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Korean protesters aboard captured vehicles in Kwangju.

U.S. Sends Warships

Insurrection Challenges South Korean Military Dictatorship

"We Want to Be Treated Like Human Beings"

WHY MIAMI EXPLODED

Why 'Bungling Carter' Looks So Bad

By David Frankel

Nothing seems to be going right for American imperialism these days.

The U.S. ruling class opens up a propaganda campaign against the revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean—and South Korea explodes, along with Miami.

President Carter calls a boycott of the Moscow Olympics—and two-thirds of Washington's NATO allies send their teams.

Washington attempts to isolate the Soviet government in the diplomatic arena—and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing holds a summit meeting with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, after giving Carter only two days notice.

"Now [West German Chancellor Helmut] Schmidt is considering a state visit to Moscow," *Business Week* reported in its June 2 issue. Unhappy over "the manner in which NATO powers are competing to talk to the Soviets," the magazine complained that "such a visit [by Schmidt] would be a propaganda godsend for Kremlin leaders."

Nor has Washington fared any better in its effort to coordinate economic sanctions against Iran. It is worth reviewing the record on this in light of the latest developments.

On April 7, Carter broke all diplomatic relations with Iran, formally imposed a complete economic boycott, and announced that some \$8 billion worth of Iranian assets held by U.S. banks would be confiscated. He appealed to Washington's allies, urging them to take similar measures against Iran.

But the European imperialists declined to follow Washington's lead. Carter tried cracking the whip. As one State Department official put it, "we have appealed to our allies for concrete action and concrete steps are what we expect to see."

Under intense U.S. pressure, the foreign ministers of the nine European Common Market countries met on April 22. Only twelve days earlier the same body had rejected Carter's demands, but in their second meeting they reluctantly voted to impose the sanctions demanded by Washington if "decisive progress" toward freeing the American hostages in Tehran was not made by May 17. Tokyo followed suit on April 24. But that same night, Carter launched his abortive commando raid against Iran.

After waiting a few weeks for the dust to settle, Carter tried to pick up the pieces.

Edmund Muskie was sent to Europe on his first mission as secretary of state, where he declared that Washington had "the right to expect" that its allies would impose the sanctions they had agreed to before the attack on Iran. He demanded "a strong commitment to go forward with the same sense of urgency" as before.

When the Common Market foreign ministers met again May 18, however, they decided to ban only those contracts with Iran that were signed since November 4, when the U.S. Embassy was seized. Virtually all major European contracts with Iran, and more than 90 percent of Iranian-European trade, were left untouched by the sanctions.

Swallowing hard, the State Department called the sanctions "meaningful," and Carter claimed he was satisfied.

But even those watered-down sanctions were rejected by the British Parliament. "We are extremely disappointed," the State Department admitted.

Meanwhile, Muskie also took the French to task for failing to consult with Washington before arranging the meeting between Brezhnev and Giscard. The French government, Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet snapped back, "doesn't need anyone's authorization" to talk to "whoever it wants to whenever it wants to."

As the editors of the *New York Times* noted May 21, "the United States is being routinely defied by its major allies."

Nor has the backtalk been limited to Washington's "major allies." The continued defiance of American imperialism by the Iranian masses, and the revolutionary advances in Central America and the Caribbean, are raising the confidence and combativity of the workers and peasants in semicolonial countries all over the world. This has put increased pressure on the capitalist regimes in these semicolonial countries, and has resulted in many of them trying to stress their independence from Washington.

Last January, for example, the central theme of the conference of Islamic foreign ministers at Islamabad was the condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Although Carter's attempt to forge a more solid counterrevolutionary alliance in southwest Asia began to unravel immediately after that conference, Washington was still able to make some propaganda points.

At the latest Islamic foreign ministers'

conference, which ended May 22, there was little for Washington to be happy about. The conference condemned the U.S. aggression against Iran and expressed its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionist colonialism.

As for Afghanistan, *Washington Post* reporter Stuart Auerbach said, "The Islamic foreign ministers listened to the Afghan rebels and then appeared to ignore their plea. . . ."

"Instead of giving them arms and repeating last January's condemnation of the Soviet Union, this Islamic Conference appears likely to seek some political accommodation with Moscow."

Like the European imperialists, the semi-colonial regimes represented at the Islamic conference prefer not to stick their necks out. They have been reminded once again of the dangers facing them by recent events in Korea.

Much of the blame for the advance of the colonial revolution and for the inability of the imperialist allies to form a solid front has been placed at Carter's doorstep by the capitalist media.

Even before the debacle of the U.S. commando raid in Iran, *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis reported that "the words used without inhibition at high levels in private are seeping into the European press. They include such assessments as 'incompetent,' 'Amateur Night at the Palais,' 'inconsistent,' 'failure to think things through,' 'lack of coordination,' 'faulty crisis planning,' 'Washington's babel of statements,' all of which have appeared in British, French and German editorials."

"Blundering Carter" was the title of an editorial in a recent issue of the *London Sunday Times*.

Within the United States, such assessments have been echoed by Carter's Democratic and Republican party opponents. "Carter's incorrigible bungling is in fact turning the United States into the Inspector Clouseau of nations," complained Kennedy-supporter Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in the May 22 *Wall Street Journal*.

Certainly it would be a thankless task to try to defend Carter's competence. But would Eisenhower have done any better in the current circumstances?

The truth is that none of the last three U.S. presidents has been able to cope successfully with the challenges facing imperialism.

Johnson was surely the most hated man in America when he left office with the cries of "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today," ringing in his ears.

Nixon was driven from the White House in disgrace.

And Ford was saved from Carter's fate only by defeat at the polls.

Like other social classes that have outlived their historically progressive role, the bourgeoisie cannot imagine that they have reached a dead end. If everything seems to

come apart in their hands, the capitalists insist that the problem is lack of leadership, incompetence, bungling—anything but a dying social system.

More and more, the measures needed to deal with one problem facing the imperialists come into conflict with their other goals. Carter, for example, tried to restore confidence in the intentions of the U.S. government among American workers by his demagogic campaign around human rights. The ultimate aim was to enable Washington to freely use its military power against revolutions abroad.

However, Carter's human rights rhetoric helped to undermine some of the very regimes he hoped to defend. Carter's capitalist critics were quick to point this out, but Henry Kissinger's policies had been tried earlier and proved no more successful.

Or take the example of the rebellion in Miami. For years, especially after the beginning of the New York City fiscal crisis in 1974, American cities have been under the gun. Municipal governments, claiming lack of money, have been slashing social expenditures. At the same time, the federal government has also been cutting its social programs.

The capitalist liberals have supported these cuts to the hilt, while urging that they be carried out "equitably." Backing Carter's latest budget, the *New York Times* declared April 4 that "it will demand sacrifice from many, but without taking too much from the poor, who have the least to spare."

But on May 21, immediately after the Miami uprising, the *Times* changed its tune—at least for one day. It demanded to know "What happened to the Administration's vaunted urban policies, which promised improved schools, housing and job training."

The same crisis of imperialism that underlies the dispute between Washington and its allies is also the basis for what the U.S. rulers call the "Vietnam syndrome." It is not just because of memories of Vietnam that American workers are not willing to go to war against the colonial revolution. The memory of Vietnam is important, but no less important is the reality that workers are experiencing right now—attacks on living standards at home, and the advance of revolutionary struggles abroad.

American workers, after experiencing the effects of big oil's profit drive over the past few years, are less willing than ever to fight for the interests of the monopolists. During recent antidraft protests this consciousness was summed up in the popular slogan of "Hell no, we won't go, we won't die for Texaco!"

Seeing the iron determination of the Sandinista freedom fighters in Nicaragua, the defiance of the Iranian masses who faced the shah's machine-guns and tanks unarmed, the courage of the demonstrators

in South Korea, the size and spirit of the mass mobilizations in Cuba—seeing all that has deepened the understanding of American workers about what they would face in a new war.

Washington's allies see the relationship of forces shifting against imperialism on a

world scale. But they are afraid of provoking the workers in their own countries, and they cannot agree on what to do.

American workers see the same shifting relationship of forces, and they have agreed on one thing—they have no intention of going to war to reverse it. □

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Editor: Mary-Alice Waters.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Managing Editor: Steve Clark.

Editorial Staff: Gerry Foley, David Frankel, Ernest Harsch, Janice Lynn, Fred Murphy, Will Reissner.

Business Manager: Nancy Rosenstock

Copy Editor: David Martin.

Technical Staff: Arthur Lobman.

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Kwangju Insurrection Rocks South Korea

By Ernest Harsch

After years of the most brutal military dictatorship and American oppression, the people of South Korea have poured into the streets of cities and towns across the country. With breathtaking rapidity, hundreds of thousands of them—students, workers, unemployed youths, women—have gone into action to demand an end to martial law and the institution of democratic freedoms.

In the southwest, the urban populations of Kwangju, Mokpo, Hwasun, Polkyo, and other areas have risen up and seized control of their cities, posing an immediate challenge to the survival of the military regime headed by Gen. Chon Too Hwan.

Not since the end of the Korean War has the country witnessed such massive political ferment. Not since then has American imperialism faced such serious resistance to its domination over South Korea.

On May 22, the day after the citizens of Kwangju drove out the police and army and took over that city, a special meeting was held in the White House. Attended by Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, and other officials, it covered overall American strategy toward South Korea.

"They paid particular attention to what the United States could do to help restore order in South Korea," *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported from Washington.

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III declared the same day that the White House was "deeply concerned by the civil strife in the southern city of Kwangju."

As part of its recent diplomatic stance, Washington has tried to present itself as an advocate of democracy and an easing of military rule in South Korea, warning the generals in Seoul that if they acted too crudely they could end up by simply inflaming the antigovernment upsurge. In face of the armed insurrections in the south, however, the Carter administration has left little doubt about its basic support to the military junta.

The Pentagon stressed on May 22 that the U.S. troops stationed in South Korea—numbering nearly 40,000—remained in a state of alert.

It also disclosed that Gen. John A. Wickham Jr., the head of the joint U.S.-South Korean military command, had released an unspecified number of South Korean combat troops from their regular duties to help put down the unrest.

The following day, White House officials revealed that the U.S. aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* had been sent to South Korea and would remain off the Korean coast until mid-June, when it is to be replaced by the *Midway*, a giant U.S. warship based in Japan.

As a political cover for these threatening moves, the American government has claimed that they are in response to the possibility of military attacks by the North Korean regime. Several times, the State Department emphasized that Washington would "react strongly" to any "external attempt to exploit the situation in the Republic of Korea." In an interview, Secretary of Defense Brown pointed out that Washington had enough war supplies on hand for two months of heavy fighting in South Korea.

The immediate target of these military threats is not the North Korean regime. The State Department, in fact, has been forced to admit that it has no evidence of any military build-up in North Korea or of any North Korean involvement in the unrest in the south.

Washington's real target is the insurgent masses of South Korea, whose determination to rid their country of repressive military rule has been symbolized by the mammoth upheaval in Kwangju.

Kwangju Leads the Way

The insurrection in Kwangju—South Korea's fourth largest city—was sparked by the military regime's own actions.

After weeks of mounting student protests and labor strikes in Seoul, Taegu, Sabuk, and other cities, the military authorities announced on the morning of May 18 that they were closing all universities, banning all political gatherings and labor strikes, imposing press censorship, and extending martial law to the entire country.

Hundreds of political activists, journalists, dissident priests, and student leaders were arrested and taken off to secret detention centers. One of the most prominent figures arrested was Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the bourgeois opposition New Democratic Party who comes from South Cholla Province, of which Kwangju is the capital.

This crackdown was accompanied by the dismissal of Prime Minister Shin Hyon Hwack and his cabinet and the appointment of Park Choong Hoon as the new prime minister. Park, a retired major general, is also chairman of the Korean Trad-

ers Association, which represents the largest trading companies in the country. Real power, however, remained in the hands of Generals Chon Too Hwan and Lee Hi Song.

The resistance to this crackdown began in Kwangju on May 18, the same day as the announcement that martial law was being extended. About 5,000 students took to the streets there to protest the repression. The military imposed a 9 p.m. curfew.

The following day the students were joined by tens of thousands of other residents. The protesters were estimated to have numbered about 50,000. Armed paratroopers and riot police attacked the demonstrations, killing several protesters and wounding dozens of others. Soldiers arrested all students on sight, forcing many to strip and lie face down on the street.

The mass protests continued on May 20, as about 30,000 students and workers marched in groups through the city. At dusk, about 100 taxi drivers, outraged by the brutality of the paratroopers, joined drivers of trucks and private cars in a cavalcade that moved from the municipal stadium to the downtown area. They were attacked by troops, who dragged occupants out of their vehicles and beat them.

In the first indication of a breakdown in police discipline, some police refused to move against the protesters.

Some of the demonstrators surged toward a television station that had broadcast progovernment statements. They burned it to the ground. Others commandeered buses and taxis and tried to ram police barricades.

The protesters shouted for the immediate ouster of General Chon from his posts as head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Security Command.

The authorities inflicted heavy casualties that night. According to witnesses, at around 11 p.m. troops began firing at random into crowds near Chonnam University.

Reports of the brutality of the Special Forces paratroopers circulated through the city. According to a May 21 dispatch from Kwangju by *New York Times* correspondent Shim Jae Hoon, citizens reported that the troops "had stripped students who were arrested, had hung some bodies of the dead in a city park upside down and in some cases had violated women, including the elderly. The reports could not be confirmed, but accounts given by various witnesses were generally identical. One man said that he had seen soldiers in an

armored personnel carrier dragging a student along by a rope tied to his neck."

A Popular Insurrection

Unable to demonstrate peacefully for their democratic rights, the citizens of Kwangju were forced to defend themselves. On May 21, they took up arms.

As on previous days, students and workers poured into the streets to demonstrate. They dispersed early, but then reassembled several hours later, their ranks quickly doubling. According to estimates by government officials, as many as 200,000 persons surged through the streets. The bodies of some slain demonstrators were loaded on carts and taken around the city to dramatize the protesters' outrage.

The police fled as residents armed themselves with knives, iron bars, and pitchforks. They seized guns from the police stations and raided several armories and a military vehicle factory. Twenty-one police stations and thirteen government buildings were destroyed or severely damaged.

Thousands of people flocked into Kwangju from the surrounding countryside, including miners armed with explosives.

Reporting from Kwangju, *Times* correspondent Shim described the insurrection:

The demonstrators, who also seized armored personnel carriers, trucks and jeeps from the military, surged around the city waving flags and calling for the ouster of Lieut. Gen. Chon Too Hwan, the 47-year-old army strongman and intelligence chief, and the freeing of Kim Dae Jung, a prominent opposition leader who comes from this region. . . .

"Death to Gen. Chon Too Hwan!" and "End martial law!" were among the slogans shouted by the demonstrators. . . .

Some of the demonstrators were teenagers, but most apparently were in their 20's and 30's. . . .

With gunfire echoing through the streets of Kwangju, a city of 800,000, demonstrators occupied the city hall and also the administrative offices for South Cholla Province, of which Kwangju is the capital. . . .

As rioting continued in the streets, military helicopters hovered in the sky to signal directions to troops on the ground.

The city's main street, Tongunro, was filled with demonstrators during the day, most of them ordinary citizens rather than students.

Trucks filled with demonstrators and youths with headbands, their faces covered with towels, raced around the city, picking up the injured and transporting them to hospitals as the riots continued. Police stations were empty, and troops took cover, as military vehicles burned unattended and rioters took over gasoline stations, helping themselves to fuel.

This massive outpouring was too much for the troops stationed in the city. By that night they had been driven from Kwangju, although they had already taken more than a hundred lives.

During the course of the rebellion, the residents of the city organized themselves into numerous committees of citizens and students. A May 24 Associated Press dispatch from Kwangju reported that it was

under the control of these committees.

This marked the first time since the massive upsurge at the end of World War II that any area of South Korea had come under the control of such popular committees.

On May 22, the day after the insurrection, about 100,000 residents rallied in Kwangju to discuss their demands. Members of the citizen's committees explained that they were demanding Chon's ouster, the freeing of 900 persons arrested during the uprising, the keeping of all troops outside the city, compensation for the families of those killed and injured, and amnesty for all insurgents.

Meanwhile, some of the insurgents began preparations to defend Kwangju against the expected government retaliation. A car equipped with a loudspeaker toured the streets, declaring, "There are guns at Kwangju Park. Those who want guns, go to Kwangju Park."

With Kwangju as its stronghold, the insurrection also spread to other towns in South Cholla Province, which is one of South Korea's most impoverished regions. By May 22, the major port city of Mokpo, as well as the towns of Hwasun and Polkyo, were under rebel control. Crowds had stormed a police armory in Naju, and uprisings were reported in at least a dozen other towns.

In many cases, the police had simply shed their uniforms and fled. Shim commented in a May 22 dispatch, "Whether the discipline of the armed forces broke down also could not be determined. The army sent in soldiers from other provinces; it was officially explained that the purpose was to guard against defections or sympathy with local inhabitants."

A Countrywide Upsurge

The insurrections in South Cholla Province are not an isolated expression of mass discontent, but the culmination of a series of demonstrations and strikes that have been sweeping South Korea for months.

In October 1979, the industrial cities of Pusan and Masan exploded. In Pusan, the country's second largest city, thousands of students and youths demanded the ouster of dictator Park Chung Hee and clashed with police. Twenty-one police posts were destroyed or burned. In Masan, students were joined by factory workers, also storming police and government offices. The protests spread to Ulsan, Kwangju, and Taegu.

A little more than a week after the first revolt in Pusan, Park was killed in a palace coup, in what appeared to be an attempt by the military to head off further antigovernment uprisings. The new rulers promised to move toward civilian rule and to ease up on the repression.

Because of continued ferment and factional conflicts within the military hierarchy itself, the regime's grip was weak-

ened. The masses saw an opportunity to press even harder for their demands.

From the beginning of the year, the country was swept by a series of sit-down strikes, slowdowns, and other labor actions. Hit by an inflation rate of more than 40 percent a year, workers sought wage increases and the ouster of union bureaucrats imposed by the regime. Many of the strikes were successful. In late April, about 1,000 steelworkers clashed with police in Pusan and coal miners occupied the downtown area of Sabuk.

The example of these militant worker actions inspired the students to step up their struggle for greater democratic rights. In early May, thousands of university students demonstrated in Seoul, Taejon, and Chonju to demand the ouster of General Chon and the lifting of martial law.

The demands of the students also included freedom of the press, the elimination of the repressive constitution imposed by Park, free elections, and support for the demands of industrial workers. According to a report in the May 22 *Christian Science Monitor*, "One Korean official said student demonstrators last week also distributed materials with strong anti-American slogans."

By May 14 and 15, the student-led protests had reached massive proportions. On those days, more than 50,000 persons marched in Seoul alone. Tens of thousands of others demonstrated in Taegu, Kwangju, Chonju, Suwon, and Incheon.

Confronted by this rising opposition, General Chon and his military colleagues dropped their liberalizing mask and cracked down with brutal force. But the urban populations of South Cholla Province showed the country how to answer the dictatorship's repression.

Realizing its weak position, the regime's initial response to the Kwangju insurrection was to play for time. It agreed to negotiate with the insurgents and promised to look into some of their demands.

At the same time, the generals began preparations to retake the city. They moved fresh troops into position and tightened roadblocks around Kwangju to isolate it from the rest of the country. Although the regime issued an ultimatum against any further mass demonstrations in Kwangju, tens of thousands again poured into the streets on May 24.

Reinforced by the full backing of Washington, the Seoul regime ominously declared that "this state of lawlessness in the Kwangju area cannot be tolerated indefinitely."

The military authorities are intent on crushing the rebellion in Kwangju. But whatever they do, Kwangju has already provided a stirring political example. It points the way forward for the oppressed workers and peasants, as they mobilize to throw out the hated U.S.-backed dictatorship. □

How Korean Dictatorship Was Established

By David Frankel

Thirty years after the outbreak of the Korean War, Washington still has 40,000 troops stationed on the Korean Peninsula. They are backed up by the mighty Seventh Fleet, by the huge U.S. bases in Okinawa, and by what the *New York Times* has described as "untold numbers of tactical nuclear weapons."

Today, as hundreds of thousands of students and workers are challenging the brutal military dictatorship in the streets of South Korea, the presence of this massive U.S. military force takes on an especially ominous aspect.

As was the case in Nicaragua, the capitalist media has generally felt compelled to take a somewhat sympathetic tone toward the struggle against the dictatorship due to the attitude of American working people. It upholds the fiction that the dictatorship was established in spite of the presence of U.S. forces in Korea.

Thus, the editors of the *New York Times* argued May 22: "South Korea needs a large military establishment to counter a real military threat from North Korea. The same need has left some 40,000 United States troops on South Korean soil. But no security requirements can justify the perpetuation of the military's political power. Indeed, as the civil insurrection in Kwangju demonstrates, the prolongation of undemocratic rule can only undermine security."

Fine words. The only problem is that it was the intervention of U.S. imperialism that was responsible for the establishment of the dictatorship in the first place.

It will take a revolution by the masses of workers, peasants, and students to get the generals off the backs of the people of South Korea. And in the face of such a revolution, the U.S. ruling class will invariably back the generals because of its fear that the masses will not stop with liberal reforms, but will demand the kind of social advances that would endanger capitalist rule.

American forces were sent to Korea in the first place in order to halt just such a developing revolution.

Washington Replaces Tokyo

Korea had been formally annexed by Japanese imperialism in 1910. Massive anticolonialist struggles were carried out by the Korean people. In fact, a nationwide student uprising in 1929 began in Kwangju, where the current rebellion is centered. During World War II, the Korean people saw their chance for independence.

Less than a month after the surrender of

Japan, on September 6, 1945, an independent government of Korea was declared, based on popular committees that had been organized by the anti-Japanese resistance movement. After decades of Japanese rule, the Korean people were not interested in having their country once again occupied by foreign armies.

Despite the formation of an independent Korean government, however, the country was divided into two zones of occupation, with Soviet troops in the north and U.S. troops in the south. While the Soviets recognized the new government, the U.S. occupation forces ignored it, setting up an Advisory Council staffed with figures who had collaborated with the Japanese during the war.

On October 10 the United States Military Government in Korea—a body that did not have a single member who even spoke Korean—declared itself the sole government in South Korea. It called for an end to pronouncements by "irresponsible political groups," and the following month it outlawed the Congress of the People's Republic.

The imperialists finally set up a Korean front for their rule in February 1946. A so-called Representative Democratic Council, which was so rightwing that leading liber-

als boycotted it, was formed. It was headed by the just-returned Syngman Rhee, who had spent thirty-seven of his seventy years in the United States.

Roots of War

Thus, the roots of the Korean War were not at all in the fabled "aggression from the North," which was also Washington's refrain in Vietnam. It was in the artificial division of Korea by the U.S. imperialists, a division that was part of Washington's general strategy of trying to stem the colonial revolution following World War II.

Historians are still arguing over which side moved first in June 1950 to spark the Korean War. Both Rhee and his defense minister had been threatening to invade the North for months. The dictatorship in the South was facing increasing popular opposition, and only the war saved Rhee's government. However, the question of who fired the first shot is really irrelevant to the basic cause of the war. Washington set up a situation in which civil war in Korea was almost inevitable, and then used the occasion to launch a war aimed at China.

In his book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, journalist I.F. Stone showed how the State Department had a draft resolution prepared for the UN General



American GIs burn Korean village in May 1952.

Assembly before the war even started. The United Nations condemned North Korea as an aggressor without even hearing its side of the story.

While Washington was eager to use the UN flag as a cover for its intervention in Korea, it did not bother to wait for the United Nations before ordering its forces into action. On June 7, 1950, the White House announced that President Truman had "ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean government troops cover and support." Three hours later the UN Security Council met to decide on whether it should act on the side of the Rhee regime.

'Starved for Supplies'

In the first months of the war the imperialist army was almost swept off the Korean Peninsula. I.F. Stone noted in his book, "Soviet air power and sea power by intervening could have pushed the Pusan defenders into the sea. The North Koreans might have done it alone, if they had not been starved for supplies."

In Moscow, Stalin was hoping to placate the imperialists and strike a deal with them at the expense of the Korean people. His refusal to give the Koreans adequate military aid was to result in the war being prolonged for three years, and in the threat of its extension into China.

By the middle of September, 1950, U.S. Marines had landed behind Korean lines in Inchon, and on September 30, with the North Koreans in full retreat, they had reached the thirty-eighth parallel—the boundary between North and South Korea. Washington had based its case for intervention in Korea on the argument that South Korea was a sovereign country, facing an invasion from the North. But speaking on the very day that U.S. troops reached the thirty-eighth parallel, U.S. Ambassador Warren Austin told the United Nations:

"The aggressor's forces should not be permitted to have refuge behind an imaginary line. . . . The artificial barrier which has divided North and South Korea has no basis for existence in law or in reason."

The U.S. forces pushed on into North Korea. On October 20, 1950, the North Korean capital of Pyongyang fell, and by November South Korean forces were approaching the Chinese border. As I.F. Stone explained, "The North Korean regime had been overthrown, its capital occupied, and its troops smashed. . . ." And all this had been accomplished with the Stalinist regimes in Moscow and Peking doing virtually nothing to help their Korean ally. However, Washington was just beginning.

China Enters the War

Emboldened by the lack of response from Moscow and Peking, the imperialists kept pushing. The commander of the U.S. forces in Korea, Gen. Douglas MacArthur,

'A Brutal Imperialist Invasion'

Although there was widespread opposition within the United States to the Korean War, the popular dissatisfaction was rarely expressed publicly because of the intimidating effect of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. Despite the attacks of the witch-hunters, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party stood firmly on the side of the Korean people, against the imperialist intervention, and it said so loud and clear.

In an open letter to President Truman and Congress, printed on the front page of the July 31, 1950, *Militant*, the U.S. socialist weekly, SWP national secretary James P. Cannon declared:

"The American intervention in Korea is a brutal imperialist invasion, no different from the French war on Indo-China or the Dutch assault on Indonesia. American boys are being sent 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed, not in order to liberate the Korean people, but to conquer and subjugate them. . . ."

"The explosion in Korea on June 25, as events have proved, expressed the profound desire of the Koreans themselves to unify their country, to rid

themselves of foreign domination and to win their complete national independence. . . .

"This is more than a fight for unification and national liberation. It is a civil war. On the one side are the Korean workers, peasants and student youth. On the other are the Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists and their police and political agents. The impoverished and exploited working masses have risen up to drive out the native parasites as well as their foreign protectors. . . ."

"There is not an iota of concern for the wishes and rights of the Korean people in this brutal invasion. The attempt to prop up the Syngman Rhee regime by armed force is part of Wall Street's planned program to dominate and exploit the whole world. . . ."

"The right in this struggle is all on the side of the Korean people. Like the colonial peoples everywhere in Asia, they want no part of U.S. or even UN 'liberation.' They want the American troops to get out of Korea. They want freedom from all foreign domination. They want to decide their own fate."

made no secret of his desire for a counter-revolutionary war against China. He continually inveighed against the "privileged sanctuaries" across the Chinese border.

U.S. warplanes were repeatedly bombing and strafing Chinese cities, and on October 8 two U.S. planes had even attacked a Soviet airport sixty miles beyond the Korean border and only forty miles from Vladivostok.

The atmosphere in Washington was indicated on August 25, when Secretary of the Navy Francis Matthews made a speech calling for a war against communism, saying that this would "cast us in a character new to a true democracy—an initiator of a war of aggression . . . the first aggressors for peace."

After repeated statements that U.S. forces would stop forty miles from the Chinese border, they kept right on going. Only twenty years earlier, the Japanese imperialists had used the same Korean trade route to invade China. Furthermore, the dams and power installations on the Yalu River, which marked the border with China, provided much of the power for Manchuria, at that time the center of Chinese industry.

Finally, on November 24, MacArthur ordered 100,000 troops into an offensive designed to reach the Yalu. The Chinese had had enough; within a few days MacArthur's troops were in full retreat.

Responding to China's entry into the

war at a November 30 news conference, President Truman stated "we will take whatever steps are necessary to meet the military situation." When asked if that included the atomic bomb, he said, "That includes every weapon, we have," and added that "there has always been active consideration of its use."

Having already used it against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there is no reason to suppose that Truman would have hesitated to drop the bomb again. However, Washington's own allies recoiled in fear. Canadian External Affairs Minister Lester Pearson pointed out that "certainly its use for a second time against an Asian people would dangerously weaken the links that remain between the Western world and the peoples of the East."

Expanding on his fear of the colonial revolution, Pearson added that the military advantages of dropping the atomic bomb "are likely to be far outweighed by the reactions among the peoples of the world."

Although thwarted in their hopes for a nuclear offensive against China, the U.S. imperialists consoled themselves with a bloodletting in Korea that left two million dead and another three million wounded. New programs with names such as "Operation Killer" and "Operation Strangle" were initiated by the defenders of freedom in the Pentagon.

As early as August 24, 1950, only two

months after the war began, a *New York Times* dispatch discussing the possibility of elections in Korea noted, "The difficulty is that there is a strong probability of an over-all Communist majority if the elections were held before the communization of North Korea had been undone, and before a UN reconstruction program had assuaged the bitterness of North and South Korea against the destruction of their homes during their liberation by UN forces."

The November 9 *New York Times* described an attack by almost 400 U.S. planes on Sinuiju, a city on the Chinese border, which was reported as 90 percent destroyed.

The attack began in the morning "when fighter planes swept the area with machine guns, rockets, and jellied gasoline bombs." This was followed by high-explosive bombs, and then "the remaining planes used incendiaries exclusively on a two and one-half mile build-up area. . . ."

Reporters were assured that all targets were of a military nature, and pilots "had kept away from the city's hospital areas."

As Gen. Emmet O'Donnell, head of the U.S. Bomber Command in the Far East, explained before a Senate committee, "I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula is just a terrible mess. Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name. . . . Just before the Chinese came in we were grounded. There were no more targets in Korea."

Scorched Earth

The destruction of Korea was not limited to its larger towns and cities. "Allied troops in the Wonju sector," reported the *London Times* January 15, 1951, "pursuing a scorched-earth policy, have burned twenty-two villages and set fire to three hundred haystacks."

Whole villages were napalmed as suspected "enemy" outposts. The *New York Times* reported one instance in its February 9, 1951, issue: "The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they had held when the napalm struck—a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage. . . . There must be almost two hundred dead in the tiny hamlet."

The slaughter in Korea went on for more than three years. In November 1954, his country having been made "safe for democracy," Syngman Rhee had himself named president for life.

In the spring of 1960 student demonstrations sparked a massive response and Rhee was overthrown. However, a military coup the next year brought a new dictator, Park Chung Hee, to power.

Park was assassinated last October, but

his heirs are still struggling to hold the South Korean workers and peasants in bondage. And in this, they have the support of President Carter.

During the Iranian revolution, President Carter sent Gen. Robert Huyser to Iran to try to arrange a military coup. Huyser was unsuccessful because the Iranian army was already disintegrating by the time he got there. But in Korea, Washington has its own forces already in place.

It is not some supposed "military threat from North Korea" that keeps U.S. troops

Carter's Olympic Boycott Falls Flat

President Carter's call for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics was dealt a stunning blow with recent decisions by Olympic committees in a majority of European countries to defy Washington and participate in the games.

On May 13, the French Olympic committee voted unanimously (22 to 0) to reject the boycott pressure from Washington. This followed votes by the Swiss and Danish Olympic committees to also attend.

Then on May 19, the Dutch and Irish committees defied their government's wishes by voting to go to Moscow—as the Portuguese committee had done May 15 and the British Olympic committee had already done in March.

Also on May 19, decisions to defy Washington's boycott call were reported in Austria, Belgium, and Sweden. The following day, the Italian Olympic committee also voted overwhelmingly to compete in the Moscow games.

And on May 23 the Australian and Spanish Olympic committees rebuffed the boycott call and also voted to attend.

This means that West Germany is alone among the major West European countries in supporting Carter's attempt to torpedo the Olympics. Even that committee's decision was hardly overwhelming—a 59 to 40 vote taken after four hours of heated debate. One reporter at the meeting described the reaction: ". . . there was little joy when the final tally was announced. No one in the meeting room cheered as the announcement came. . . ."

The only others from the NATO alliance that have joined Washington and West Germany in the boycott are Canada, Turkey, and Norway. The final deadline for acceptance is May 24.

The State Department counts some forty-five countries they say are going along with the boycott. But, despite the intense pressure from Washington, seventy-nine have decided to participate in the Moscow games.

Several countries Washington counts as boycotting the Olympics have clearly stated that their non-participation is completely unrelated to Afghanistan and

in the country. It is fear of popular revolution.

Washington's only interest is in maintaining and extending its economic and political domination of the rest of the world. Its allies are the rich and the privileged; its enemies, the masses of workers and peasants trying to control their own countries. Its imperial ambitions are a threat to the very survival of humanity. Its military establishment must be dismantled and its troops and missiles withdrawn from around the world.

Korea would be a good place to begin. □



"Despite Carter, Olympics are On."

Washington's boycott call. These include Albania, Malawi, Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Saudi Arabia.

Carter was hoping that the boycott campaign could be used to arouse public opinion against the "Soviet menace" and ostracize Moscow for sending troops to fight the U.S.-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan. But his move backfired. In fact, Carter's boycott proposal also ran into considerable opposition in the United States.

Eighteen U.S. athletes even went so far as to file a lawsuit attempting to overturn the U.S. Olympic committee's decision. They charged the U.S. committee had capitulated to intense political pressure from the Carter administration.

On May 16, however, the athletes' suit was dismissed by a U.S. district judge.

Edmund Muskie, Carter's newly appointed secretary of state, tried to present the rejection of the boycott campaign as a success for Washington. ". . . this is not an Olympics—it is an athletic event!" was all he could muster. □

How Trudeau Blackmailed Quebec's Voters

By Ernest Harsch

Confronted by a campaign of threats, intimidation, and blackmail by the Canadian federal government and ruling class, a majority of Quebec voters on May 20 turned down a request by René Lévesque's Parti Québécois (PQ) provincial government for approval to negotiate Quebec's "sovereignty-association" with Canada.

Of the 3.5 million ballots cast in the referendum, 59.2 percent were marked "no" and 40.8 percent "yes." However, among French speakers alone, who comprise 80 percent of Quebec's population, the vote was evenly split.

The referendum question presented to voters by the PQ asked that they give a mandate to the provincial government to negotiate with the federal authorities in Ottawa for a vaguely defined political sovereignty for Quebec, within the context of continued economic association with English Canada.

The referendum did not raise the question of Quebec's right to independence. But the federal authorities and the Canadian capitalists feared that a majority "yes" vote would give a spur to the struggles of the Québécois workers against their national and class oppression.

Despite the intentions of the capitalist PQ, the referendum resulted in a sharp class polarization.

On one side, Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau of the Liberal Party, Conservative opposition leader Joe Clark, the Quebec Employers Council, Bell Canada, IIT, Alcan, and other ruling class figures and institutions forcefully campaigned for a "no" vote.

In response, the major Québécois nationalist groups and trade unions rallied for a "yes" vote. Louis Laberge, president of the 340,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), denounced the campaign for a "no" vote, stating, "It is obvious that the principal aim of these reactionary forces is to maintain Quebec in a dependent state, which has generally been to their advantage, and to snuff out any moves at all in the direction of change."

The government in Ottawa threw its weight behind the campaign of the federalist forces in Quebec. Although funding for each side in the campaign was legally limited to \$2.1 million, the "no" campaign received much additional publicity through advertising by several federal agencies, as well as through the heavily biased coverage over radio and television.

Even more serious was the drive to blackmail Quebec's population.

Trudeau repeatedly stated that under no

circumstances would he negotiate with the Parti Québécois over its sovereignty proposal—even if a majority of Quebec's voters cast "yes" ballots. Behind this explicit denial of Quebec's right to self-determination lay the implicit threat of federal intervention—military or otherwise—to keep Quebec within the Canadian federation.

The Québécois voters were also presented with threats of economic reprisal. Some Canadian and American companies have indicated that they are prepared to close down their operations in Quebec in response to any major rise in the nationalist movement there. Warnings were issued that if Quebec pressed for sovereignty, it would be charged world market prices for the less expensive oil it now receives from Alberta's oil fields.

In addition, the American imperialists came out openly behind Trudeau and the federalist forces. "The Carter Administration had made clear it supported Canada's continued unity," reported the May 21 Newark, New Jersey, *Star Ledger*. "Some U.S. officials said privately they believed that Quebec independence could create an atmosphere of uncertainty close to home that would be undesirable for a U.S. government grappling with a fast-changing world situation."

In face of this offensive, the PQ was incapable of putting up a real fight. As a bourgeois party, it is opposed to mobilizing the Québécois masses to fight for their national rights.

The party's record since it was voted into office in 1976 did much to undercut its attempts to rally support. Although it came to power during a rise in the nationalist movement, the PQ soon began to play down its support for Quebec's independence. The Lévesque government enacted antilabor legislation, supported the bosses' drive against Québécois living standards, and acted to break strikes.

The PQ's vague proposal for "sovereignty-association" asked the voters of Quebec to place their confidence in the provincial government to negotiate with Ottawa. In the end, Lévesque was unable to convince enough Québécois to do so, especially in face of Ottawa's threats.

The defeat of Lévesque's proposal was greeted with glee by Trudeau, the employers, and the mass media. But their celebrations were at the same time tempered by a concern over the continued strength of the Québécois nationalist movement.

Citing one federalist, correspondent Henry Giniger commented in a report from

Montreal in the May 22 *New York Times* that the 40 percent who voted "yes" was "a large segment of the Quebec population."

Moreover, a survey conducted a month before the referendum found that 75 percent of those who planned to vote "no" also said they wanted a "new deal" for Quebec.

Another survey found that support for Quebec's independence was at an all-time high—28 percent of Quebec's population.

In an effort to defuse this nationalist sentiment, Trudeau declared a day after the referendum that discussions would soon be held on possible changes in the Canadian constitution, hinting that greater leeway might be given to provincial governments, including Quebec's.

The determination of Québécois militants to continue fighting for Quebec's national rights was dramatically expressed the same night as the referendum results were announced. Several thousand young activists marched through Montreal, chanting "We want a country!" and tearing down Canadian flags. The police attacked the demonstration, clubbing both protesters and reporters.

Among the new problems the federal government will have to face is the growing support for Quebec's right to self-determination within the labor movement, both in Quebec and in English Canada.

Although the leaderships of the Canadian Labor Congress and the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) lined up with Trudeau on the referendum by calling for a "no" vote, the Quebec wing of the CLC (the FTQ) came out in support of voting "yes," as did most Quebec supporters of the NDP. On May Day, more than 10,000 unionists from the three major Quebec union federations marched through Montreal to demand, "A Quebec in the interests of the workers, Yes, Yes, Yes."

Support for Quebec's national rights has also been growing among workers in English Canada.

At a meeting of United Steelworkers Local 1005 at Stelco in Hamilton, Ontario, resolutions were adopted calling on the Ontario NDP to "support Quebec's right to freely decide its own future." A public rally in Toronto on May 14 in support of Quebec's right to self-determination drew prominent endorsement from union and NDP figures. Trade unionists in Vancouver took out a half-page ad in the Montreal daily *La Presse* on May Day expressing the support of "working people in English Canada" for "the right of the people of Quebec to determine their own political future."

In the long run, it is such developments among Québécois and English Canadian workers that will have a far greater impact on Quebec's struggle for self-determination than the results of the May 20 referendum. □

Hugo Blanco Elected to Congress in Peru

By Jean-Pierre Beauvais

LIMA—The results of the May 18 general elections—the first held in Peru since 1963—brought an unexpectedly decisive victory for the bourgeois People's Action Party (AP) and its presidential candidate, Fernando Belaúnde Terry. Unofficial returns made public May 19 showed Belaúnde receiving some 42% of the vote with Armando Villanueva del Campo of the bourgeois American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) running a distant second with less than 25%.

Hugo Blanco of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International, was receiving a little more than 4% of the presidential vote and was outpolling all other leftist candidates, with the possible exception of teachers' union leader Horacio Zeballos, candidate of the Maoist coalition UNIR (Revolutionary Left Union). The bloc between the pro-Moscow Communist Party (*Unidad*) and the bourgeois-nationalist Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR) was receiving about 2%, as was the centrist Democratic People's Union (UDP). Genaro Ledesma's FOCEP¹ trailed with less than 1%.

Hugo Blanco is assured of election to the House of Deputies from a Lima district. Other Congressional candidates elected on the PRT slate include metalworkers leader Hipólito Enriquez, Enrique Fernández of the PST, and Ricardo Napurí of the POMR.²

The high vote for Belaúnde allayed fears among the imperialists, the Peruvian bourgeoisie, and the military rulers that no candidate would receive the 36% required for election by Peru's constitution. This would have thrown the presidential contest into the Congress and threatened political instability similar to that eroding Bolivia's shaky bourgeois democracy.

The victory of Belaúnde and the AP is being viewed here above all as a rejection

by the voters of the military dictatorship, which had openly favored Villanueva and the APRA. Belaúnde focused much of his campaign propaganda on the fact that he had been Peru's last elected president from 1963 to 1968 and was ousted in General Velasco's coup d'état. He claimed to oppose military rule and support democratic rights. Belaúnde also demagogically promised to create 1 million jobs within a year's time and solve Peru's other severe economic problems, which he blamed on the military regime.

The APRA's poor showing in the elections, after originally having been widely favored to win, will exacerbate the deep crisis inside Peru's oldest bourgeois party. Since the death last year of its founder, Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, the APRA has been wracked by internal disputes, which at times have even led to violent street battles between rival APRA gangs.

Division of the main working-class forces into five competing slates of candidates was another factor in Belaúnde's victory. A short-lived attempt early in the campaign to unite the PRT and other Trotskyists, the UNIR, and the UDP behind Hugo Blanco's candidacy broke up owing mainly to the divisive tactics of the Maoists and the POMR (see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, April 7, p. 341).

Thousands Cheer Blanco in Lima Shantytown

By Alán García

LIMA—More than 6,000 workers, women, and youth from the *pueblo joven*¹ San Martín de Porras enthusiastically chanted "Workers to power," "Blanco is our candidate," and "Hugo Blanco, PRT"² when PRT presidential candidate Hugo Blanco ascended the speakers platform at a rally in San Martín de Porras here on May 13.

In the last days of the election campaign the PRT carried out intense activity in the pueblos jóvenes of Lima. A series of rallies such as the one in San Martín de Porras followed a successful tour Blanco conducted in the first week of May through the southern provinces of Cuzco and Puno.

1. Literally, "young town"; the name popularly given to the huge, impoverished shantytowns that ring Lima and other Peruvian cities.

2. Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party), Peruvian section

The total vote for the left showed a marked decline from the nearly 30% it had received in the 1978 Constituent Assembly elections. Many workers apparently sought to cast an "effective" vote against APRA and the military by voting for Belaúnde for president while choosing leftist candidates for the Senate and House of Deputies.

Hugo Blanco and the PRT outran all other left parties in the Lima metropolitan area and in much of southern Peru. In Moquegua Province, a stronghold of the militant copper miners union, the Trotskyists received 18% of the vote, and in Tacna Province, where Blanco was tried by a military court on frame-up murder charges in 1965, the PRT received 15%.

Impressive gains were scored by the PRT in the course of the election campaign. Hugo Blanco spoke to tens of thousands of persons at rallies held throughout the country. The PRT's final rally in Lima's San Martín Plaza on May 12 drew nearly 50,000 persons—the largest gathering held by any left party during the election campaign.

Everywhere Blanco spoke, he encouraged his supporters to become active and to join the PRT. By the end of the campaign more than 2,300 new militants were paying weekly dues and attending meetings and educational classes in Lima alone. Some 2,000 are reportedly participating in similar activities in other parts of the country.

On election day, the PRT organized some 3,000 persons to serve as poll-watchers in Lima, considerably more than any other leftist party. □

One of the most emotional gatherings was held in the village of Quillabamba in La Convención Valley near Cuzco, where Blanco led a massive peasant struggle in the early 1960s. More than 3,000 peasants attended the rally in Quillabamba, out of a total population of some 12,000.

In San Martín de Porras, Blanco declared that the PRT's voting symbol,³ a fist, "also symbolizes that we are not going to stop after these elections—that we will go on struggling as the municipal workers are doing."

The municipal workers of Lima have been on strike since May 6. The union's general secretary has been jailed, and on

of the Fourth International.

3. Because many illiterates were being allowed to vote for the first time in Peru's history, voting in the May 18 elections was by party symbol and not by name.

May 14 four workers were murdered when police attacked a peaceful demonstration.

Blanco went on, "The first means that we will go on building our party, so that all these isolated struggles can be unified and centralized in a single big battle—not simply a trade-union fight but a political one carried out with the combative methods of the workers, until we reach the point that our sisters and brothers the workers of Nicaragua have reached, that our sisters and brothers of El Salvador are reaching."

Before Blanco spoke, the rally was addressed by two candidates from the PRT's

Congressional slate, by two striking municipal workers, and by a representative of the pueblo joven of Comas.

When the rally ended Blanco led off a march by about one-third of the meeting's participants, which ended at the PRT's offices in San Martín de Porras. At the urging of the workers, women, and youth, Blanco again spoke from a balcony on the office's second floor. He called on all those present to join the PRT, which many did enthusiastically.

The rally ended with chants of "Blanco—worker's candidate," "Socialism or death," and "Hugo Blanco, PRT." □

Capitalists Demand 'Effective Protection'

FSLN Names New Members to Nicaraguan Junta

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—Two new members—Arturo Cruz Porras and Rafael Córdova Rivas—were added to Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction May 18 by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) National Directorate.

Before his appointment, Arturo Cruz was president of Nicaragua's Central Bank. Along with junta member Sergio Ramírez, Cruz was one of the "Group of Twelve," that played an important role in broadening support for the FSLN during the right to overthrow Somoza. Upon his appointment to the junta, Cruz affirmed that he was accepting a mandate from "the vanguard of the revolution, the FSLN, to preserve the irreversible character of the revolution." He also stated that "as a Christian" he identified completely with the process that is occurring here and that his presence in the government reaffirmed "the democratic nature of the junta."

Rafael Córdova Rivas had been a member of the Supreme Court appointed by the revolutionary government. A long-time opponent of the Somoza regime, he was jailed by the dictatorship more than a dozen times. When FSLN leader Tomás Borge was imprisoned by Somoza's National Guard in the early 1970s, Córdova Rivas served as his defense attorney. After the assassination of bourgeois opposition leader Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal in January 1978, Córdova Rivas became president of Chamorro's party, the Democratic Liberation Union (UDEL).

In Córdova Rivas's brief remarks accepting appointment to the junta, the following stood out: "This revolution does not mean mere substitution of one political power for another. Rather it means changing the economic, social and political structures."

The new appointments to the junta were

announced on the eighty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Augusto César Sandino—"general of free men and father of the people's anti-imperialist revolution." Sandino led the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to expel the U.S. marines in the 1930s; his legacy was the inspiration for the formation of the FSLN.

Commemorative events were held throughout Nicaragua, sponsored by the mass organizations, such as the Sandinista Workers Federation and the Association of Nicaraguan Women. Sandino's heritage of anti-imperialist struggle and international solidarity, above all with the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, was vigorously reaffirmed.

At all these events, special attention was paid to the enormous mobilizations in Cuba against the threats and provocations of U.S. imperialism.

Defense of Nicaragua's national sovereignty in face of foreign aggression and "traitorous elements" inside the country was emphasized. This was highlighted not just because of the armed struggle carried out a year ago by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in order to regain their sovereignty, but also because of recent demands by members of the U.S. Congress that the governing junta be broadened to include so-called moderate members, and because of the openly anticommunist campaign unleashed against the FSLN in recent weeks by ex-junta member Alfonso Robelo and his Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN).

The spirit of the commemoration of Sandino's birth was expressed by Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock. Wheelock spoke at the main event organized by the junta and the FSLN National Directorate at the Rubén Darío People's Theater here in Managua.

"If it should be necessary to endure great

hardships and shortages in order to uphold the sovereignty of our country," Wheelock said, "the people of Sandino are ready to follow that course of freedom and dignity. And if this national independence demands that Nicaragua's lands once again be covered with blood, we are prepared to die a thousand times rather than accept the humiliating 'freedom' of the slave."

This was a clear warning of the FSLN's attitude in the event of any armed intervention or economic blockade by the imperialists.

It was during the event at the People's Theater that the FSLN National Directorate announced its new appointments to the junta. The response of Nicaragua's capitalist organizations was not long in coming.

In a May 20 statement the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) questioned the right of the FSLN National Directorate to name new members to the junta and called instead for "the restructuring of the governing junta in order to preserve the principle of pluralist representation."

The COSEP went on to list a series of demands, which included the following:

• The necessity of reaffirming the concept of private property, with effective protection against confiscation, invasion [of land by peasants], and expropriations. . . .

• To foster attitudes that reconcile social classes and show the advantages of national coexistence. . . .

The final point of the COSEP's statement amounted to a declaration of war: "COSEP insists that the enumerated points are fundamental to the Nicaraguan revolution and are thus indispensable for restoring credibility in the current process. At the same time, we note that to the extent that these points do not receive the respect and attention they deserve the country will remain adrift, legitimizing the criticisms of those who point out that the government's deviations threaten to reproduce in Nicaragua a communist dictatorship similar to Cuba and worsen the climate of confidence—already damaged—that the urgent reactivation of the country requires."

The big bourgeoisie thus openly rejects the measures carried out by the FSLN to benefit the workers and peasants, and conditions their investment and participation in economic reactivation on the adoption of political guarantees that would simply mean the liquidation of the revolution in a short period of time.

FSLN Commander and junta member Daniel Ortega has made the Sandinistas' position on the COSEP's demands quite clear: "We are not going to share power with those who only seek to weaken that power—neither in the government junta nor in the ministries." □

Why Miami Exploded

By Harry Ring

[The following article is abridged from the May 30 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

* * *

MIAMI, May 21—About 3,600 National Guard troops and an equal number of cops have occupied this city's Black community for four days.

Some sixteen people, almost all Black, have been killed.

About 300 have been wounded, about 1,000 have been arrested.

The news media have tried to portray the rebellion here as a racist outbreak by Blacks intent on killing whites.

But so far the only confirmed death of a white in the area of the rebellion is a cop who dropped dead of a heart attack. Six cops were reportedly wounded by gunfire, none critically. One white was dragged from his car, beaten, and then reportedly run over.

People in the area told a Black reporter that the man's car was stopped after he and a passenger had fired at people.

Officials confirm thirteen deaths of Blacks. They died at the hands of cops and racist killers in civilian garb who sped by the edges of Black areas.

The rebellion began Saturday after an all-white jury freed the cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie. The verdict came in at 2:36 p.m. Youth poured into the streets immediately.

At eight o'clock that night, in response to a call by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a leading civil rights organization, some 7,000 people gathered at the County "Justice" Building for a protest demonstration.

The outraged crowd carried placards that declared "Justice in America is a Damn Lie" and "Where is Justice for the Black Man in America?"

Racist 'Justice' Fuels Black Anger

MIAMI—The exoneration of the cops who killed Arthur McDuffie was final proof that there is no justice for Black people in Miami.

That's what triggered the rebellion here.

The McDuffie case was one in a series of recent police murders and brutalities that have been condoned by Dade County and Miami city authorities.

Arthur McDuffie, a successful Black insurance sales executive, died in a coma last December 21. He had been plucked four days previous by a pack of Dade County cops.

He was riding his motorcycle when cops set after him. McDuffie tried unsuccessfully to out-distance them.

The cops caught him, threw him to the ground, cut off his crash helmet, and clubbed him to death.

They smashed up his motorcycle and filed a report that he died in a crash trying to escape.

Responding to public anger, officials had five cops indicted for second-degree murder and conspiracy.

Four finally went to trial. But not in Miami. Officials permitted the case to be transferred to Tampa.

There, after a forty-eight-day trial, an all-white, all-male jury deliberated only two hours and forty-four minutes before they pronounced the cops "not guilty."

For the Black community here it was the proverbial last straw.

The McDuffie decision had a particularly deep impact because Florida is one of the states where trials can be televised. People heard the testimony on how McDuffie died.

Officer Morrero testified that he had brought his heavy-duty flashlight down on McDuffie's skull "as hard as I could."

A medical officer agreed. He said the force used to crush McDuffie's skull was equivalent to falling four stories onto concrete.

Dade County's head cop, Bobby Jones, responded to the "not guilty" verdict philosophically. "That's the American system," he observed. "And that's the way it is."

Even a Black patrolman, standing nearby, was moved to respond. "Yeah, I guess he's right. That's right. That's the way the American system works."

Dorothy McDuffie, sister of the victim, said of the verdict:

"I feel like I'm nobody. I feel like my family's nobody. I feel like my people are nobody."

She added: "We despise the verdict. We hate it. And it hurts us to our hearts."

—Harry Ring



Jerry Hunnicutt—IP/ National Guardsman in Miami.

NAACP leaders had not planned through the hastily called rally. There was no public address system and speakers tried to address the throng with a small bullhorn.

There were no proposals for action.

From the "Justice" Building people marched to the nearby Dade County Public Safety Building. It had been Dade County cops who murdered McDuffie and many others.

Police in the area seemed intent on provoking the crowd.

Squads of SWAT cops appeared from behind. They charged in with clubs, tear gas, and attack dogs.

Miami's rebellion was on.

Fires raged through the sprawling Black community for three nights. On Sunday night alone, officials reported forty-two major fires.

Residents responded to police gunfire.

The fires were clearly aimed at white-owned businesses. Community businesspeople say that the only Black businesses that suffered were adjacent to white-owned ones.

All of Miami was affected. At its peak, the curfew area covered half the city of Miami.

Bus service was suspended.

Schools were shut down for three days.

Many businesses had to shut down early so their Black employees could get home before the curfew.

All indications point to wide sympathy among white workers here for the participants in the Black rebellion.

Many recognize that the verdict in the McDuffie case was a travesty of justice and that Blacks have a long string of other just grievances.

Like Blacks, they have come to distrust and dislike cops. Many of them recognize that all working people, Black and white, are the targets of the police.

Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti flew to Miami from Washington on Monday. He went on the air to assure, "All serious allegations involving civil rights and brutality will be investigated."

A federal grand jury was slated to convene here today. It will, assertedly, consider indicting the killer-cops under the federal Civil Rights Act. Such a process will take weeks, officials say.

Meanwhile, they hope the promise of a possible indictment will help cool things down. What they will then do about the killer-cops remains to be seen. The same is true, of course, about the various pledges of new-found concern for the problems of the Black community.

Major national figures of the civil rights movement also converged here. Former United Nations envoy Andrew Young was shouted down at a community rally when he started advising the victims of cop brutality that "violence is not productive."

Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Joseph Lowery got at some of the root of the matter when he declared, "President Carter should come to Miami. I think the crisis is in America, not in Afghanistan." Instead of worrying about Afghanistan and Iran and trying to boycott the Olympics, he added, "we should be boycotting the Klan, racism, and unemployment." □

Socialist Candidates Denounce Killer Cops

As the Black rebellion erupted in Miami, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign gathered May 18 to hear Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president, and Rose Ogden, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, denounce the acquittals of the cops who killed Arthur McDuffie.

"The outrageous verdicts handed down in this case," said Ogden, "legalize what cops in this city call 'street justice'—the brutal beatings and even summary executions of those they consider suspicious or guilty."

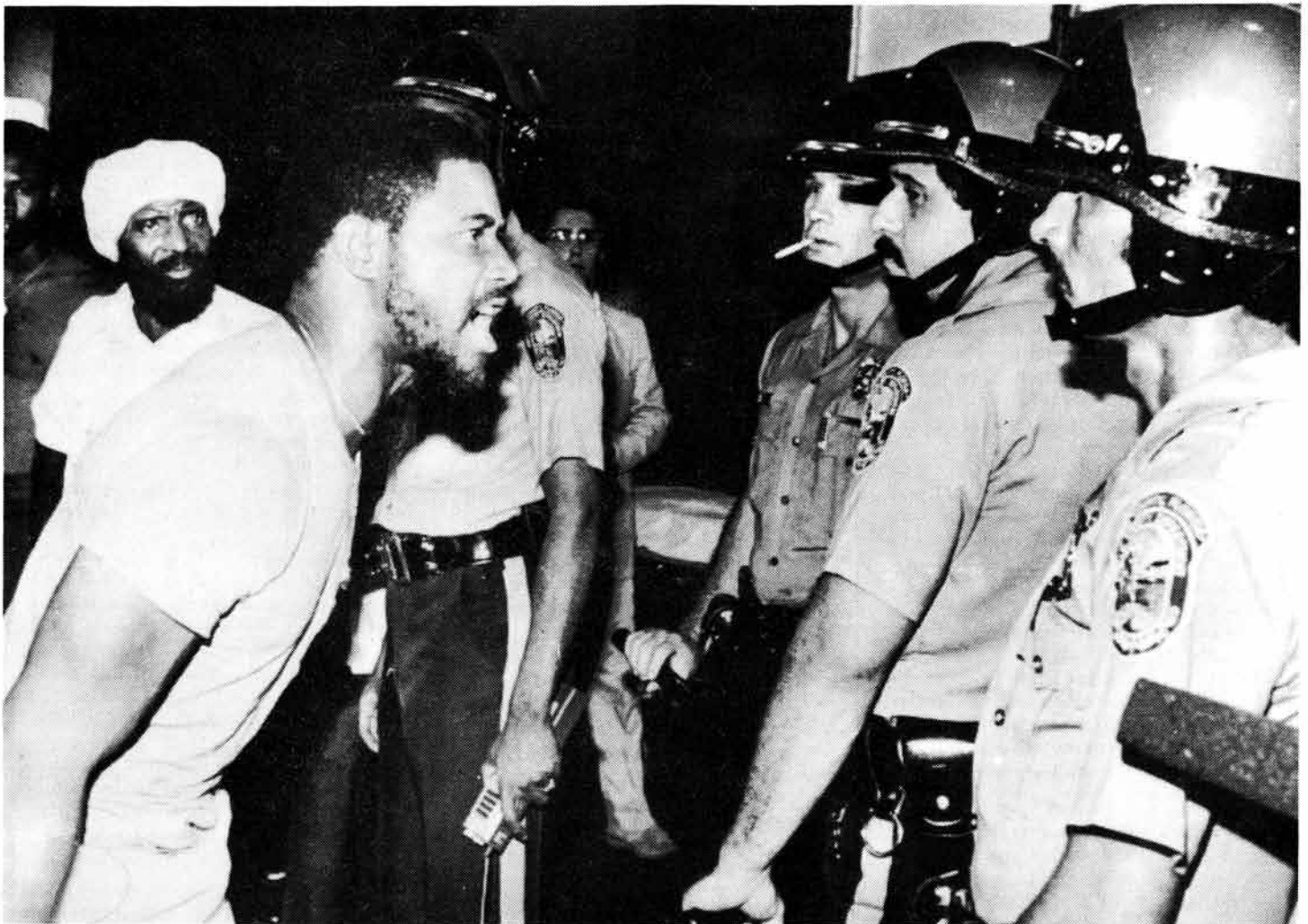
Pulley branded the McDuffie verdict, "Jim Crow justice."

"This is U.S. capitalism's welcome," Pulley said, "to the Cubans who have recently arrived here. They have been led to believe that abundance and freedom exist for American workers. Nothing could be further from the truth. That's what the Cuban emigres are fast learning."

"The police violence against the Black community is a threat to every worker and unemployed person in Miami," said Ogden. "The killer-cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie, and who continue to harass and brutalize the Black community, are the same cops the government uses to try to break our unions and attack picket lines. They're the same uniformed killers used against any group of workers who stand up and fight for our rights."

"The attempt to crush the Black community here is part of the rulers' overall attempt to crush the aspirations of Miami workers."

"That is why it is so critical for the labor movement to recognize its stake in supporting the Black community's demands. Through a united campaign by Black, Haitian, and Cuban community organizations, labor unions, and other supporters of civil liberties, justice can be won."



Black Miami resident confronts white policemen after bringing relative to hospital for treatment of wounds.

'There Is Too Much Racism Here'

By José G. Pérez

[The following article is excerpted from the May 30 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

MIAMI—Antonio Maceo Mini Park on Southwest Eighth Street and Fifteenth Avenue is the heart of Miami's Little Havana. The park is named after Antonio Maceo, the Black hero of Cuba's war for independence.

There are a half dozen stone tables and benches with big shade trees over them. Cuban men, unemployed or retired, come to spend time playing dominoes and discussing politics.

I asked to play. I explained I was visiting from New York and asked what had been going with these riots.

"It's those damn *niches*," said one, using the Cuban word closest to nigger. "They're animals. They don't know what they have here. They should. . . ."

"If they're animals," another interrupted, "these white police are ten times animals for what they did to that poor salesman."

The conversation spread to other tables and to the dozen or so onlookers. Only two defended the McDuffie verdict and the police. For the rest, opinions ranged from "the Blacks have a justified grievance but rioting is no way to express it," to whole-hearted sympathy for the rebellion.

On the outskirts of the crowd, I noticed one Black listening quietly. He was dressed in new jogging sneakers, blue jeans, a T-shirt with "Florida" written on it, a little hat, and a face that said, *How in hell did I wind up here?*

He started to walk away and I followed him. I invited him to have a cup of coffee.

He was just in from Mariel, Cuba, a couple of weeks ago. His relatives had gone down with a boat and picked him up.

He is a skilled mechanic: "Cars, trucks, jeeps, motorcycles—if it rolls, I can fix it." But he had been unable to find a job here in his trade.

"They tell me I don't know American cars, or I don't know how to deal with customers in English, or just 'no.' I went to a job agency, but it's not like in Cuba. They wanted \$200. I can't give them that money.

"Last week I washed dishes. They paid me a pittance. They said it would be so much, but it turned out that was before taxes, Social Security, I don't know what. They have a million things to take your salary.

"Then I went to take an apartment. The landlord was an old North American lady. She told me she didn't want any reds"—he used the Spanish word *colorado*—"but she didn't speak Spanish and I don't speak English. I couldn't explain to her I wasn't a communist."

"What word did she use?"

Blacks in Britain Also Rebel

Miami is not the only place where an embattled Black community has rebelled against racist abuse recently.

In Bristol—a once-grand port city in southwest England, built with the revenues of the seventeenth and eighteenth century African slave trade—the predominantly West Indian district of St. Paul's rose up April 2.

St. Paul's has been hard hit by a year of budget slashing by the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher. Nearly 5,000 of Bristol's 20,000 Blacks live in the district, which has the worst housing and highest unemployment. Unemployment for Black youth in Britain is estimated to be nearly 66 percent.

The rebellion was sparked by a provocative afternoon police raid on the Black and White Cafe, an important community meeting place. The raid followed months of harassment. The cafe had previously had its license to serve beer revoked.

Most of the cafes and youth clubs in the area had already been closed, either after losing their liquor licenses or because of local government expenditure cuts.

When word of the raid spread, a crowd of several hundred quickly formed outside the cafe and refused to allow the police to cart cases of beer into a waiting van. Police reinforcements, with dogs and riot shields, were called in. The fighting spread as the crowd fought back. After several hours the police withdrew in face of an uprising of the whole community. When word of the police retreat was broadcast over the radio, people from throughout the city, including many white youths, began to arrive at the scene.

The targets of the rebellion were clear. Nine police cars, a Bank, and the Post Office were burned; white-owned

"Co-lo-red," he said. "I imagine it means the same as *colorado*."

I told him it was another term for *niche*. He sat silently for awhile.

"There is much racism here, too much racism here. The Cubans themselves look down at you as if you weren't Cuban too."

He spoke quietly, his eyes darting around. When the waiter came by he was silent.

Then, leaning over: "You know this would never happen in Cuba. Never. If the government finds out someone did something to you because you are Black—denied you a job or anything—that person is going to jail. Just like that."

Was there police brutality in Cuba?

stores were broken into while Black-owned stores were protected by local residents.

Tariq Ali, who covered the rebellion for the British Trotskyist weekly, *Socialist Challenge*, spoke with participants in the rebellion. He described the scene in the April 10 issue:

"As the police withdrew more people come out into the streets.

"A concerted attack is made on Lloyds Bank and the Post Office. Within minutes both are on fire as black youths celebrate the departure of the police. . . . Everyone joins in. . . . An old white couple, both of them pensioners, are seen walking into a supermarket with a trolley. A quarter of an hour later they are seen emerging. The trolley is full of tinned food, biscuits, soft drinks and other necessities. As the couple walk across the street dozens of black youths burst into spontaneous applause and cheer them all the way back."

By the morning of April 3 the police were back on patrol in St. Paul's, but the owner of the Black and White Cafe was out of jail and serving customers beer that evening. A victory had been won.

However, police provocations continue. A Black quoted in the *London Times* April 3 declared: "This is the start of a war between the police and the black community." Certainly the police have been acting as if this were the case. The April 7 *Socialist Challenge* reported that in the week following the uprising 1,500 St. Paul's residents had been questioned by the police, many routed out of bed and taken to the police station in early morning raids. At least forty-two arrests have been made with more being threatened.

—David Martin

"Not really, you know, because they treat you with dignity there. The problems over there are different."

He explained why he decided to leave Cuba. He had just gotten a divorce. He wanted to have a cassette player, nice clothes, a car, a Sony color TV.

I asked if he had ever been politically persecuted. He responded by asking if I would put this in my paper. I told him I wouldn't use his name.

"Actually, no. Everybody comes here and says they were persecuted, but that is so we can stay. They tell us on the boats, when we get here, that if you are a political refugee you can stay, if not. . . ."

"So everybody is a political refugee. The most incredible stories. I laugh when I see these interviews in the newspaper. I saw one guy I used to work with him, says he just got out of prison. He made it up."

I asked if he was sorry he came to the

United States and he said no.

Earlier, he had told me he was supposed to arrange to have his mother picked up at Mariel. I asked when he would do it. He said he didn't know.

"She's old, not like me. I'm young, I can learn English, I can take the blows, I can fight back. But if she had to take what I have taken this last couple of weeks, she would die heartbroken thinking of what she left behind." □

'Blacks of America: We Support You'

Iranian Masses Declare Solidarity With Miami Blacks

By Janice Lynn

Miami Blacks received overwhelming support for their struggle against racism from hundreds of thousands of Iranian workers and peasants.

In Tehran, the 200,000 participants at the May 23 Friday prayer meeting cheered speeches about the need to solidarize with the Black people of Miami. The meeting reverberated with chants of "Blacks of America: We Are All Your Supporters" and "Blacks of America Should Be Set Free."

This same scene was repeated at similar meetings in Tabriz, Isfahan, and in other cities throughout Iran.

Major portions of the speeches in solidarity with the Black struggle in the United States were later broadcast on radio and television throughout the country.

In a speech broadcast the night before, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini explained how Muslims in time of need and the oppressed in time of need must support one another.

"And now," Khomeini declared, "Blacks in the United States need our support because they are oppressed and faced with the same enemy we are faced with."

After the prayer meetings, thousands took to the streets in hastily organized marches and demonstrations in at least fifteen cities to show their solidarity with the Blacks of Miami.

In Tehran, more than 5,000 people marched from Tehran University to the ex-U.S. embassy. "Black Brothers, We Congratulate You On Your Uprising" and "Iranian Muslims Will Fight Alongside You In Every Way" were some of the spirited chants.

A rally was held in front of the embassy. Speakers pointed out how the same U.S. government that was continually threatening Iran was now faced inside its own borders "with our brothers who are standing up to their oppressors."

A Palestinian spoke and tied together the oppression of Palestinians, the oppression of Blacks in the United States, and the oppression suffered by Iranians under the shah.



Iranians in Tehran demonstrated May 23 in support of Black liberation struggle in United States.

The crowd cheered, shouting, "Oppressed of the World Unite" and "Blacks of America, We Support You—United States and Israel, We Will Defeat You."

Solidarity with the uprisings in South Korea was another dominant theme of the rally. A message was read from a Korean liberation organization about the struggles of the workers and students who are standing up against the dictatorship in South Korea.

The keynote speaker was from the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line. Addressing himself to Miami's Blacks, he recalled how the Iranian people had defeated the shah, and how it had seemed such an impossible task. He explained that the day would come when Blacks in America would also be able to overcome and defeat their oppressors.

"The question of racism and the situation of Blacks in the United States has

captured the attention of millions of Iranians," said one member of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).

"Everybody is discussing it and everybody followed the news from Miami very closely. There is a real identification with oppressed Blacks in America," she said.

"At the Tehran demonstration," she continued, "people would come up to me to tell me how they thought that perhaps Blacks in the United States were one of the peoples who may have suffered even more than we did. Women especially indicated to me how important it was for us to support their struggles."

"Solidarity with the uprisings of Blacks in the United States and the workers and students in South Korea is very high throughout Iran," she said.

"The Iranian people have pledged our unconditional support and we will not hesitate to help in any way." □

How Washington Stole Guantánamo Naval Base

By Cliff Conner

[The following article appeared in the May 23 issue of the U.S. socialist news-weekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

Millions of Cubans will demonstrate May 17 against the danger of U.S. military aggression. One of the central Cuban demands is that Washington withdraw its forces from Guantánamo Naval Base and return the area to Cuba.

Many people in this country must wonder: How does the United States happen to have a military outpost on Cuban territory? And, in light of Washington's hostile attitude toward Cuba since the island's revolution of 1959, how has it been able to maintain such a base?

Just a few months ago Carter and the news media were raising a hue and cry about "Soviet combat troops" in Cuba—at the invitation of the Cuban government. But the U.S. government and media consider it perfectly natural, hardly worth comment, that thousands of U.S. troops have been on Cuban soil for more than eighty years *against* the will of the Cuban people.

There are some 3,000 American military personnel stationed at the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay. The base sits on fifty square miles of Cuba's national territory, enclosed by a twelve-mile fence guarded by armed sentries. It has two airfields, an underground arsenal, and about 10,000 inhabitants, including resident marines, U.S. civilian workers, and transient troops.

Guantánamo is the oldest foreign base occupied by the U.S. military anywhere in the world. When Fidel Castro addressed the general assembly of the United Nations on September 26, 1960, he restated Cuba's decades-long call for U.S. withdrawal.

After Fidel's speech the American ambassador to the UN issued a "fact sheet" that claimed to refute what it termed Castro's "untrue and distorted allegations." It stated that the U.S. acquisition of the Guantánamo Naval Base was not imposed by force but was the result of an agreement negotiated between sovereign governments in 1902-03 and freely reaffirmed in 1934.

Does the United States really have some justification for holding onto a piece of Cuba? Let's take a look at how Guantánamo came under American control.

Standard U.S. history texts tell of the "Spanish-American" war of 1898. The very name contains an enormous lie—that is, that the war to liberate Cuba from Spain



José G. Pérez/Perspectiva Mundial

Cubans march past U.S. Interests Section, upper left, on May 17 March of the Fighting People.

was fought and won by the United States, with no help from the Cubans themselves.

In fact, the Cuban people had risen in revolt against Spain in 1868 and had fought a thirty-year war for independence. By 1898 Spain had lost 100,000 troops in Cuba and was clearly heading for defeat. The U.S. intervened to deal the final blow to Spain in order to prevent the Cuban people from gaining power in their own country.

American politicians and the press at first claimed that the purpose of the intervention was to help the Cubans win their freedom from imperialist Spain. The American people rallied behind this just cause. But a funny thing happened on the way to the American "liberation" of Cuba.

Even before the final Spanish surrender, the politicians and press began singing a different tune. It seemed that the Cubans did not really deserve to be liberated after all. The *New York World*, on July 30, 1898, described the Cuban people as a "base rabble unfit for freedom and self-government."

The *New York Tribune*, on August 7, added that only anarchy could arise from such a population of "ignorant niggers, half-breeds and dagoes."

General S.B.M. Young, a U.S. divisional commander in Cuba, stated that "the insurgents [i.e., his Cuban allies in the war against Spain] are a lot of degenerates,

absolutely devoid of honor or gratitude. They are no more capable of self-government than the savages of Africa."

This racist campaign was launched to prepare public opinion to accept U.S. domination over Cuba after Spain had been driven out. And on January 1, 1899, the Spanish representative officially turned the government of Cuba over, not to Cubans, but to a U.S. military occupation force. By March of that year 45,000 U.S. troops were occupying the island.

In December 1899 General Leonard Wood became military commander of the Cuban Occupation. In a letter to Secretary of War Elihu Root (a protégé of the leading American finance capitalist J.P. Morgan), General Wood wrote: "The people ask me what we mean by a stable government in Cuba. I tell them when money can be borrowed at a reasonable rate of interest and when capital is willing to invest in the Island, a condition of stability will be reached."

In a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt, General Wood later wrote: "This is a natural sugar and tobacco country and as we must, in any case, control its destinies, and will probably soon own it, I believe it sound policy to do what we can to develop it. . . . With the control which we have over Cuba . . . combined with other sugar producing lands which we now own, we shall soon practically control the sugar

trade of the world. . . . I believe Cuba to be a most desirable acquisition for the United States. She is easily worth any two of the Southern States, probably any three, with the exclusion of Texas."

This was very straight talk, but it was in confidential letters. For the public, the standard fare was hypocrisy about the great benefits that the U.S. occupation would bring to the Cuban people. Nevertheless, the *Washington Post*, a leading pro-administration newspaper, let it all hang out in an editorial that stated: ". . . we want these newly acquired territories [Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines], not for any missionary or altruistic purpose, but for the trade, the commerce, the power, and the money that are in them. Why beat around the bush and promise and protest all sorts of things? Why not be honest?"

The first U.S. military occupation of Cuba lasted four years; the troops were withdrawn in May 1902. But before they left, they made sure they were leaving behind a regime that would loyally protect Wall Street's investments.

As its price for removing its occupying army, Washington demanded that the new Cuban Republic adopt a constitution including a guarantee of American "rights" in Cuba.

A U.S. congressional committee headed by Senator Orville Platt wrote the American demands into the form of an amendment to the Cuban constitution. That is how the notorious Platt Amendment originated.

James Slayden, a Spanish-speaking congressman from Texas, visited Cuba during the period leading up to the adoption of the Platt Amendment and gave this assessment: "I do not believe that 10 percent of the Cubans cheerfully accept the Platt Amendment. . . . If it is accepted, it will be done in circumstances very similar to those in which the citizen yields his purse to the robber who has him covered with a pistol."

And General Wood, in another letter to



José G. Pérez/Perspectiva Mundial

Marchers at May 17 demonstration demand U.S. withdrawal from Guantánamo Naval Base.

Cuban Emigrés Protest Detention in Florida



'Camp Liberty' is the name that the U.S. government has given to the military compound in Florida where it is confining thousands of Cuban refugees while it decides what to do with them. But the immigrants don't see it that way. On May 25, hundreds of angry Cubans threw stones and scuffled with military police as they rushed the gate of the camp. They shouted 'Libertad! Libertad!' As many as 100 refugees made it to freedom, but most were recaptured.

Theodore Roosevelt, wrote: "There is, of course, little or no independence left Cuba under the Platt Amendment."

The heart of the Platt Amendment was contained in its articles 3 and 7. Article 3 gave Washington the unlimited right to intervene militarily in Cuba at any time. And article 7 stated that "the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States land necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points. . . ."

In February 1903, Cuba signed an agreement leasing Guantánamo Bay to the United States "for the time that it may deem necessary." The "rent" was set at \$2,000 a year.

The Cuban people mobilized in massive demonstrations to fight the Platt Amendment, and especially the permanent establishment of U.S. military bases on Cuban territory.

American imperialism was strong enough to impose its will on the Cuban Republic. But the Cuban independence struggle refused to die. Just four years later, in 1906, Washington again sent troops to occupy the island, this time staying until 1909.

U.S. Marines from Guantánamo again reoccupied Cuba in 1917 and remained until 1922; direct U.S. rule under General Enoch Crowder continued until 1926.

In 1934 the Platt Amendment was finally abrogated, but Washington de-

manded a new treaty leaving the Guantánamo base in its hands. Franklin D. Roosevelt—of "Good Neighbor" policy fame—sent gunboats to Havana Bay to compel the Cuban government to accept the new treaty.

That is the history of how the United States got Guantánamo. After the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, when Fidel Castro demanded the withdrawal of American troops from Cuba, President Eisenhower responded that the treaties governing Guantánamo could only be changed by mutual agreement, and that Washington had "no intention of agreeing to modification or abrogation of these agreements."

That remains the position of the Carter administration today—that it has a right to remain in Guantánamo until Washington decides on its own to leave; the Cuban people and their government cannot "unilaterally" break the "lease."

The Pentagon continues to mail Cuba its \$2,000 a year "rent"—less than the rent on a two-bedroom apartment in most American cities—but the Cuban government refuses to accept the checks.

The United States clearly has no legal or moral justification for maintaining its military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. American working people should join hands with their Cuban sisters and brothers in demanding: "All U.S. troops out of Cuba now!" □

What Tuol Sleng Torture Center Shows About Pol Pot Regime

By Fred Feldman

The U.S. government continues, with help from Peking to prop up the faltering armed gangs run by ousted Kampuchean Prime Minister Pol Pot.

But criticism of the bloc between the Carter administration and Pol Pot's murder squads is growing.

This is due in large part to the international revulsion against the crimes of the Pol Pot regime. This revulsion deepened as a growing number of foreigners visited the country and as the Kampuchean people revealed more about what was done to them during those terrible years.

Some of the most grisly revelations have come from Tuol Sleng, formerly a high school in Pnompenh which became a prison, torture center, and place of execution for the Pol Pot regime.

Thousands of documents, as well as battered corpses and parts of corpses, were left behind by Pol Pot's army as it fled Pnompenh in the first days of January 1979.

The vast number, detail, and variety of these documents, and their consistency with reports given by Kampuchean at home and abroad, are an indication of their authenticity—which has yet to be challenged by anyone.

Anthony Barnett, a scholar and journalist, visited Tuol Sleng. An article about what he found, written by Chanthou Boua and Ben Kiernan, appeared in the May 2 issue of the London *New Statesman*, along with an account by Barnett himself.

Barnett estimates that 20,000 people were held there in the course of Pol Pot's rule. Virtually all were tortured and then "crushed to bits" as the documents state repeatedly.

The methodical mass murderers preserved pictures of many victims as part of the file. Hundreds appear to have been children and teenagers, soldiers in the Khmer Rouge army.

Tuol Sleng was not where ordinary Kampuchean were sent to their deaths. They generally ended up in the mass graves that pockmark the country.

"The prison was basically a political one, for personnel from the regime itself," explains Barnett. "But at least a thousand others have been recorded, and a full list of their names published."

Victims from among Kampuchea's tiny number of industrial workers headed this smaller list. It includes "324 workers from various factories; 206 officers from the Sihanouk and Lon Nol Army; 113 teachers and professors; 87 foreigners, mainly Thai and Lao; 148 elite Khmer who returned

from abroad; 194 students, and as well doctors and engineers."

The type, extent, and effectiveness of torture were routinely recorded by Pol Pot's officials.

"This is Phoas's answer after we whipped him four or five times to break his stand, before taking him to be stuffed with water," reads one letter.

"The two highest totals," reports Barnett, "were all of soldiers from the Khmer Rouge Army, called back from the Eastern Region which borders on Vietnam."

The Case of Hu Nim

Barnett studied the records of Hu Nim, a central leader of the struggle against U.S. domination of Kampuchea. A member of the Kampuchean CP, Hu Nim served with other CP members in Prince Sihanouk's cabinet in the early 1960s but fled to help initiate the guerrilla struggle when Sihanouk cracked down on the left in 1963. He became minister of information under Pol Pot.

"In December 1978," Boua and Kiernan note, "the American journalist Richard Dudman, visiting Phnom Penh, was told that Hu Nim was 'still active in government.' We now know that he was killed halfway through that year. . . ."

Like many of those who passed through Tuol Sleng, Hu Nim was forced to confess that he had been a CIA agent virtually from childhood, devoted to the "construction of capitalism" in Kampuchea under Washington's direction.

As in other cases, his torturers extracted a description of an elaborate "CIA" network, implicating dozens of others.

"By the time Hu Nim came to 'confess' that this was so," the article notes, "he was confessing it to people whose own principal supporters were the Chinese, and (indirectly) the Americans."

Nonetheless Hu Nim's confession provides insight into the Pol Pot regime, and into the massive opposition to Pol Pot which existed in the Kampuchean Communist Party and Khmer Rouge army. This opposition had been largely "crushed to bits" when its remnants, supported by massive numbers of Vietnamese troops, brought Pol Pot down.

There is no evidence as yet that Hu Nim opposed the forced evacuation of Pnompenh and other cities that was carried out when Pol Pot came to power in April 1975.

"Internal evidence from the confession," write Boua and Kiernan, "suggests that his doubts began to grow at the end of 1976, or the start of 1977—when Pol Pot began to introduce compulsory collective eating, administrative purges down to village level, and simultaneous attempts to eliminate all senior party opponents."

The article notes that "some time ago a Khmer Rouge defector to Thailand reported that around 1976-77 'several members of the party such as Hu Nim and Nhim asked the party to have mercy on the people. . . . They said that working people must not be persecuted, and foreign aid must be accepted so that the Kampuchean people do not suffer too much. Such opinions were regarded by the party as subversion. . . .'"

Hu Nim's confession declares himself a traitor for violating "the party's secrecy policy" and "the Organisation's instruc-



Top Khmer Rouge leaders in 1973. From left, Koy Thuon (executed, 1976); Khieu Samphan; Ieng Sary; Hou Yuon (executed after 1975); Hu Nim (executed, 1977); and Pol Pot.

tions which forbid people to contact one another."

He admits agreeing with "Brother Nim," who wanted to obtain "materials, machinery and tractors from other countries."

He described being "disturbed" when "Brother No. 1" (apparently Pol Pot) insisted that the government radio treat as models for the whole country regions of which "No. 1" approved: especially Kompong Chhnang, "where they use no machinery at all, only labour."

The confession states that "Brother No. 1" showed Hu Nim that Nim's stand "for a system of plenty, was a great deal different from the party line."

Hu Nim summed up his crimes as a "CIA agent" as amounting to a plot to "rule Kampuchea as a revisionist country like Vietnam, toeing the line of the Soviet Union, and accepting aid from all countries . . . especially the United States. . . ."

Carter Policy Not Working

The horror that has been aroused throughout the world by the accounts of what the Kampuchean people went through under Pol Pot has made it harder for Washington to pass that butcher off as a genuine Kampuchean nationalist. It is getting more and more difficult for Washington to justify its vendetta against the Vietnamese-backed government of Heng Samrin.

Moreover, there is a growing realization that the overwhelming majority of the Kampuchean people support the Heng Samrin government and its Vietnamese allies against Pol Pot's forces.

This fact is leading some of the bitterest enemies of the Heng Samrin regime and the Indochinese revolutions to conclude that Carter's policy just isn't working.

Among the critics is Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

When Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean rebels toppled Pol Pot in January 1979, Sihanouk fled to New York where he represented the ousted regime before the United Nations General Assembly. Subsequently Sihanouk took his distance from Pol Pot, but continued to proclaim Pot's killers to be "patriots" and opposed sending food to Kampuchean territory controlled by Heng Samrin.

Now, having seen that ties with Pol Pot are the kiss of death for a politician who dreams of winning a following in Kampuchea, the prince is loudly denouncing Washington and the Khmer Rouge.

Here is how he described the attitude of the U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, Morton Abramowitz, in the April 18 *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

"Abramowitz told me the Khmer Rouge is the only efficient military force fighting the Vietnamese. . . . The only idea that guides the U.S. is the efficiency of the Khmer Rouge; they do not think of the

plight of the Cambodian people."

Another who has taken his distance from Washington's policy is *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm, who recently completed a tour of Kampuchea.

Kamm is an ardent anticommunist, whose dispatches over the past year sought to portray the Heng Samrin gov-



ernment as unpopular and the Khmer Serei, Khmer Rouge, and other opposition forces as the more genuine nationalists.

Like most anticommunists, he banked heavily on the supposed ancient hatred of Kampuchean for Vietnamese to fuel the civil war.

But in the May 18 *New York Times* magazine, Kamm declares flatly, "Cambodians still regard Vietnam as their liberator."

'Cambodians Are Still Rejoicing'

"More than a year after the Vietnamese Army swept away the tyrannical regime of Prime Minister Pol Pot, Cambodians are still rejoicing at their deliverance from four years of inhumanity. . . ."

He notes that this mood was not shaken by last year's famine, nor by the danger of a new famine.

Kamm had trouble locating the hatred for Vietnamese on which he (and the Carter administration) had counted:

"Vietnamese soldiers walk through Cambodian streets without encountering hostile glares. If, when they buy things in the markets, they are not greeted with the smiles that welcome the rare Western customer [hope springs eternal for correspondent Kamm!], neither is there any sign that they are unwelcome. Children approach the occupying soldiers without shyness."

Another visitor, Chris Mullin was struck by the fact that "off-duty Vietnamese go about the streets unarmed," according to his report in the May 21 U.S. weekly *In These Times*.

Kamm continued: "A military briefing could not be obtained during my stay, but no evidence of clashes—recent damage, for example, or conspicuous security measures—was encountered in more than 1,000 miles of travel along the country's principal roads. Nothing that foreign aid officials have reported contradicts an asser-

tion by a senior Vietnamese official that little remains of Pol Pot's armed strength, and that it is pinned down near the Thai border."

Kamm tries to score a point by noting that before Pol Pot broke relations with Vietnam on December 31, 1977, the Hanoi regime had made statements praising his regime and was silent about his crimes.

He isn't able to make much of this valid criticism, however, for he is obliged to admit that "the Western world continues to lend legitimacy and sustenance to the Pol Pot government. . . . In addition to voting to seat this nonregime in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the West, through international relief organizations, has been nourishing not only the masses of refugees but Pol Pot's fighting men and women and their dependents in the border encampments, binding their wounds and curing their ills."

He takes Rosalynn Carter, the president's wife, to task for "unwittingly" giving "comfort and sympathy to them . . . in a Thai camp last November."

Kamm claims to find U.S. support to Pol Pot a "paradox." But didn't Washington back the shah of Iran and Somoza in Nicaragua to the bitter end? Isn't it following the same course in the face of the uprising against the Korean generals?

Didn't it carry out a brutal war against Vietnam to keep a hated dictator in power in the South? Didn't it pour bombs on Kampuchea to keep Lon Nol's corrupt killers in office?

Where, then, is the paradox? The course is a consistent one of supporting brutal and antipopular regimes against the spread of socialist revolution anywhere in the world.

Kampuchea is still shadowed by hunger and disease, and massive outside aid is vital if the country is to continue rebuilding—or even survive.

Nonetheless it is evident that, as in Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Iran, U.S. imperialism and its allies have been dealt another setback in Kampuchea. □

Executions Reported in Syria

Amnesty International reported April 25 that the Syrian Army, responding to anti-government strikes and demonstrations over the past three months, has been sealing off sections of Hama, Aleppo, and other cities and making large-scale arrests.

Witnesses, according to Amnesty, have reported the torture of people under interrogation and summary executions.

The government has responded to demands for democratic rights in February by easing repression and releasing some prisoners held without trial. However, continued protests apparently convinced the regime that the opposition could not be pacified by a few minor concessions.

Selections From the Left

[This week's column is devoted to reactions to the events at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana and the imperialist campaign against the Cuban revolution.]

rouge

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

The April 25 *Rouge* carries a long analytical article by Charles-André Udry entitled "In Defense of the Cuban Revolution." Udry notes that the "anti-Cuban and anticommunist campaign launched by the media" takes place totally within the context of "an imperialist offensive in Central America and the Caribbean, with a special focus on the unfolding revolution in El Salvador."

The main goal of the propaganda campaign, Udry maintains, is "to prepare public opinion within the United States itself for an American intervention" in Central America and to justify the repressive policies of the bourgeois governments in the region.

Udry recounts the development of the "refugee" situation at the Peruvian Embassy, pointing out how it was a crisis provoked by the attitude of the Venezuelan and Peruvian governments, which refuse to grant asylum to anyone who has not entered their embassies by force.

Udry then takes up the question of why so many people want to leave Cuba. He notes that "the international economic crisis also affects Cuba, although to a qualitatively lesser degree than other underdeveloped countries" as a result of its planned economy, its monopoly of foreign trade, and its relations with the Soviet Union and COMECON.

Another factor mentioned is the major crisis in economic management, which is, as Raúl Castro pointed out in several speeches, directly tied to bureaucratic deformations in Cuba. One of the immediate effects is a severe shortage of consumer goods.

Udry adds that "in this context, the attraction of the United States was strengthened by the arrival since 1979 of tens of thousands of Cubans who live in the United States, and of tourists bringing important foreign currency."

Noting that the Castro leadership retains the support of the overwhelming bulk of the population, Udry states that "the Castro leadership's entire attitude toward the refugees, its call for the Saturday

[April 19] mobilization, its relations with the masses, indicate the difference between it and the consolidated bureaucratic leaders of the Eastern European countries and the USSR."

But, he argues, the support that the leadership enjoys also points out "an intrinsic weakness of the regime," a weakness that promotes the process of bureaucratization: "the nonexistence of real structures of 'soviet' power, workers and peasants councils."

Without such bodies, says Udry, the masses are unable to play a direct role in combatting the problems that exist in the Cuban economy and Cuban society.

Udry ends by stressing the importance that the political future of Cuba has "in the present context of a resurgence of struggles in several countries in Latin America and the outbreak of revolutionary crises in Central America. That is why a denunciation of the imperialist campaigns and an intransigent struggle against all forms of economic and military pressure against the Cuban workers state is totally interconnected with support to the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions, as well as our concept of socialist democracy in the transitional society."

THE MILITANT

A socialist weekly published in the interests of the working people. Printed in New York City.

Beginning with its April 18 issue, the *Militant* repeatedly denounced the U.S. government's smear campaign against the Cuban revolution and Washington's continued threats and provocations.

The May 2 *Militant* covered the march of 1 million Cubans April 20, and the May 23 issue contained a four-page spread devoted to the massive May Day demonstration in Havana—the biggest single turn out in the history of the Cuban revolution, exceeded only by the May 17 March of the Fighting People.

The May 9 issue contains a column by staff writer Harry Ring describing how the U.S. Communist Party met the challenge of combating Washington's anti-Cuba offensive.

After almost a week of silence on Cuba, the Communist Party's *Daily World* attacked the *Militant* for printing major extracts from three speeches by Cuban leader Raúl Castro. In these speeches, Raúl dealt with the problem of bureaucratic tendencies in Cuba.

Ring writes: "Could it be that what really irked Bert [the *Daily World* author]

was not the *Militant*, but Raúl Castro's speeches? It must make an apologist for Brezhnev and company uneasy to hear a leader of a workers state denounce bureaucratism."

On April 15—ten days after the events at the Peruvian Embassy began—the *Daily World* finally published an editorial defending Cuba. The editorial brushes aside Cuba's open door policy as "not the real issue."

Ring asks, "Is the *Daily World* touchy about Cuba's open-door emigration policy because it stands in such glaring contrast to the Kremlin's policy? A policy under which the disaffected have great trouble leaving. A policy where political dissidents find themselves in internal exile or mental hospitals."

Ring concludes, "Nineteen days of unrelenting slander against Cuba and it warranted a single editorial response and one lonely article [April 22] in a daily paper that calls itself 'communist.'"

Bandera Socialista

"Socialist Flag," newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International. Published weekly in Mexico City.

"The seizure of the Peruvian embassy in Havana is the result of the provocations and attacks that imperialism has organized against the Cuban revolution," writes Cristina Payán in the April 21 *Bandera Socialista*.

Payán recounts the constant campaigns of pressure, sabotage, and blackmail that imperialism has carried out against Cuba since the victory of the revolution, up to and including the "mini-crisis" of the Soviet troops in September 1979, and the October 17, 1979 maneuvers at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo in Cuba.

"A central part of this new imperialist escalation," Payán writes, "was Carter's campaign for 'human rights,' around political prisoners in Cuba. Amnesty International carried out an investigation on the island, and its conclusion confirmed the Cuban government's position that these were not prisoners 'of conscience,' meaning that they were not imprisoned for their ideas. The reason they were in jail was that they committed concrete acts against Cuba, like the acts of sabotage previously mentioned."

Payán notes that in the face of the embassy occupation, "the Cuban government maintained a totally democratic and correct attitude. Fidel reiterated the right of these people to leave when they wish, and provided them with full guarantees that no one would harm them." She further points out that the problem of emigration from Cuba has not been the unwillingness of the Cuban government to allow people to leave, but rather the unwillingness of other countries to take in

those who want to leave.

The article concludes that "once more, imperialism's maneuver against Cuba has been checked by the decision of the Cuban people and the correct position of their government. We Mexican revolutionists pledge our total support to the Cuban revolution in this new test."

The April 28 issue of *Bandera Socialista* contains another article defending the Cuban revolution from the imperialist propaganda campaign being waged against it. But the article also criticizes some of "the errors and exaggerations that the Cuban leadership has committed at various times."

It argues that "the campaign of persecution against Cuban homosexuals announced about a year-and-a-half ago was one of the things leading directly to the current situation" at the Peruvian Embassy.

"We do not mean to say," the article continues, "that homosexuals are all revolutionaries, but we do assert that being homosexual does not mean being counter-revolutionary. . . ."

To take that attitude, the article concludes, leads a whole sector of the population "into the arms of reactionaries."

Socialist Challenge

Published fortnightly in Toronto. Presents the views of the Revolutionary Workers League.

In the April 21 issue Phil Courneyeur responds to the "campaign of slander and smears against the Cuban revolution . . . in the Canadian and U.S. media following the events at Peru's embassy in Havana."

The article answers the lies about the Cuban government's "so-called previous policy of refusing to let people leave Cuba," and points out how it is Washington that has "consistently tried to block emigration from Cuba to the United States."

"It is not Cuba that is preventing people from going to the United States, but the U.S. that is keeping them out," the article declares.

Courneyeur says that the Carter administration is "cynically exploiting the situation to escalate its anti-Cuba campaign."

He goes on to explain that:

"The people at the Peruvian embassy are part of a small layer of Cuban society who feel caught between the commitment of the Cuban government and the majority of Cubans to maintain their solidarity with revolutionary struggles in Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America, and Washington's stepped-up threats, economic pressure, and military encirclement of Cuba."

The article ends by quoting Cuban president Fidel Castro's position: "The struggle

for socialism and communism is a voluntary one. . . ."



"*Socialist Struggle*," a newspaper reflecting the views of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Colombian section of the Fourth International. Published in Bogotá.

Under the headline "Cuba: Hit the Yankees Hard!" the May 1 *Combate Socialista* begins by reminding its readers that in the days leading up to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 the imperialist news agencies and the Colombian bourgeois press were filled with stories about the antisocialist opposition within Cuba.

The purpose of that media campaign, *Combate Socialista* points out, was simply to prepare public opinion in advance for the imperialist attack against the Cuban Revolution.

Now, once again, "*El Tiempo* and *El País*, *El Siglo* and *El Colombiano*, *El Heraldo* and *El Diario del Caribe* are lending their pages to the press campaign against Cuba.

"And the Cuban people, the fighting people, are responding to this campaign with the best possible weapon, the giant, massive, overwhelming mobilization that came together in the huge demonstration commemorating the victory at Playa Girón."

The Colombian weekly goes on to say that while the imperialist press has criticized Cuba a thousand times for not facilitating the departure of those who want to leave the country for whatever reason, "the capitalist countries are not providing visas."

Noting that the Andean Pact countries, among them Colombia, have been acting as agents of imperialism in the campaign against Cuba, *Combate Socialista* points out that "Colombia was quick to say it couldn't take anybody" from the Peruvian Embassy in Havana.

It notes that Colombia itself has 2 million people living abroad in Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama, the United States, and other countries, and that it has an 8.9 percent unemployment rate while Cuba has no unemployment.

"In Cuba there was a giant march and demonstration of 1 million fighters. What would happen in Colombia if one day the guard at the U.S. Embassy was withdrawn? How many people would 'take refuge' in it? One hundred thousand? One million? All the unemployed, the illiterates, the shantytown dwellers, the homeless street children . . . so many people!"

The article concludes: "We must be in the front lines of defense and solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and in denouncing [Colombian President] Turbay

for his collaboration with the Americans' dirty plans."

El Socialista

Weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (PST), Colombian affiliate of the Bolshevik Faction. Published in Bogotá.

The April 25 issue asks "What is happening in Cuba?" Its answer leaves completely out of account the revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean, and U.S. imperialism's counteroffensive. Instead, *El Socialista* presents an abstract picture of Cuba's economic problems, divorced from their political context.

It begins by explaining that since the victory of the revolution, Cuba has surpassed most other Latin American countries in making available education, health-care, and food for its people.

Nonetheless, more than 10,000 people entered the Peruvian Embassy and want to leave the country. *El Socialista* disagrees with the Colombian bourgeois press, which explains the events around the embassy as an example of the failure of socialism.

But it also disagrees with the explanations of the Communist parties "that line up on the side of the Soviet Union," meaning "also on the side of Cuba."

What is really at the heart of the problem, according to the sectarians of *El Socialista*, is the economic and political crisis in Cuba caused "by the bureaucratic character of the Cuban leadership" and its policies.

"The Stalinists," says *El Socialista*, "have boasted that they are building socialism in their own country. This is what the Russians say about Russia, this is what the Cubans say about Cuba."

El Socialista adds that "crises like the one that is now taking place in Cuba are the price the bureaucracy is paying for renouncing the extension of the workers revolution."

COMBATE

"*Combat*," weekly organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League, section of the Fourth International in the Spanish state.

Combate, in an April 30 article headlined "With Cuba," notes that the two weeks of anti-Cuban hysteria is likely to continue since the revolution is on the rise in Nicaragua and El Salvador and "one form of attacking it is to attack the Cuban revolution."

It points out that the propaganda campaign runs up against "the racist immigration laws of the USA." "The Cubans in the [Peruvian] embassy can go from being

anti-Castro 'heroes' to illegal immigrants in a few short days."

"The Cuban Revolution," states *Combate*, "has always had a correct policy about the departure of people who do not want to remain on the island: all those who so desired have been able to emigrate, as long as and whenever imperialism did not cut Cuba's relations with the rest of the world."

Combate concludes: "We have differences with the Castroist leadership. But these are differences to be resolved among revolutionists. In the face of imperialism, on this May Day we want to shout, together with our Cuban brothers, 'Fidel, for sure, hit the Yankees hard.'"

combate
socialista 

"*Socialist Struggle*," fortnightly organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International. Published in Lima.

The April 30 issue of *Combate Socialista* contains a lengthy declaration by the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) entitled "Down With the Anti-Cuban Campaign!" The declaration states that the Peruvian government has never denied the fact that those who have been granted asylum in the embassy in Havana had not suffered any political persecution.

The declaration maintains that the situation that has developed around the embassy is "the exclusive responsibility of the Morales Bermúdez military dictatorship," which had virtually turned the Peruvian Embassy in Havana "into a travel agency." The PRT also notes that the Peruvian government does not follow the same asylum policy at any of its other embassies, and that it closed its embassy to those who wanted asylum during the Pinochet coup in Chile.

"What has taken place in Havana was the execution of a premeditated plan by Yankee imperialism within the context of the class struggle on an international scale." Faced with the unwillingness of the U.S. population to support military interventions following the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, "the Pentagon is using the case of the Peruvian Embassy in Havana to:

"a. Step up the blockade of Cuba and keep it under threat of an invasion.

"b. Prepare the U.S. people, and the Latin American people and their puppet governments, for an invasion of Central America, concretely Nicaragua and El Salvador."

In the present context of class struggle and approaching elections in Peru, the imperialists and the Peruvian military dictatorship are using the situation to:

"a. Damage the reputation of the Cuban

workers state and with it the socialist alternative. They want to frighten the petty bourgeoisie, to hold back its process of radicalization, and to prevent it from voting massively for the parties that claim adherence to the working class.

"b. They want to introduce into the country through the Cuban refugees a fifth column of spies and counterrevolutionaries" of the type who killed Che Guevara in Bolivia and Orlando Letelier in the U.S. "Yankee imperialism is preparing for a bloodbath in Peru in case the Chilean situation is repeated here, and it would obviously begin with the liquidation of the revolutionary vanguard by paramilitary groups reinforced by Cuban exiles."

The PRT states that the Cubans coming to Peru are not political exiles. "They are simply people who have sought and found the easiest, most expeditious, and cheapest way to leave Cuba at the expense of the Peruvian Embassy, and therefore we demand that they be given exactly the same treatment as any citizen who enters and leaves our country. We are in favor of free migration, we are for the right of asylum, but we are against the Military Dictatorship trying to make cheap propaganda by playing host to Cuban tourists when it cannot satisfy the most elementary needs of our people."

The PRT also notes that those who really need asylum—Uruguayans, Argentines, and Chileans—were expelled from Peru.

There are contradictions that exist in Cuba, the declaration states, although they are different than the ones in the capitalist countries. "The working class in Cuba holds power but needs to establish Worker-Peasant and People's Councils. The Cuban workers must have the broadest proletarian democracy in order to build their own power.

"Also, once more we state that the best defense of the Cuban workers state is to carry out the socialist revolution in our own country and to extend it to the entire continent."

The statement concludes with slogans opposing the maneuvers against Cuba, the economic blockade, the threat of breaking relations, and supporting the struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Nicaragua and the struggle for the Socialist United States of Latin America.

Socialist Voice

Newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. Published weekly in London.

Taking up the issue of Cuban refugees, Michael Chanan says in the May 8 issue that "the right to leave Cuba is not the issue," since "Everyone can leave who gets

an entry visa to another country."

Chanan points out that "some of those who want to leave are discouraged by the country's current economic difficulties.

"The hardships suffered in Cuba are nothing compared to the sufferings of the popular classes in virtually every other Latin American country. Cuba has rationing, but this is mainly due to the economic blockade of the country kept up by the USA for the last 20 years. . . .

"The capitalist press never fails to mention the rationing but somehow forgets to mention the blockade."

In its introduction to Chanan's article, *Socialist Challenge* states:

"The several thousand people who have invaded the Peruvian Embassy in Havana, claiming status as political refugees, have been used to smear both Cuba in particular and communism in general, especially in Latin America.

"Peru, in the midst of an election campaign, has used the arrival of Cuban refugees in the country as a ploy against Hugo Blanco and other revolutionaries standing in the elections. 'They want to create another Cuba here, and people just want to get out of Castro's Cuba,' they say."

Socialist Challenge also states that contrary to what the capitalist press would have one believe, "the repressive nature of the Castro regime is probably not the chief cause" of the Cuban refugee situation.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

"*Workers News*," newspaper of the International Communist Organization (OCI). Published weekly in Paris.

What does the recent course of U.S.-Cuban relations show? According to the sages of *Informations Ouvrières*, events show that Fidel Castro is trying to make a deal with imperialism. A fifty-five-line item in the April 19-26 issue explains:

"Castro's decision to grant exit visas to Cubans wishing to leave the island was not a gratuitous act: it was, among other things, a signal to U.S. imperialism, whose economic blockade has become more and more of a hardship for the bureaucratized and impoverished Cuban economy."

It accuses the Cuban leadership of "aligning itself closer and closer to the Kremlin bureaucracy which, dishing out material aid to the regime, utilizes it in its policy of 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialism."

The perspective of the Cuban government, the item charges, is a policy of "constructing socialism on one island." If this is the case, and if Castro is really for peaceful coexistence with imperialism, perhaps *Informations Ouvrières* should let Washington know. There appears to have been a mix-up in the signals.

How to Advance Fight for Nuclear Disarmament

By Phil Hearse

[The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, whose leadership is pacifist and left Social Democratic, is attempting to launch a campaign against nuclear weapons in Europe. In its "Statement on a European Nuclear-Free Zone," the Russell Foundation does not take an anti-imperialist stance. It fails to address the most immediate threats to world peace that we are confronting today—that is, imperialism's drive to contain revolutions in Latin America, Afghanistan, Iran, and Southeast Asia, and its support for hated dictatorships, as in Saudi Arabia and South Korea.

[Instead, the Russell Foundation takes a "third-camp" position, placing the Soviet and East European workers states on the same plane as the imperialist powers led by Washington. "Both parties have adopted menacing postures and committed aggressive actions in different parts of the world," the statement claims.

[While the statement urges disarmament of both the United States and the USSR, it also calls for support to the SALT II accords, under which the Pentagon would actually be able to *increase* its nuclear arsenal.

[Signers of the statement include Tamara Deutscher; former East German dissident Rudolf Bahro; former Trotskyist leader Michel Rapits (Pablo); former Hungarian Prime Minister Andras Hegedus; Lucio Lombardo Radice, a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party; Noam Chomsky; Kurt Vonnegut; Soviet dissident Roy Medvedev; and numerous British members of Parliament (MPs).

[The following article, which takes up some of the questions raised by the Russell Foundation's initiative, appeared in the May 8 issue of the British weekly, *Socialist Challenge*.]

* * *

The growing international crisis is bringing home to people in Britain the danger of nuclear war. No wonder, then, that a campaign against nuclear weapons and nuclear alliances is being seriously discussed on the left.

Not only the international situation, but the siting of Cruise missiles in Britain, and the rise of the anti-nuclear movement has promoted this trend. *Socialist Challenge* has argued consistently that the threat of war arises not merely from the existence of nuclear weapons, but from the increasingly aggressive military posture of world

imperialism—and especially the United States.

A new campaign has just been launched which aims to focus the increasing alarm about the possibility of nuclear war. This campaign, "For a Nuclear Free Europe," has been launched by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation with the support of a number of leading Labour MPs. The prime movers of this campaign are Ken Coates of the Russell Foundation, and E.P. Thompson, well known historian and author of the recent CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament] pamphlet *Protest and Survive*.

There is absolutely no doubt that a campaign against the United States' war drive and the placing of Cruise missiles in Britain is vitally needed. The upsurge of imperialist militarism is being reflected in the increasing proportion of the British budget being spent on defence by the Thatcher government.

But the campaign proposed by the Russell Foundation is seriously misguided in its approach; it threatens to seriously demobilise any attempt to build a movement based on anti-imperialist opposition to militarism.

The statement circulated by the Russell Foundation says: "We do not wish to apportion guilt between the political and military leaders of East and West. Guilt lies squarely on both parties." In line with this, the statement appeals equally for disarmament of both the USSR and the USA, and appeals for a "united, neutral, and pacific Europe." This approach completely misunderstands the nature of the world crisis and how to fight the war threat.

In fact the campaign of the Russell Foundation is an attempt to resurrect the politics of the early CND; neutralism and pacifism. But in fact these politics are a regression from the political stance which many CND supporters came to adopt in the early sixties.

CND started in 1957 as a movement which concentrated on the intrinsic evil of a particular weapon. But in the early sixties, after the US blockade of Cuba, the US-backed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, the murder of Patrice Lumumba and the repression of the Congolese revolution by CIA-financed mercenaries, and the re-starting of serious hostilities between the Americans and the liberation movement in Vietnam, large numbers of CND's supporters moved towards anti-imperialism.

This transformation was completed by the decline of CND and the rise of the



A U.S. cruise missile.

Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, which broke with the politics of appeals for "peace" and militantly identified itself with the Vietnamese struggle against US imperialism.

The equals sign that the Russell Foundation draws between the USSR and the USA is completely wrong. However much we oppose the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the arms effort of the USSR is overwhelmingly defensive.

The revolutions in progress in Iran, Nicaragua and El Salvador threaten not the interests of the USSR but those of American imperialism. It is the United States, not the USSR which wants to resurrect its role as world cop, trampling on progressive movements the world over. The Russell Foundation appeal completely fails to register the differing social systems in Russia and America which lead to a completely different military posture on a world scale.

The campaign that needs to be built against the threat of war is not the one being launched by comrades Thompson and Coates. The threat to working people in Britain arises from Britain's membership of NATO; it arises from Britain's increasingly strident alliance with the major centre of imperialist militarism—the United States.

The fight we need is not one of appeals to the major powers to disarm, but a campaign which unites those in Britain prepared to fight for opposition to the placing of Cruise missiles; British withdrawal from NATO and complete hostility to the military adventurism of the United States.

These are the slogans, and not those of utopian pacifism and neutralism, which need to be raised on the Labour Party demonstration against the Cruise missiles taking place in London on 22 June. □

DOCUMENTS

Every Muslim and Militant Worker Must Back Islamic Councils

'Kargar' Explains Iran Campus Occupations

By Hamid Shahrabi

[The following article was published in the April 27 issue of *Kargar*, the twice weekly publication of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The recent events in the universities have attracted the attention of all Muslim and militant anti-imperialist workers. Discussions are going on everywhere about this situation.

What is the conflict in the universities about? What motivated the Muslim students and the Islamic Councils on the universities to launch their cultural revolution by taking over the educational centers? What was their objective?

What role did the government and the Revolutionary Council play in the recent events on the campuses? Who is responsible for the clashes and the deaths that occurred? Why did the Mujahedeen the Fedayeen, and the Tudeh Party oppose the steps taken by the Islamic Councils to change the nature of the educational system?

There has been a lot of confusion and unclarity about these questions. Basically this confusion has been created by the political representatives of the capitalists. They have striven to keep the facts about what happened in the universities from getting out and to distort these events. An important part in creating confusion, however, was also played by the leaders of the political organizations and factions that share a common opposition to revolutionary mass mobilizations and a fear of struggles by the great masses of the people.

Without a clear view of all the questions that are being discussed today in connection with the university events, it will be difficult to advance decisively to the next step in the struggle against imperialism. And in order to understand clearly what took place in the universities, we must first of all examine the facts.

The Occupation of the U.S. Spy Nest, Model for the Struggle to Transform the Educational System

Six months ago, when the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line occupied the U.S. spy den and began exposing the

documents in this espionage nest, their action was seen as a revolutionary example by the Muslim and militant workers throughout Iran.

In occupying the educational centers and calling for the transformation of the educational system left over from the time of the Pahlavi despotism, in calling for the transformation of these educational centers into trenches of the anti-imperialist struggle, the Islamic Councils and the Muslim Student Organizations were carrying forward the course begun by the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line. All militants hail these revolutionary Muslim students.

These students say that after the overthrow of the monarchy, no fundamental change took place in the educational system or in the educational centers. These centers were subordinated entirely to the government bureaucracy. What these students say is confirmed by all militant anti-imperialist observers.

The Islamic Councils say that the universities have long been barred to the sons of the working people and the Muslim workers of Iran and that this situation cannot be allowed to continue.

The councils say that the wall separating the universities from the toiling masses must be broken down and that the students must be helped not just in words but in deeds to mobilize and organize the anti-imperialist struggles. There is no militant worker, no Muslim worker who does not support this demand.

The Islamic Councils believe that the universities must be made into tools for advancing the struggle for reorganizing the country and for economic independence and that the students must participate in revolutionary projects such as the Holy War for Literacy and the Army of 20 Million. Is there any militant and anti-imperialist student who is not heart and soul for carrying out this revolutionary proposal?

The students organized in the Islamic Councils are demanding that students not let themselves be trapped in the isolated life of the factionalist groups and constant discussions. They call on them instead to take part in constructive discussions and actions.

This is a demand that could be opposed only by open enemies of the Iranian revo-

lution or those who keep their heads buried in the sand, by those who fear to look at the truth and at what is really happening.

What the Muslim students wanted to accomplish by these occupations was to get students to take the fate of the universities into their own hands and in this way to extend and deepen the anti-imperialist mobilizations of the masses.

Therefore, the occupation of the universities and the attempt to transform the educational centers into fortresses in the struggle against imperialism and for the interests of the broad masses of toilers in Iran was a revolutionary action.

These Muslim students and youth who occupied the universities were the vanguard of the mass mobilizations against the Pahlavi monarchy and of the heroic and victorious February insurrection. They demanded that the educational centers be linked to the struggles of the masses and to their organizations. Their objective was to bring more strength to bear against the capitalists and big landlords and to deal new blows to imperialism. But in trying to accomplish this, they ran up against difficult obstacles.

Those Who Oppose the Occupation of the Universities Are the Same Ones Who Oppose the Occupation of the Spy Nest

The basic opposition to the cultural revolution and to transforming the educational system comes from the 500 capitalist and big-land families. They fear that the occupation of the universities will lead to takeovers of the government departments, the factories, and the land.

Those who felt this danger acutely when the university occupations began did not wait an instant. They went to work to block this demand of the broad masses of the working people.

The Islamic Councils had to be headed off. But this job was taken up not just by the 500 families. The threats of the government and the Revolutionary Council against the political groups, which were aimed at breaking up their centers of activity in the educational institutions, gave the capitalists and big landlords their opportunity. They sent gangs of thugs into the universities. Bloody clashes occurred, and some people were killed. Because the Islamic Councils had taken the first step in the universities, public

opinion was misled.

The president of the republic and several other government figures sharply criticized the students and brought pressure to bear on them.

The masses of people that were coming into motion to support the transformation of the educational system and to express their solidarity with the Islamic Councils in the universities now heard from the president of the republic that the cultural revolution did not mean purging the educational institutions from the heritage of the idolatrous days but purging them of the political parties and groups. At the same time they were told that the cultural revolution that was going to be made by the students themselves, with the help of the people, had come as a surprise to the university administrations and the Ministry of Education and was a plot against the Islamic republic and the president of the republic in person.

Every militant worker must be informed that, contrary to what the Revolutionary Council has said, the demand of the Islamic Councils by no means represented an attack on the freedom of the parties or an attempt to prevent political activity by the various groups. This fact is reflected in most of the statements issued by the Islamic Councils and Muslim Student Organizations in the universities and high schools.

Besides the 500 families, the Mujahedeen and the Fedayeen opposed the occupation of the universities and the taking over of the educational institutions to put them at the service of the people's struggles. From the time of the occupation of the spy den, these organizations have continually moved further away from the anti-imperialist trenches.

The resistance of the leaders of the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen to the demands of the masses of the people opened up the way for the capitalists to touch off the clashes and killing.

Moreover, the recent events in the universities have exposed the hand of the Tudeh Party which up till now has claimed to support the Students Following the Imam's Line. They have shown that this party is a determined opponent of any

independent action and mobilization by the masses.

In order to block the attacks of the 500 families and the rightist divisionist groups, building solidarity with the Islamic Councils must be put on the agenda of all the workers *shoras* [committees]. Only the shoras can mobilize the vast power of the working people of this country in support of the Islamic Councils in the universities. □

"Defend the Trenches of Our Freedom"

'Che Bayad Kard' On Iran Campus Occupations

[The following article was published on the front page of the April 19 issue of *Che Bayad Kard*, fortnightly publication of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS). It was unsigned. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Once again the forces that are trying to hold back the Iranian revolution have launched a wide-ranging attack on the gains achieved by the insurrection of the oppressed and the working people of Iran.

This assault is being led by the Islamic Republican Party, which has become the rallying ground for all the reactionary forces that are being protected by the heads of the Islamic government. This party is the backbone of the attempt to restabilize the rule of the capitalists and the big landlords under the cover of Islam.

Using the military conflict with Iraq as an excuse, the capitalist regime has sent its army and revolutionary guards to be-

siege several Kurdish cities. It is waging a war of total destruction in order to suppress the people of Kurdistan.

Under the pretext of a campaign to "Islamicize the educational system," club-and-knife-wielding thugs launched savage attacks on all the universities and institutions of higher learning in the country. Seeking to destroy the revolutionary and anticapitalist forces, they flinch from no crime.

More than a year after the February insurrection, the regime is still attacking the most elementary demands of the workers and the oppressed and is still trying to crush their struggle for their rights.

There are two vital trenches in the struggle to defeat those who want to stabilize a reactionary regime in Iran—heroic Kurdistan and the universities that are centers of free thought.

If the present attacks are successful, broader attacks will be launched on all the achievements of the workers and toilers of Iran. If this government which defends the ruling classes succeeds in defeating the heroic Kurdish people and the militant students, it will launch a direct assault on the workers and peasants of Iran.

If the working people of Iran lose the two trenches that are under attack now, the capitalist reaction will also attack their shoras.

Brothers, sisters, working people, militant people of Iran, do not let the new administrators of the institutions of exploitation and repression succeed in this attack on key trenches in our struggle. We must condemn the plot of the reactionaries in Kurdistan. We must go to the aid of the militant students of Iran.

We have to consolidate our own independent forces and unity. We must continue our struggles to achieve our rights, which have been trampled under foot. We must continue our struggles to establish a government of the workers and peasants based on independent and united shoras representing all the working people.

We must defend the besieged bulwarks of our freedom so that we can carry these struggles through to victory. □

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DOCUMENTS

May Day Speech by Grenada's Maurice Bishop

'Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Together We Shall Win!'

[The following is the speech given by Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, before the May Day rally of 1.5 million Cubans in Havana. The text is taken from the May 11 issue of the English-language *Granma* weekly review.]

* * *

Esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro;
Esteemed Comrade Daniel Ortega;
Beloved Revolutionary Comrades of Free and Revolutionary Cuba:

I bring you today warm revolutionary greetings from the people of free Grenada. (APPLAUSE) This morning, comrades, I was addressing a rally in my own country to honor International Workers Day, and I left my country some time after 11 o'clock this morning to travel more than one thousand miles to come to your country. But even if the distance was ten thousand miles, no force on earth could have stopped me from being here today. (APPLAUSE)

The unity, the militant solidarity which unifies our countries, our peoples' struggles, it is this unity and this solidarity which is today making imperialism tremble because we recognize in Grenada just as imperialists recognize that without the Cuban Revolution of 1959 there could have been no Grenadan Revolution, nor Nicaraguan Revolution in 1979. (APPLAUSE)

They therefore have good reason to tremble when they hear the masses of Cubans saying: "Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, together we shall win." (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "CUBA, NICARAGUA, GRENADA, TOGETHER WE SHALL WIN!")

It is the Cuban Revolution that has taught the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean how to face blockades, how to defeat criminal invasions of their territories. The people of this region have looked at Girón¹, they have looked at *La Coubre*², they have looked at Escambray³, they have looked at assassination attempts on their leadership; they remember

1. Playa Girón on the Bay of Pigs was the landing point for more than 1,500 U.S.-organized Cuban counterrevolutionaries who invaded Cuba on April 17, 1961. The invasion was wiped out within seventy-two hours.—IP/I

2. *La Coubre* was a French merchant ship that was blown up in Havana harbor on March 4, 1960. It was proven that U.S. agents had a part in planning the sabotage, in which nearly 100 people died and over 200 were seriously wounded.—IP/I

3. In 1961 U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary

the October 1976 destruction of their Cuban airliner⁴, they have seen your struggles; they have been inspired by your victories; and they have observed that even in the face of these difficulties revolutionary Cuba was able to wipe out illiteracy, prostitution, drug-taking and unemployment. They were able to see you build socialism in your small country. They have seen your strides and achievements in health and education. They have seen that today, 21 years after your Revolution, your country is able to assist more than 30 countries around the world. And countries like Grenada and Nicaragua will always feel grateful to the people of Cuba and to the Cuban Revolution for their assistance with their doctors, with their teachers and with their selfless workers.

Certainly we in Grenada will never forget that it was the military assistance of Cuba in the first weeks of our Revolution that provided us with the basis to defend our own Revolution. (APPLAUSE) And when imperialism and reaction keep saying to us in Grenada, why do we need arms, where are the arms coming from, why should such a small country need so much arms, we always give them the answer our people have given. Whenever mercenaries or foreign aggressors land in our country, they will discover how much arms we have, whether we can use the arms and where the arms came from as we shed their blood on our soil. (APPLAUSE)

Your Revolution, comrades, has also provided the region and the world with a living legend with your great and indomitable leader, Fidel Castro. (APPLAUSE) Fidel has taught us not only how to fight, but also how to work, how to build socialism and how to lead our country in a spirit of humility, sincerity, commitment and firm revolutionary leadership. (APPLAUSE)

It is important to be in revolutionary Cuba at this period in world history.

groups carried out armed struggle in the Escambray mountains.—IP/I

4. On October 6, 1976, a Cuban airliner bound from Venezuela to Cuba, carrying young Cuban athletes, was blown up in mid-air over Barbados. All seventy-three people on board were killed. In an October 1976 speech Fidel Castro charged that "the CIA directly participated in the destruction of the Cuban plane in Barbados" acting through counterrevolutionary Cuban terrorists.

For a list of sabotage attacks against Cuba and attempts on the lives of Cuban leaders, see IP/I, April 7, 1980, pp. 339-340.—IP/I

Today we can see another crisis in international capitalism. Today we can see them complaining that their superprofits are falling. We can see their interest rate running towards 20 percent. The school lunches they have been providing for their children, even that, they have had to reduce by over five hundred million dollars. Their workers are daily finding that jobs are disappearing. But their more than 33,000,000,000 dollars in investments around the world demand that they create new tension in the world, so that their economy which is based on war and armament would once again flourish.

They are also terrified by the victories of the national liberation movements in Africa, in Asia, in the Middle East and right here in Latin America. They have looked around and they see that today the struggles of the people of the region are continuing to reach new heights. They look at El Salvador and they recognize that while yesterday it was Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada tomorrow it will undoubtedly be El Salvador. (APPLAUSE)

So they have decided to step up on their arms supply and their arms race. They have decided to scuttle SALT II and détente. They have decided to spend this year more than 142,000,000,000 dollars on arms. At the same time, the invasions which have characterized their relations with our region over the years starting with the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, they are shaping now to create new doctrines, to plan new maneuvers, to obtain new bases to strengthen and deepen their military presence in the hope that this will crush the rising wave of national liberation consciousness that is sweeping our region and the world.

Their interventions in Mexico, in Nicaragua, in Colombia, in Panama, in the Dominican Republic, in Haiti, in Honduras, all of these invasions which they have had over the years . . . they are now preparing once again to embark on a new campaign of terror and intimidation of the people of our region.

But sometimes it is no longer by direct intervention, sometimes they rely more on control and manipulation, on the use of the threat of force, on the techniques of destabilization, on the use of diplomatic pressure, on the use of propaganda destabilization, on the policy of economic isolation, but in each case all of this is meant to lay the basis for a United States-organized or backed coup d'état.



Granma

Speakers platform at Havana May Day rally. Above platform are portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Martí, Maceo, and Maximo Gómez.

In 1954, they succeeded in overthrowing Arbenz in Guatemala. In 1973, they succeeded in overthrowing Allende in Chile. But the one lesson that they have never forgotten and will never forget is that in 1961 they failed when they tried at Girón right here in revolutionary Cuba! (APPLAUSE)

Today we can hear them setting up their cries against the revolutionary processes in Nicaragua and Cuba. You can hear them talking about human rights, you can hear them calling for elections even though they won't understand that our revolutions are popular revolutions. You can see them encouraging the ultra-leftists in our countries to take violent action against our peoples. Their propaganda has reached the point where our countries have become electoral issues in the presidential campaign in that country. And at the same time, as usual, the threats against revolutionary Cuba, the continuation of the criminal economic blockade against revolutionary Cuba, the creation of artificial crisis after artificial crisis. First the question of the Soviet troops in October last year, and now the question of so-called refugees at this point in time. All of this is part and parcel of the imperialist campaign to try to defame the Cuban Revolution, to try to isolate the Cuban people, to try to lay the basis for an armed invasion or other form of intervention of your beloved country. But in Grenada we have been using a slogan and that slogan has been saying that "If they touch Cuba or if they touch Nicaragua, then they touch Grenada too." (APPLAUSE)

Comrades, as the people who own this region, as the people who belong to these countries, it is for us to decide what we

want to do with our lives in our countries. It is for us, the people of the region, to demand whether or not we want to have military bases on our territory. It is for us to decide whether or not we want other peoples' planes to fly over our countries. And one of the most contemptuous and arrogant acts of imperialism is today to presume that in 1980 not only do they have the right to have a base in Guantánamo but that they also have a right to operate military maneuvers on the very soil of free and revolutionary Cuba.

That is an insult and a piece of contempt that the people of the region will never forgive or forget. And the people of this region are going to continue in our demand calling for an end to military bases in Guantánamo, in Puerto Rico and in all other countries in the region where these bases exist.

We, the people of this region, demand that our region is recognized and respected as a zone of peace. We demand an end to all military task forces and air and sea patrols of our region. We demand that the people of the region must be free from aggressive military harassment of any military power. We demand an end to the Monroe Doctrine and to the Carter Doctrine and all other doctrines which are aimed at perpetuating interventionism or backyardism in the region. There must be an end to all attempts to use the so-called peace-keeping apparatus of the Organization of American States to militarily intervene in the region, to hold back progressive and patriotic movements.

We also call today that the right to self-determination for all the peoples in the region must be recognized and accepted.

We today renew our call for the inde-

pendence of the sister people of Puerto Rico. (APPLAUSE)

We today insist that all of the people of the region in the 25 colonial countries which still exist, English, Dutch, French or American territories—we demand the right to independence for the peoples of those countries. We demand that a principle of ideological pluralism must be respected and practiced by imperialist powers.

We must have the right to build our processes in our own way, free from outside interference, free from all forms of threats or attempts to force us to accept other peoples' processes.

Today we insist that there must be an end to the invasions, an end to the landing by marines, an end to the gunboats, an end to the Playa Girón, an end to the slaughters and massacres of our Sandinos, our Ches and our Allendes. (APPLAUSE)

We call also for an end to the arming and financing of counterrevolutionary and antipopular, antidemocratic or antiprogressive regimes. There must be an end to the manipulation of regional and world tension for electoral purposes. The future of the region and the future of the world, the question of world peace cannot be compromised because of any election no matter whose election.

There must therefore be respect for the sovereignty, legal equality and territorial integrity of the countries of our region.

It is clear today, comrades, that the desperate plans of imperialism can be defeated once again, once we remain organized, vigilant, united, and demonstrate firm and militant anti-imperialist solidarity.

We look to the people of Cuba, we look to your Revolution and your leadership to ensure that the revolutionary process in the Caribbean and Central American region continues to go forward with strength.

We salute you, the freedom-loving people of revolutionary Cuba. We salute your great and revolutionary leader, Comrade Fidel Castro. (APPLAUSE)

Long live the freedom-loving people of revolutionary Cuba! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live the Communist Party of Cuba! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live Comrade Fidel Castro!

Long live the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Long live the Sandinista Liberation Front!

Long live the national liberation movements!

Long live the socialist world!

Long live the Grenadan Revolution!

Long live the militant unity and solidarity of workers internationally!

Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, together we shall win! (APPLAUSE)

¡Adelante siempre, atrás nunca! [Forward ever, back never]

(OVATION)

New Lessons for Building Revolutionary Parties

By George Saunders

In January of this year, the former Closed Section of the Trotsky archives at the Harvard University Library was opened. A team from Monad Press, including myself, worked for two months to begin examining these papers. Many other researchers were there, too, from the Institut Léon Trotsky in France and elsewhere.

The Closed Section primarily contains letters, which have been organized by

Harvard Library according to "from whom" or "to whom" they were sent. There are letters to and from Trotsky; letters to and from his secretaries; letters to and from his son Leon Sedov and his wife Natalia Sedova; and other letters.

The Monad Press team was interested most of all in the letters from Trotsky. One thing we sought to find out was which were already in print and which were not.

We found that approximately 575 out of 3,725 (15 percent) were already in English, mostly in books published since Trotsky's death.* Not surprisingly, the most politi-

*These books are the twelve volumes of *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)* plus a two-part supplement (\$6.95 each), as well as numerous collections organized by topic, available from Pathfinder Press. For a catalog, write 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

What Are the Trotsky Archives?

What are the Trotsky archives, and what is the difference between the former Closed and Open sections?

Together with Lenin, Leon Trotsky was the key organizer and leader of the October 1917 revolution in Russia, which established the world's first workers state. He served as head of the Red Army during the Russian civil war (1918-1920), continuing in that post until 1925, and was a member of the Politburo, the top elected leadership body of the Soviet Communist (Bolshevik) Party until mid-1927.

The young Russian revolution confronted poverty, imperialist invasion, and civil war. Revolutions in Germany and other European countries failed, isolating the USSR. During the 1920s, these factors led to the degeneration and bureaucratization of the government and party. This took the form of the rise of Stalin and the ouster of Trotsky and other associates of Lenin, who had formed the Left Opposition to fight to restore the revolutionary internationalist policies that were gradually being abandoned.

In February 1929, the Stalinist bureaucracy deported Trotsky from the USSR to Turkey. He was able to take his archives with him, however. These included many documents vital to understanding the true history of the revolution, including works by Lenin that Stalin had suppressed. (Some of Lenin's documents were later published in the USSR, but only after the partial renunciation of Stalin in 1956.)

Trotsky possessed such valuable papers by virtue of his leading role in the Soviet party and government. The documents from his years in Soviet Russia, including a rich collection of Left Opposition materials, are in the Open Section. They have been available there to selected scholars

for many years.¹

Trotsky continually added to his archives during his exile, first in Turkey, then France, Norway, and finally, Mexico. He kept the documents, papers, and records of his effort from 1929 to 1933 to build the International Left Opposition (ILO) as a faction of the Communist International (Comintern).²

In 1933, in response to the Comintern's failure to seriously fight the Nazis' rise to power in Germany, Trotsky called for the formation of a new, revolutionary, international. From then until his death in 1940, his main energies went into organizing the Fourth International, and this is reflected in the contents of the archives from that period.

All the correspondence, records, and documents relating to the internal work of the ILO and Fourth International were kept in one section of Trotsky's files. In another part, he kept copies of his public

writings, along with materials from the Soviet period.

When the archives were sold to Harvard in 1940, the internal part became the Closed Section.

This was done at Trotsky's insistence. World War II had already begun. The fascists were in power in much of Europe. Stalinism dominated the USSR and the Comintern. And militarization was sweeping the "democratic" capitalist countries. So Trotsky wanted his internal files sealed until 1980 in order to protect those named in the documents from reprisals.

The Open Section contains more than 6,000 items, over half of them written by Trotsky. The Closed Section contains far more—nearly 17,500 items. Harvard has made an index of almost 800 pages listing those items. Unlike the Open Section, however, only about 3,800 of the items in the Closed Section were written by Trotsky—less than one-fourth.

The documents in the Closed Section—now called the "Exile Papers" by Harvard—are mostly letters. The bulk of them seem to be a full page or several pages. Some are only a few lines long or, in the case of telegrams, only a few words. Others are substantial documents—dozens of pages, or in several cases more than a hundred.

There is some overlap between the Open and Closed sections. The separation between the two parts of Trotsky's files was sometimes haphazard or inconsistent. Some copies of rather confidential letters and internal bulletins ended up in the Open Section. Copies of some items that Trotsky himself had published ended up in the Closed Section. When the archives were sold, no one had time to go through and reorganize them for full consistency.

—G.S.

1. About 800 of the documents of the Soviet period were published in a two-volume bilingual edition (Russian and English on facing pages) entitled *The Trotsky Papers, 1917-1922*, by the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam; volume 1, 1964; volume 2, 1971). These include the correspondence between Lenin and Trotsky as co-leaders of the Soviet government and Communist Party. Trotsky sold typed copies to the Amsterdam Institute in 1936, and included carbons of those 800 items in the sale to Harvard in 1940. That is why, in effect, much of the first part of the "open" section is available in book form (though at a very high price; nearly \$250 for the two volumes).

2. For an example of the kind of material now available about the ILO in the Trotsky archives, see the article by Duncan Williams on the founding of the ILO in the May 1980 "International Socialist Review," supplement to the May 16 *Militant* published in New York.

cally important letters were either published by Trotsky during his lifetime or, since that time, from the copies he sent to his various correspondents.

Problems of Party Building

What seems especially valuable in these letters is Trotsky's discussion of the many aspects of constructing a new, revolutionary international and organizing its national sections in each country. He discusses a vast range of questions—from matters of theory and principle, to all sorts of practical problems.

There were no "surprises" in the Trotsky Archives. As a revolutionist of great integrity, Trotsky didn't have one set of views for publication, and a different set for private correspondence. And, as already pointed out, almost all his public works from this period have been previously accessible. This doesn't mean, however, that the newly available materials make no contribution to the knowledge and education of revolutionists.

For example, many letters deal with how Trotsky's co-thinkers should relate to the trade unions in their countries. Or how they can deal with problems of cliquism or personality clashes. He discusses the harmful traditions left over from the degenerated Comintern, and the problem of the class composition of the various groups.

Trotsky stresses the importance of each and every task, big and little, in building a revolutionary organization. In one letter he recalls the way he and his comrades had put out their newspaper in exile before the revolution—sitting for twenty-four hours at a stretch, if need be, seeing to all the details.

His years of experience tell him, Trotsky remarks at one point, that if proofreading is done poorly, then, without fail, the revolution is also neglected.

Revolutionaries who are not capable of giving their time to the dirtiest and smallest details, he writes, are not revolutionaries. They cannot be relied on.

The value of such materials for the education of revolutionary activists was perhaps best expressed by Trotsky himself in one of the newly available letters. He wrote that he was always ready to devote his time and energy in personal letters to discuss complicated or disputed questions, to help comrades settle such matters or find a solution to them. The fruits of such correspondence contain many political lessons that are invaluable for the class-struggle training of revolutionary cadres today.

What's New & What's Not

Many other of the newly available letters are mainly of biographical interest—for example, applications for visas and correspondence on technical matters with publishers and translators. There are many brief letters, simply thanking some-

one, requesting something, or stating that a document is enclosed, with suggestions or instructions on what to do with it. These are clearly of limited political interest.

Nevertheless, the Monad team summarized all the unpublished Trotsky letters, so that we would have a detailed knowledge of their contents. This will aid in any decision about which letters merit publication.

An estimate can be made that about 2,000 of the Trotsky letters are both previously unpublished and of political interest. Of these, however, many repeat political points that are made by Trotsky elsewhere. A prolific correspondent, he sometimes sent several people virtually identical letters on the same day about the same subject. There is usually no political or educational reason to print such duplicates.

A few words are in order about the letters not by Trotsky. Although no systematic survey of these was made by the Monad team, it is clear from what we did examine that there is a great deal of politically important correspondence between leading figures in the International Left Opposition (ILO) and Fourth International.

For example, there are quite a few letters from James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman, leaders of the American Trotskyist organization, to their co-thinkers in the United States and other countries. There are also a great many letters from the various sections of the ILO and Fourth International to one another and to the International Secretariat in Paris, as well as from the Secretariat to them.

The former Closed Section also contains more than 1,500 items that Harvard calls

"other compositions." Here, too, much valuable material is found. For example, the minutes of 106 meetings of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International and its predecessor organizations, from 1930 to 1939. All but a few of those were not previously available. The same is true of the minutes of the emergency conference of the Fourth International held in New York in May 1940 (after World War II had begun).

We also found the minutes of 172 meetings of leadership bodies of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and its predecessor organizations.

Another interesting item is an eighty-nine-page document written in 1933 by Max Shachtman called "Communism and the Negro." It elaborates Shachtman's differences with the views on Black nationalism expressed by Trotsky in 1933 during discussion with another American Trotskyist leader, Arne Swabeck (see *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, Pathfinder, 1978, pp. 20-31).

Harvard Library has done a commendable job in arranging the vast amount of material in the former Closed Section and making it usable. This collection contains more detailed information about the Fourth International than can be found in any other place.

Although newspapers and bulletins of the Left Opposition and Fourth International carried some of this material during the 1929-40 period, much of it has never before been available. The new material is indispensable for anyone interested in the history of the Fourth International and its various sections, as well as in the political history of the 1930s in general. □

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Opposition in USSR Broadens Despite Repression

By Marilyn Vogt

The Kremlin's move to exile Andrei Sakharov to Gorky in January was part of a police offensive against the democratic opposition in the Soviet Union that has escalated over the past year.

The ruling bureaucracy initiated a similar crackdown beginning in 1972. That crackdown took a terrible toll, particularly in Ukraine where hundreds were arrested and imprisoned.

But the opposition movements were not really destroyed even though they lost many articulate spokespersons.

With the organization of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups starting in 1976, old and new forces previously isolated from one another emerged and collaborated to publicize the regime's human rights violations. Such groups developed in the Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Georgian, and Lithuanian Republics. In February 1977, the Kremlin rulers initiated a crackdown against the Helsinki groups, with the Ukrainians again the hardest hit.

But even as harsh sentences were being handed down to the crackdown's victims, fresh opposition forces were surfacing from ever new sectors of Soviet society.

To the forces demanding democratization were added groupings articulating specific demands of workers, women and youth. A survey of the types of protests that have emerged indicates that the democratic opposition to Stalinism in the USSR has not diminished but has increased and developed over the past decade.

• In late 1977 and early 1978, discontent with bureaucratic repression among workers from widespread areas of the Soviet Union led to the formation of an Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers (AFTU) headed by Ukrainian miner Vladimir Klebanov. Klebanov was arrested and thrown in a psychiatric hospital and the grouping brutally crushed.

But in October 1978, a second workers rights defense organization was formed in Moscow, the Free Inter-Trade Association of Workers (SMOT), headed by a Russian worker, Marxist, and long-time activist Vladimir Borisov. Both the AFTU and the SMOT had hundreds of worker supporters from numerous cities.

• Opposition among youth to the stifling effects of bureaucratic rule on all aspects of their lives caused the rise of discussion circles and communes of high school and university students with left-wing views in Moscow, Leningrad and numerous other cities.

In October 1978, the KGB smashed a key

link in a developing network of youth organizations, the commune of the "Left Opposition" group in Leningrad. Two leaders, Arkady Tsurkov, a Marxist; and Aleksei Khavin, an anarchist; were sentenced to long prison camp terms and a third Aleksandr Skobov, was thrown into a psychiatric hospital.

But signs of unrest among the youth continue to surface. Two hundred young people protested the arrests of Left Opposition activists in a demonstration in Leningrad in December 1978. And the communes continue to develop.

In October 1979, in Leningrad, the KGB crushed the commune of the Movement of Revolutionary Communards in Leningrad, sending three of its activists Vladimir Mikhailov, Aleksei Stasevich and Alevtina Kochneva to forced labor camps on "hooliganism" charges.

• New samizdat journals have appeared. A political journal *Poiski* (Searchings) began to circulate in Moscow in the summer of 1978 and four issues had appeared by January 1979. Its initiators include veterans of the Soviet Communist party from the 1920s who had been expelled from the bureaucratized party of today but still consider themselves socialists.

Discontent with the heavy-handed censorship among some of the Soviet Union's best-known literary figures resulted in 1978 in the production of an unofficial "literary almanac" *Metropol*. Half of the contributors to the first *Metropol* collection were members of the official Writers Union.

In addition, *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the samizdat news journal about the democratic rights movements, continues to appear despite police efforts to eliminate it. With issue No. 53, dated August 1, 1979, the *Chronicle* entered its eleventh year of circulation.

• In September 1979, the first issue of a feminist journal *Woman and Russia*, produced by women "for women about women" appeared in Leningrad. Edited by philosopher Tatyana Goricheva, poet Tatyana Manonova, and writer Natalya Malakhovskaya, the journal's purpose was to publish the truth about the day-to-day suffering and humiliation of women in the USSR.

• Opposition to Russification has produced numerous forms of activity. In the Baltic republics, a new samizdat journal *Perspectives* emerged. The journal announced the formation of the "Union of Lithuanian Communists for the Secession

of Lithuania from the USSR."

Among other non-Russians, the badly persecuted Ukrainian Helsinki group grew since 1977 to have several dozen members.

The Crimean Tatars' movement for their right to return to Crimea has continued unabated. Crimean Tatar families continue to defy official prohibition and return illegally to their Crimea homeland to live. One gets an indication of the numbers of families involved from the numbers forcibly deported from Crimea back to Central Asia—between fifty and sixty families during the four months of November 1978 through February 1979.

Although the 1977 crackdown weakened the Georgian and Armenian Helsinki groups, deep opposition to Russification in these Transcaucasian regions was reflected in demonstrations of thousands in April 1978, forcing the rulers to retreat from their attempt to remove from the new constitutions of the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan republics the clauses guaranteeing their native languages as the official languages in these republics.

Recent Attacks

Over the past year and one half, the KGB has attacked all these movements. For example, ten members of the Ukrainian Helsinki group were arrested in 1979, some receiving terms of up to eleven years. Another member committed suicide when his arrest was imminent.

At least eight Crimean Tatar activists were imprisoned in 1979, including Mustafa Dzhemilev, sentenced to his fifth term—four years internal exile—and Reshat Dzhemilev, sentenced in December 1979 to a three-year labor camp term.

Three Armenian activists were framed up for the 1977 Moscow subway explosion and shot in January 1979.

Three of the eight members of the workers' rights defense groups, SMOT, are imprisoned and on March 27, 1980, a fourth, Vladimir Borisov, was seized on a Leningrad street and thrown into a psychiatric prison.

Two members of the Writers Union who contributed works to the literary almanac *Metropol* have been expelled from the union. Numerous others have been attacked in the press, their previously permitted works now banned.

Numerous searches have been carried out against the grouping around *Poiski* and in December 1979 and January 1980, three of its editors were arrested. One of them, Vyacheslav Repnikov, is also a member of a Initiative Committee of Strug-

gle for the Right to Freely Leave the USSR that was formed in May 1979. One of the most prominent cases this group has taken up is that of 200 Iranians who fled from Iran in 1949, and have been living since then without papers in the Tadjik Republic. They are now demanding the right to return home.

The editors of *Woman and Russia* have been subjected to intense harassment. Due to this pressure, the journal has ceased to appear under its original title and is now coming out as *Maria*.

In Moscow, a number of long-time civil rights figures have been arrested since November 1979. Tatyana Valikanova, a founder of the Initiative Committee in

Defense of Human Rights in 1969 was arrested November 1, 1979. Viktor Nekipelov, a former political prisoner, and Malva Landa, both members of the Moscow Helsinki group, were arrested December 1979 and March 1980 respectively.

On February 12, 1980, Vyacheslav Bakhtin was arrested for his role in the Working Commission on the Use of Psychiatric Treatment for Political Purposes which despite persecution, has continued to function since January 1977.

Activists in the religious movements throughout the USSR have also suffered. Not just those in the officially banned religious groups have been persecuted but also Orthodox priests like Rev. Nikolai

Eshliman, arrested November 1, 1979. He protested the lack of civil rights for adherents of all religious denominations. The Stalinist rulers have escalated their brutal campaign to eliminate religion with a police club.

All these events point to the need for the workers and socialist movements internationally to line up in solidarity with these victims of Stalinist repression. The totalitarian methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy weaken the Soviet Union against imperialism and weaken the fight for social justice internationally because such totalitarian repression is identified with the Marxism and communism the Stalinists falsely claim to represent. □

Schmidt Suggests 'Lending' Votes to Free Democrats

Big Victory Worries German Social Democrats

By Will Reissner

The Social Democratic Party scored a big victory in the May 11 state elections in West Germany's most populous state, North Rhine-Westphalia.

The vote in North Rhine-Westphalia, which includes the heavily industrialized Rhineland and Ruhr valley, gave the Social Democrats an absolute majority in the state legislature, capturing 106 of the 201 seats.

The Free Democratic Party, which had been the junior partner in a coalition with the Social Democrats that ruled that state as well as the federal legislature, were wiped out in North Rhine-Westphalia, falling below the 5 percent vote needed for

representation under West Germany's proportional representation system.

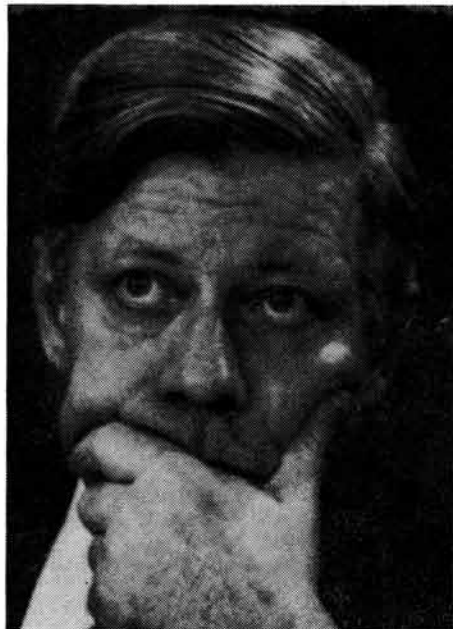
Some top Social Democratic leaders are nervous about the size of their victory in North Rhine-Westphalia. They worry that the pattern of Free Democratic voters deserting to vote directly for Social Democratic candidates could be repeated in the federal elections scheduled for October 5.

Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is afraid that if his party does win a majority on its own in the federal parliament, it will be harder to resist the de-

mands of militant workers within the party. Over his last six years in office, Schmidt has often rejected programs proposed by the Social Democratic left wing by arguing that these programs were not acceptable to the Free Democrats in the coalition and thus could not be passed.

If the Social Democrats should win a majority in their own right on October 5, of course, this argument would no longer work, and the left wing could be expected to step up its pressure for measures to combat the capitalist offensive against the workers.

In fact, Schmidt is so worried by the prospect that the Free Democrats might be wiped out that he is considering "lending" them Social Democratic votes by withdrawing Social Democratic candidates in some areas to artificially bolster the vote for the Free Democrats. □



HELMUT SCHMIDT

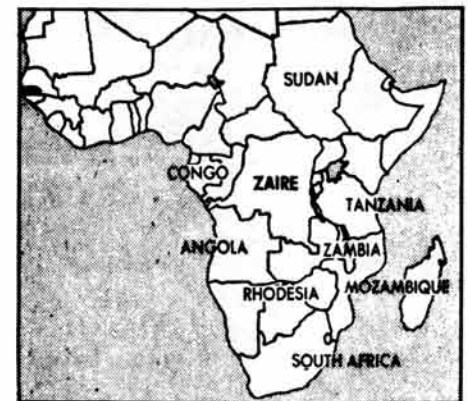
Zaire Rights Violations

In a twenty-three page report released on May 20, the well-known human rights organization Amnesty International charged that hundreds of people in Zaïre have been arbitrarily arrested and then confined to remote camps in the jungle where deaths by summary execution, torture or starvation are common.

In the worst of these camps, Ekafera in the Equatorial region, prisoners sleep on the ground in cells that are infested with rats, insects, and parasites. Malnutrition, malaria, and dysentery are common among the 400 to 500 prisoners normally held there.

Most of the prisoners at Ekafera have never had charges levelled against them and therefore have no way of knowing how long they are to remain there. Given the conditions, they also cannot be sure they will leave alive.

Beatings and tortures of prisoners held without trial are common in Zaïre, the report contends. Amnesty International estimates that in recent years there have



frequently been more than 1,000 political prisoners out of an average total prison population of 13,000.

In addition to arrests for political offenses, many prisoners are being held for belonging to unauthorized religious groups. Students, politicians, and intellectuals are particularly vulnerable to arrest according to the rights group, as are members of ethnic groups from eastern and southern Zaïre. □

Brazilian Metalworkers Vote to End Strike

The largest strike in Brazil in recent years came to an end on May 12, when striking metalworkers in São Paulo's industrial suburb of São Bernardo voted to return to their factories.

The workers were forced to end the strike in face of fierce government repression and police attacks and the intransigence of the employers.

The strike was a hard-fought one, and had lasted for forty-one days. At its peak, up to 150,000 auto and metalworkers in São Bernardo and Santo André, another industrial suburb of São Paulo, were involved. Confronted with a yearly inflation rate of 83 percent, the workers were demanding wage increases, as well as the right to elect shop stewards and guaranteed work for the next year.

The strikers won wide popular support, and the strike developed into the most serious challenge to President João Baptista Figueiredo since he came to office in March 1979. Many of the strike leaders, such as Luís Inácio da Silva (known as "Lula"), were also in the forefront of the efforts to build an independent labor party in Brazil.

Figueiredo's response to this challenge

was to crack down. On April 18 Lula was arrested under the National Security Law, which forbids "inciting to strike." Under it, he could be jailed for twelve years and will be barred from resuming his union post.

Other unionists and supporters of the strike were also detained. Meetings and rallies by strikers were outlawed, although many of them took place anyway.

The strength and determination of the workers was displayed most visibly on May Day, when more than 100,000 persons turned out for a rally and march in São Bernardo.

According to a dispatch from Brazil in the May 3 Paris daily *Le Monde*: "All the access roads to São Bernardo were blocked by the military police. The main highways in the city had been occupied by shock troops since the night before. These attempts at intimidation did not prevent tens of thousands of workers from making their way to the main church in São Bernardo, where a mass was held followed by a march through the streets."

Some of the banners on the march declared, "For a government of the workers."

The repression against the strikers intensified. More unionists were picked up. Minister of Industry and Commerce Camilo Penna warned that all the strikers would be fired if they did not return to their jobs.

On May 5, military police attacked strikers in São Bernardo. The workers sought to defend themselves and attempted to set up barricades. Clashes in the suburb lasted throughout the afternoon, and several dozen persons were wounded.

The next day, the strikers in Santo André decided at a mass meeting to end their walkout.

The São Bernardo workers attempted to hold out, but finally concluded nearly a week later that they could no longer do so.

In voting to go back, however, the workers did not give up their struggle. Union leaders distributed leaflets entitled, "The War Continues," which said, "Returning to the factories does not mean returning to work," indicating that the metalworkers may attempt to press for their demands through slowdowns and production boycotts.

"Behind each machine," the leaflets said, "the bosses will find an enemy." □



Part of May Day march in São Bernardo. Banner in front reads, "For a Government of the Workers." O Trabalho