agreement, a U.S. official was quoted in the April issue of *The Middle East* magazine as saying: "The Syrian troops will be out of Lebanon in six months. Either they will go in an orderly manner, or they will be carried out in Red Cross ambulances."

As the *London Times* commented June 1, Washington "has given the kind of signals which Israel has in the past interpreted as a green light for decisive military action."

Along with the direct military pressure being brought to bear against the PLO, Washington has orchestrated a political campaign against it. The Reagan plan, put forward in September, immediately after the PLO was forced to withdraw from West Beirut, demanded that the PLO abdicate its position as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and drop its struggle for an independent Palestinian state.

Virtually all sections of the PLO rejected these demands. Nevertheless, the imperialist

media repeatedly claimed that various Palestinian leaders — PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat in particular — had secretly agreed to the Reagan plan, were about to agree to it, wanted to agree to it, were maneuvering in order to agree to it, etc. All the “inside dope” turned out to be false. The purpose was to sow distrust within the PLO and to attempt to split it.

Pressure from Arab regimes

Imperialist pressure against the PLO has also been exerted through various Arab regimes. Thus, after talks between Arafat and King Hussein broke off in mid-April, the Jordanian regime began tightening restrictions on residents of the West Bank who want to travel through Jordan or study or work there.

As one Palestinian journalist explained: “The Jordanians want to force either the PLO to make a deal, or the people on the West Bank to make a deal.”

Another form of pressure has come from the more radical Arab regimes. The Baathist regimes in Iraq and Syria, and the Libyan government, all espouse an Arab nationalist ideology. Each of them claims to be acting in the interests not just of their own countries, but also of the Arab world as a whole. They attempt to claim leadership of Arab nationalist forces outside of their own countries on that basis.

The Nasser regime, which came to power in Egypt in the early 1950s, was the first example of such an Arab nationalist government which sought — and really did command — a mass following in the Arab world as a whole. The PLO was first set up in 1965 as a result of an initiative by Nasser, who intended to use the issue of Palestine to advance his own political standing in the Arab world.

But following Nasser's disastrous showing in the June 1967 Mideast War, an independent mass movement developed among the Palestinian people. The Palestinian guerrilla organizations gained such authority that they were able to take over the PLO and turn it into a genuinely independent Palestinian organization, instead of an appendage of the Egyptian propaganda machine.

There is a fundamental class difference between any capitalist government — even one of a radical nationalist character that comes into sharp conflict with imperialism — and the PLO. The latter is not a bourgeois formation acting on behalf of a class of exploiters, but a revolutionary nationalist movement based on the Palestinian masses.

Continuing fight for independence

A permanent part of the PLO's struggle is its fight to maintain its organizational unity and political independence in the face of maneuvers and pressures from the various bourgeois nationalist Arab regimes as well as from imperialism. The Iraqi, Libyan, and Syrian governments are all able to intervene directly in the PLO through Palestinian organizations that support their policies and perspectives. The Iranian government has also been trying to or-

ganize a following among Palestinians and in the Arab world as a whole around its pan-Islamic perspective.

One result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the military defeat inflicted on the PLO has been to intensify the pressures coming from the Arab regimes, especially Syria. The PLO's loss of its base in Beirut and its areas of open operation in southern Lebanon have left it much more vulnerable to Syrian pressure.

It is in this context of the imperialist offensive and of pressure from various Arab regimes that the current factional struggle in Fatah — the largest by far of the guerrilla organizations making up the PLO — must be seen. The Syrian regime in particular is intervening in hopes of gaining leverage within the PLO and restricting its independence.

Real differences within Fatah and the PLO as a whole certainly do exist. There has never been any secret about that. The existence of such differences is natural in an organization engaged in struggle and confronting real pressures and obstacles. It is inevitable and necessary that political questions and organizational problems will be debated within the Palestinian movement.

Whatever one's opinion of the particular points of view that are expressed by various fighters within the PLO, however, it is clear to its serious defenders that any move toward splitting the PLO poses a danger to the Palestinian movement.

Charges against Arafat

It is precisely in hopes of encouraging such a split that the imperialists have been making such a big deal about the conflicts in the PLO, featuring big headlines in their press, circulating all the accusations and rumors they can find, and making it appear as if the PLO is being torn apart.

The version that appears in the imperialist press is based on the accusation that PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat is in the process of abandoning the struggle for an independent Palestinian state, that his perspective now is to seek a compromise with imperialism based on the Reagan plan.

Such charges are manufactured anew at each stage in the unfolding events. Arafat, according to hundreds of articles that appeared in the imperialist press earlier this year, was planning to sign away the PLO's claim to represent the Palestinian people and its demand for an independent Palestinian state in negotiations with King Hussein. The fact that Arafat did no such thing hasn't stopped the imperialist media for one moment.

Thus, just the fact that Arafat agreed to negotiate at all with King Hussein is now presented as proof of his intentions to sell out the Palestinian struggle. But the abstract principle of “no negotiations” is not a revolutionary precept. There are no serious national liberation struggles where the relationship of forces is such that negotiations are never necessary.

Similarly, Arafat is accused in the im-

perialist media of abandoning the perspective of armed struggle — at the same time, of course, that he continues to be vilified as a “terrorist.” But the fact is that the level of sustained military activity by the PLO against Israeli forces has probably never been higher except during the first months of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Fatah leader Abu Jihad estimated in late May that his forces had carried out some 350 operations in the previous three months. These have been exacting a heavy toll on the Israeli army in Lebanon.

Still another claim bruited about in the imperialist media is that Arafat is planning to withdraw PLO forces from eastern Lebanon. Here again, no evidence is offered.

Those who oppose the attempts to split the PLO may well have different views on various issues that are raised within it. But all serious defenders of the PLO have rejected the imperialists' slander campaign and are opposed to any Syrian attempts to dictate the PLO's decisions.

Need for unity

According to the May 27 issue of the Palestinian weekly *Al Fajr*, those who have challenged Arafat “published a statement in Damascus, May 23, demanding reforms within the ranks of Fatah and refusing to relinquish their positions. Their demands included the return of all Palestinian fighters from exile to positions in the front lines; preparation of a military strategy for all Palestinian forces of which *al-Asifa* (Fatah's military wing) will be the nucleus; formation of a committee to administer the finances within Fatah organization, and a call for holding an extraordinary conference to deal with all problems.”

According to *Al Fajr*, “PLO factions outside Fatah are working hard behind the scenes to resolve differences in Fatah. Leaders in the PLO's largest faction expressed gratitude at the actions of leadership of the other two main factions — the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP] and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP].”

“DFLP leader Nayef Hawatmeh, in a Damascus press conference, May 23, and in response to a question about the mutiny, called for unity of the PLO and Fatah. He supported democratic reforms within the PLO and resistance factions, particularly to remove ‘bureaucratic elements in the military’ which are an ‘obstacle to the revolutionary march’ and inefficient militarily. He repeated, however, that any reforms should only be executed within a united Fatah and a united PLO.

“In the occupied territories leading personalities lined up to condemn attempts to divide Fatah and the PLO.”

Similarly, in an interview with the United Arab Emirates newspaper *Al Khalij*, reported by Reuters June 3, Fatah leader Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) said of the revolt within Fatah: “I say again that all the demands are legitimate. Yet to go about it like this, especially at this particular time, is to fall into the designs of our enemies.” □

Get out of Lebanon now!

Widening protests confront Begin

[The following editorial appeared in the June issue of *Derech Hanitzot* (The Spark), the monthly newspaper of the Israeli Revolutionary Communist League (Turn). The translation is by the RCL.]

* * *

Thousands, and maybe even tens of thousands, are now participating in demonstrations and protest actions to mark the first anniversary of the Lebanon War, with the simple demand: "Out now!"

On Saturday, June 4, the Committee Against the War in Lebanon will stage a central demonstration, and Peace Now has announced its plan to march on that day as well.

Even the Lebanon agreement, which was signed under the aegis of the United States, could not change the feeling that Israel is sinking in the Lebanon mud.

Exactly one year ago, on June 5, 1982, marking 15 years since the 1967 occupation, the Committee for Solidarity With Bir Zeit University staged a big demonstration, which was converted then and there into an antiwar demonstration. In its front ranks marched demonstrators carrying a big banner saying: "No to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon."

The committee could not prevent the war, but right from the very first day it acted untiringly in opposition to the war, raising the demand: "Immediate withdrawal from Lebanon."

At the beginning of the war, the committee activists were quite isolated and acted in a harsh and hostile atmosphere. But the war, which was presented at the beginning as the

"Peace for Galilee Operation," limited to only a few days and 40 kilometers, grew to monstrous dimensions of genocide, a prolonged occupation of Lebanon, and is now dragging us to the verge of a war with Syria. Events had an important influence on the changes that occurred in public opinion. From the beginning of the war, new bodies and organizations sprang up, a new phenomenon in Israeli society, which in the past was drawn closer together around its wars.

- One new group is the Yesh Gvul movement, whose members refuse to fight in Lebanon and prefer imprisonment to participation in the war. By the closing date of this issue (May 20, 1983), 54 reserve soldiers had been imprisoned for their refusal to serve in Lebanon, and 19 soldiers are serving prison terms right now.

In view of the danger of a war with Syria, the spokesman of the movement published a declaration saying that "the agreement (with Lebanon) does not ensure the withdrawal of [Israeli] forces from Lebanon, but passes the responsibility from the Israeli government to the Syrian government. From this aspect, the agreement only legitimizes the continual stay of our soldiers beyond the borders."

- Mothers Against Silence was organized following the vigil of Zvi Ginsberg, whose son was killed in Lebanon, outside the prime minister's house, and after a letter from a mother, Shoshana Shmueli, was published in the papers. They demand their boys be brought home.

"We won't get out of here till you get out of

there" is their slogan. They decided to increase their activity in the wake of the agreement, which in their opinion may "result in further delay in bringing the boys back."

"This war is not a just one," says Nira Tal. "My three sons went into it feeling that they should have never gone there."

- Students and apolitical high school youth are staging a permanent and nonstop protest opposite the prime minister's home to demand immediate withdrawal from Lebanon. They light a candle in memory of the fallen Israeli soldiers and bring up to date the official Israeli death toll in Lebanon, which rises continually.

- Hundreds of people refused to accept the Lebanon War decoration and signed the "No to the Decoration" petition. Disagreement on this matter even penetrated the Labor Party.

- 5,000 youth gathered to listen to Peace Now speakers in mid-May, and the movement declared its intention to start a youth movement.

A group of "Pupils Against Occupation" is now beginning to organize.

Many activists in the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, which began a tradition of joint Jewish-Arab demonstrations against the war, believe that the struggle to prevent the next war and to oust Israeli troops from Lebanon is closely connected with a just solution of the Palestinian question. Such a solution would have to be based on recognition and negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, and would have to secure the Palestinian people an independent state of its own in the West Bank and the Gaza strip.

Yet the Committee's approach is readiness to cooperate with anyone who is truly ready to fight against the war with Syria and for Israel's unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon.

On June 4, it is the duty of everyone in Israel, Jews and Arabs, who have kept some sanity and a yearning for peace, to come out into the streets and demonstrate. □



Paul Tick/MERIP Reports

On June 4, up to 100,000 demonstrated in Tel Aviv to demand withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Above, June 1982 protest by Committee in Solidarity with Bir-Zeit University. Sign at top says, "Stop the war in Lebanon."

State of emergency decreed

Hundreds arrested as regime suspends civil liberties

By Steve Wattenmaker

President Fernando Belaúnde Terry of Peru declared a 60-day state of emergency throughout the country May 30. The government suspended civil liberties and police arrested hundreds of people.

These repressive measures are aimed at working-class protest over government policies. The largest labor federation in the country was considering a general strike when the emergency was declared.

The pretext for the crackdown was a series of bombings May 27 near Lima, the capital. The bombings toppled electrical transmission towers and caused minor damage to the U.S. embassy and the presidential palace. Explosions at the Bayer Chemical complex sparked fires that reportedly destroyed much of the plant.

President Belaúnde characterized the bombings as an "undeclared war" by rural guerrillas and imposed the state of emergency. The measure suspends most civil liberties, such as the rights of assembly, speech, and unrestricted travel. Police can search houses without warrants and detain suspects for up to 15 days without charges.

Belaúnde has also urged the Peruvian Congress to extend the death penalty for anyone sabotaging state property, even if no one is injured in the attack.

Within a day of the bombings, police had arrested more than 500 people, mostly in and around Lima and the provincial capital of Ayacucho 200 miles southeast of Lima. Authorities have been continuing the roundup.

Beheading the workers movement

The government's action was the first nationwide state of emergency since Belaúnde was elected to the presidency in 1980 after 12 years of military rule in Peru. In August 1982 Belaúnde declared a 60-day state of emergency limited to the area around Lima, during which more than 250 people — many of them trade union leaders — were jailed.

The current declaration of martial law was intended to further clamp down on labor unrest. Since the beginning of 1983, workers' protests have been on the upswing as Peru's economy plunged into the deepest crisis of this century.

Nearly half of the country's work force is unemployed or able to find only occasional work. Peru's \$11 billion foreign debt is equal to about half its annual output of goods and services. The government has slashed social welfare spending as a condition for new loans from foreign banks and the International Monetary Fund.

Some of the popular response to these harsh

austerity measures was described by Peruvian revolutionary socialist leader Hugo Blanco in an interview published in the March 21, 1983, issue of the magazine *International Viewpoint*. Blanco is a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International.

Miners march

"The most frequent forms of struggle are region-wide strikes; paralysis of activity at a regional level for one, two, or three days," Blanco reported. "There have been marches that have involved sacrifices, like the mineworkers of Canarias who, with their families, including the children, covered more than 700 kilometers. During this march five children died, as well as a woman who had just given birth, and a worker.

"Hunger strikes and workplace occupations have also taken place," Blanco said.

The General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP) called a 24-hour strike March 10 to protest the state of the economy, especially the 70 percent annual inflation rate. The action paralyzed the main urban centers and disrupted industrial production. Demonstrations of more than 10,000 people took place in the cities of Cuzco and Puno.

In Lima, strikers built barricades and fought back when attacked by police. Government forces killed four demonstrators and arrested several hundred. Among those detained were a number of PRT militants.

On the eve of Belaúnde Terry's May 30 state



Troops stand guard in Ayacucho.

of emergency declaration, some 55,000 health-care workers were on strike. The emergency forced them to suspend the walk-out. CGTP plans for another general strike were also reportedly shelved.

Rural guerrillas gain strength

While a central target of the state of emergency is the increasingly combative union movement, the government is also clearly worried about the spread of a guerrilla insurgency based among Peruvian Indians in the mountains near Ayacucho.

The guerrillas are led by Sendero Luminoso (SL — Shining Path), who claim adherence to "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism." In 1982, SL staged a spectacular raid on the federal prison in Ayacucho, freeing some 300 inmates, including 90 being held under the country's anti-terrorist law.

Since then, SL has consolidated its influence in scores of Quechua-speaking Indian communities by organizing production, distributing food and farming implements, and assassinating unpopular government and police officials.

Hugo Blanco described SL in the *International Viewpoint* interview as "a Maoist group with some very sectarian aspects. It considers all those who do not support it are reactionaries who have to be eliminated. . . . Unfortunately the victims include peasant leaders of other sections of the left, members of peasant cooperatives, and leaders of organizations in non-Senderista areas.

"However, it is notable that despite all these negative factors, Sendero Luminoso, rather than being crushed by repression, is growing. This shows that the population is desperate, and that there are always more disappointed people, disappointed not only by the bourgeois political machines, but also by the mass organizations and the left parties."

Blanco reports that Sendero Luminoso was able to call a strike against repression in Ayacucho that was 90 percent effective.

About 4,000 army troops are now reported to be involved in the campaign against SL in the mountains around Ayacucho. Official army reports say that 854 people had died as of June 5, including only 50 soldiers and about 600 guerrillas. But massacres by government forces and extensive repression of the peasantry have been widely reported.

"The Government has not produced bodies or names in its death toll reports," *New York Times* correspondent Edward Schumacher reported June 6 in a dispatch from the Andean town of Huanta. "One disenchanted senior intelligence officer," Schumacher continued, "said 'many more are being killed, and they are not dying in combat.' He and others said many victims were peasants thought to have been sympathetic to the guerrillas."

Broad peasant movement

Sendero Luminoso's activities reflect only one part of the struggle by Peru's peasants to resist the government's policies. Like the

urban workers, the country's peasants are being driven into desperate poverty by the economic crisis.

In rural areas, Hugo Blanco reports, "the peasants block the roads, taking the land to build huts in which to live. This happened at El Palomar, where the police killed five inhabitants."

On November 26, 1982, some four million peasants carried out a 24-hour nationwide work stoppage to demand changes in the government's agricultural policy. The strike represented the first mass mobilization of peasants in decades. The peasants demanded improved prices for their products, low rates on credit, a continuation of agrarian reform, and measures to block the return of land to large landowners.

PRT and PST-POMR joint committee

On February 14 the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, and the Socialist Workers Party—Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (PST-POMR) issued a joint statement proposing "a Socialist Front that will call for the only type of government that can lead the country out of the crisis, a government of the workers and peasants organizations and of the people's defense fronts."

The PST-POMR was formed by a fusion between the Peruvian followers of Nahuel Moreno in the PST and a section of the POMR that broke with the international current led by Pierre Lambert of the French Internationalist Communist Party (PCI).

The PRT and PST-POMR set up a permanent joint coordinating committee after the PRT proposed such a step "in order to launch joint work in the mass movement and establish an alternative pole to the reformism of the United Left (IU) in all possible areas. . . ."

The PRT proposal, which was accepted by the PST-POMR, also included the opening of a discussion on the Nicaraguan revolution, the 1979 split from the Fourth International by the Moreno forces, and the subsequent blowup of the international formation that both the PST and POMR had participated in.

The joint statement of the PRT and the PST-POMR, which was printed in the May 16 issue of *International Viewpoint* with minor deletions, dealt only with questions of Peruvian politics. It called for "the mobilization and self-organization of the masses" against the bosses and the government, and for "political independence of the exploited against the various bourgeois alternatives."

During the protest, traffic was tied up on the country's main highways. Confrontations with police left at least 3 peasants dead and 10 wounded.

Chile

Regime still using torture

Amnesty International issues report

Chile's television stations broadcast a speech May 20 by the country's military dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet, in which he ruled out any return to civilian rule in the near future.

Pinochet, who led the 1973 coup that overthrew and murdered elected president Salvador Allende, was responding to the huge demonstrations that took place in the country's streets on May 11 in protest against the military regime.

Two people were killed, dozens were wounded, and nearly 1,000 were arrested throughout the country by security forces on May 11.

The success of the day of protests, despite the fierce repression, reflects the desperate economic situation the Chilean people are suffering. Last year Chile's output dropped 14 percent, while inflation and unemployment are both at the 30 percent mark.

Pinochet, however, claimed in his speech that the protests were "guided and directed by Russia."

After a decade in power, the Chilean military continues to arrest suspected opponents without charges, holds them incommunicado, and subjects them to torture, according to the human rights organization Amnesty International (AI).

Chile: Evidence of torture, a 76-page Amnesty International report published in May, concludes that it is "beyond reasonable doubt that the use of torture has been a constant feature of the security forces' practice during the past nine years."

The report presents the findings of an AI delegation that visited Chile in mid-1982 and examined people who had been tortured while in the custody of Chilean security forces between March 1980 and April 1982.

The delegation included two doctors, who carried out medical examinations of those who had been tortured.

The report presents case histories of 19 people arrested without warrants by agents of the National Intelligence Center (CNI) and other security forces.

Fourteen of those examined by AI had been held in the CNI's detention center at 1470 Calle Borgoño in downtown Santiago. The building once housed Santiago's medical school.

Eighteen of the 19 interviewed by Amnesty International's team had been tortured while in

The kind of militant mass action undertaken by the peasants in their general strike is another key target of the government's state of emergency. □

custody. Of those, 17 had been severely beaten, while 14 had electricity applied to various parts of their bodies.

The team has learned that several of the people it examined have since been rearrested.

The team found that the "torturers alternated between physical and mental torture according to a calculated plan of action." The identical reports from a number of detainees led the team to conclude that "the torture process was highly systematic."

Among the physical tortures, prisoners were subjected to such practices as:

- "The telephone," whereby the detainee is hit with blows of the hands on both ears simultaneously, causing acute headaches and loss of balance.

- "The parrot's perch," in which the victim is tied up in a fetal position and hung from a pole.

- "The grill," in which the person is strapped to a metal bed and given electrical shocks.

- "The bathtub," wherein the victim's head is held under water almost to the point of suffocation.

In addition, female prisoners were subjected to sexual abuse, including rape. One 19-year-old woman described being raped by four of her captors in succession and then being made to lie down next to a decomposing corpse. Later she was locked in a room full of rats.

In addition to physical torture, the former detainees reported a number of psychological pressures applied to soften them up. These included being kept in absolute silence for long periods until they lost all sense of time; being constantly blindfolded and alone; being forced to remain in one position for long periods; having to watch or listen to other prisoners being tortured; being constantly bombarded with noise; and receiving threats against family members.

Four of the 18 were subjected to mock executions.

According to reports from the former prisoners, trained medical personnel were present during torture sessions. The prisoners were given physical examinations before and after torture, and in some cases doctors "actively participated in torture," the report notes.

Chile: Evidence of torture is available for \$4.95 from Amnesty International USA, National Office, Publications Department, 304 W. 58th St., New York, N.Y. 10019. □

U.S. bases a staging area for war

Washington disregards protests over stepped-up activity

By Steve Wattenmaker

The U.S. government is sharply stepping up use of its military bases in Panama as a staging area for counterrevolutionary operations in Central America and the Caribbean.

Increased numbers of Salvadoran soldiers are being trained in counterinsurgency at the U.S. Army School of the Americas at Fort Gulick. At the same time, the Pentagon is using its facilities at Howard Air Base to forward war materiel and provide logistical support to the Salvadoran army and anti-Sandinista guerrillas operating out of camps on the Honduran border.

The level of U.S. military activity in Panama has reached such a pitch that the Panamanian government has warned that it could provoke an anti-imperialist upsurge among the Panamanian people.

'Swarming' with U.S. war planes

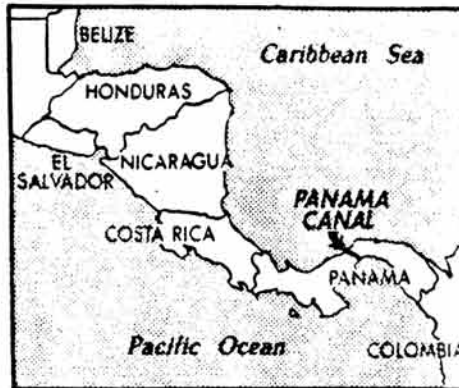
More than 9,000 U.S. troops are stationed at military bases spread along the length of the canal — a force equal in size to Panama's own army. U.S. troops have occupied Panamanian territory since 1903, and the headquarters for the Pentagon's U.S. Southern Command, an operational area covering most of South and Central America, is located near Panama City.

Early in 1983 Washington began to enlarge its use of Howard Air Base, near the Pacific end of the canal. A pilot who was recently stationed at Howard told the *New York Times* that the base was "swarming" with U.S. aircraft hauling weapons and ammunition to Honduras and El Salvador. A Pentagon official confirmed that flights from Howard are ferrying arms to CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries attacking Nicaragua from camps in Honduras.

Flights over El Salvador are also originating at Howard. Among the planes based there are four AC-130 reconnaissance aircraft. These are huge cargo planes that have been modified to conduct electronic intelligence-gathering as well as transport cargo. They are equipped with weapons, including 40-millimeter cannon. There are strong indications that these planes have been used in combat.

According to Philip Taubman in the May 24 *Times*, the pilot reported that "the four planes took off almost every night, often loaded with ammunition, and did not return until shortly before dawn. He said the Air Force crews that flew the planes did not wear any unit insignias or other forms of identification while they were aboard the planes.

"In addition, the pilot said, when the planes return to the base the ammunition is gone. He



U.S. planes fly sorties over El Salvador from Howard Air Force Base, while troops from Central American dictatorships are trained at School of the Americas in Fort Gulick.

said a mechanic who worked on the planes had asserted that the guns on the planes needed new barrels almost every day, a sign that they were being heavily used."

While a top Pentagon official admitted the facts reported by Taubman, he explained them as a result of nightly "training exercises." However, an intelligence officer said that the AC-130s were being used for low-level spy flights over guerrilla territory in El Salvador.

In addition to the air activity, Panamanian ports are being used to resupply U.S. Navy vessels involved in spying on Nicaragua.

School for butchers

The Reagan administration has also ordered an increase in the number of Central American soldiers trained at the U.S. Army School of the

Americas at Fort Gulick. Since 1946, regimes in the region friendly to U.S. imperialism have sent their enlisted men and officers to the school for advanced training — especially in counterinsurgency techniques.

Among the infamous alumni were 4,700 members of ex-Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza's bloody National Guard. The school has also trained soldiers for the Chilean, Guatemalan, Bolivian, and other repressive regimes in the region. Thousands of U.S. troops were sent to Panama for jungle training during the Vietnam War.

In the past three years, enrollment at the School of the Americas has surged from about 700 in 1980 to a projected attendance of more than 2,400 in 1983. Almost half are Salvadoran.

Fort Gulick is also the base for Mobile Training Teams (MTT) that are sent to countries throughout the region. An MTT dispatched from Panama to Bolivia in 1967 was involved in tracking down and murdering Che Guevara. One MTT of 55 "trainers" is currently stationed in El Salvador and another team operates in Honduras.

The courses taught at the school are laced with training in "internal defense and development" — the army's polite term for counterinsurgency. Reports charging the school with teaching torture methods have appeared in the *New York Times* and other publications.

Buildup fuels tensions

Panama's government has already privately expressed its concern to Washington over the military buildup — especially the heavy activity at Howard Air Base.

The concern stems from the Panamanian government's fears that the use of U.S. bases there as a major military staging area in Central America will spark an anti-imperialist upsurge in the country.

Resentment against the U.S. colonialist occupation has always run high among Panama's workers, farmers, and students. A wave of mass protests erupted in 1959 and grew to a crescendo by 1964. In March of 1964, U.S. Army troops opened fire on Panamanian demonstrators, killing 22 and wounding some 500.

The upsurge succeeded in forcing the administration of President Lyndon Johnson to open negotiations for a new canal treaty. However, the U.S. government managed to drag out the talks for 14 years before a treaty was signed in 1978.

The new agreement put an end to the hated Canal Zone — a 10-mile-wide strip of U.S.-governed territory that cut Panama in two — and provided for the gradual return of the canal

to Panamanian control. At the same time, Panama was forced to accept U.S. sovereignty over the canal until the year 2000, including a continued U.S. military occupation. The new U.S. military buildup is a flagrant violation of even this unequal treaty. Under the terms of the agreement the U.S. military role in Panama is restricted to defending the canal.

Washington cynically skirts the prohibition by claiming that the new treaty doesn't require that this be done "from the banks of the waterway."

"The defense of the canal does not start here. It ends here," a U.S. Air Force commander told the *Miami Herald*.

Another explosive issue among Panamanians is the fate of the U.S. Army School of the Americas itself. Under the treaty it is scheduled to be turned over to Panama on Oct. 1, 1984. However, Washington has begun to push Panama hard for an extension.

At odds on El Salvador

The U.S. military buildup in Panama also runs counter to the solidarity the Panamanian people feel with the revolutionary struggles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala.

That sentiment has pressured the Panamanian government to play a role in the Contadora group of Panama, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela. Foreign ministers from these countries have been meeting periodically on Panama's Contadora Island. The group has been pushing for unconditional negotiations between the rebels and the government in El Salvador — a position the U.S. government hotly opposes. It has also urged a halt to the attacks on Nicaragua.

Panamanian officials have told Washington that continued treaty violations and the increased military activity could again bring the Panamanian people into the streets.

As early as last December the president of Panama, Ricardo de la Espriella, warned that U.S. actions were provoking anger in the country.

Esriella and National Guard commander Gen. Rubén Darío Paredes — who holds the real power in Panama — find themselves between a rock and a hard place.

On one hand Panama's ruling class is haunted by the vision of revolution in Panama itself. Anti-imperialist feelings are closely bound up with the Panamanian masses' deepening discontent over repression and poverty at home. A rising tide of protest against Washington could spill over into revolutionary action against Panama's rulers.

This danger has forced the Panamanian regime to take a certain distance from Washington. Paredes' predecessor as head of the National Guard, Gen. Omar Torrijos, established friendly relations with Cuba and gave the Sandinistas considerable support during their struggle against Somoza. He vowed that the U.S. Army counterinsurgency school would be turned into a "kindergarten" when it was handed over to Panama in 1984.

Since Paredes took over the Guard follow-

ing Torrijos' death in 1981, he has generally been compelled to take a similar public stance, although he has criticized Cuba along with the United States.

Stay in line — or else

On the other hand, Paredes and the other figures in the Panamanian government and National Guard are painfully aware of the penalty U.S. imperialism will exact if they get too far out of line.

Earlier this year the Reagan administration sent Paredes an unambiguous warning that it will not allow any government to get in the way of its war policies in Central America.

On several occasions in January the U.S. ambassador to Panama, Everett Briggs, and other U.S. diplomats paid unannounced visits to junior commanders in Panama's National Guard. While the embassy claimed these visits were mere courtesy calls, the intended message was crystal clear: Washington is not beyond stirring up a coup against the Panamanian government if it shows too much independence.

The provocation was such a direct affront to Panama's national sovereignty — not to mention General Paredes' continued job security — that Paredes warned Briggs that if it hap-

pened again he would declare the ambassador persona non grata.

The U.S. State Department quickly expressed its "full confidence" in Briggs.

Standing behind such veiled threats is the stark reality of a U.S. occupation army of equal size to Panama's own, and an economy that is completely dominated by U.S. imperialism.

Even Panama's National Guard is historically tied to U.S. imperialism. Along with General Paredes himself, nearly 4,000 guardsmen have graduated from the U.S. Army School of the Americas at Fort Gulick.

Regardless of protests by the Panamanian government, or even a resurgence of popular protests there, Washington is determined to expand its Panamanian bases as a key pivot in its widening war in Central America and the Caribbean.

Underscoring that conclusion, Lt. Gen. Wallace Nutting, the outgoing head of the U.S. Southern Command, told the May 22 *Washington Post* that U.S. troops may be needed in Central America.

Sitting in his headquarters overlooking Panama City, Nutting said of the U.S. military role in Central America, "we have not done what is required." □

Call for release of Babak Zahraie

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are asking the Iranian government to release anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie from prison.

A central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran, Zahraie has been confined in Tehran's Evin Prison since January 17 of this year. No charges against him have been made public, and he has been denied the right to receive visitors.

Zahraie has a long history as an active opponent of the tyrannical rule of the shah of Iran. Exiled in the United States because of the repression in his native land, Zahraie was active in the anti-shah student movement and in the movement against the Vietnam War.

Zahraie also helped found and lead the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

CAIFI helped win the release of religious figures, writers, and other political prisoners in the shah's jails, including Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri and Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani. CAIFI also exposed the U.S. role in training SAVAK (secret police) torturers and propping up the repressive regime of the shah.

CAIFI denounced attempts to restrict the political activities of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini when he was living in exile in France.

In early 1979, Zahraie returned to Iran and participated in the insurrection that toppled the monarchy. Since that time, he has been active in helping advance the revolution and in defending the Islamic Republic from imperialist attack.

Among those in the United States who have sent messages to the Iranian government call-

ing for Zahraie's freedom are Professor Edward Said of Columbia University, a member of the Palestine National Council; Abdeen Jabara, a prominent civil liberties attorney and pro-Palestinian rights activist; and Professor Ervand Abrahamian.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are urged to send messages calling for Zahraie's release. Such messages should request:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of U.S. imperialist attacks against that revolution, I urge you to free anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie, currently held in Evin Prison.

"His continued imprisonment — based on no crime against the revolution — can only harm the just struggle of the Iranian people."

Messages should be sent to the committee established by Ayatollah Khomeini to investigate violations of constitutional rights:

Seta'd Peygiri, Karimkhan Ave., Iranshahr, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to *Intercontinental Press*.

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Springboard for U.S. intervention

Pentagon preparing bases for war in Central America

By Roberto Kopec

[The following are major excerpts from an article in the June 13 issue of the U.S. revolutionary Marxist biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial*. The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In mid-April the U.S. government reaffirmed its use of Puerto Rico as a springboard for military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean when it revealed that the U.S. Air Force plans to reactivate Ramey Air Force Base in Aguadilla.

Until 1973, Ramey Air Force Base, now known as Punta Borinquen, was the Caribbean headquarters of the U.S. Strategic Air Command. At its height it was home to more than 30 B-52 bombers carrying nuclear weapons.

According to the April 27 issue of the daily *San Juan Star*, the Air Force has stated that for now Ramey Air Force Base will only be used for periodic training exercises, but "other sources have said that ultimately the base will be used on a permanent basis by the Air Force for reconnaissance planes and even possibly for fighters."

A secret Pentagon document recently revealed to the press indicates that the use of the Ramey base is of "critical" importance for "the accomplishment of the mission" of the U.S. Air Force in the Caribbean, according to the *Star*.

This "mission" is to contain the revolutionary upsurge in the region. The document in question refers to the plan to rehabilitate the Ramey base as the "Borinquen Initiative."

Among the reasons given for its implementation were "Cuba's growing military capability" and the "Soviet-Cuban growing presence in Grenada." Also cited was the "vulnerability of sea lanes and vital U.S. installations in Panama and Puerto Rico and the need to build up USAF capability to conduct maritime operations to protect those interests," as well as the "need for power projection and airlift . . . for long-range operations into the South Atlantic and Africa."

Nicaragua and Grenada targeted

The references to Cuban "military capability" and the "Soviet-Cuban growing presence in Grenada" only serve as a pretext and hide a deeper motivation. As the April 25 *San Juan Star* indicates: "the Central American situation is worsening monthly, and the Reagan administration is fearful that other countries will go the way of Nicaragua."

Both Nicaragua and the Caribbean island of

Grenada have revolutionary governments that defend the interests of the workers and farmers, and are therefore targets of Washington's military escalation in the area.

Ever since U.S. troops took over Puerto Rico in 1898 and turned it into a colony, the island has served as a virtual floating U.S. fortress in the Caribbean, and as a launching pad for military interventions into the countries of the region. The mercenary invasion of Guatemala in 1954, which overthrew the elected government of Jacobo Arbenz, was launched from Puerto Rico. The naval blockade of Cuba in 1962 was coordinated from the U.S. Roosevelt Roads Naval Base in Puerto Rico. And the invasion of the Dominican Republic by U.S. Marines in 1965 took off from Puerto Rico.

U.S. military installations occupy approximately 13 percent of Puerto Rico's territory. On Vieques, a small island to the east of Puerto Rico, the U.S. Navy has taken over nearly 75 percent of the land since World War II and now uses it, together with the surrounding waters, for naval gunnery practice.

Periodically Vieques is also used in war games, with the island's beaches playing the role of the "enemy" country invaded by thousands of U.S. Marines in amphibious landing operations.

In recent maneuvers of this type, the script followed by the Pentagon has made obvious references to Cuba and Grenada.

Conscription and unemployment

Not only has the territory of Puerto Rico been taken over for the military aims of U.S. imperialism, but the lives of its inhabitants have been usurped to that end as well. In 1917 Washington imposed U.S. citizenship on the Puerto Rican people to facilitate their forcible induction into the armed forces when the United States entered World War I. Since then, more than 200,000 Puerto Ricans have served in the U.S. Army. In Korea and Vietnam alone, more than 2,000 Puerto Ricans were killed.

Now Washington again wants to sacrifice Puerto Rican lives in a new war to further its imperialist aims.

In preparation for this war, in early February more than 200 members of the National Guard in Puerto Rico participated in U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers along Honduras' border with Nicaragua.

The U.S. government and the colonial government of Puerto Rico claim that increased militarization of the island brings benefits to the Puerto Rican people in the form of better

job opportunities and expanded commercial activity.

But the Vieques example clearly shows that the opposite is true. In Vieques the presence of the U.S. Navy has practically destroyed agriculture and threatens to destroy the fishing industry. It is true that a sector of the population of Vieques works for the navy or is in some way economically dependent on it. But that is because the navy itself has eliminated other possible sources of employment and impedes the growth of existing ones.

In reality, the colonial status of Puerto Rico is the cause of the grave economic crisis that the people of the island are suffering today. With 35 percent of the work force unemployed and 60 percent of the families dependent on welfare, this situation is being further aggravated by the cuts in social programs and other austerity measures imposed by the bosses and their government in Washington.

Deep opposition to U.S. war moves

Greater militarization of Puerto Rico also means an increase in repression because of the government's need to control the popular opposition to its war plans and to maintain its colonial rule over the island.

Evidence of this escalation of repression has already been seen in the recent rash of jailings of independence supporters under the pretext of their noncooperation with federal grand juries, and in the brutal police response to people's movements like that of the Villa Sin Miedo homesteaders, who were driven off the land last year.

The Puerto Rican people have a long history of resistance to U.S. military interventionism. Hundreds of youth went to jail for refusing to serve in U.S. wars when the military draft was still in effect.

Today, despite an unemployment rate of around 45 percent among Puerto Rican youth, which forces many young people to go into the military, tens of thousands have refused to register for the draft.

According to a survey done at the University of Puerto Rico by the Christian Students Federation (FEC) there, 26 percent of the students of registration age had not registered for the draft. The survey also revealed that 85 percent of the students were opposed to registration.

On the island of Vieques, for a number of years the fishermen, organized in the Crusade to Rescue Vieques, have carried out protest actions against naval maneuvers. On occasion they have been able to prevent the navy from carrying out gunnery practice.

Moreover, since Puerto Rico is a Latin American country, there are strong feelings of

solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Central America for their liberation.

The proindependence movement is in the vanguard of the struggle against the militarization of Puerto Rico.

Rubén Berríos, chairman of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), recently described the reactivation of Ramey Air Force Base as a "provocation by the U.S. government against the international community and, particularly, against the Central American and Caribbean countries . . . leading to the militarization of Puerto Rico and of the Caribbean

region."

In addition, the general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), Carlos Gallisá, wrote an article in the PSP weekly *Claridad* denouncing "the infamous role as a military bastion" that the U.S. government has assigned to Puerto Rico "to launch and support U.S. military intervention in the region from our soil."

Gallisá made a call "to the progressive forces of the country" to "generate, both on the national and international levels, the most resolute campaign to expose and combat the plans

for the militarization of Puerto Rico and the inclusion of Puerto Ricans in Washington's war plans."

The liberation of the Puerto Rican people would take away from the United States government a key element for maintaining its control over Central America and the Caribbean.

As Rubén Berríos stated in an interview with the *Nueva Voz* press service, "Real independence for Latin America will not come as long as there is no independence for Puerto Rico. Latin America cannot be free if Puerto Rico is not free." □

United States

Gains in unity for Salvador solidarity

Death of two revolutionary leaders has wide impact

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the June 10 issue of the *Militant*, a U.S. revolutionary Marxist weekly.]

* * *

The loss of two heroic leaders of the Salvadoran revolution has been the catalyst for some important rethinking of long-held positions by a number of U.S. defenders of that struggle. This reevaluation is opening the door to achieving more unity in mobilizing opposition to the deepening U.S. military intervention in Central America.

The kind of discussion going on is indicated by a front-page article by Robert Armstrong, appearing in the May 18 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical weekly.

The article is entitled, "Why Marcial and Ana María died."

Marcial (Salvador Cayetano Carpio) and Ana María (Mélida Anaya Montes) were leaders of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL). The FPL is one of the five organizations making up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador. The other groups are the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS), People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), and Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC).

'Serious reassessment'

Armstrong reports on a "serious reassessment" that has gone on within the FPL centering on relations within the FMLN. Citing a "Guardian source within the FPL," Armstrong states that the FPL has made a "profound self-criticism" regarding its past resistance to real unity within the FMLN, and is now pursuing a different course.

Armstrong writes:

"Although an integral member of the FMLN, for almost two years the FPL has

functioned as a kind of 'permanent opposition.' One FMLN representative told the *Guardian* that the FPL's attitude toward many questions of joint strategy and action was 'sí, pero no' ('yes, but no'). It often voted — many say rigidly — in opposition within the Unified Revolutionary Directorate, the FMLN's central command.

"In January [1983], the FPL command and the entire organization reviewed its history and concluded that its attitude toward unity required serious rectification and that it must work within the FMLN in a less aloof way."

By all accounts, including the *Guardian's*, Ana María and Marcial played a central role in fighting for this new course. As two of the most respected and experienced leaders in the FMLN, their role in this was essential.

They saw, correctly, that nothing less than the fate of the revolution in El Salvador, and all of Central America, was at stake. Without the advance of the process of unification, the revolution in El Salvador cannot win. This was one of the lessons of Nicaragua, where overcoming the divisions within the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was an essential condition for the triumph over the Somoza dictatorship.

'Mystique' of FPL

Armstrong's article is significant because it represents the thinking of a layer of activists in the United States who have viewed the FPL as the most important of the groups within the FMLN, and the one with which they have found the greatest political affinity.

As Armstrong puts it, "Over the years the FPL had developed a considerable mystique about the maturity of its practice."

No one who accepted the framework of the "mystique" spoke against the unity of the FMLN, or counterposed the FPL to it. But their premise was that while each of the five groups in the FMLN was equal, the FPL was

more equal than the others. Therefore, they believed, it was correct for the FPL to have veto power, and to largely go its own way within the FMLN. Thus, "sí, pero no." Unity in words, but often not in action.

With this approach, solidarity activity carried out in this country in the name of support to the FMLN was often oriented primarily toward the FPL. What was worse, this approach was a barrier to building united solidarity actions in the United States.

Recent events, however, including the new course of the FPL itself, have brought an end to the mystique. As Armstrong puts it, "The murder and suicide of the most respected commanders [of the FPL] was a profound shock."

Why they died

Why did Ana María and Marcial die? The question is posed, and answered, in Armstrong's article.

As Armstrong reports, both leaders had become strongly committed to reversing the old approach of the FPL. The murder of Ana María was engineered by Rogelio Bazzaglia, who had been part of the FPL central leadership and who vehemently opposed the organization's new stance toward unity within the FMLN.

Whether or not Bazzaglia was acting as an agent of imperialism's police is not known. Given the vast resources Washington has mobilized to halt the advance of the revolution in Central America, there can be no doubt that the CIA was involved in one way or another. That is understood by all.

But CIA involvement in such activities is not the key to the political lessons to be drawn from the treachery. The heart of the matter — and this is what shocked many — is that a layer of the cadres were so deeply committed to the "sí, pero no" tradition in which they had been trained that they were ready to kill a leader

who was working to implement the turn the organization had decided on. This was the extreme to which the factionalism had gone.

When questioned by FPL leaders after his capture, Bazzaglia insisted that the action was totally justified as a political move.

Ana María was killed because she was the central person on the scene (Marcial was abroad) who was fighting for the new line, a political battle she was waging in close collaboration with leaders of the FMLN from other political origins. When faced with the realization of what was involved in Ana María's assassination, Marcial took his own life.

Closing ranks of FMLN

Ending the mystique of the FPL has been an essential part of moving forward for the leaders and ranks coming from the FPL tradition. It has opened the door to replacing all mystiques with the kind of political objectivity demonstrated by Marcial and Ana María — objectivity about what must be done and the capacity of every group and current to be part of doing it.

The kind of leadership that is being built is one that will combat mystiques and factionalism of all kinds — one in which the Bazzaglias will be unable to exert influence.

The FMLN, including the FPL leaders who have taken the place of the fallen comrades, has responded to the tragic events by closing ranks. It has stepped up the level of struggle, including on the military front. According to all reports, it is achieving greater coordination than ever before.

As Armstrong puts it, "Almost unanimously observers believe that despite these deaths, the FMLN will show increasing military capability and closer internal cooperation."

This united response of the Salvadoran revolutionists registers the progress that has been made there in the critical task of moving toward forging a single, disciplined vanguard. Such an organization is necessary to lead the workers and peasants to defeat the tyranny and take political power. For that reason, the unification of forces within the FMLN is an essential part of the process by which the working class and the most exploited layers of the peasantry are asserting their leadership in the revolution.

Armstrong points out that "there always have been political disagreements [within the FMLN], as is inevitable when five separate left organizations try to unite. Discussions about the nature of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and its relationship to U.S. imperialism, the appropriate kinds of class alliances, the most effective military strategy and the possibilities of a negotiated solution to the war have been regular topics of debate."

These questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics are the very kind of questions that were worked through by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, by the July 26 Movement in Cuba — and by the Bolsheviks in Russia. In El Sal-



U.S. "adviser" in El Salvador. As Washington escalates its intervention in Central America, there will also be big battles inside the United States.

vador, too, they will be resolved — not before, or apart from, the unification process — but through the experiences of the revolutionary struggle, including the experience of forging the necessary unity.

Deepening solidarity in U.S.

The FMLN has paid a heavy price in blood to achieve the unity that is now being consolidated. It is time for those working to deepen solidarity actions in the United States to catch up with the FMLN on this question. Competition, lack of coordination, and divisions deriving from the "sí, pero no" way of functioning should be put behind us.

Within the framework of recognizing the FMLN as the leadership of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, it is natural that different groups who support the efforts of the people of El Salvador to throw off the tyranny there will vary in their views on many of the questions being discussed within the FMLN. But what is decisive is that united opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America not be held hostage to mystiques of any kind or to differing estimates of particular currents within the FMLN.

The worst mystique of all would be the idea that different assessments of groupings within the FMLN should determine strategy or tactics in the solidarity movement in the United States. Our starting point must be the situation in this country, and the possibilities for educating, organizing, and mobilizing the American people to oppose imperialism's course in Central America.

The stakes in Central America are immense for imperialism. Direct military intervention — the use of American soldiers in combat — is inevitable. The victory of that intervention,

however, is not.

What is coming is an escalation both of Washington's war in Central America and the battles over that war policy inside the United States. Those battles here will be part and parcel of a deepening of the class struggle in this country, in which the fight against imperialism's war will be central.

Within the framework of united efforts by all those dedicated to defending the Salvadoran revolution, therefore, we are convinced that one thing will become clearer and clearer as the struggle intensifies: opponents of U.S. intervention need to base our course on a strategic orientation to the working class and the oppressed nationalities. This means consistently working to involve them and their organizations in the fight against U.S. intervention, and consistently explaining that their interests coincide with the interests of the workers and peasants of El Salvador and all of Central America.

As the class struggle continues to deepen, a policy based on that orientation will help bring forward the forces that can frustrate the rulers' aims in Central America and at home. □

Correction

An error by *Intercontinental Press* appeared in the excerpt from the newspaper *Working Class Opposition* in the "Selections From the Left" section on page 334 of the June 13 issue. The sixth paragraph in the selection begins, "After recalling the killing of Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton by members of Cayetano Carpio's group in 1974. . . ." It should have read, "After recalling the killing of Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton by members of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in 1974. . . ."

CIA plot revealed

Part of ongoing imperialist campaign

By Ernest Harsch

Since late last year, the Reagan administration and the CIA have been plotting to overthrow the government of Suriname. White House officials publicly admitted May 31.

This revelation comes at a time when Washington is steadily escalating its military intervention throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

A former Dutch colony of 400,000 people on the northern coast of South America, Suriname is ruled by a government headed by Lieut. Col. Desi Bouterse. It has adopted numerous anti-imperialist foreign policy positions and has established friendly ties with revolutionary Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua. In Washington's eyes, that in itself is a crime warranting Bouterse's overthrow.

'The most extreme measures'

The CIA plot against Bouterse, Philip Taubman reported in the June 1 *New York Times*, called for the formation of a small mercenary force composed mainly of right-wing Surinamese exiles. According to Taubman, "The force was supposed to infiltrate the capital, Paramaribo, and oust the Government, the officials said."

Details of the CIA plans were told to members of the U.S. Senate and House intelligence committees. "While not opposed in principle to the idea of attempting to overthrow a foreign government," Taubman continued, "committee members said they had criticized the C.I.A. for advocating what one House member called 'the most extreme measure' before less severe methods were used to try to steer Suriname away from Soviet and Cuban influence."

The administration officials claimed that they therefore dropped their plans earlier this year.

That claim is suspect. Efforts to organize mercenary groups are still under way, both in the United States and in the Netherlands. The Reagan administration's public stance toward the Bouterse government remains hostile. And the U.S. and Dutch governments are continuing their efforts to economically strangle Suriname.

Moreover, the implication that the plot against Bouterse did not get beyond the planning stages is patently false. There have been at least half a dozen attempts to overthrow Bouterse since his government came to power in February 1980, and U.S. officials have been directly implicated in some of them.

A 'horror story'?

In order to justify such attacks against

Suriname, the Reagan administration and the imperialist press have been conducting a slander campaign designed to portray the Surinamese government as a bloodthirsty tyranny that has suppressed all democratic rights.

When the authorities in Suriname cracked down on right-wing opponents last December, and 15 of them were killed, it was given lurid coverage in the imperialist media, which has remained virtually silent on the U.S. and Dutch efforts to topple Bouterse.

One of the crudest propaganda pieces appeared in the May 30 *Time* magazine.

"Once upon a time the former colony of



Dutch Guiana seemed to be an enchanted tropical paradise," the article began.

"But the fairy tale has become a horror story. . . . Says one of the few locals unafraid to talk: 'People are terrified and suspicious of informers everywhere.'"

How distorted this picture of life in Suriname is was highlighted by a dispatch from Paramaribo in the April issue of *Caribbean Contact*, the monthly newspaper of the Caribbean Council of Churches. It pointed out that despite the various right-wing attempts to overthrow the government, "Superficially, at least, life seems normal in Suriname. Immigration and Customs checks are both cursory — easier than in most Caribbean states — and in this bustling capital city, no soldiers and very few policemen patrol the streets.

"A lightly-enforced mid-night to 4 a.m. curfew remains in place, although a very wide variety of workers have received exemptions and are permitted on the streets during the curfew.

"In any case, the maximum penalty for violating the curfew is washing military vehicles at one of the two garrisons in Paramaribo.

"The mood is one of uncertainty rather than tension."

Hardly the "horror story" painted by *Time*.

As part of the imperialist propaganda campaign, the specter of a "Cuban menace" in Suriname has been raised. Responding to such charges, Dick DeBie, a Surinamese government spokesperson, said, "We respect them [the Cubans] and we believe that they are an important factor in the region, but there have been articles in the Dutch press saying that we have 400 Cubans here. That is absolutely not true. Where would we hide 400 Cubans in Suriname?"

Anti-imperialist actions

The real reason for the U.S. and Dutch imperialists' hostility to the Surinamese government has nothing to do with supposed human rights violations. It flows from the efforts of that small, impoverished country to rid itself of imperialist domination and the legacy of centuries of Dutch colonial rule.

Contrary to *Time's* account, Suriname was not an "enchanted tropical paradise" before Bouterse came to power. Until 1975, it was a direct colony of the Netherlands. Then it was ruled by a corrupt neocolonial regime headed by Henck Arron.

Suriname's natural wealth (including some of the richest bauxite deposits in the world) was auctioned off to U.S. and Dutch companies. Living conditions were poor. Nearly one-half of all workers earned less than \$100 a month. Unemployment was so widespread that tens of thousands of Surinamese had to emigrate (most of them to the Netherlands) in search of work.

In February 1980, Arron's proimperialist regime was overthrown by a group of noncommissioned officers, something that was welcomed by working people.

The young soldiers who ousted Arron set up the National Military Council (NMC) to run the country. Different political currents were reflected within it, and within the various civilian cabinets that the NMC appointed. Some had ties to bourgeois and proimperialist forces, and others to the various trade unions and left-wing parties. As a result, the new government followed contradictory policies.

But over time, those who favored greater opposition to imperialist domination won increasing influence. The government nationalized several enterprises, including the Dutch-owned power company. It pressed for more favorable trade and economic assistance agreements with the Netherlands. And it took some modest steps toward improving the living conditions of working people. The more radical figures in the NMC encouraged mass mobilizations and the formation of popularly based "people's committees."

By late 1981, some NMC members, including Bouterse, began to move toward closer ties with Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua. Bouterse denounced U.S. military maneuvers in the region, supported Argentina in its conflict with London and Washington over the Malvinas Islands, and visited Grenada.

Opposed to such policies, the U.S. and

Dutch governments encouraged local proimperialist forces to move against Bouterse and his allies.

These efforts included coup attempts in April 1980, March 1981, and March 1982 and an aborted invasion by 300 Dutch-trained mercenaries in May 1980, launched from neighboring, French-ruled Cayenne (Guiana).

The most serious challenge to Bouterse came in October–November 1982. Taking advantage of the government's failure to adequately mobilize popular opposition to the earlier attacks, right-wing forces called a series of antigovernment demonstrations and strikes that were timed to coincide with a visit by Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

The key figure in this opposition movement was Cyril Daal, the leader of the Moederbond union federation, which has close ties with the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy in the United States. Daal openly advocated Bouterse's armed overthrow.

U.S. embassy officials in Paramaribo not only backed Daal, but sought to turn other unions against the government as well. Fred Derby, the leader of the Centrale 47 union federation (the largest in the country), revealed that he had been approached by Richard LaRoche, the deputy U.S. ambassador, to attend an antigovernment rally on October 31. Derby turned him down. Nor did any of the other unions join Daal's provocation. As a result, this destabilization effort was temporarily checked.

In early December, the authorities announced that they had discovered a plot to overthrow the government over the Christmas holidays. Progovernment forces arrested a number of right-wing opposition figures and burned down the Moederbond headquarters. Daal and 14 others were killed.

The next month, LaRoche and Edward Donovan, another U.S. embassy official, were expelled from Suriname for their subversive activities.

Later in January, yet another coup plot was uncovered and its instigators arrested, among them Maj. Roy Horb, a leading military figure and former supporter of Bouterse. Horb also had contacts with U.S. embassy officials (during the height of the unrest in October, he returned to Suriname from a visit to the United States aboard a U.S. government plane). He was reported to have committed suicide shortly after his arrest.

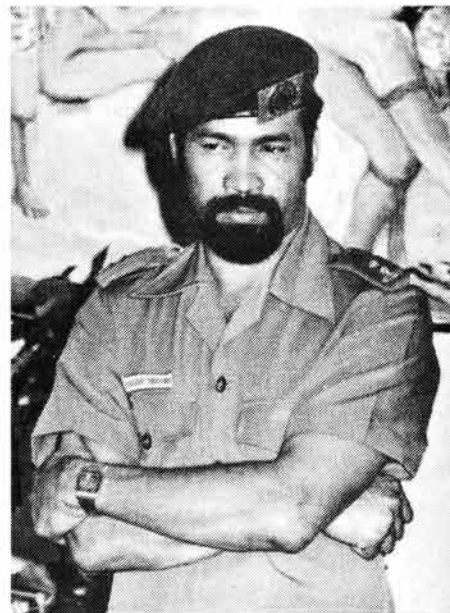
The U.S. and Dutch imperialists seized on the December killings to announce the suspension of economic and trade agreements. While the U.S. aid amounted to \$1.5 million, that from the Netherlands involved \$110 million over the next year alone (\$1.5 billion over 15 years). This cutoff threatens to disrupt a number of major projects, including a dam, irrigation canal, port development, and urban restoration. It is the working people of Suriname who will suffer.

While all the imperialist-backed efforts to topple the Surinamese government have been stymied so far, the danger is not over. A Coun-

cil for the Liberation of Suriname, composed mostly of prominent right-wing Surinamese exiles, has been set up. It is headed by former President Henck Chin-A-Sen, who spends much of his time in the United States.

The people and government of Suriname are preparing to meet this continuing threat. The *March Caribbean Contact* reported that new committees were being formed to help mobilize popular opposition to any invasion plans. Since the beginning of the year, more than half of the entire officer corps (which had survived since Arron's overthrow) has either been dismissed or fled the country.

The population is also learning important political lessons. In an interview in the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*, Bouterse explained, "At present, what the people are seeing with their own eyes is making them understand what capitalism really is, what imperialism really is. All those plots in the last three years, the imperialists' aggressiveness, the withdrawal of economic aid . . . all these things are teaching the people what imperialism really is." □



BOUTERSE

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Legacy of U.S. chemical war on Vietnam

Lasting damage to people and environment in both countries

By Will Reissner

More than a decade after the last U.S. combat troops left Vietnam, that war continues to take its toll of casualties in the United States and Australia as well as in Vietnam.

In the one year between February 1982 and 1983, U.S. veterans made 369,000 visits to Veterans Administration hospitals for treatment of diseases that are thought to be related to exposure to Agent Orange and other defoliants sprayed on Vietnam. Some 9,400 veterans were sick enough to require hospitalization.

The long arm of the Vietnam War has also reached into Australia. On May 14, the Australian government announced that it would begin an inquiry into claims by Australian troops who had fought in Vietnam that their health had been damaged by exposure to chemical defoliants like Agent Orange.

Operation Ranch Hand

U.S. and Australian veterans can trace their current health problems back to a building stuck away in a corner of Saigon's giant Tan Son Nhut Airfield. That building housed the U.S. Air Force's Operation Ranch Hand, and the motto over the door succinctly explained the program's aim: "Only You Can Prevent Forests."

In Operation Ranch Hand, huge areas of South Vietnam were sprayed with plant killers to destroy the forests in which guerrillas might hide and to kill the crops of peasants who supported the guerrillas.

In four minutes flat, one Ranch Hand spray plane could kill everything green in an area of 300 acres. The scope of the program was staggering. More than a half dozen planes sprayed defoliants on South Vietnam six days a week for 11 years.

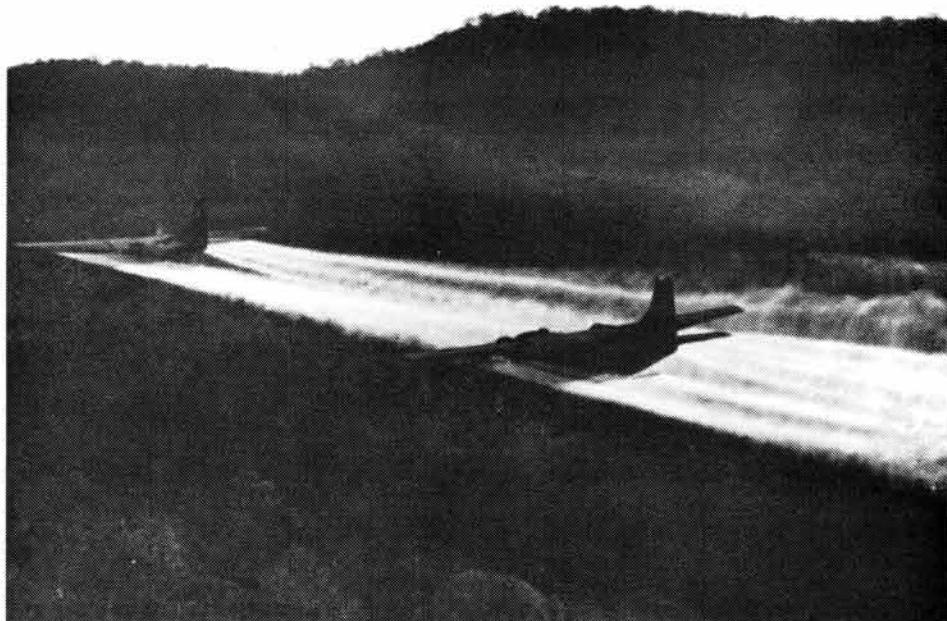
According to Pentagon figures, the planes dropped 72 million liters of defoliants — Agent Orange, Agent White, and Agent Blue — on South Vietnam between 1961 and 1971 (with the bulk of it dropped between 1967 and 1970).

High concentrations of these plant killers were sprayed on 43 percent of South Vietnam's agricultural acreage and on 44 percent of its forest land.

'No danger' said Pentagon

All the while, the Pentagon regularly issued statements saying that the defoliants caused no lasting damage to the environment and were perfectly safe for humans.

For example, a 1967 book, *Air War-Vietnam* blandly stated: "It is good to report that the defoliant used by Ranch Hand does not per-



"Operation Ranch Hand" planes in action near Kampuchean border in 1970.

manently sterilize the soil. The climate and rainfall in Vietnam is such that trees and plants grow back rapidly, so that no permanent damage will be done by this operation."

This turned out to be completely false. A 1974 study by the National Academy of Sciences pointed to long-term destruction of South Vietnam's ecology from the spraying. Describing the effects of defoliation on the huge mangrove forests, the study reported: "It is estimated that these forests will not spontaneously recover for well nigh a century, if at all."

Air War-Vietnam also describes an exchange between author Frank Harvey and Maj. Ralph Dresser, the commander of Operation Ranch Hand, regarding Agent Orange's safety for humans.

"The VC [Viet Cong] tell the peasants that our spray is deadly poison,' Dresser said. 'I'm going to show you now that it isn't.'

"He stuck his finger under one of the spigots of a dispenser drum, then licked the oily stuff. 'It tastes like kerosene with chemical overtones — not good, but hardly a deadly poison unless you drink it, which nobody is likely to do.'"

Major Dresser should have listened to the Viet Cong! It turns out they were telling the truth, while the Pentagon and the U.S. chemical companies that manufactured Agent Orange were engaged in a stunning cover-up.

Seven years after Major Dresser happily lapped up Agent Orange for an admiring repor-

ter, the president of the National Academy of Sciences prepared a report for the U.S. Congress on the effects of Operation Ranch Hand. The report stated that Agent Orange (2,4,5-T) was "contaminated with the extraordinarily toxic compound, TCDD (2,3,7,8-tetrachlorodibenzo-para-dioxin), about 200 to 300 pounds of which, mixed with about 50 million pounds of 2,4,5-T, were dispensed over South Vietnam."

Other U.S. government studies place the amount of TCDD dropped on Vietnam at up to 360 pounds.

In 1979, the President's Council on Environmental Quality described TCDD, or dioxin as it is usually called, as "one of the most toxic substances ever studied." The council found that dioxin caused cancer in test animals when as little as 2.2 parts per billion were added to their diet. To get an idea of how small a concentration that is, it would be equivalent to 2.2 seconds out of 31.7 years!

The council also found that dioxin caused birth defects in monkeys at concentrations of 2.5 parts per trillion (the equivalent of 2.5 seconds out of 31,700 years).

The Agent Orange that Major Dresser consumed, and that was dropped wholesale on Vietnam, may have contained dioxin in concentrations of up to 50 parts per million!

'Conspiracy of silence'

Through a suit filed by a group of U.S. veterans in January 1979, it was discovered that

the manufacturers of Agent Orange knew about the serious dioxin contamination at least two years before the big step-up in Operation Ranch Hand in 1967.

The veterans charge that the dioxin in Agent Orange was a cause of cancer and other diseases among their number and had resulted in the birth of severely deformed children. They learned that representatives of four U.S. chemical companies had met in 1965 to discuss how to cover up the existence of dioxin in their herbicides.

The meeting took place at the headquarters of the Dow Chemical Co. in Midland, Michigan. One of the participants, Dr. John Frawley, chief toxicologist for the Hercules Powder Co., then wrote a memo about the discussion.

Frawley's memo reported that the Dow laboratories had found large amounts of dioxin in the herbicides manufactured by these companies and was worried that "if the Government learns about this the whole industry will suffer. They [Dow] are particularly fearful," the memo continued, "of a Congressional in-

vestigation and excessive restrictive legislation on the manufacture of pesticides which might result."

Victor Yannacone, an attorney handling the veterans' lawsuit, described the 1965 meeting as "a conspiracy of silence."

But that conspiracy of silence continues. To this day the U.S. Veterans Administration denies that any health problems were caused by exposure to Agent Orange. In fact, until 1982, U.S. veterans were ineligible for treatment in VA hospitals for ailments attributed to defoliants. It took the passage of a special law in 1981, under tremendous pressure from the 2.8 million U.S. Vietnam veterans, to change that.

Dow Chemical's ongoing cover-up

Also to this very day, Dow continues to suppress evidence on the effects of dioxin on the environment and on humans.

This past March it was learned that John Hernández, the acting administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), personally intervened to permit Dow Chemical to

alter a 1981 draft EPA report.

Dow's alterations took out all references to the company's responsibility for dioxin contamination near its Midland plant. Recommendations that fish caught in the Midland area not be eaten and a warning that the fertility of women in the area might be affected were also eliminated.

Sections of the EPA report citing studies showing that dioxin causes liver damage in rats, cancer in animals exposed to small doses, reduced fertility in monkeys, and birth defects in rats, mice, and hamsters were all removed from the final version at Dow's request.

Stung by the revelations about its cover-up, on June 1 Dow announced that it would spend \$3 million on a program to show that dioxin poses no danger to humans.

According to the June 2 *Washington Post*, Dow's "President Paul F. Orefice, presiding at a heavily attended briefing in the Dow headquarters television studio, conceded that the program is aimed as much at quieting public fears as it is in producing new science."

Newark, Seveso, Love Canal — the dangers of dioxin

The impact of the U.S. chemical war on Vietnam was brought home to residents of Newark, New Jersey, on June 2 when deadly amounts of dioxin were found in an abandoned chemical plant there.

The factory had manufactured Agent Orange for the Pentagon from 1966 to 1968. The deadly chemical was found in concentrations as high as 1,200 parts per billion. That is four times higher than the concentrations found in Times Beach, Missouri, which led U.S. officials to buy up the whole town and evacuate its residents in February.

According to U.S. government standards, dioxin concentrations of as little as 1 part per billion warrant a cleanup effort.

Following the dioxin discovery in Newark, officials began investigating 10 suspected dioxin sites in New Jersey. On the first day of the investigation, dioxin was found at an abandoned pesticide factory in Edison, New Jersey. As the June 4 *New York Times* noted, "the dioxin being sought in New Jersey has been linked in most cases to the manufacture of the Vietnam War defoliant Agent Orange."

Dioxin has turned up in a number of other places around the world. In May, 41 containers of dioxin-contaminated waste were discovered in the French village of Anguilcourt.

The waste, which had been secretly dumped in the village in 1982, came from Seveso, Italy, where a 1976 explosion at a chemical factory had contaminated 700 acres of land with 10 ounces of dioxin.

After 11 children in Seveso were hos-

pitalized, 212 families were evacuated from the site. Tests determined that there were dioxin concentrations of up to 50 parts per million.

Within two months of the accident, 2,000 small animals had died on the site, and 78,000 domesticated animals had to be slaughtered because of dioxin contamination.

Authorities in Seveso also reported a significant increase in birth defects and higher rates of miscarriage in the area following the explosion.

The contamination of Times Beach, Missouri, with as much as 300 parts per billion of dioxin, was the result of the spraying of waste oil, heavily laden with dioxin, on town roads and in stables to keep down dust.

The contaminated waste oil came from a chemical plant in Verona, Missouri, that had produced dioxin, first as a byproduct of the manufacture of Agent Orange for the Pentagon and then from the manufacture of hexachlorophene, an antibacterial agent.

The contamination of Times Beach began in 1971. It was first brought to the attention of authorities by Judy Piatt, the operator of a stable, in 1973.

After Piatt's stable had been sprayed with waste oil, 11 cats and dogs dropped dead, and barn swallows died "by the bushel." Then nearly 100 horses died in agony at her stable and others in the area. But for nearly a decade after she reported the problem, virtually nothing was done about it.

Although the federal government finally

ordered the evacuation of Times Beach, it came too late for Piatt and her family. She and her daughters have all been permanently damaged by their exposure to dioxin, and suffer from heart, liver, kidney, bladder, and glandular disorders as well as arthritis.

Meanwhile, more than 30 other dioxin-contaminated sites have been discovered in Missouri.

The evacuation of Times Beach came five years after the discovery of dioxin contamination in the Love Canal area of Niagara Falls, New York.

More than 21,800 tons of chemical wastes were dumped at Love Canal in the 1940s and early 1950s. In 1953, the Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corp. sold the dump to the Niagara Falls Board of Education for \$1. The board built a school on part of the site, and houses were built on the remainder.

In 1978 the New York State Health Commissioner issued a health warning to Love Canal residents, citing a miscarriage rate 50 percent above normal and a "significant excess" of birth defects in the area.

It was later determined that dioxin levels in homes near the dump were "among the highest ever found in the human environment," according to New York's attorney general. In the basements of some homes, dioxin was found in concentrations as high as 17.2 parts per million.

A 1980 study of Love Canal residents by the Environmental Protection Agency found evidence of chromosome damage in nearly one-third of those tested.

The company should have no trouble paying for the program. In addition to its profits from sales of Agent Orange, Dow was a big supplier of napalm to the Pentagon during the Vietnam War.

Vietnamese research

While the Dow Chemical Co., with one of the best-equipped research laboratories in the world, and the Veterans Administration, with its huge resources, offer only public relations campaigns and cover-ups, Vietnam has taken the lead in sponsoring research to determine the effects of defoliants on the environment and on humans.

To that end, Vietnam sponsored an "International Symposium on the Lasting Consequences on Man and Nature of the Herbicides and Defoliants used in Vietnam during the American War." The conference, attended by more than 140 scientists and researchers from 21 countries and various United Nations organizations, took place in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) January 14-19, 1983. Seventy-two scientific papers were presented at the gathering.

The conference's work was divided into two parts: the effect of defoliation on the environment; and the impact on humans.

The massive use of defoliants and herbicides on Vietnam's forests has had severe long-term effects, according to papers presented at the conference. These include soil erosion caused by tropical downpours on denuded land, impoverishment of the soil through loss of organic matter, and extensive laterization (hardening) of the soil as a result of the loss of ground cover.

In addition, harmful products of the breakdown of defoliants, such as organic arsenic and other poisonous substances, can still be found in soil samples.

The conference noted that in many areas rich forests were turned into extensive savannas of wild grasses that are of little economic use and are susceptible to raging dry-season fires. Aerial photographs indicate that some of these savannas are continuing to grow in size.

In many places the ecological damage done by the spraying was compounded by subsequent aerial bombardment, artillery shelling, and the razing of villages and fields by giant bulldozers.

Many varieties of animal life have disappeared from the sprayed areas, while the rodent population has greatly expanded, causing outbreaks of diseases such as bubonic plague.

The disappearance of vegetation cover over large areas was also found to have made significant changes in climate, with increased temperature differences between the seasons and between day and night and increased evaporation from stripped areas.

The conference found that "transforming these savannas and building them into economic zones, areas for agricultural cultivation and reforestation, are difficult problems, the solution of which is far beyond the present abilities of the Vietnamese people."



Cleaning up poisonous dioxin after 1976 explosion at chemical plant in Seveso, Italy.

This conclusion confirms what the National Academy of Sciences reported to the U.S. Congress in 1974, while the war was still going on. That report concluded that "it is also clear that [the] Vietnamese effort to cope with the consequences of herbicide use will require financial and technical support from the United States. This should include the necessary funds, training for Vietnamese workers, the lending of technical and professional personnel as needed, and the supplying of equipment."

No such aid has been forthcoming, however. In fact, the Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations have all followed a policy of bleeding Vietnam and seeking to hold back its economic recovery.

The second focus of the conference was on the effect of dioxin on human beings. The gathering noted that "so long as the war lasted, any systematic research in the theatre of operations itself was out of the question."

After the end of the war in 1975, however, more thorough surveys were done of the population in the South and those in the North who had been exposed to herbicides in the South. Control groups were also studied in both regions.

The research has been hampered, however, by Vietnam's poverty and underdevelopment. The conference noted that such research requires "sophisticated techniques and abundant material if significant results were to be gathered. This means that the research work so far conducted in a country which has suffered from decades of war must be carried on with ever closer international cooperation."

Genetic damage

The conference heard some tentative conclusions derived from the work already carried out by Vietnamese researchers.

Vietnamese scientists have found a "statistically significant rate of anomalies" in the gene-

tic material of people exposed to defoliants. Moreover, significant genetic damage was also found in the children of mothers who had been exposed to defoliants long before pregnancy. As a result, a study indicated, "there is good reason to think that defoliants not only have noxious effects on the present generation but also present dangerous consequences for future generations."

Studies in the North and South indicated that chemical warfare led to "a visible increase in the rate of abnormal pregnancies and congenital malformations in the affected areas, and this action persisted long after the defoliant sprayings."

Studies also indicated that the incidence of liver cancer is five times higher in those exposed to herbicide sprayings than in the nonexposed population. The report notes that "there is strong reason to think that dioxin is a possible cause of liver cancer. More studies are being undertaken to clarify the problem."

Vietnamese participants also reported that the general health of populations in sprayed areas is worse than in nonsprayed areas. They cautioned, however, that "there remain to be elucidated the direct cause-effect links between the various chemicals and the symptoms and disorders observed."

They added that to solve these scientific and practical problems, Vietnam "needs considerable technical and financial means. Effective international assistance and cooperation are indispensable."

Vietnam veterans in the United States and Australia owe a debt of gratitude to the Vietnamese scientists, who are researching the effects of dioxin under difficult conditions and with few resources. Their efforts stand in marked contrast to the callous cover-up by U.S. chemical companies and government agencies. □

Revolutionary leadership in Cuba

'The party grew and gained strength together with the revolution'

By Raúl Valdes Vivo

[The following is an abridged version of a paper presented at a seminar in Czechoslovakia organized by the magazine *World Marxist Review*. Valdes Vivo is a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. The text of his paper is taken from the February 1983 issue of *World Marxist Review*, where it appeared under the title of "The Cuban variant: Dialectics of the general and the specific in socialist construction." Breakers have been added by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Communism appeared as a proletarian, anti-capitalist ideology and proclaimed itself as such from the very beginning. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who placed their talent as scientists and their knowledge of politics in the service of the revolutionary proletariat, described its role at the time with a marvelous figure of speech, writing: "A specter is haunting Europe — the specter of communism."

Continuing the work of his great predecessors, Vladimir Lenin drew the conclusion that from a specter communism had evolved into the force that could breach the chain of imperialist world domination in its weakest links. The first breach was made by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The next links of the imperialist chain dropped out after the Second World War, during the years marked by an upswing of the revolutionary and national liberation movements. Since then communism has registered many advances.

Twenty-four years ago imperialism suffered defeat also in Cuba. It was still hard at the time to evaluate the significance of the revolution and the prospects opened by it. The Vietnamese poet To Huu called it "a bee winging its way to the flower." But even then it was obvious that the Cuban revolution was reaffirming the fact that the transition from capitalism to socialism was on the agenda of the entire planet, that it was inevitable even if the revolutionary movement experienced temporary retreats and setbacks, for it was consistent with the laws of historical development.

As any other revolution, the revolution in Cuba has its own identity and is inimitable. There are no "models" for the restructuring of society applicable to all countries. Every party looks for and finds the solution that fits the specific conditions of its country.

However, although there are no general "models," there are general laws of socialist construction, laws revealed by Marxist-Leninist theory and tested in practice. The Declaration of the 1957 Conference of Com-

munist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries listed them in their totality, which define the content of the leap that takes place during the transition from capitalism to socialism. This totality cannot be broken down into components, and in abiding by some of these laws none of the others can be ignored. If they are ignored there are bound to be serious errors in the building of socialism, and any of these errors, if it is not rectified opportunely, facilitates counter-revolutionary activity by our enemies, overt and covert, especially by members of imperialist circles.

Proletarian internationalism

Each communist party bears an immense responsibility for the destiny of the revolutionary process in its own country. Although each party is entirely independent in shaping strategy and tactics, it would be a most serious mistake to underrate the significance of proletarian internationalism, which is a key principle underlying the unity of the world communist movement. Fidelity to this unity in the face of anti-communism, which by no means camouflages its striving for consolidation, is the source of our movement's strength in resolving all the problems of strategy, including the most pressing and urgent, namely the preservation of peace, the prevention of a nuclear war, and the attainment of disarmament.

The principle of proletarian internationalism provides the basis of the alliance of the communists with the national liberation movement. Disregard of this principle calls in question a party's affiliation to the communist orientation in the working-class struggle for emancipation.

Of course, the underlying principles, the general laws of socialist construction, the "specter of communism" so to speak, acquire flesh only in the realities of this or that country. In this article I shall try to analyze how some general laws and principles of building the new society were refracted in the specific conditions of Cuba.

A victorious revolution and the subsequent building of socialism are inconceivable without a militant political vanguard leading the people in their struggle for liberation. This regularity has been conclusively borne out by experience.

However, in Cuba the political, social, and even geographical conditions were such that although the nation stood in need of radical revolutionary changes these were seen as totally unrealizable. The chief reason was that Cuba is situated in direct proximity of the USA, the strongest imperialist power in the world. (Cuba's territory is over 80 times less

than that of the USA, and its population is about 24 times smaller in numerical terms.)

Imperialist oppression

Under U.S. pressure the Cuban economy shaped out as a weak appendage of the American economy. The hallmarks of the Cuban economy before the revolution were an extensive agriculture on land belonging to big landowners and foreign companies; a monoculture (sugar) and rigid U.S. control of export production; a miserably low living standard of the working people and appalling unemployment. Understandably, Cuban policy was also determined without challenge by pro-imperialist bourgeois ideology.

Holding the Cuban people in contempt, the imperialists believed that their domination over Cuba was unshakable. They believed that this was dependably guaranteed by their naval base in Guantánamo, a site wrenched away from the nation during the military intervention of 1898–1902. Moreover, they felt that the Batista dictatorship on which they relied was firmly entrenched. Set up in 1952, this dictatorship deprived the Cuban people of all, even of the negligible freedoms won in a long struggle.

The overthrow of the dictatorship was further complicated by the fact that by that time the people had been confused in many things by the bourgeois parties, were disunited, and a segment had lost faith in the possibility of victory.

How, in this situation, was it contrived to bring down the dictatorship, accomplish a people's democratic revolution, and move on to a socialist revolution?

It will be recalled that at the first stage of the struggle against the tyranny the proletarian communist party, which was linked to the international working-class movement, was not in a position of unchallenged leadership. Outside Cuba some quarters were inclined to use this circumstance to question the need for working-class leadership of the revolutionary process and of the building of a new society. However, albeit in unique forms, this regularity manifested itself in the Cuban revolution as well.

Struggle against dictatorship

The Cuban Marxist-Leninist organization counts its history from the year 1925. In the 1950s it was called the People's Socialist Party [PSP]. The immediate aim of the communists was to overthrow the dictatorship, which, like the present juntas in El Salvador and Guatemala, elevated crime and violence to the level of state policy. To achieve its aim the

PSP set about organizing a broad opposition movement capable of ensuring a democratic way out of the situation in which the nation found itself. Provision was also made for the possibility of a general strike that would evolve into an uprising, as happened during the revolution of 1933.¹

However, these plans were more than the party of the proletariat could cope with at the time, although the work accomplished by it seriously hindered the development of events in the direction wanted by the dictatorship. In his assessment of the PSP's condition at the time, Fidel Castro noted that the imperialists were able to isolate the proletarian party politically and thereby deprive it of the means of influencing the majority of the people.

A sure road was taken by Fidel Castro and his associates, who headed the new revolutionary force known as the Movement of July 26. They began the armed struggle against the tyranny with an assault, on July 26, 1953, on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago-de-Cuba, then the second most significant military fortress.

Let me make myself clear from the beginning. The participants in this assault did not see it as a single action. They counted on capturing weapons for future insurgent units, awakening the masses, getting a response from them, and showing by example that the tyranny could and had to be fought.

Although from the military standpoint the attack on the Moncada barracks was a failure, it exercised a powerful revolutionizing influence, for it showed the people that in Cuba there were elements prepared to make any sacrifice for the nation's liberation. The new movement was joined by working people. These events gave the leaders of the movement their baptism of revolutionary fire.

At the trial of survivors of the attack on Moncada, a trial staged by the dictatorship, Fidel Castro proclaimed a liberation program around which the majority of the people could unite. In it he insisted that it was not only a right of but also an imperative for revolutionaries to study the heritage of Lenin. He and his associates were already turning toward Marxism-Leninism, but at the first stage of the struggle they gave priority to organizing militant resistance to the dictatorship on the basis of a broad national liberation platform. For that reason socialist aims were not given prominence.

The appearance of the July 26 Movement on the political scene shook the dictatorship. It responded to the actions of the revolutionaries with repression, but these only fueled popular anger. Students, who set up their own organization — the Revolutionary Directorate — became particularly active in this situation.

A new stage of the armed struggle began after December 1956, when Fidel Castro (re-

leased from imprisonment earlier) and his comrades landed from the yacht *Granma* in Oriente Province. At this stage the struggle acquired a mass character.

The Insurgent Army was formed and for 25 long months it fought sanguinary battles with the tyranny. The People's Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate² did not cease their revolutionary work. The war against the dictatorship, begun in mountainous regions with the active support of the peasants, developed into a resistance movement in the towns, where it assumed different forms.

The question of the relations between the three main forces of the Cuban revolution's political vanguard was often raised in the past. There were divergences between the PSP and the July 26 Movement, but these were over tactical issues only. Fabio Grobart, a veteran Cuban communist, writes that "during the years of struggle against the Batista dictatorship, which ended in the triumph of the revolution, and in the subsequent period of socialist transformations there were no significant differences in ideology, principles and program between Fidel Castro and the top leaders of the July 26 Movement, on the one hand, and the People's Socialist Party and the leadership of the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13, on the other."³

The facts bear out this conclusion.

The revolution was thus becoming imminent. The main causes leading to it were of an objective character. But the existence of only the objective factor (which is basic) is not enough for victory. There must also be an active subjective factor — the will of the people to restructure society. This factor was activated by all three of the above-mentioned forces of the political vanguard — they helped the people to understand the aim of the struggle and the ways of achieving it.

Revolutionary forces come together

In the course of the struggle the revolutionary forces drew closer together, chiefly because they complied with the requirements that — according to the well-known propositions formulated by Lenin — must be met by a genuinely revolutionary party that differs fundamentally from reformist organizations.

A factor that helped to draw them closer together was that during the revolutionary war the proletariat's role grew steadily, and for that reason the posture of the July 26 Movement and the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13 was increasingly determined by proletarian ideology, by Marxist-Leninist theory.

Such were the hallmarks of the political vanguard in the Cuban revolution. Fidel Castro noted that victory was won "not only through the efforts of the July 26 Movement. The Marxist-Leninist party, which united the finest people of our working class, paid for victory

with the lives of many of its sons. Fighters of the Revolutionary Directorate performed many feats of bravery and were active in the insurgency. These were the sources from which our glorious Communist Party sprang."⁴

Brought to life by the revolution, the party grew and gained strength together with the revolution. This was a complex process. The insurgent army, which articulated the will of the workers and peasants, won real power in the country, but influential positions were received in the first government by representatives of the bourgeoisie, who, as it soon transpired, were championing the interests of imperialist circles instead of those of the people. That was why this government was in power for only one month and the further development of the revolution brought Fidel Castro to the post of prime minister in February 1959. The revolutionary tide swept away bourgeois politicians. The first stage of the agrarian reform was launched in May 1959, marking the final assertion of the people's democratic phase of the Cuban revolution.

The agrarian reform was aimed against the North American corporations in the sugar industry and livestock-breeding, and against the big landowners. However, it left wide scope for the middle strata. These strata withheld support for members of the oligarchy and the right-wing of the petty bourgeoisie, most of whom saw that the revolution's development in depth was inevitable and emigrated, joining the enemies of the Cuban people.

Political changes, reforms in the economy and in culture, and the awakened patriotism of the people gave the Castro government a mass base. Simultaneously, the people's government brought the Batista secret agents and hired thugs to justice.

Imperialist sabotage and Soviet aid

Imperialism was by no means idle in the face of the radicalization of the revolutionary process in Cuba. It sought to blackmail the people's government and sabotage the reforms it was proposing. Finally, a vicious economic blockade was enforced. However, Cuba did not retreat from its chosen path: the Soviet Union and other socialist countries came to its assistance, organizing the export of Cuban sugar and the import of oil and many other items.

By the autumn of 1960 the main prerequisites for beginning socialist construction had been created in our country: the exploiting classes had lost their command positions, power had passed to the people, and public property in the means of production became predominant in the economy. True, in that period the question of the socialist stage of the revolution was not raised in Cuba for tactical reasons, but it could already be seen in the basic realities of Cuban life.

It was not accidental that in the spring of 1961 the imperialists and their mercenaries un-

1. The revolution of August 1933 overthrew the Machado dictatorship and proclaimed democratic reforms. However, the right-wing parties subsequently regained power and nullified the gains of the working people.

2. This organization led the assault on the presidential palace on March 13, 1957, and since then it became known as the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13.

3. *Cuba Socialista*, No. 1, 1981, pp. 64–65.

4. *Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, Informe Central, Havana, 1975, p. 29.

dertook direct aggression against Cuba — they feared to lose their last chance to throttle the first socialist state in Latin America. In the face of mortal danger Cuba openly proclaimed its historic choice. On April 16, 1961, at the funeral of victims of a bombing raid that preceded the landing of mercenaries in Cuba, Fidel Castro called upon the people to take up arms and defend their gains to the last drop of blood under the slogan of “Long live the socialist revolution.”

In that bitter moment of our history, the USSR again came to our assistance. On the bloodstained sand dunes of Playa Girón the imperialist mercenaries were crushed. In that same year, 1961, the main forces of the revolutionary vanguard — the July 26 Movement, the People’s Socialist Party, and the Revolutionary Directorate of March 13 — merged to form a united party that became known as the United Revolutionary Organizations [URO].

Growth of party’s role

The facts I have cited show that in the history of our revolution there are two clearly delineated and inseparably linked processes: a rapid radicalization, transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the socialist stage, and the steadily growing cohesion of the political vanguard, the strengthening of its unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, of the organizational principles laid down by Lenin.

The political and economic conditions in which these processes took place have features all their own, but in essence they reaffirm the general law of socialism, namely the steady growth of the party’s role in the building of the new society.

This process steadfastly gained strength although, of course, it entailed overcoming various prejudices, distrust, and manifestations of sectarianism.

The party’s organizational structure was also improved. In 1962 and 1963 the URO was reconstituted into the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, which in turn adopted the name Communist Party of Cuba in 1965 and formed its Central Committee. Fidel Castro became its First Secretary. Our socialist revolution thereby acquired an adequate, united and effective political organization, a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and the entire people with close links to the international working-class movement; a party with the building of socialism and communism in Cuba as its main aim and leading the people in their work of achieving that aim.

The first congress of the Communist Party of Cuba was held in December 1975. It defined the commencement of the final stage of the road to socialism and adopted a program platform, which maps out a comprehensive plan for the building of the new society.

National liberation and social emancipation

From the outset the leaders of our revolution clearly saw that the people faced a two-fold task, for, as Fidel Castro pointed out, “the task of liberating the nation from imperialist domination was inevitably accompanied by the task

of putting an end to exploitation of man by man in our society.”⁵ Speaking in more general terms, the struggle for national liberation was not separated from the struggle for social emancipation. The solution of social and economic problems (as the basis of the former) required the surmounting of immense difficulties, chiefly of an objective character, caused by the exceedingly low development level of the productive forces and the people’s wretched living standard, as we have already said.

Nonetheless, the people’s state achieved no little progress. The living standard in our country is still modest, but it is incomparably higher than it was before the revolution. An end has been put to chronic undernourishment (the daily per capita ration averages 2,900 kcal). We no longer have unemployment, and have eradicated such social vices as vagrancy, prostitution, and drug addiction.

Considerable headway has been made by the health services. In the year the revolution was accomplished Cuba had 6,000 doctors, but half of them fled in the wake of their clients — they had served mainly the higher classes. Today there are 17,000 doctors in Cuba and they are working not only in the capital, as was previously the case, but throughout the country and even outside it, in many Asian, African and Latin American countries, where they are helping to improve the health services.

In Cuba the child mortality rate has fallen sharply (it is now well below that of other Latin American states), and the mean expectancy of life has risen from 62 years before the revolution to 73 years.

We have wiped out illiteracy. Most of the population has at least a six-year education, while the education level of many workers is not below nine classes of a secondary school.⁶ The number of students at institutions of higher learning has grown seven-fold. One-third of the entire population is studying.

Things were difficult for people’s Cuba in the initial years of the revolution, when a considerable number of specialists emigrated. Leading posts were filled with ordinary people who had no special training but burned with the desire to work. Today this contradiction has been resolved. Our specialists, members of the people’s intelligentsia, combine a high level of training with devotion to the ideals of socialism.

What are the principal reasons for these achievements? Notably, that without vacillation Cuba restructured its economy in accordance with the fundamental laws of socialism. Today the socialist sector embraces the whole of industry, domestic and foreign trade, and finances, and 75 percent of agricultural production.

5. *Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, p. 15.

6. The school system in Cuba consists of the primary school (1st to 6th classes), secondary school of the first degree (7th to 9th classes), and secondary school of the second degree (10th to 12th classes).

In the building of socialism a major role continues to be played by Cuba’s cooperation with fraternal countries, by Cuba’s membership in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which it joined in 1972. This cooperation is helping our republic to surmount various obstacles (for instance, the fall in the world market of the price of sugar, which is our main export commodity), and improve the structure of its economy by developing industries like heavy engineering (notably farm machinery), nonferrous metallurgy, paper and pulp, and lastly, electronics.

Membership in the socialist community, which is the main factor of stability in the world and the chief guarantee against a nuclear holocaust, reinforces our country’s independence.

The nation’s achievements in all areas of life, in domestic and external policy, are inseparable from the party’s successes. Leadership by the party allows rectifying subjective errors that sometimes make themselves felt. These included voluntarism in the economy.

As in the initial years of Soviet power in Russia, in Cuba there was a striving to achieve communism without passing through the stage of socialism. Those who advocated this striving rejected control and accounting, did not want to hear of the role of the law of value and commodity-money relations under socialism, and underrated the significance of material incentives. The party showed that these views were wrong, but made the point that the return of material incentives to the role they merit should not lead to neglect of moral incentives, for both the former and the latter are vital in stimulating the labor initiative of the people.

Another mistake stemmed from the absolutizing of Cuba’s specifics in the charting of policy and from underestimating the experience of other socialist countries. This led to the abandonment of economic planning, of the efforts to improve the state’s democratic institutions, and of support for the cooperative movement.

Of course, the party corrected the situation in these spheres as well. Today our people are working on the second five-year plan. Medium and long-term programs are being charted. Great attention is being devoted to the promotion of socialist democracy, to enlisting the working people into the administration of the state at all levels.

Role of sugar production

Voluntaristic errors had a particularly prejudicial effect in agriculture. For instance, during the early years of the revolution the area sown to sugar-cane began to be reduced because it was felt that this would deliver the economy from its monoculture orientation. True, on Fidel Castro’s initiative large plots of land were preserved to the sugar industry, despite those who suggested distributing this land among farm laborers.

Why was this a mistaken attitude? Because it ignored the distinctions in the character of the relations of production under capitalism

and socialism. In a situation of subordination to the imperialist economy a monocrop agriculture was a factor conserving Cuba's all-sided backwardness. But with the nation taking part in the international socialist division of labor, sugar is becoming a key item of mutually beneficial trade and makes it possible to pursue a policy of industrialization.

The growing of sugar-cane and the production of sugar now receive priority attention from the state. Cuba, which before the revolution did not have even a factory manufacturing machetes and shovels, now produces cane-harvesters. At present 50 percent of the harvesting is mechanized, and work is proceeding on a new technology that will entirely mechanize the growing and processing of sugar-cane. The output of sugar continues to grow at a rapid rate.

As regards progress in industrialization, let me give two figures to illustrate: since the establishment of the people's government, the capacity of the power-generating industry has increased five-fold and the freight capacity of the merchant fleet has grown 18-fold.

'Abide by principles'

The quality of the leadership of the building of the new society depends largely on how profoundly the communists themselves assimilate Marxist-Leninist science, on how they apply this science in practice, and on how effectively they shape a socialist consciousness among the masses.

A major contributing factor here is systematic political training, which is conducted by the party among its members on the needed theoretical level. Much attention is given to how the theory of the founders of Marxism-Leninism is developed in the experience of the communist parties. The motto guiding the Cuban communists in elaborating ideology has been formulated by Fidel Castro: "The cardinal principle is to abide by principles." This spells out total rejection of revisionism.

The communists have an extremely important mission in fostering political education among the people. They rallied the people around the party by building a state free of racial and sex discrimination, a society in which human dignity and citizens' rights are respected, and in which the people breathed the air of freedom for the first time.

In fighting for socialist ideals the Cuban people got rid first of exploiters and then of elements called "escoria" or slag — a small minority with the thought pattern of lumpen-proletarians, whose appearance in Cuba was due to the corrupting influence of imperialism: products of the decaying society, they were egotistic, refused to work, and engaged in crime.

Leading role of working class

Meanwhile, there has been a steady enhancement of the leading role of the working class, which has command of the socialized means of production and wields state power. At the first congress of the Communist Party of

Cuba it was stated that the party draws its cadre chiefly from the ranks of the working class, the leader in the building of socialism who carries out this mission in alliance with the working peasants and other sections of the working people, in other words, in alliance with the vast majority of the population.

The party and the working class lead society through innumerable organizations — the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDR], the Trade Union Center of the Working People of Cuba, the Federation of Cuban Women [FMC], and the National Association of Small Farmers [ANAP], to mention a few. Special attention is given to the education of the Union of Young Communists [UJC], from which the party draws its replacements. One of the key regularities characterizing all socialist

countries manifests itself in the work of the party jointly with public organizations.

The clear-cut orientation on general laws in the building of the new world and the creative application of these laws in specific conditions are the secret of the continued growing enthusiasm of the Cuban people and their devotion to the cause of the revolution. With the constant observance of the principle of criticism and self-criticism, this orientation is the cardinal guarantee that the Cuban people, led by the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, and united by internationalist solidarity with the peoples of fraternal countries and all other progressive forces in the world, will continue to emerge victorious in the struggle with the sinister forces of imperialism. □

44 new death sentences in Turkey

By G. K. Newey

Although Turkey's military rulers tried to improve their image in late April by announcing that general elections would be held November 6, that announcement has been followed by increased repression against political figures, unions, leftist organizations, and Kurdish nationalists.

On May 6, the military junta passed a new law prohibiting unions from taking part in political activity, advocating Marxist ideas, or opposing the government or the "unity of the nation."

On May 24, a military court presiding over the trial of 574 Kurdish nationalists sentenced 35 of them to death, 28 to life imprisonment, and 333 to jail terms of up to 36 years.

One day later, 2,000 Turkish troops entered Iraq to help that country's armed forces fight Kurdish nationalists there.

The Kurdish people are spread across Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and the Soviet Union. They have waged numerous struggles for their national rights in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran.

On the same day Turkish troops entered Iraq, a martial law court in Istanbul issued death sentences against 9 alleged members of the leftist People's Revolutionary Vanguard, which is linked to the Turkish People's Liberation Front. They were charged with attempting to overthrow the state. Eight others had death sentences commuted to life imprisonment, and 40 received jail terms ranging up to 24 years.

Repression has been used against bourgeois political forces as well. Turkey's military rulers took 16 leading politicians into custody May 31 and ordered them into "forced residence" in the town of Canakkale until after the promised November 6 general election. But on June 1, military strongman Gen. Kenan Evren warned that the election might not take place at all if veteran politicians continue to try to get back into power through new political organizations. Evren wants an election that will cloak his military regime, not one that will interfere with it.

About 100 leaders of political parties banned after the September 1980 coup have been prohibited from taking part in political activity for 10 years.

Turkey's ruling generals also announced on June 4 that local martial law commanders have the power to expel from their areas any people they judge to be a threat to public order. The ruling also allows local commanders to confine people to their home districts or to force them to move to other districts. Those expelled from one area would be forced to remain for five years in another area designated by the Interior Ministry.

Since martial law was imposed in 1981, 23 people have been executed for political offenses. At least 135 are awaiting execution, and nearly 30,000 people have been sentenced to jail terms of more than 5 years.

An international campaign was launched April 11 by Amnesty International to save the lives of 7 members of Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left) who were sentenced to death on April 7. Ahmet Erhan, Sadettin Guven, Harun Kartal, Tayfun Ozkok, Baki Altin, Aslan Sener Yildirim, and Ahmet Fazil were accused of assassinating a former prime minister and the Istanbul chief of police.

Their death sentences have already been upheld by the Consultative Assembly, but must still be approved by the National Security Council. Once that happens, they could be executed within hours.

Turkish activists fear that the execution of the 7 Dev-Sol members could open the way to a wave of further executions.

Messages urging the overturning of these death sentences have been sent to General Evren by two members of the U.S. Congress, three members of the British Parliament, and by the parliamentary group of the Pacifist Party in the Netherlands. □

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SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT

[The following selections deal with the Second Conference on European Nuclear Disarmament, held in West Berlin May 9-14. A statement by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International that was distributed at the conference appears on page 366.]

International VIEWPOINT

A fortnightly review published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In an article in the May 30 issue, Jacqueline Allio reported from Berlin on the disarmament conference.

"The question of East-West relations, and particularly the relationship between the peace movements, was the dominant theme of the discussions," Allio wrote.

Allio noted that many of those who participated in the conference favored calling on both the imperialist powers and Moscow to disarm. Referring to the slogan, "For a nuclear-free Europe from Poland to Portugal," Allio stated, "Far from seeing it as above all a tactical slogan for mobilising they give it a neutralist meaning — expressing their desire for a sort of 'zero option' for Europe. Disengagement from the arms race should be ensured primarily by treaties between the states concerned.

"Many of those who intervened in this way also insisted strongly on the fact that the slogan corresponded to their idea of bilateral disarmament. Each side has its own enemy, Cruise and Pershing II in the West, SS-20s in the East. However, they put a lot more emphasis on the threat coming from the East than that from the West. The role of imperialism and the capitalist system of exploitation in the arms race disappeared as if by magic from their explanations."

Allio continued, "A relatively broad consensus was established on the direct relationship between the struggle for peace and the fight for democratic rights in the Eastern countries. However, this same consensus did not exist on the question of what are the practical solidarity tasks for the peace movement in the West to support activists suffering repression. Some participants spoke to declare that, on the contrary, it was necessary to show oneself as more than cautious in establishing links with the independent groups as their activity can be taken as a possible factor of destabilisation between the blocs, in the same way as that of Polish workers in Solidarnosc . . .

"Other participants came to the same conclusion on the basis of 'each looks after their own patch.' This was particularly the point of view defended by many activists of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) who, alongside very correct positions on uni-

lateral disarmament, proved to be singularly shortsighted on the importance of developing links with the independent peace groups in the East. They thus gave unexpected aid and comfort to the members of the DKP [German Communist Party] who were concerned that there should be as little talk as possible about anything that might call into question the policies of the bureaucracy.

"Only the few members of the Fourth International who were able to speak in these mammoth workshops emphasised the related importance of the anti-capitalist dynamic of the anti-war movement in the West and the anti-bureaucratic dynamic in the East."

On other questions, Allio noted, "The small weight of the workers movement in the discussions was one of the main weaknesses of this gathering."

In addition, she pointed out that "the low participation in the forums discussing the struggle against war in the Third World, and more particularly in Central America, reflected another weakness of the gathering. It demonstrated the lack of understanding of the stakes of the struggle by the revolutionary movements in Salvador and Nicaragua for the peace movement itself, and the implications of a US victory for the arms race."

Allio wrote that a certain number of objectives emerged out of the workshops "for which the Fourth International should do its best to ensure that they are successful."

Four tasks were then listed — broadening the European coordinating committee "to include the most important movements in all the European countries"; organizing "a workers movement day of action" around nuclear disarmament; "systematic reinforcement of links with the peace movements in the Eastern countries"; and participating in antinuclear summer camps that are taking place in a number of countries and, in particular, supporting the actions of various women's peace groups.

"The success of these initiatives will depend above all on the involvement of the mass of workers in the struggle against the arms race," Allio concluded.

Rouge

"Red," weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. Published in Paris.

Jean-Louis Michel wrote in the May 20 issue that the nuclear disarmament conference in West Berlin showed the problems of orientation that are posed before the whole movement.

With the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles scheduled for deployment in Western Europe, "the antimissile movement is confronted with two alternatives: either transform itself or

waste away."

He argued that "to transform itself into a conscious movement for peace through the disarmament of imperialism and for socialism presupposes a consciousness of the unbreakable links between the threats of war in Europe and the war crimes of imperialism elsewhere in the world, especially in Central America."

There is the beginning of an understanding, he added, that militarization and austerity cannot be effectively fought without the workers movement. While discussion on this point remains very general, Michel writes, some study is being done of reconversion of war industries.

With a few exceptions, conference participants overwhelmingly "declared their solidarity with the independent movements in Central Europe."

What differences existed on this question were related to the attitude to take in showing that solidarity, Michel added. "The West German Green parliamentary deputies took the initiative, outside the conference's formal structure, to go and get arrested in Alexanderplatz in East Berlin, after having unfurled several banners there."

In Michel's view "it would have been more valuable to have a mass initiative emanating from the conference and discussed beforehand with the independent movements in East Germany."

Nonetheless, he felt that the Greens' gesture "had a positive, even if symbolic, value."

In contrast to the action of the Greens, Michel wrote, "we, together with militants originally from Eastern Europe like Jiri Pelikan, had proposed speaking to the official movements in that zone at the time of next June's peace congress in Prague" in order "to use that occasion to show our solidarity with the independent movements."

Guardian

An independent radical newsweekly, published in New York.

Looking at some of the controversies at the European Nuclear Disarmament conference, Scott Staton wrote in the June 1 issue, "The choice of Berlin as a symbol of the division of Europe into two hostile politico-military blocs was a source of controversy from the start. Numerous peace groups from Scandinavia, the Mediterranean basin and Eastern Europe opposed the decision because of its implication of the centrality of the 'German question' — the issue of the relationship between East and West Germany. . . .

"No less controversial was the debate surrounding the relationship between Western peace movements and their Eastern European counterparts. Invitations to participate were

sent to both 'official' and 'independent' peace groups in the Eastern European countries, the former being welcome only if the latter were permitted to attend. The East European governmental response was to denounce the conference as anticommunist and to deny exit visas to the delegates of independent peace groups.

"In a publicity-grabbing action, several prominent members of West Germany's Green Party staged a protest in East Berlin and were subsequently escorted to the border by East German police. A dozen or so other people from the conference crossed the border quietly and met briefly with members of the unofficial East German peace campaign."

In the same issue, an editorial outlined the *Guardian's* views on some of the questions discussed in Berlin, questions that have also been raised within the U.S. antinuclear movement.

"Briefly, our views are as follows: though we have serious criticisms of aspects of internal life in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, we see the USSR's actions on questions of war and peace and on the nuclear arms race as, on the whole, justifiably defensive. . . .

"In addition, socialists active in disarmament work in this country, where anticommunism is official policy, have a special responsibility to expose precisely how U.S. nuclear policy is not the result of any 'Soviet threat,' but rather is a direct result of 'conventional' politics — particularly U.S. imperialism's efforts to preserve economic, political and military domination over the third world. By drawing connections between nuclear weapons and U.S. plans for conventional military intervention and between the military buildup and racism and austerity at home, we can play a unique role in building a more politically mature disarmament movement. Ultimately, by demonstrating how the arms race has developed out of the needs of U.S. capitalism, we can help lead people to recognize that modern capitalism, and not simply 'the bomb,' is the root of the nuclear threat to civilization. . . .

"Just as the U.S. nuclear buildup is not the result of some inexplicable nuclear madness on the part of the Pentagon generals or arms builders, but rather is a direct expression of imperialism's military needs, the USSR's buildup has not been the result of some militarist drive 'for its own sake.' . . .

"Rather, the Soviet role in the arms race, and the establishment and development of the Warsaw Pact bloc, have been principally acts of defense against very real threats and arms escalations by NATO and the U.S.

"The USSR is not an imperialist power. It has no global empire to maintain and defend; no multinational corporations dominating economic activity throughout the third world; its economy does not depend on the exploitation of global resources and labor or on the need to create international outlets for investment to satisfy a drive for profits. . . .

"This is not meant to suggest a blanket endorsement of Soviet foreign policy since World War 2. On the contrary, the USSR has also interfered with the internal affairs of its neighbors or allies, often out of an exaggerated fear of an external 'threat,' such as in Czechoslovakia in 1968 or Afghanistan today. We condemn these actions, along with the Brezhnev doctrine of 'limited sovereignty' applied to Soviet border states.

"While we criticize this side of Soviet policy, we do not see it as linked to the Soviet perspective on questions of world war or nuclear confrontation. Moreover, the best thing we can do to change incorrect Soviet foreign (and domestic) policies is to remove the genuine threat of war coming from the West."

The *Guardian* continued, "While some . . . argue that the U.S. movement should integrate calls for 'human rights in Eastern Europe' into its overall approach and demands, we disagree. Integrating such human rights demands is a divisive concession to anti-communism, one that could derail the movement from its principal focus. . . .

"Incorporating calls for 'human rights in Eastern Europe' can, at worst, lend legitimacy to the U.S. ruse of claiming to 'police the world to make it safe for democracy.' It can also play right into the hands of the U.S. government's justification that its nuclear arms buildup is linked to the Soviet role in Eastern Europe. . . .

"The first questions of human rights that the U.S. ought to take up are those rights to survival and livelihood of millions of oppressed people in the U.S., and of the hundreds of millions living under military dictatorships propped up by the same U.S. war machine that perpetuates the nuclear threat. Fostering this perspective, explaining how U.S. nuclear and conventional military policy are linked, and demonstrating, when the issue comes up, that the U.S. and USSR's roles in the arms race aren't parallel — these are the unique contributions that the left can offer to the disarmament movement."

While maintaining that its position is for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Washington, the *Guardian* nevertheless stated that this does not "preclude us from working on bilateral initiatives such as the freeze, or in groups that see the U.S. and USSR's role as equivalent."

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"What Is To Be Done," biweekly newspaper of the International Marxist Group (IMG), German section of the Fourth International. Published in Frankfurt.

Assessing the nuclear disarmament conference in Berlin, Angela Klein wrote in the May 26 issue, "A critical balance sheet of the détente policies of the 1970s, ways to overcome the military blocs in Europe, and links between the peace movements in the East and West were the overriding themes of the conference.

A total unilateral disarmament, in the West and East, was put forward as an alternative strategy to the Geneva negotiations [between Washington and Moscow].

"In the numerous and intense debates that took place, the limitations of this strategy became clear:

- "The slogan 'For a nuclear-free Europe' presents the goal, but not the way to achieve it. The conference participants clashed over whether this goal would be reached sooner through a resumption of the old détente policies . . . or through overcoming — 'destabilizing' — the blocs from below.

- "Ideas on how a withdrawal from the blocs would be accomplished cannot come out of some mental game. The first mistake lay in the fact that the blocs were perceived only as military pacts, not as societies with different economic foundations. The central questions — what role arms buildups play in today's economic crisis, and by what road and with what methods the power structures must be changed, so as to prevent war — were carefully avoided. The connection between imperialism and war was taboo for those who ideologically dominated the congress. Consequently, the workers movement played hardly any role in the conference's strategy deliberations. . . .

"These neutralist concepts succumb very quickly to the danger of demands for unilateral disarmament by the Soviet Union.

"In order to avoid the accusation of 'pro-Sovietism,' an equals sign was placed between the East and the West. . . . The boundaries of bourgeois anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda were not clearly drawn — more out of political confusion than by design. . . .

"The dialog with representatives of the peace and human rights movements in Eastern Europe did not make clarification of such questions any easier. The question of whether the peace movement in the West should also establish contacts with the official peace movements in the East had already proven explosive. There was also no unity on this question among the Eastern European delegates. . . .

"Representatives of Charter 77 [in Czechoslovakia] and Solidarity accused the Western peace movement of not concerning itself enough with the question of human rights in Eastern Europe. The result: we are still a long way off from a common platform for the peace movements in the West and the East."

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STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

No to war, no to nuclear missiles!

[The following statement by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International was distributed at a May 9-14 conference on nuclear disarmament in Berlin. Attended by 3,000 people, the conference was organized by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the European Nuclear Disarmament movement.*]

* * *

Nineteen eighty-three will be a decisive year in the struggle against the deployment of new missiles in Europe and for the development of the antiwar movement. Confronted with the escalation of the war drive by the United States and the other imperialist powers, the mobilization for disarmament has continued to grow. After the 3 million who took part in the 1982 demonstrations in Europe, the United States, and Japan, this year's Easter actions were again spectacularly successful. We must do everything possible to build this mobilization in order to defeat the criminal plans of Reagan, Thatcher, and company by imposing the demand of unilateral disarmament.

Reagan can already push the button on a stock of nuclear arms with a firepower equivalent to nearly 1 million Hiroshimas. And he is still not satisfied! From 1980 to 1983 American military spending increased by 12 percent a year in real terms, going from \$142 billion to \$257 billion. This mad race to the holocaust shows the true face of imperialists — which they have tried to mask by hypocritical declarations on human rights.

The true nature of imperialism is the escalation of militarization and nuclear arms production. It is the all-out mobilization of economic resources, brains, and technology in the service of destruction. The neutron bomb alone embodies the obscenity of decaying capitalism — its complex mechanism destroys people while protecting property. What a proof that in this system property rights always finish up overriding real human rights!

The West European capitalist states fall in behind the U.S. government in the nuclear arms race. Great Britain has decided on an expansion program equipping its submarines with

*The declaration was also signed by the following sections of the Fourth International: International Marxist Group (GIM), West Germany; Revolutionary Marxist Group (GRM), Austria; International Communist League (IKB), Netherlands; Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), Spain; Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), France; Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), Italy; Revolutionary Workers League (LRT/RAL), Belgium; Socialist Workers Party (PSO/SAP/PSL), Switzerland; Socialist Workers Party (SAP), Denmark; Socialist League (SL), Britain; and Socialist Party (SP), Sweden.

Trident missiles, which are first-strike weapons like the Pershing II and cruise missiles. The French government plans a shift in its military strategy towards a larger nuclear strike force. The generals call it "forward defense." This strategy also involves the creation of a 50,000-strong rapid action force, almost identical in conception to the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force. If the Rogers plan for Europe is implemented, this would mean a massive buildup of conventional weapons in all West European countries.

Imperialism is not just the potential Hiroshimas stocked in the silos, the submarines, or the nuclear bombers, it is also the "silent Hiroshimas" of misery and hunger caused by the plunder of the colonial and semicolonial countries: 40,000 children die each day in these countries — mostly from malnutrition.

The real face of imperialism is the austerity programs that are attacking the workers of the capitalist countries more and more sharply while their governments increase military spending. In France, a Socialist Party-Communist Party government is preparing the production of the neutron bomb and has just adopted a five-year military budget of \$120 billion. At the same time it attacks the sliding scale of wages, the social security system, and employment. The slogan "Jobs, not bombs!" that has been taken up in the big antinuclear mobilizations sums up the necessary link between the struggle against the arms race and the struggle against capitalist austerity policy.

Finally, the reality of imperialism is not only the threat of a nuclear apocalypse, but is also, and above all, the war of aggression being waged at this moment by imperialism against the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples. Today the USA and the CIA are directly involved in armed aggression against revolutionary Nicaragua.

The U.S. government openly supports the Salvadoran and Guatemalan dictatorships. The Salvadoran regime is already responsible for 50,000 deaths in three years, i.e., the equivalent of 500,000 dead for populations the size of those in France, Germany or Great Britain. In addition to El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada, which are also threatened, the Cuban revolution is in the line of fire of Yankee imperialism.

In the Middle East, Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, was able to launch his invasion of Lebanon and his attempt to annihilate the Palestinian resistance because he had American material and political support.

The saturation media coverage given to Reagan's, or Thatcher's proposals and the large-scale diplomatic maneuvers around the Geneva negotiations cannot silence the sounds

of battle from these ongoing interventions and wars.

The roots of the arms race lie therefore first of all in the economic crisis of the capitalist system and the necessity to maintain imperialist order against workers' struggles and the inevitable explosions of oppressed peoples driven to desperation. The often-argued Soviet military superiority, and the threat it is supposed to pose for the "free" world, are only pretexts to justify the escalation of the war drive.

On the basis of the work of certain American experts, it can be established that:

- The United States still has more nuclear warheads than the Soviet Union.

- With the development of the new missiles, the U.S. government is aiming for further qualitative superiority over Soviet nuclear armament. The Pershing IIs are to be used above all for a first-strike surprise attack against the Soviet Union. Because of their more limited explosive power and because of their greater accuracy, they can be used for "regionalizing" atomic wars, that is to say, to make them "limited, manageable and accessible."

They therefore reveal the aim of imperialism's new arms race — to exert its military power also in regions which are distant from the American continent. The logic of deterrence is thus proved to be a logic of blackmail.

- The difference in percentage of their respective gross national products spent on arms by the USA and the USSR, which the imperialists often use as an argument, is meaningless. While declared American arms spending is 7 percent of the GNP and estimated USSR spending 15 percent of the GNP, the American GNP is *double* the Soviet GNP. Thus, in absolute terms, imperialist military spending is greater than USSR spending.

Soviet military expenditure is a great burden on the Soviet Union, to the point of worsening economic and food supply problems. Furthermore, SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) statistics indicate that in 1980 NATO was responsible for 43 percent of world arms spending as against 26 percent for the Warsaw Pact.

Imperialism is still the principal warmonger and the main threat to peace.

Solidarity with peace movement in eastern Europe

For its part, the military policy of the bureaucracy in power in the USSR and the East European countries has a reactionary dimension which is a consequence of its domestic and foreign policy:

- A foreign policy based not on militant internationalism, on solidarity between workers

and peoples throughout the world, but on pacts and agreements of coexistence or division of the world with imperialism.

• A domestic policy anchored not in the democratic mobilization of the masses, but on the negation of the most elementary political, trade-union, or national rights — as shown by the Soviet intervention in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Jaruzelski's tough crackdown on the Polish workers (1981).

• That is why we are in solidarity with the currents of opposition to the arms race that have appeared in East Germany, and in a more limited way in other East European countries. The development of such currents would be an enormous encouragement for the antiwar movement in Western Europe and would strike a blow against imperialism 1,000 times more deadly than a few more Soviet missiles. By demanding public and democratic control over defense and foreign policy, a mass antiwar movement independent of the state in Eastern Europe would inevitably take on an antibureaucratic dynamic.

Only mass action can force warmongers to retreat

Nuclear war looms as an unprecedented danger for humanity. Neither protests nor maintaining the balance of terror are guarantees against the outbreak of such a war.

As long as imperialist governments have such murderous instruments at their disposal, the danger of nuclear holocaust will continue.

The only chance of preventing war is to disarm the warmongers by overthrowing capitalism where it is strongest. This is the task and duty of workers inside these countries.

The struggle against the war drive is everybody's affair — workers on the receiving end of austerity policies and unemployment, women suffering exploitation and oppression, and young people condemned to unemployment and military service. It is far too serious a question to be left in the hands of diplomats or sorted out between governments in secret summit negotiations. *Only mobilization can hold back the warmongers.*

In 1982 and spring 1983 millions of workers, women, and youth mobilized throughout Europe in demonstrations against the deployment of nuclear missiles — as in Great Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Denmark — and for the rejection of NATO and the removal of its bases in the Spanish state and Greece.

But demonstrations are not enough. To mobilize the masses, the struggle has to be organized in the workplaces, in the schools and factories. Often local, or even regional, trade-union bodies have passed motions and supported this spring's demonstrations. Many trade-union leaders have spoken out in these actions. We must build on this, proposing actions that can mobilize the mass of workers — proposals like a one-hour or 24-hour strike as are being discussed today in the Dutch workers movement.

Agreement on the broadest and most united basis can be reached in Western Europe

against the deployment of nuclear missiles scheduled for the end of the year.

1. From Comiso in Sicily to Greenham Common in Great Britain, say no to Pershing and cruise missiles!

2. Remove the NATO bases! Dismantle American forward bases in Europe! Down with the Turkish dictatorship, which is making Turkey a fortress for imperialism in the region!

3. No to French and British nuclear weapons, which are an integral part of the imperialist military apparatus!

4. For a nuclear-free Europe from Poland to Portugal, from Sicily to Scandinavia!

5. For massive cuts in military spending, total nationalization, and reconversion of the arms industries — Jobs, not bombs!

6. Full support for democratic rights for soldiers enrolled in the bourgeois army and for workers subject to the special laws that place

restrictions on hiring or on trade unions in the arms industries!

7. Stop imperialist intervention in Central America!

The Fourth International and its sections are fully engaged in the battle against the war drive and austerity. Throughout Europe one united voice must be raised to say no to the deployment of the missiles and to military spending, and to oppose the effects of the crisis (unemployment, cuts in wages and social services, racist agitation of right-wing forces). On each important occasion this voice should be heard. For the autumn the mobilizations that have developed in different countries should take a new step forward in coordination by the organization of a large European-wide demonstration.

The European sections of the Fourth International will commit all the forces at their disposal to this battle. □

Colombian PSR statement on crime

A recent draft law presented to Colombia's Congress by President Belisario Betancur and Minister of Justice Bernardo Gaitán Mahecha would establish special legal procedures for the investigation, trial, and sentencing of people charged with kidnappings, extortion, and terrorism.

A statement issued in May by the national leadership of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), the Colombian section of the Fourth International, noted that "the general conception on which this draft law is based flows from the view that crime as it is developing today in Colombia, in unprecedented magnitude and intensity, could be corrected by some kind of drastic, authoritarian, and antidemocratic regulations."

The statement rejects this reasoning, noting: "It is the deepening of the economic crisis of semicolonial capitalism in Colombia and the world that throws millions of men and women into open unemployment and ultimately into lumpenization. Of the approximately 170,000 people who are totally unemployed in Medellín, how could one not expect that a high percentage of them would turn to robbery, theft, holdups, and even extortion and kidnapping? . . ."

"It is the monstrous results of capitalism that generate the situation of insecurity. As much can be said of *individual terrorism*, which has certainly proliferated in the past decade. . . ."

"Democracy in the hands of the two political parties and the Belisario Betancur government is no more than a cosmetic utilized to better fulfill its repressive and bourgeois class role. Of course nothing justifies individual terrorism, which is both sterile and worthy of rejection. But it is no surprise that it should find its growth medium in the present political situation."

The statement adds that "the struggle against and the gradual extinction of social crimes will not be achieved through statutes, laws, and

legal codes, no matter how authoritarian and repressive they may be." Rather, the government's draft law will be used as "a political mechanism of dictatorship against the civil liberties of the working people."

The PSR leadership argues that "what is needed in Colombia is a different focus." The statement calls for an economic plan that includes an agrarian reform to stop inflation and overcome food shortages and an urban reform involving a massive jobs plan to solve the housing shortage of nearly 1 million units.

"The big financial and banking monopolies should be dismantled and nationalized, placing the available resources at the disposal of industrial recovery, and the big industrial monopolies should be controlled by the workers movement and nationalized since the state cannot continue subsidizing the big capitalists," the PSR statement argues.

It also states that "abolishing the individual terrorism flowing from the state is one of the central objectives of the democratic demands."

One "priority" is "a democratic and humane prison reform that transforms the conditions in the jails from schools for crime and centers of brutalization and misery."

The PSR leadership statement argues that "crime must be fought as part of the struggle against capitalism, which generates, perpetuates, and lives off crime; let's not forget that private ownership of the means of production is a form of theft. Revolution is prohibited and socialism, which is the only radical penal theory, the only one that fights against crime, is also prohibited."

The PSR is calling on "the unions, the agricultural and urban working masses, the left parties, every democratic current or figure" to "unite as we have done in the past to battle this reactionary instrument, whose final outcome would be to further reduce civil liberties. It is necessary to move to mobilization in the streets and plazas," the statement concludes. □

Three freedom fighters hanged

Defiant protesters fly ANC banner

By Ernest Harsch

In defiance of an international defense campaign and protests within South Africa, the white minority regime on June 9 hanged three young freedom fighters in Pretoria.

The three — Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi, and Thabo Motaung — were all members of the African National Congress (ANC) and Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's armed wing.

They were sentenced by an all-white court for their participation in a series of attacks on police stations between 1979 and 1981, in which four policemen were killed. They admitted their participation in the attacks, but demanded that they be treated as prisoners of war, since their actions were on behalf of the Black majority's struggle for national liberation. The racist regime refused to accord them that status.

Not just victims

Although an average of more than 100 Blacks are ordered hanged by South African courts each year, the case of Mogoerane, Mosololi, and Motaung was different. They were not just victims of the apartheid system, but symbols of the new generation of young Blacks who are fighting back against that system.

All in their 20s, they came through the experience of the massive 1976 rebellions in Soweto and scores of other Black townships. During their trial, they explained how the sight of young children being shot down by the police led to their decision to join the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, so that they could "fight for the liberation of black people."

That is why they were sentenced to death and hanged. A statement by Alfred Nzo, the ANC's secretary general, declared that Mogoerane, Mosololi, and Motaung "perished because they dared to fight for the national emancipation of their people, for democracy, nonracialism, and peace." (See box.)

But there are thousands of others like them. Since the rebellions in 1976, the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe have grown enormously. As a result, the ANC has been able to carry out increasingly effective armed actions against the apartheid regime — nearly 100 since the beginning of 1981.

On May 20, less than three weeks before the executions, ANC fighters delivered their most spectacular blow yet against the white minority regime. They detonated a car bomb just outside a building in Pretoria that houses the air force command, air force intelligence, and prisons department. Eighteen people were killed and about 190 wounded, many of them air force and military personnel.

"People are jubilant," one Black told a reporter, describing the reaction in the Black townships.

This support for the liberation struggle is not just a passive one, however. Despite the regime's repression, hardly a week goes by without some protest demonstration, march, rally, or consumer boycott.

Role of workers

Workers have been playing a particularly active role. During 1982, there was an average of one new strike each day. Militant Black and nonracial trade unions have been springing up around the country to fight for workers' rights and the rights of the entire Black population. In recent years, more than 300,000 Black workers have joined such unions — the highest number of unionized Black workers in South African history.

Besides carrying out its armed actions, the ANC is also helping to build these mass organizations and has active members within them.

Because of its role in the armed struggle and the mass movements, the ANC has emerged as the most popular and influential organization among South Africa's Black majority.

Surveys conducted by some of the major white-run newspapers in South Africa have

found that the ANC commands far more support among urban Blacks than any other political group, despite the fact that it is banned. In late 1981, representatives of some 109 community groups, trade unions, student organizations, women's associations, and other groups met in Durban and adopted the ANC's "Freedom Charter" as their program of demands.

Regime fails to stop protests

Fearful of this mass support for the ANC and the anger that could be unleashed by the execution of the three fighters, the Pretoria regime refused to hand their bodies over to their families, in an effort to head off big funeral demonstrations. It also banned a protest rally that had been scheduled to take place in Soweto, the massive Black township outside Johannesburg.

But the authorities could not prevent all expressions of protest.

Two hours before the hangings, chapel bells rang out throughout Soweto in a display of solidarity with Mogoerane, Mosololi, and Motaung.

At the University of Zululand, about 700 demonstrators rallied to protest the executions, and some of them set a police car afire. About 1,000 demonstrated at Fort Hare University.

In Durban, about 400 people, mostly students, marched through the city beneath an ANC banner. The police attacked and arrested 23 protesters.

In Soweto, hundreds attended a memorial service for the three. They sang Black freedom songs and listened to a eulogy by Rev. Thomas Manthata, who declared, "We are here to bury our heroes. They have lost their lives in a noble cause." □

'Their sacrifice must be a call to battle'

[The following statement was issued June 9 in Lusaka, Zambia, by Alfred Nzo, the secretary general of the African National Congress.]

* * *

Today, at dawn, the Pretoria regime carried out a cold-blooded murder. Three members of the African National Congress, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, — Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi, and Thabo Motaung — are dead.

In flagrant and deliberate violation of international law, Botha and his accessories joined together to kill these prisoners of war. This cabal, which has no regard for the most elementary notions of human decency, carried out its crime despite appeals by our people, by governments, and by representatives of millions of people throughout the world.

The African National Congress hereby extends its heartfelt condolences to the families of the martyred heroes and commends them for their steadfastness in defense of what their loved ones stood for.

We salute the international community, which raised its voice in a noble effort to save the lives of these patriots. We hail our own people, who stood by their sons to the last second of their lives.

We lower our flags to the eternal memory of our departed comrades, who have perished because they dared to fight for the national emancipation of their people, for democracy, nonracialism, and peace. At the very end of their brief, but heroic lives, they chose to die with honor, rather than to demean themselves with craven pleas to their captors.

Their example and their sacrifice must, and will, for us, serve as a call to battle.

The apartheid regime of terror has done its will. Through struggle, the will of the people of South Africa, with the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe at their head, shall prevail in the not-too-distant future. The perpetrators of this latest crime will be brought to book.

Farewell, dear comrades. The cause for which you sacrificed will surely triumph.