

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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**Israeli Regime
Threatening
Another
Invasion of
Lebanon**

**One Million
U.S. Youth
Refuse to
Sign Up
for War**

EL SALVADOR

- **Reagan Seeks New Bases
in Central America**
- **Junta's Troops Suffer
Setback in Fighting**



Pentagon has stationed U.S.S. *Caron* in Nicaraguan waters near El Salvador.

Speech by Fidel Castro

The Arms Race and World Economic Crisis

Mideast on brink of new war

By David Frankel

The Middle East is on the brink of a new war. Israeli forces along that country's northern border with Lebanon and Syria have been mobilized for the past three months. The Zionist regime is just waiting for a pretext to unleash its army.

On March 1 Egyptian Ambassador to the United States Ashraf Ghorbal cut short discussions in Egypt and rushed back to Washington with an urgent message for President Reagan. The Egyptians asked Reagan to rein in Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

But U.S. policymakers are pretending that there is not much they can do. As Hedrick Smith put it in an article in the March 5 *New York Times*, officials in Washington "are increasingly fearful that a sizable Israeli assault on southern Lebanon has become virtually inevitable."

One U.S. official told Smith that "it's no longer a question of whether Israel will attack, but only when."

Another remarked, "The Israelis will never find a better moment. If they could bloody the P.L.O. [Palestine Liberation Organization] now and Syrian forces, too, they could win themselves several years of peace with the Arabs."

One provocation after another

For Israel to launch a new war against its Arab neighbors is not, of course, the way to attain peace in the region. But even the briefest look at the Israeli regime's actions over the past year shows clearly the direction it is driving in.

- In April 1981 Begin took advantage of an outbreak of fighting between Syrian forces in Lebanon and Lebanese ultrarightists to send Israeli warplanes into the battle. Two Syrian helicopters were shot down by the Israeli planes, and when the Syrians moved anti-aircraft missiles into the area to protect their forces, Begin threatened war. The Israeli regime continues to threaten military action against the Syrian missile emplacements.

- In June 1981 Israeli planes streaked into Iraq and bombed an almost-completed nuclear reactor in Baghdad.

- The following month Begin ordered his air force to bomb Beirut. Hundreds of people were killed in the carnage, as 500-pound bombs crashed into densely populated residential neighborhoods.

Each of these actions was carried out with U.S.-supplied warplanes.

- In December, Begin carried out another provocation with the annexation of the Golan Heights. This piece of Syrian territory has been in Israeli hands since the June 1967 war. The decision to formally annex it can only be interpreted as a deliberate slap in the face to the

Syrians in line with the previous attempts to provoke a war.

Why Begin wants war

What lies behind the drive toward war by the Israeli rulers is a society in deep crisis. The capitalist economic crisis has led to the stagnation of productive activity in Israel, deep cuts in social services, an inflation rate of 130 percent, and growing unemployment.

Although similar symptoms can be seen in all the imperialist countries, the pressures on Israel are especially sharp. The Israeli economy is far weaker than those of countries like Britain, Canada, or Sweden. At the same time, Israel bears a far greater military burden than any other imperialist country, relative to the size of its economy, because of the ongoing conflict with the Palestinians and its other Arab neighbors.

The Israeli rulers hope to solve their economic crisis through war — by expanding into new territories in Lebanon and by subjugating the surrounding Arab countries and forcing them to open up their markets to Israeli products.

In addition to the general economic pressures behind Israel's war policy, there are also immediate political considerations. Most important of these is the fact that the Israelis are scheduled to complete the last part of their withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula on April 25.

Camp David: a green light for war

From the point of view of the Israeli rulers, there were always two sides to the Camp David deal with Egypt. Peace on the southern front with Egypt — the most powerful Arab country — was intended to free Israeli forces for moves against the Palestinian liberation struggle, Lebanon, and Syria. Begin did not even wait for a formal agreement before launching the March 1978 invasion of Lebanon. His attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor was launched three days after an Egyptian-Israeli summit meeting.

But the Israelis have utterly failed to achieve their basic objectives. The PLO is stronger than ever, and it is recognized by more governments than recognize the Zionist state, which has been unable to break out of its political isolation by forcing more Arab governments to join in the Camp David framework.

The longheld Israeli desire to annex southern Lebanon has not been accomplished either. And Begin has failed in his efforts to topple the regime of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, which has refused to knuckle under to Israeli demands.

Final withdrawal from the Sinai on April 25 will leave the Israelis with less leverage than ever on the Egyptian government. Begin hopes to force the crisis to a head before then. In the

process, he has begun leaning on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak as well as on the Palestinians, Lebanese, and Syrians.

Mubarak, who was scheduled to visit Israel later in March, expressed worry that his trip might be followed up by an Israeli invasion of Lebanon. He also rejected the idea of coming to Jerusalem, which is not recognized as the capital of Israel by most of the countries in the world — including even the United States.

In attempting to take his distance from some of the more outrageous actions of the Israeli regime, Mubarak is responding to massive pressure within Egypt and in the Arab world as a whole.

But that is precisely what Begin is worried about, and U.S. policymakers feel the same way.

A reminder from Washington

Newspaper columnist Joseph Kraft outlined Washington's dissatisfaction with Mubarak in a March 2 article that appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and other U.S. dailies.

"Conciliatory moves toward [former President Anwar] Sadat's foes abound," Kraft complained. "The well-known journalist, Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, is only the most famous of the many figures arrested by the late president who have been freed by Mubarak. Each week a new batch of prisoners is liberated."

Even worse, "In foreign policy, Mubarak has moved from Sadat's single-minded focus on the American connection and peace with Israel. . . . He has allowed Soviet technicians to return to Egypt, and his emissaries have cultivated such nonaligned countries as India and Yugoslavia. . . ."

"The strongest pressures by far, however, push Mubarak to bring Egypt back into the Arab world. The president's closest advisers

Bahram Atai released

A significant victory was scored in Iran on March 3 when revolutionary fighter Bahram Atai was released from Evin Prison in Tehran.

A leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), Atai is a former worker at the Iran National automobile factory. He fought at the front against the Iraqi invasion, but was fired from his job at Iran National after his return from the front.

He was arrested on December 11 while distributing leaflets at the Friday prayer meeting, calling for the reinstatement of himself and other fired workers. He was briefly released and then arrested again the next day. No charges against him were filed.

A campaign for his release was carried out, involving those who support and defend the revolution from imperialist attack.

lean in that direction. Secret talks with representatives of other Arab states have undoubtedly taken place."

An editorial in the March 3 *New York Times* declared, "Somewhere along the trail beaten by Anwar Sadat, President Mubarak seems to have lost his way. He needs a swift reminder from Washington that the path to peace, as well as the return of Sinai, leads through Jerusalem."

Speaking of Mubarak's desire not to visit Jerusalem, the *Times* warned: "Even to request the detour is provocative."

What the imperialists are demanding is that Mubarak burn his bridges. In return for Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai, Mubarak, like Sadat, must prove his willingness to stand still for whatever crimes the Zionist regime decides to commit in other areas. His chance may come quite soon.

Reagan gives the go-ahead

For U.S. officials to say that there is nothing they can do to stop an Israeli invasion of Lebanon — and this only days after Mubarak's appeal to Reagan — amounts to a virtual blank check for Begin.

Washington foots the bill for about one-third of the Israeli national budget. There is plenty it could do to stop an Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The catch is that the U.S. rulers share Begin's objectives — above all, the crushing of the Palestinian national liberation movement, and the overthrow of any Arab regime that tries to stand up to imperialism.

Thus, there was no objection from the State Department or the White House when Israel's new ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arens, warned February 25 that other nations were "pushing Israel into a corner" and that it would have "no other choice but a preemptive strike."

Arens predicted that "some provocative action" by PLO forces would surely result in military retaliation by Israel. "You might almost say it's a matter of time," he said.

Talk about poor little Israel being pushed into a corner, however, is becoming less and less convincing to working people around the world. Armed with nuclear weapons and the most advanced U.S. warplanes and tanks, bombing apartment houses in Beirut, grabbing Arab land in the West Bank and the Golan Heights, threatening Syria and anybody else that gets in its way — poor little Israel does not present a very attractive image.

Working people within Israel itself have begun to protest Begin's attempts to provoke war. When Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon tried to use the interception of three Palestinian guerrillas in the West Bank as a pretext for intervention in Lebanon at the end of January, the government was forced by protests from the population in the north to back off.

The protests from the northern towns was especially significant since they are populated mainly by Sephardic Jews of Arabic descent. These were the working-class voters who gave

Begin his victory in the election last June.

"Can Israel really risk a military operation which would bring suffering to the inhabitants of Upper Galilee if this goes against the wishes of a substantial section of this northern population?" asked Dan Margalit in the February 4 issue of the Tel Aviv daily *Ha'aretz*.

Meir Oren wrote in the February 5 issue of *Davar*, another Israeli daily: "I doubt whether there is any precedent for the appeal made by

the northern public figures this week, not to regard a military incident in the east as a pretext for ending the ceasefire in their region."

The war plans of Israel's imperialist rulers are a threat to the whole world. But they especially threaten the Arab peoples and — as more and more Israeli workers are beginning to realize — the people of Israel itself. It is necessary to sound the alarm against the Zionist regime's moves toward war. □

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Reagan seeks new Central American bases

'We are within inches of losing control'

By Will Reissner

As the strength of the guerrillas battling El Salvador's ruling junta grows, and as the junta's troops show they are unable to defeat the insurgents, the Reagan administration is stepping up its direct military involvement in Central America.

On March 5 the commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, Adm. Harry Train, revealed that his fleet's training activities have been shifted to the Caribbean and that its contingency plans have been revised to meet what he described as the "expanding military influence of Soviet-supported Cuba in Central America." This is part of Reagan's general propaganda line of blaming the Cubans for the insurgency in El Salvador to try to justify Washington's intervention in the region.

The State Department also revealed on March 3 that Washington is seeking use of air bases in Colombia and Honduras. The Nicaraguan press reported that a Colombian base involved is on San Andrés island, just 100 miles off Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. Nicaragua claims sovereignty over the island.

The same day, Adm. Thomas Hayward,

chief of naval operations, told a House Armed Services subcommittee that the Pentagon is studying options for using Navy and Marine forces "in support of our continued interest in Central America and the Caribbean."

Hayward added that "our commitments require us to present increasingly a counterweight to Castro's expanding support of Central American and Caribbean insurgents, as well as his continued appetite for opportunism in Africa."

Practice blockade of Cuba

From March 8 to 18, the Pentagon and its NATO allies will hold military maneuvers in the Gulf of Mexico involving twenty-eight warships and eighty aircraft from the United States, Britain, West Germany, Canada, and the Netherlands.

As James McCartney noted in the February 21 *Miami Herald*, the maneuvers are intended to convey the "message" that a "naval blockade of Cuba is not beyond imagination."

In addition to applying military pressure on Cuba, the Reagan administration is also targeting the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. The February 14 *Washington Post* reported a \$19 million CIA plan for covert action against Nicaragua.

And on February 24 the Pentagon revealed that a U.S. destroyer has been stationed in waters off Nicaragua's Pacific Coast for the past two months.

An article by Don Oberdorfer in the March 4 *Washington Post* pointed out that the general lines of Washington's interventionist policy were laid out in November. On November 16, President Reagan approved a ten-point program for Central America, which included increased military and economic aid for El Salvador and tightened U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba.

Also in November, Oberdorfer reports, Reagan ordered a buildup of U.S. military strength in the Caribbean, including the establishment of a new Caribbean military command, repeated military exercises in the area, and U.S. access to airbases in the region.

At the same time, he authorized development of contingency plans for the use of U.S. forces against Cuba, for a naval blockade of petroleum imports to the island, and for air strikes against Cuban forces and installations.

Covert operations

"Perhaps the most controversial decision by Reagan," Oberdorfer stated, "was to start down the path of secret operations against Cuba and Nicaragua. According to the sources, Reagan approved a proposal to encourage and

support foreign governments in political and paramilitary operations against the Cuban presence in Central America and Cuban-Sandinista backing for insurgency in the area."

One aspect of this plan, Oberdorfer added, was use of U.S. intelligence operatives in "unilateral paramilitary action against special Cuban targets."

Washington had hoped that the March 28 elections in El Salvador could provide a face-lift for the bloody junta ruling that country, and thus build support for increased levels of U.S. military aid. These hopes, however, are being dashed.

According to the March 1 *New York Times*, U.S. officials "are not optimistic about the chances of a successful election next month in El Salvador, or about the Salvadoran Government's ability to achieve a military victory over the rebels."

Of the sixty governments asked to send observers to the elections, only six have agreed. The U.S. delegation will include Richard Scammon and Howard Penniman, both veterans of the U.S. team that monitored 1967 elections in South Vietnam.

Junta losing war

The junta's deteriorating military situation adds urgency to Washington's plans. One high-ranking administration specialist worried that "we are within inches of losing control over the situation entirely."

The Salvadoran army's military problems were highlighted by the failure of its massive ten-day offensive against guerrilla positions on the slopes of the Guazapa volcano, only fifteen miles from the capital.

Despite claims that the 2,000 government troops would win a smashing victory, the offensive was abruptly halted on March 2 with the guerrillas still in place.

The Guazapa offensive featured heavy use of aerial bombardment and artillery, turning the entire region, with its large peasant population, into a free-fire zone.

According to the March 2 *Washington Post*, Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García justified this on the basis that "the entire population within the guerrilla-held territory is committed to the guerrilla cause and no one there can be considered a civilian."

Despite the intensive bombardment and shelling, the guerrillas stood their ground. A UPI dispatch on the sixth day of the offensive reported that seven truckloads of fresh troops brought to the volcano were ambushed within seconds of leaving the main road.

Time magazine photographer Harry Mattison, who was on the scene, noted that "the

U.S. resumes aid to Guatemalan regime

In response to the growing strength of left-wing guerrillas in Guatemala, the Reagan administration has asked Congress to resume military aid to that country. Aid to the Guatemalan military regime was suspended in 1977 because of public outcries over its gross human rights violations.

In a February 27 interview in the *Washington Post*, Secretary of State Alexander Haig charged that Guatemala is "clearly the next target" of communist insurgency in Central America, and he stated that it "soon will be a parallel case to El Salvador."

Haig's rhetoric regarding Guatemala is, in fact, virtually a carbon copy of his statements on El Salvador. He claims, in the interview, that the insurgency in Guatemala is supported from outside the country, with arms for the rebels coming in this case through southern Mexico and other routes. As in the case of El Salvador, Haig presents no evidence for this claim.

Haig also stated that he hopes that the March 6 elections in Guatemala will make it possible to build a consensus in Congress and among the American public for increased military aid to the Guatemalan regime.

army decided to hit a wasp's nest and was heavily stung."

In an attempt to bolster the Salvadoran army, Washington has sharply increased its military aid. According to the March 5 *Washington Post*, four or five more battalions of the Salvadoran army will be trained in the United States once the 1,000-troop battalion and 500 officer cadets now at Fort Benning and Fort Bragg complete their course. The Pentagon plans to expand the Salvadoran army from the present 16,000 troops to as many as 25,000.

The growing U.S. military commitment to the Salvadoran junta, and the increasing danger of direct U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, faces stiff opposition inside the United States and abroad.

Public opinion polls in the United States show overwhelming opposition to sending American troops to El Salvador, and large majorities against sending any military aid to the junta.

A "spring offensive" against U.S. support to the junta has begun, and will culminate in national demonstrations on March 27 in Washington, D.C., and on the West Coast.

López Portillo calls for talks

At a February 21 rally in Managua, Nicaragua, Mexican President José López Portillo called on the Reagan administration to change its policies in Central America. López Portillo stated that a U.S. intervention would be "a huge historical error that would cause a wide upheaval throughout the hemisphere and would rekindle deep-rooted anti-U.S. feelings



Guerrillas in Guazapa region.

among the finest people of Latin America."

The Mexican president pleaded with Washington to negotiate with the rebels in El Salvador. He also asked the U.S. administration to drop its threats of force against Nicaragua — threats he described as "dangerous, shameful, and unnecessary."

López Portillo offered to act as an intermediary in working out nonaggression pacts between Nicaragua and the United States, and Nicaragua and neighboring countries. He also asked the Reagan administration to enter discussions with the Cuban government in order to ease tensions between Washington and Ha-

Aid from Argentina under fire

The Argentine military junta, divided by internal disputes, laboring under the failure of its economic policies, and discredited by widespread human rights abuses, is now facing broad public opposition to its attempts to intervene in Central America.

"Persistent reports that Argentina has sent or is considering sending military advisers to El Salvador have provoked a major controversy here," *New York Times* reporter Edward Schumacher said in a March 3 dispatch from Buenos Aires.

Following an official visit by the chief of staff of the Salvadoran army at the end of February, six Argentine human rights groups declared the Salvadoran "persona non grata" and declared that "the lives of our youths" are at stake.

The Argentine government is currently giving \$15 million in economic aid to the junta in El Salvador. Argentine Foreign Ministry officials said on March 3 the government was considering selling arms to the Salvadoran regime.

According to news reports in Buenos Aires, some twenty or thirty Argentine mil-

itary advisers have already been operating in El Salvador for several months.

The Argentine military has also been involved in Nicaragua. According to the Nicaraguan government, retired Gen. Alberto Valín — head of intelligence for the Argentine army until December and now Argentina's ambassador to Panama — paid \$50,000 in cash to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary groups based in Honduras.

But the reaction inside Argentina to these disclosures has forced the regime to pull back. President Leopoldo Galtieri, who had previously offered to send troops to El Salvador, has ruled out any such move in recent statements.

So great is the popular opposition in Argentina to intervention in Central America that a joint effort by the Salvadoran government, the Argentine Foreign Ministry, and the U.S. Embassy to find "distinguished citizens" to serve as observers to the March 28 Salvadoran elections has fizzled.

One rumored choice, Francisco Manrique, head of the rightist Federal Party, said he thought it was "crazy" for Argentina to send observers.

vana.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), which represents the insurgents fighting in El Salvador, immediately accepted López Portillo's proposal for negotiations with the junta. But the junta has not responded.

Cuban leader Fidel Castro hailed López Portillo's initiative in a February 22 letter to the Mexican president. Castro wrote that "if the government of the United States — the source of all the problems which affect Latin America and the Caribbean today — pledges not to attack its neighbors, if it halts its constant threats, if it stops using its weapons and money to back genocidal regimes, if it puts an end to its subversive activities, all these being acts which have absolutely no legitimacy, Cuba is willing to cooperate in the noble efforts you outlined in Managua to bring about an atmosphere of peace, mutual respect and necessary change in the region, to which we aspire too."

At the same time, Castro asserted, "we flatly reject and will always reject any effort by the government of the United States to blackmail, intimidate, or impose conditions or ultimatum on our country."

The Cuban leader added that "in the event of any act of aggression we will defend our dignity, sovereignty and principles regardless of the price, down to the last man and woman of our revolutionary people, down to the last drop of our blood."

López Portillo's call for negotiations has been echoed in the U.S. Congress. A letter urging Reagan to accept the Mexican president's proposals was signed by 104 members of Congress, who noted that the proposals "seem to us to be a viable basis for opening up the peace process in Central America."

The international standing of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front was further advanced on March 5 when the Italian parliament followed the lead of the Mexican and French governments last August by recognizing the FDR as a "representative political force" in El Salvador.

'U.S. painting itself into corner'

Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda met with Secretary of State Alexander Haig in New York on March 6 to urge Washington to change its policy on El Salvador and Central America. Before the meeting, Castaneda warned that "the U.S. is painting itself into a corner, which may force it to resort to extreme measures. It is the duty of people who want peace in Central America to prevent the U.S. from cornering itself."

The Reagan administration, however, is plunging ahead, and is carrying out an increasingly shrill propaganda campaign to depict the struggle in El Salvador as the result of outside interference from Nicaragua and Cuba.

On March 2, for example, Secretary of State Haig told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the administration had "overwhelming and irrefutable" evidence that the revolutionaries in El Salvador are controlled from outside the country by non-Salvadorans. But he re-

fused to disclose his "evidence."

Two days later Haig told another House subcommittee that the administration had "unchallengeable" evidence "of the Nicaraguan involvement in El Salvador and the Cuban involvement in the command and control of the operations in El Salvador today."

'Captured' Nicaraguan

In support of his claim, Haig told the subcommittee that "today for the first time a Nicaraguan military man was captured in Salvador, having been sent down by the F.S.L.N. [Sandinista National Liberation Front] to participate in the direction, which is so evident, of this guerrilla operation from Nicaragua."

Haig's "Nicaraguan military man," however, turned out to be a nineteen-year-old Nicaraguan student at a university in Mexico who was on his way home to Nicaragua for the intersession vacation.

According to Joanne Omang of the *Washington Post*, the Nicaraguan student, Ligdamis Gutiérrez Espinosa, was arrested on February 20 or 21 (not March 4 as Haig claimed) as he was coming through a customs station on the Guatemalan border. Gutiérrez was traveling with a Nicaraguan passport when he was taken into custody.

Fearing for his life, Gutiérrez tricked the

Salvadoran police into taking him to the Mexican embassy in San Salvador, where he escaped and was granted asylum.

Mexican authorities confirmed that Gutiérrez was indeed a student at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico.

At a March 4 press conference in Washington, Nicaraguan Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Jaime Wheelock categorically denied Haig's charges that his government was helping to smuggle arms to the guerrillas in El Salvador.

Miskitu 'massacres'

Haig, United Nations representative Jeane Kirkpatrick, and other administration figures have also been waging a propaganda campaign over supposed Nicaraguan massacres of Miskitu Indians living near the border with Honduras. The Nicaraguan government has stated that an evacuation of Miskitus was carried out to protect them from raids by rightist guerrillas based in Honduras (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 8, p. 172).

Haig, however, claimed he had proof of Nicaraguan massacres, citing photographs that appeared in the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro*, purporting to show the bodies of Miskitu Indians being burned by Sandinista troops.

The photographs, however, were actually taken in 1978 while Nicaraguan dictator Somoza was still in power. *Le Figaro* later admitted having misrepresented the pictures.

The opposition to the administration's intervention in El Salvador is causing concern among some ruling circles. A March 1 editorial in the *New York Times*, for example, worried that Reagan's "simple and puerile" rhetoric about the struggle "impairs support for even modest levels of aid."

The *Times* agrees with Reagan's basic policy — which its editors describe as establishing a "reform-minded" regime "buttressed by as much aid as American opinion will tolerate." This, in hopes of holding out long enough "to deny Salvadoran leftists a Nicaragua-style triumph until their more moderate factions can be won over."

But the newspaper warned that this "may take years," and worried that the American public will make that policy impossible.

Supporters of administration policy, such as *New York Times* columnist James Reston, are increasingly fearful that its shrill, unconvincing propaganda campaign is counterproductive. Reston concludes that Reagan "is losing support all around. With three years to go, this is serious — not only for his Administration, but for the country." □

One million in U.S. refuse draft sign-up

[The following appeared as an editorial in the March 12 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

* * *

In the midst of a stepped-up drive by Washington to prepare for U.S. military intervention in Central America, nearly a million draft-age men are refusing to register for the draft. They are upholding their constitutional and moral right not to fight in an immoral war to maim and kill in El Salvador, Guatemala, or anywhere else in the region. They are saying, by their refusal to register, "No more Vietnams!"

These courageous youth deserve the full support and commendation of all those who are opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

As a candidate for president, Ronald Reagan campaigned against draft registration; but once in office, as is typical of Democratic and Republican officials, he dumped his campaign promise and extended draft registration indefinitely. This decision came in early January of this year, as Washington was escalating its threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada and stepping up its military aid to El Salvador, including the training of Salvadoran soldi-

ers and officers at army bases on U.S. soil.

In this context, Reagan's message was clear: "We live in a dangerous world. In the event of a future threat to national safety, registration could save the United States as much as six weeks in mobilizing emergency manpower."

Getting the signal, one Black draft-age youth, interviewed by the *Miami Herald* following Reagan's announcement, aptly stated, "Registration is how they get in touch with you when there's a war, right? So it's a standby draft, right?"

The registration law, adopted by Congress in mid-1980 during the Carter administration, was challenged by a lawsuit. Hundreds of thousands refused to register as long as its legal status remained ambiguous. But even after the law obtained the stamp of approval from the U.S. Supreme Court in June 1981, registration continued to decline. In California, the figure for those not registering was nearly 50 percent. In Washington, D.C., which is predominantly Black, it was 46 percent.

So when Reagan extended draft registration he also announced a grace period, until March 1, during which the hundreds of thousands who had failed to register could comply with the registration law. Those not registered by that date would be subject to

up to five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine.

But as the March 1 deadline came and went, the Selective Service System admitted that more than 900,000 still had not signed up. It now says that it will take up to eight weeks to begin to notify the nonregistrants. And some officials are even talking about making failure to comply only a misdemeanor instead of the felony it is now.

It remains an open question at this point as to how rapidly the administration will be able to prosecute resisters, or whether it will be able to do so at all. Antiwar forces must be ready to vigorously defend anyone prosecuted, if and when the government moves.

The massive defiance of registration, in spite of the threat of stiff penalties, occurs in a climate where the overwhelming majority of Americans are opposed to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. In fact, it reflects the depth of the growing opposition to war in Central America.

This opposition can be strengthened by the national demonstrations planned on March 27 in Washington, D.C., and on the West Coast. The protests will oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador. They will denounce the draft.

No draft, no war! U.S. out of El Salvador!

The revolution comes to Carriacou

Small island fights legacy of neglect

By Pat Kane

CARRIACOU — The trip to this small Caribbean island, sixty miles northeast of Grenada, was in a small, wooden boat. The four-hour journey was well worth it. Carriacou is even more outstanding in natural beauty than Grenada itself. And here, too, the social programs of the revolutionary government of Grenada are changing the lives of the people.

Carriacou is the largest of a group of islands known as the Grenadines, located between Grenada and St. Vincent.

Carriacou and Petit Martinique are part of the Grenadian state. Carriacou is only seven miles long and two and a half miles wide, with a population of 6,000. Some 580 live in the island's capital, Hillsborough.

I took a bus ride across the north part of the island. The driver was Desmond Bristol, and the bus was owned by the government. Carriacou has three state buses serving the island's transportation needs.

In a small booklet entitled, *A Short History of Grenada*, it was pointed out that "Carriacou boasts a fine network of roads, originally laid down by the French." The only problem is that the French left Carriacou in 1763. The booklet was written by supporters of the deposed dictator Eric Gairy for the island's independence ceremony in 1974. Its comment about the roads shows how much the previous government knew or cared about the problems of the Carriacou islanders.

Bristol pointed out that the road we were traveling on had been closed for eleven years before the revolution, and reopening it was one of the first acts of the new government. It was a popular program to rebuild the island's roads and to extend the tiny airport runway.

"Gairy done nothing for Carriacou," Bristol told me, "except to use it as his private playground. No government could do more for Carriacou than our PRG," referring to the People's Revolutionary Government.

I noticed that he had many religious pendants on his dashboard, and a copy of the Gideon Bible for passengers to read. I asked Bristol if he was worried about the political direction of the government, since all the regional proimperialist radio stations denounce the PRG for being communist. "If this is communism," he replied, "I want to live in it for the rest of my life."

The conductor was Ourtie Simmons. She was the first woman conductor I had seen anywhere in Grenada. The private buses do not employ women. "Sure, this is a job any woman can do. I'm in the militia, so defending the country is defending my job."



Pat Kane/IP

Beverly and Kiernon Jones, residents of Carriacou. Revolution has brought many benefits to island, including free milk for children.

There is an immediate contrast between Carriacou and the neighboring islands. The other islands are dependent on tourism, and their governments have introduced very little in the way of social programs. The result is a high emigration rate from those islands.

Jimmy McDonald is the local Catholic priest. He is Irish, and has been here for five years, two in Grenada and three in Carriacou. "I see an improvement," he told me. "The people are more conscious of themselves. There's more things going on now, so not so many people are leaving the island. Every outfit has its good and bad points, but things are better here."

The island has been slow to develop its mass organizations, but now there is a thriving youth organization, a militia, women's organization, parish councils, and a New Jewel Movement (NJM) Party Support Group. The impetus for their growth came after the formation of a NJM Political Committee for Carriacou last year.

On another bus ride, I met a sister from the National Women's Organization (NWO) collecting for their El Salvador cash appeal. The NWO is asking every Grenadian to donate one East Caribbean dollar, and she told me that almost everyone gave more.

There are objective reasons for the island's late development. Carriacou has virtually no industry or collective economic activity. Most of the population engage in private fishing and cultivate small plots of land. There is still no

active trade-union movement here.

Another reason is political. Traditionally, Carriacou was a stronghold of the Grenada National Party, a capitalist party that opposed Gairy. The island returned Herbert Blaize, the main GNP leader, to Grenada's parliament. I could not find anyone who supported the GNP now, so I asked Dwight Coy, a young member of the National Youth Organization and coordinator of the Centre for Popular Education, why there had been such a change.

"Well," he said, "it is my impression that people never wanted Gairy. They always wanted a change. At the time, the only party to focus against Gairy was the GNP. They were the only alternative. With the coming of the NJM to the people of Carriacou, the majority saw in the work of the party that it was much more serious than the GNP, with the aim of moving Gairy out. For many years the GNP had been struggling, and nothing happened. After the 1976 elections, the people could see that the presence of the Jewel was making a total difference. People were kept informed day by day by the NJM, so with the coming of the revolution, they could see that our party was struggling in a much more serious way to change the lives of the people in general."

The programs of the revolutionary government have won the support of people in Carriacou. The Housing Repair Program has created an impact here. Thirty-five houses have been repaired, and interest-free loans granted.

The government is currently building a

branch of its National Commercial Bank. Seven students from Carriacou are studying on scholarship in Cuba, and one in Trinidad.

The Centre for Popular Education enrolled 160 students in its literacy campaign; 120 actively participated, and 145 people volunteered as teachers.

At L'Esterre Primary School, I met the principal, Stalin Samerson. He explained how the government now subsidizes the school, pays the teachers' wages, and provides money for repairs that used to come, slowly, from the Catholic church. He told me that the revolutionary spirit was affecting the young children, and when the boys played with sticks, they played at being militia men, fighting "counters" — counterrevolutionaries. All the mass organizations function in the village of L'Esterre.

Interview with Carriacou leader

'People are beginning to see the course before them'

[The following is an interview with George Prime, the deputy secretary for Carriacou affairs. It was obtained by Pat Kane in Carriacou, Grenada, on February 13.]

* * *

Question. What were conditions like in Carriacou under Gairy?

Answer. It is fair to say that in his thirteen years in office, Gairy totally neglected Carriacou. He treated it as his personal playground, and told his boys that it was a place for good times.

When our youngsters left school, the potential for further advancement was not there. Most of our young people still have to emigrate from Carriacou. They leave to seek employment, rather than stay to help Carriacou's development.

Schools and a hospital were provided, but they were totally run down. There wasn't a single resident doctor for the entire population. When there were acute cases, they had to go to the mainland by boat.

Q. You mean you had to take sick people on those open wooden boats, for a four-hour trip?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you get any international aid to help overcome the days of Gairy?

A. For the roads, we got some aid from one of the agencies. In health, the Cuban comrades are here now, for roughly two years, and then they go back to Cuba. We now have a dental clinic.

One of the projects that was started with the road project was the provision of electricity to the small villages. We have social programs, like the free distribution of milk, the Housing

When I visited the school, he was the only teacher there. The rest were attending their classes at the National In-Service Teacher Education Program.

The school was being run by local people, participating in the Community Schools Day Program.

There is a branch of the National Importing and Marketing Board, which buys local food, and imports basic goods at fixed prices from Grenada. The government has financed a sheep program, since there is plenty of grazing land here. They are also planning a small fishing fleet, to be built locally by the island's skilled boat builders. Camp Carriacou has been opened, providing jobs and revenue from tourism.

Carriacou is a beautiful island, and is fully participating in the development of a new Grenada. □

Repair Program. They have all had a significant impact on the lives of people here.

Q. How did you start to introduce these programs, and how did you involve the masses in them?

A. Well, I must tell you quite frankly, the involvement of the masses didn't really come on stream until last year. While the benefits were coming in terms of social services and the

development of an infrastructure, I don't think there was real mass mobilization and organization until March of last year. So in this regard, we are a year behind the mainland.

Q. What made the difference last year?

A. Well, more people started to come out voluntarily on Saturdays and Sundays to assist in building their community. They began to see the benefits of the revolution, and they wanted to be more involved.

Q. How did you build the mass organizations here?

A. My view is that leadership, in all cases, is very, very important. At first, there was a lack of direct leadership to channel the energies and enthusiasm of the sisters and brothers in Carriacou towards structured organization. The essence of our process is grass-roots democracy. But if you haven't got the people who will directly lead such a process, the energies and enthusiasm may be mischanneled.

So on March 31, 1981, we installed a New Jewel Movement Political Committee for Carriacou. Then we began to see the building of the mass organizations.

Q. After the Political Committee was set up, what were the easiest mass organizations to build?

A. The Party Support Groups (PSG) — people who support the revolution. Once you support the revolution, by definition you go into a PSG. So as the revolution grew, so did the PSG.

Grenada gets new bus system

ST. GEORGE'S — Hundreds of Grenadians gathered here February 13 to celebrate the arrival of twenty-six new buses. These buses are the first step to overcoming the island's serious transport problems.

Currently, there are only small, private buses, which seat just fifteen people. They only run between 6:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. They do not follow any schedules and tend to converge on the more profitable tourist runs. So the masses of Grenadians find it impossible to travel during darkness, and have to suffer long delays and irregular service.

Last year, more and more Grenadians began to raise the demand for a national, state-owned bus service. At parish council meetings across the island the transportation system was discussed.

Transportation is not simply a question of convenience. It is a political problem that must be solved. More and more Grenadians actively participate in the country's democratic institutions and mass organiza-

tions and they have to be able to travel easily in order to attend meetings and rallies. Distances of two or three miles are not uncommon here to attend meetings.

The manager of the transport system, Edward Francis, told the rally at the harbor where the buses were unloaded that the system was not set up to compete with the private bus owners, but to assist the public, especially those from the countryside.

Selwyn Strachan, the minister for national mobilization, stressed that the idea for the buses came from the workers, not the government.

Phillip Archibald, a local worker, told me, "The new buses make me real happy. They are our buses, paid for with our money, and working for us. We are going to look after them buses."

The official launching of the national transport system will be part of the island's celebrations of the third anniversary of the March 13 revolution.

— Pat Kane



GEORGE PRIME

It also means we have to be on the ground constantly, explaining the programs of the government and so on. We still face a real problem with direct communication with the mainland, since we don't get Radio Free Grenada very well here. The people are exposed to all sorts of propaganda from Radio Antilles and others.

Q. What does a PSG do?

A. Fundraising is the main function, as well as distribution of the party press. They are also responsible for mass mobilization and mass activities in terms of all the events that we celebrate on the mainland.

Q. What relationship does the PSG have to other mass organizations?

A. It is quite possible to be a member of the National Youth Organization and National Women's Organization and the PSG. They are all interlinked. It is true that some of them have their own constitutions, aims, and objectives, but we are saying that all of them are directly related insofar as the organization of the masses is concerned.

Q. What about the trade unions?

A. May Day has been celebrated in Grenada for the last twenty-five to thirty years. But our first May Day was held only last year. And the turnout was not very impressive.

I think that all this stems from a very high petty-bourgeois tendency in Carriacou. The population is small businessmen, vendors,

farmers, fishermen; the working class is tiny.

Even now, trade unionism is not serious, even in the administration. We have members of the Public Workers Union, but we have not gotten to the stage of having a branch in Carriacou that is actively involved in trying to create better conditions for the workers.

Unionization is the task ahead for the comrades leading the political work in Carriacou.

Q. What are the plans for the future development of Carriacou?

A. We can point to a number of things that are already on stream. It is worth mentioning the bus service, which has made a considerable difference in the lives of the people.

We are in the Year of Economic Construction, and we have already started a sheep breeding program. This is behind schedule for a number of objective reasons, like lack of tractors and the need to clear land. But we now have ninety-five acres, fourteen of them cleared for sheep breeding.

We are opening up a farm school. The lands have been identified for a combined school and productive farm. This should start at the end of next month, with the renovation of the building.

We have started to develop cooperatives, and we hope to get a fishing cooperative off the ground in the near future.

We are looking at boat building, to introduce modern techniques and a central boat building yard. There are only 305 people unemployed here, so with all these projects coming on stream, we can reach a situation where

we can have zero unemployment.

Camp Carriacou and the electricity project have all created jobs. We have ordered a generator that will give electricity to all the people on Petit Martinique.

Q. Can you explain what happened to Herbert Blaize and the Grenada National Party (GNP) in Carriacou?

A. The difference between the GNP and Gairy was one of emphasis, rather than kind. The GNP was not a threat to the system as such.

The GNP did not do much for the people; you can look around and see that. He didn't make any difference — either in opposition or in the government — to the lives of the people here.* It was due more to parochialism that he got support.

When the bourgeois elements see themselves threatened, they come out together. Gairy was never able to penetrate here. But the blunder the GNP has made is sharing political platforms with Gairyites, when they both felt threatened.

Q. Did the GNP actually come out and oppose any of the projects of the revolution?

A. Not only the GNP, but those who are hostile to the revolution have never attacked any of its projects. How can you attack the free distribution of milk, or the Housing Repair Program?

They attack us on the grounds of "freedom of speech," asking what validity we have to be in office. These are their arguments. And we are practicing what in our view is grass-roots democracy.

Q. Does the GNP come to events like the zonal council meetings?

A. Blaize doesn't, but I know of people who are definitely associated with the GNP. But the GNP is in its dying days.

This is significant. The revolution is just three years old. And to have changed the allegiances of the masses so significantly means that a great deal has happened. Consciousness has risen. The people are now beginning to see the course before them.

This administration is based on concrete action, and that is why it gets support. □

*Herbert Blaize's Grenada National Party ruled the country in 1957-61 and 1962-67.

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Two contrasting social systems

Economic advance in North, poverty and misery in South

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article appeared in the March 12 issue of the U.S. socialist news-weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Korea today is an artificially divided country with the North and South pursuing totally different economic policies.

The South has a capitalist economy; one open to foreign investment, 94 percent of which comes from American and Japanese banks and corporations.

The North, on the other hand, has developed under a system where capitalist rule has been overturned. Its industries and natural resources are no longer in the hands of individual, wealthy families, but are nationalized. Landlords no longer own the land. Decisions on production and distribution are part of an overall plan, not left to considerations of profit. The government, not corporations and banks, controls all foreign trade.

How have these two different economic systems affected the development of industry, the growth of agriculture, and the living standards of the population?

Both North and South had to rebuild their economies following the devastation of the 1950-53 Korean War. Washington and fifteen other imperialist countries sent in hundreds of thousands of troops in an attempt to roll back the workers and farmers revolution in the North and prevent its advance in the South.

"I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula, is just a terrible mess," Gen. Emmet O'Donnell, head of the American Far Eastern bomber command, commented in 1951.

Describing the North, which bore the brunt of the attacks, O'Donnell said, "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."

In the first three months of the war alone, the U.S. Air Force dropped 97,000 tons of bombs and 7.8 million gallons of napalm on the North. Every major industrial enterprise in the North was destroyed. The death toll in the North and South together was a staggering three million to four million, not counting the millions maimed and wounded.

South Korean 'Showcase'?

Because of its rapid economic development following the war, South Korea has been labeled the "showcase of the developing world" by Washington and the U.S. big-business press.

In order to maintain and protect this "showcase," however, Washington has stationed 40,000 troops and 700 nuclear weapons in South Korea. The 600,000-strong South Korean army is commanded by a U.S. officer.

This military force is a constant source of aggression against the North, forcing the North Korean government to divert vital resources into defending the country. Between 15 and 20 percent of North Korea's budget over the last decade has gone for defense, according to a U.S. CIA estimate.

In addition, Washington has imposed severe economic sanctions against the North; and a trade embargo by all the imperialist powers was in effect for a period of time.

But despite such difficulties, North Korea has made tremendous strides, which are rarely mentioned in the U.S. news media.

In fact, industrial output in the North makes up 76 percent of the gross national product (GNP), up from 16.8 percent in 1946. And a U.S. CIA report in 1978 admitted that North Korea was, as of 1976, outproducing the South in per capita terms in virtually every major sector of the economy — from agriculture to steel, electric power generation, cement, machine tools, and trucks.

The South, according to this CIA report, was superior in only two things: passenger cars and television sets.

But while industry has increased in the South, so has poverty. In the North the standard of living has steadily improved for the majority of the population.

According to the Korean Development Institute, a research agency serving private enterprise and the South Korean government, the gap between high- and low-income people in the South widened during the years 1965 to 1976. The 40 percent of the country whose households are in the lowest income group had their share of income drop from 19 percent in 1965 to 16.9 in 1976. During the same period, the 20 percent of households in the highest income bracket saw their share rise from 42.4 to 45.3 percent.

A leading Japanese bourgeois economist, Sumiya Mikio, has shown that a rise in per capita GNP in the South, from \$100 in 1968 to \$373 in 1973, did not result in increased income for the workers. The rise was achieved by lowering their living standards — by deepening their exploitation.

The U.S. and South Korean governments argue that by basing the economy on foreign investments and production for export to the imperialist countries, the standard of living of the population will increase.

Yet, the boom in textile exports (one of the

largest export items) led to a 24.3 percent decline in the real wages of textile workers, according to *Korea Communique*, published by the Japan Emergency Conference on Korean Problems.

Poverty in the South

Referring to the "economic miracle" in the South, the *Wall Street Journal* recently claimed that the per capita yearly income there now exceeds \$1,500.

Average figures like these, released by the South Korean government, do not take into consideration the extremes in income between the rich minority and the poor majority.

Seventy-nine percent of all nonagricultural workers made \$90 or less per month in 1977; 60.6 percent made between \$40 and \$60 per month, or \$480 to \$720 annually.

By way of contrast, some 1.5 percent of the population made \$400 or more per month (\$4,800 annually), and at least one businessman reported making \$16 million a year.

Furthermore, the income figures do not account for the inflation rate, which has averaged between 20 and 30 percent over the last few years. This has cut deeply into the buying power of working people.

The South Korean government's Office of Labor Affairs reported in 1976 that the minimum requirement for the average family was \$142 per month, out of which comes food, housing, medical care, and education expenses. In 1977, 84 percent of all non-agricultural workers earned below this official minimum standard, according to a paper prepared for the Conference of Japanese and U.S. Parliamentarians on Korean Problems.

Women, who make up between 70 and 90 percent of the workforce in many of the large export companies, earn an average of 44 percent of what male workers earn.

The textile and garment industries, two of the largest exporters, are almost totally female. In 1975, some 300,000 women in these industries earned an average of \$50 to \$60 a month for working six to seven days a week, ten hours a day. Often workers cannot stand upright on these jobs because additional floors have been built to maximize work space.

This kind of exploitation in the "showcase of the developing world" is not usually reported in the United States because both Washington and the U.S. textile and garment industries are complicit in it.

Over the past twenty-five years, the United States has provided 98 percent of South Korea's raw cotton. Of this, \$390 million worth was subsidized by the Food for Peace Pro-

gram. More than 30 percent of textiles produced in South Korea are sold to U.S. corporations, and some twenty U.S. textile and garment companies have agencies or branches there.

Free health care in North

In contrast, North Korea's per capita income in 1979 was \$1,920, or \$160 per month, according to a Japanese scholars' delegation that visited the country.

Unlike people in the South, North Koreans do not pay any taxes, Aidan Foster-Carter states in *Korea, North and South*, published by Monthly Review Press.

Gavan McCormack, who visited North Korea in 1980, reported in the December 1981 *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* that medical care and education are free. Food and clothing are relatively inexpensive, and according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review Asia 1978 Yearbook*, rent takes up between 2 and 3 percent of a worker's monthly income.

Fred Carrier, a professor at Villanova University in Pennsylvania, visited North Korea in 1974. He reported that workers often receive such benefits as free lunches and subsidized vacations. After retirement, Carrier said, economic and social needs are paid for by the state.

In North Korea, moreover, everyone is guaranteed a job. In the South, unemployment (which includes people not working a forty-hour week) is estimated by McCormack at 30 percent. It is higher in the capital city of Seoul, where some 2.5 million people, many of them destitute peasants looking for work, live in squatters' huts on the edge of the city.

In 1970, some 74 percent of the population of North Korea worked in industry, up from 16.8 percent in 1946. Only 26 percent worked in agriculture, down from 63.5 percent in 1946.

In South Korea, only 17.8 percent of jobs in 1974 were in manufacturing and mining. Some 49.8 percent were still in agriculture and fishing, and 34.5 percent were classified as being in the "service" sector. This latter category includes maids, porters, carriers, tour guides, peddlers, shopkeepers, day laborers, and prostitutes.

Prostitution a big business

Prostitution, according to McCormack, is big business in South Korea, encouraged by the government as a way to bring hard currency into the economy from male tourists. Estimates of the number of prostitutes range as high as 200,000, and their availability is part of the tourist promotion campaign. In addition, many women are induced to go to Japan to sell their bodies.

The South Korean government also sends young women and men abroad to fulfill work contracts in other countries and bring in additional hard currency.

In North Korea, women are not forced into prostitution or low-paying dangerous jobs to make a living. Some 85 percent of women un-



der the retirement age of fifty-five work outside the home, according to an American Friends Service Committee fact sheet.

By 1971, the AFSC reports, 80 percent of all babies were taken care of in an extensive system of nurseries and kindergartens.

While the pinnacles of progress in South Korea, as in most American cities, are the big office buildings, the most splendid ones in the North are the schools, universities, hospitals, clinics, kindergartens, meeting halls, sports centers, theaters, and public libraries.

Hospitals and schools

The priorities of the North are quite different from the South. There are 23.3 doctors per 10,000 people in North Korea, according to McCormack. The *Far Eastern Economic Review Asia 1980 Yearbook* reports that there are only 5.7 doctors per 10,000 people in South Korea, 15.5 per 10,000 in Australia, and 12.4 per 10,000 in Japan.

The ratio of population to hospital beds in South Korea is one of the worst in the world. In 1981, there were 1,310 people per hospital bed, as compared with 1,125 in Burma, a much poorer country, according to the 1982 *Hammond Almanac*. In North Korea, there were 333 people per hospital bed.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that, as of 1974, the South was unable to deal with easily preventable diseases such as polio, plague, typhus, and scarlet fever.

As a result of the health-care system in the North, life expectancy has risen from thirty-eight years in 1945 to seventy-three years in 1980, McCormack reports. In the South, life expectancy is sixty-eight years.

North Korea has gone from 80 percent illiteracy before 1945 to near universal literacy. In 1980, one million people graduated from 162 universities, McCormack states.

As of 1975, there were 600 specialized schools other than universities, 4,100 senior middle schools, 4,700 primary schools, and 60,000 nurseries and kindergartens in a country with a population of 17 million.

Also in 1975, an eleven-year universal compulsory education program was instituted. College students receive free tuition, medical care, and housing and a state stipend. A total of 8.69 million people, half the population, are involved in one or another phase of education.

As a result of these programs, there are 1 million technicians and specialists in North Korea and 200,000 teachers, one for every twenty-five students, as compared with one for every seventy-one students in the South.

Difference in agriculture

During the Korean War, the U.S. military destroyed the agricultural system in North Korea — as it did in Vietnam — by deliberately bombing the dikes, which provided water for 75 percent of the country's rice production.

Yet today, with a harsh climate and only 17 percent of the land able to be cultivated, North Korea is not only self-sufficient in rice production, but exports it.

The average rice yield of 7 tons per *chongbo* (2.45 acres) in 1979 is one of the highest in the world. In addition, 6.3 tons of corn per *chongbo* were harvested in 1979, and fruit production rose above 1 million tons.

Prior to division, southern Korea helped feed the northern half of the country, and was an agricultural exporter. Now, the South has lost its ability to produce a surplus. In 1976, the South had a rice yield of only 5.4 tons per *chongbo*. The country has had to depend on large-scale food imports, which have increased from 6 percent of its needs in 1962 to 35 percent in 1975.

In 1946, the government of North Korea instituted a land reform program that confiscated over half the land (some 2.5 million acres) from the wealthy landlords. It was turned over to 750,000 farm families for individual ownership, but with prohibitions against sale, rental, or mortgage, according to the U.S. government's *Area Handbook for North Korea and Communism in Korea*, by Robert Scalapino and Chong-sik Lee.

The reform was carried out relatively smoothly because 20 percent of the land was owned by Japanese landlords who fled after World War II. Other landlords fled to the South. Those who remained were offered the same amount of land as the small farmers, and relocated in other parts of the country.

After the devastation of the Korean War, when massive funding and effort were immediately necessary to feed the population, the government reorganized the land into cooperatives and state farms between 1954 and 1958. Families on these collective farms retain small plots for vegetable growing and for raising

chicken, pigs, and sheep.

State resources were invested to mechanize and modernize the new system. A 1978 U.S. CIA study reported that "agriculture is quite heavily mechanized, fertilizer application is among the highest in the world and irrigation projects are extensive." Soil, water, plant, fish, and animal life are constantly monitored to assess the environmental consequences of the heavy fertilization.

Major accomplishments toward electrification of the countryside have been achieved, and rice transplant machines were introduced in 1974. These have helped make agriculture more productive and freed people for industrial work.

Unlike the North, the South has agricultural policies similar to those followed by other countries dominated by imperialism, such as Iran under the shah. These countries were forced to give up their food-producing capacities and become dependent on American food commodities.

In the case of South Korea, the government forced down prices for domestic rice by flooding the market with cheap American grain surpluses, purchased with the help of U.S. government loans. This made South Korea one of the fastest-growing markets for U.S. foodstuffs in the Far East.

This policy caused terrible hardships for South Korean farmers. In 1966, rural income was 83 percent of urban income; by 1970 it had fallen to 59 percent. Millions of destitute farmers migrated to the cities in search of work, creating a large, unemployed, urban labor force that is used to keep the wages of all workers down. In Seoul, for example, from 1964 to 1970 the population doubled from three to six million.

Of the peasants who have remained on the land, some 43 percent are full- or part-tenant farmers. These families are among the poorest in Korea, using 40 to 60 percent of their crop to pay for rent.

Elimination of capitalism

This comparison of North and South Korea, which has relied primarily on the evidence of scholars and government reports hostile to the North Korean regime, shows the benefits of a society that has eliminated capitalism.

The picture that emerges of the South — a country of grinding poverty and tyranny for the majority — explains the continued opposition to the military dictatorship that has existed ever since Washington put Syngman Rhee in power in 1948.

During the most recent revolt in South Korea, in Kwangju in May 1980, an armed population took over the city, setting up popular committees. Only the use of government troops ordered into Kwangju by U.S. Gen. John Wickham, brought an end to the rebellion.

The South Korean masses are fighting for an end to the repressive regime and for freedom from U.S. imperialist domination. Like their sisters and brothers in the North, moreover,

they want a reunified Korea.

This struggle points in the direction of eliminating capitalism in the South and forming a unified Korea based on nationalized property relations and a planned economy. This is the path already taken by Vietnam, which had suffered a similar division and exploitation.

IN REVIEW

'The Second Stage'

Betty Friedan's retreat from feminism

By Margaret Jayko

[The following article appeared in the February 5 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

"I am tired of the pragmatic, earthbound battles of the women's movement, tired of rhetoric."

These sentences are from the opening paragraph of Betty Friedan's third and latest book, *The Second Stage*. They reflect the theme of the entire book — a call for women to retreat from struggle for liberation and to accept the "new stage" of capitalist austerity.

Yes, this is the same Betty Friedan who, as a suburban housewife and journalist, wrote *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963.

In that book, she exposed the reality behind the show windows of suburbia, where female residents suffered agonies from "the problem that has no name."

At that time, Friedan explained, "The feminine mystique has succeeded in burying millions of American women alive. There is no way for these women to break out of their comfortable concentration camps except by finally putting forth an effort — that human effort which reaches beyond biology, beyond the narrow walls of home, to help shape the future."

"Only by such a personal commitment to the future can American women break out of the housewife trap and truly find fulfillment as wives and mothers — by fulfilling their own unique possibilities as separate human beings."

These were ideas whose time had come.

Despite the fact that Friedan restricted her investigations to relatively well-to-do housewives, millions of women in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries identified with her challenge to the myth of the happy housewife.

Her book helped propel the rise of the women's liberation movement in this country and around the world.

'Ridiculous analogy'

Today Friedan repudiates many of her earlier ideas.

In a recent interview in the *Christian*

Such a united Korea would be a tremendous step forward for Korean workers and farmers in both North and South, and an inspiration to the toilers in Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, who suffer the same kind of imperialist exploitation as the people in South Korea today. □

Science Monitor, she says of the above-quoted passage, "That was a ridiculous analogy. I mean, come on! It denied the basic satisfaction of my own life as a suburban housewife."

Today, Friedan berates the women's movement for challenging the myth that Friedan herself challenged — that biology destines all women to occupy a strictly limited and inferior social status.

The Friedan who documented the way socially defined concepts of femininity are used

The Second Stage, by Betty Friedan, \$14.95, 344 pp. (New York: Summit Books, 1981).

to enslave women is now rebuffed by the "second stage" Friedan, who tells us that to deny those standards of femininity is to deny being a woman!

In 1966, Friedan was a central founder and first president of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

In *The Second Stage*, she advances the opinion that the women's movement has outlived its usefulness. "The second stage may not even be a women's movement," she says. "Men may be at the cutting edge of the second stage."

The Second Stage has been reviewed and excerpted by dozens of publications both in this country and in Europe.

The *New York Times*, for example, ran two reviews and an extensive article based on the book. *The Nation* magazine ran a series of commentaries by six prominent feminists.

To understand why this book has gotten such a big response we have to look at the political context in which it appears.

Friedan changes sides

Capitalism is in a deep crisis, which the employers are trying to solve at the expense of working people. The ferocious attacks on women's rights are part of the capitalists' "solution" to their crisis.

An important aspect of their offensive is combating the ideas about women's equality which have taken root in society in the last ten

years.

In this battle, Friedan extends a helping hand, not to her struggling sisters, but to our belligerent enemies who are trying to roll back the gains we have won.

For the many women's rights fighters who are beginning to realize our movement is at a crossroads, Friedan offers the most reactionary advice imaginable. It is all the more poisonous because it is peddled by the woman many had proclaimed the "mother of modern feminism."

The Second Stage has sparked a wide-ranging debate.

Bella Abzug, the former Democratic Party congresswoman, criticized Friedan's advocacy, à la Reagan, of "passionate volunteerism" as a substitute for fighting for federally funded social services, like child care.

Other feminist activists, like journalist Ellen Willis, are outraged by Friedan's attacks on the women's rights movement.

Friedan even goes so far as to revive the capitalist media's slanderous term "bra-burners" to attack radical feminists.

Mim Kelber, a feminist writer, attacks Friedan's promilitarist views.

Frances Lear, a writer and feminist activist, uses Friedan's book as an opening to launch her own attack on the women's movement.

The Second Stage is Friedan's rambling reflections, mostly drawn from discussions with executives, professionals, and military officers, or people preparing for such futures.

Friedan needs this elite selection in order to make her case seem more credible.

The 'feminist mystique'

According to Friedan, in fighting against the "feminine mystique," the women's movement created something just as bad, if not worse — the "feminist mystique."

Friedan creates a caricature of women fighting for their liberation — a caricature worthy of our most reactionary opponents.

We are faced with the rise of a "female machismo," Friedan says. A woman who "stops baking cookies altogether, cuts her hair like a monk, decides not to have children, installs a computer console in her bedroom."

Why did this happen?

Because the movement supposedly lost sight of its goal. "In the first stage," Friedan believes, "our aim was full participation, power and voice in the mainstream . . ."

She attacks the rights women — and men — fought for as the women's movement grew, charging that "the sexual politics that distorted the sense of priorities of the women's movement during the seventies made it easy for the so-called Moral Majority to lump ERA* with homosexual rights and abortion into one explosive package of licentious, family-threatening sex."

Friedan also frequently repeats the lie, pro-

moted by opponents of women's rights, that the focus of the women's movement was against men.

In other words, the attacks on women's rights are all our fault. We never should have raised our sights so high.

Abortion rights

Friedan criticizes women as "selfish" for fighting for the right to control our own bodies and lives, instead of couching all our struggles in terms of what is best for the family.

She claims that the main reason for the concerted campaign against abortion is a trick by the "radical Right" to divert people from their real problems, like inflation.

The other reason for the attacks, Friedan says, is the callousness toward life of those who fought for abortion rights.

Exactly what every "right-to-lifer" says!

She neglects to point out that it was the abortion rights movement and the legalization of abortion that won the *overwhelming majority* of American people to support this democratic right.

And all the callousness is on the side of those who talk about "life" but are forcing women into the hands of back-alley butchers by making safe, legal abortion difficult to obtain.

The assault on abortion rights is not a diversionary ploy. These are attacks on the fundamental right of women to control our own bodies. And they are dead serious.

Moreover, the antiwoman forces know how fundamental this right is, and that is why they have made it the center of their attacks on women.

Friedan's view that the attacks on abortion rights will go away if only we stop defending these rights has not withstood the test of reality.

The right to abortion is being severely curtailed *precisely because the women's movement has retreated along the lines that Friedan advocates.*

The superwoman syndrome

Friedan blames the women's movement, in part, for creating the tremendous burdens that society places on women who work both outside the home and in it, cleaning and taking care of children. She condemns what she calls the "superwoman" syndrome.

But it is feminist fighters, especially working women, that led the struggle for affirmative action for women, childcare, abortion rights, and other demands that ease the load on working women.

Women are not responsible for the hardships and frustrations that result from the double burden carried by working women.

It is the bosses and their two political parties that are responsible for increasing the burden with their cutbacks, layoffs, and attacks on unions, Black rights, and women's rights. All done under the cover of "protecting the family."

The main political conclusion Friedan

reaches is that women must dissolve our movement into capitalist party politics.

She maintains the necessity to support the Democratic Party, despite the fact that it is today leading, with the Republican Party, the attacks on women's rights.

The book ends with a ringing denunciation of "communism," and a superpatriotic plea for U.S. capitalism and its militarism.

She asks the women's movement to do its share to help save the system.

In the first chapter of *The Second Stage*, Friedan asks, "Is feminism a theoretical luxury, a liberal or radical notion we could toy with in the late soft age of affluence, in the decadence of advanced capitalist society, but in the face of 10 percent inflation, 7.8 percent unemployment, nuclear accident at home, and mounting terrorism from Right and Left abroad, something we must put aside for the grim new realities of economic and national survival?"

And despite her protests to the contrary, Friedan has answered this question with a resounding "yes." □

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*The Moral Majority is a right-wing fundamentalist group. The Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution must be ratified by three more states before the June 30, 1982, deadline.

The arms race and world economic crisis

Fidel Castro's speech before World Trade Union Congress

[The following is the speech given by Fidel Castro at the opening of the Tenth World Trade Union Congress, held in Havana on February 10. The text has been taken from the February 21 issue of the English-language weekly edition of *Granma*, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.]

* * *

Distinguished representatives of the international trade union movement:

This 10th Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions entails special significance. Under the difficult circumstances the workers and peoples of the world face, the success of a meeting of this type depends, to a large extent, on its nature and scope. Once Cuba was granted its hosting, our trade union leadership greatly stressed — and we agreed — that we should all contribute to make this Congress as broad as possible for the various tendencies and main forces of the international trade union movement to be represented in it. And this regardless of distinctions, so as to be able to approach — exercising truly democratic methods, with the greatest freedom of discussion and opinion — the essential matters that so harshly affect and so deeply concern millions of workers throughout the world.

We must say that those hopes have been fulfilled beyond expectations. As is already known, there are 135 nations and 351 trade union organizations comprising 260 million workers represented in this Congress thus far. That, in itself, gives an idea of its magnitude and of the tremendous importance its resolutions may have. This constitutes the meeting's first major achievement. It should also be stressed that, of the organizations present, 80 are members of the World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU], that is, a little over 20%.

There are organizations here that are members of other international trade union bodies as well as many that do not belong to any, although many are identified with the WFTU's objectives and actively take part in its struggles.

The interest shown in this Congress and the high level of participation we have referred to are concrete expressions of the community of interests evidenced, with ever greater strength, among all workers of the world. We can state that the Congress we feel so pleased in opening today is the Congress of the overwhelming majority of the organized trade union movement throughout the world.

For the first time, a congress of this nature is held outside Europe and the fact that it takes place in Cuba, a country struggling for development in the midst of constant threats, slanderous campaigns and a rigid economic blockade, a country whose enemies have vainly attempted to isolate and separate from the remaining peoples of the world, invests it with a meaning of deep solidarity for which our people and government wish to express their profound gratitude. (APPLAUSE)

Of course, we are not unaware of the heterogeneous political, philosophical and religious positions gathered in this hall, the differences in opinion among the many organizations meeting here nor the fact that the peculiarity of this Congress lies in that it comprises trade union leaders from socialist countries and trade union leaders who function in capitalist countries, labor leaders who operate in highly industrialized nations and leaders from the large underdeveloped and economically backward areas of the world. There is a wide range of circumstances and views.

Will it be possible, under these conditions, to find a common language? We believe it is possible, necessary and, what is more, indispensable. Contradictions may be many and at times serious. But the very fact of our gathering here proves that there is a more powerful and pressing contradiction: with those who intend to drag mankind along the path of war, with those who try to profit in the midst of the disastrous situation the world economy is going through and unload the ominous conse-

quences of the crisis on the workers' shoulders.

In this difficult and dangerous juncture, we should aim at what unites us and not at what may separate us. (APPLAUSE) We are convinced that, without anyone necessarily having to abandon his position, the world's trade union movement can move toward dialogue, toward the search for paths of unity and toward concrete steps for common action, based on the supreme objective which defines trade unions on all continents: the defense of the interests of the workers and of their peoples.

The defense of the workers' and of the peoples' interests means a lot under the present circumstances. It means defending their right to live, work and eat; the right to a safe, honorable and just existence.

We are certain that at present the most urgent and unpostponable task is the struggle for peace and safeguarding mankind from destruction

Mankind can and must solve these problems. In that struggle workers are to play a leading role . . .

caused by nuclear holocaust. But, as we have underlined before, this battle is inseparably linked to the problems of development and to the efforts of the exploited peoples and workers to secure more just and equitable living conditions. Neither can we be schematic and ignore the inequalities posed by situations prevailing in different countries.

Workers are not only interested in living; they are also deeply concerned about the conditions they will live in. It is logical for workers throughout the world to express interest in the battle for peace and international détente. But, in large areas of the Earth, there are huge masses of workers for whom life is so uncertain, subsistence so harsh and prospects so discouraging, that the slogans of struggle for peace as such do not have a direct meaning. Thus, we are deeply convinced that, if we wish to develop a true worldwide mass movement, the banners of the struggle for peace and the banners of the urgent and immediate claims the workers make must march side by side. (APPLAUSE)

We are convinced that at present it is necessary to multiply actions for peace while redoubling actions in favor of the economic and social demands raised by the workers against those who exploit and oppress them.

Responsible political leaders of the world recognize that at present mankind is living through the most complex and serious situation since World War II. In his time, Hitler aimed at conquering the world and imposing the yoke of fascism on it for 1,000 years.

During that long war, he tried to destroy entire peoples and committed all sorts of crimes. At present, only a few minutes would suffice for humanity, all fruits of man's work and intelligence, to be annihilated and destroyed forever. If we are realistic, we cannot close our eyes to this threat. An awareness of this growing threat constitutes the basic condition to denounce it, fight against it and resolutely mobilize ourselves before it.

The most detached analysis and the most objective thinking clearly indicates that the possibility of a thermonuclear war, which might have seemed improbable or distant years ago, has lately attained an ever more tangible and undeniable nature. Some irresponsible politicians, headed by the U.S. rulers, try to lead public opinion into accepting this prospect as something natural, creating the illusion that it would be possible to wage a "limited nuclear war," or the idea of a preventive nuclear strike for demonstration purposes in European territory, or even the possibility of winning in the event of a generalized conflict on a worldwide scale. The game of war is thus dangerously being played, while advancing along a path which may become irreversible.

The responsibility for the increase of international tensions rests fully

on the present U.S. administration and some of its allies. In our view, no attempt to try to make the countries of the socialist community share in this responsibility withstands the most elementary analysis.

Obvious are the facts that prove how the present perils of war emerge from the irrational attempt of the U.S. rulers to replace the policy of détente by one of confrontation and cold war. They intend to stop the progress of all revolutionary, national liberation, or simply progressive processes by applying the false and ridiculous criterion that they are produced by alleged Soviet "interference" or "expansionism"; they encourage the unattainable objective of disrupting the strategic balance of forces, achieve military superiority and conduct political negotiations from positions of strength, based on blackmail and pressure; and, in trying to attain those goals, they have unleashed the most incredible arms race history has ever recorded. No propaganda campaign, nor distortion of reality, could conceal these essential truths.

Such policy has greatly obscured and complicated communication and serene analysis and discussion with the socialist community about the most important world problems. Pressures and threats have been placed before constructive dialogue. Objective debate and analysis have been replaced by interference, subversion and hostile propaganda campaigns. The policy of peaceful coexistence has been diverted toward a reactionary and warmongering path. The ideals of normal relations and cooperation among states have been seriously affected by the insolent attitude, the provocations and retaliations in the economic, technological, commercial and cultural fields practiced by the U.S. government.

The present policy of hostility, of economic and political aggressions, the atmosphere of threats, the brazen interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries, the counterrevolutionary propaganda, the encouragement of subversion and attempts to negotiate from positions of strength cannot be, now or ever, grounds for the constructive, judicious and prudent dialogue the world needs at present. (APPLAUSE)

This deeply reactionary and aggressive path is to a large extent backed by the interests and profits of the big transnational consortia, the main beneficiaries of that policy. The corporations that make up the so-called military-industrial complex, whose boom and benefits already place them among the most powerful U.S. monopolies, together with the great interests of the oil and chemical industries, see their profits multiply tremendously, precisely as a result of a policy whose most pernicious effects are brought to bear on the huge masses of workers in the developed Western countries themselves, in the form of a remarkable worsening of living conditions, unemployment, inflation, serious cuts in social security, instability and poverty.

The elimination of all nuclear arms from Europe and the rest of the world and the end of the U.S. international fascist policy is the true zero option mankind demands . . .

On the other hand, and in a much greater magnitude and even with more serious and dramatic consequences, that policy implies incredible levels of poverty, squalor, lack of culture and hunger for the broad oppressed and impoverished masses of Third World workers.

As a result of these schemes, Europe has become a center of growing confrontation and danger. In its relations with its Western allies, the United States has followed the line of constant pressures, trying to make them accept a considerable increase in military budgets while dragging them into a policy of greater hostility and harshness against the USSR and all other socialist countries. These intentions have been so unrealistic and violent that not all U.S. allies have joined the economic and trade blockade, nor have they allowed themselves to be dragged into the most reactionary positions.

By stirring up the alleged danger of communist aggression, the U.S. rulers try to impose the establishment of a new nuclear missile system on European soil, which poses a considerable disruption of the strategic balance and thus increases the climate of tension in the area to unprecedented levels. The "zero option," launched as a counterproposal to the Soviet appeal for a just and harmonious missile balance in the European



Demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, held in Jersey City, New Jersey, February 27.

scenario as a whole, is, in essence, nothing but a hypocritical and clumsy propaganda measure aimed at maintaining nuclear superiority in Europe with thousands of atomic weapons deployed on bombers, aircraft carriers, submarines, and ballistic missiles, all aimed against the countries of the socialist community.

The elimination of all nuclear arms from Europe and the rest of the world and the end of the U.S. international fascist policy is the true zero option mankind demands. (APPLAUSE)

These imperialist measures seriously endanger world peace. The risks they imply are so obvious that the peoples of Western Europe are fully justified in their concern. Millions of workers, employees, intellectuals and students, men and women, young and old, have taken to the streets to express their condemnation of that policy through the most multitudinous and militant demonstrations and protests ever recalled since the end of World War II.

Of course, workers are not concerned only about the perils of war. What is ominous in this imperialist policy is that it also affects the most direct and immediate interests of the workers. On the other hand, said interests are not only limited to salaries, working conditions and living standards.

The ultrareactionary line of the present U.S. administration has been a booster for the most repressive, antipopular and antiworkers' regimes in the world.

As a result of such a line, new hotbeds of tension have emerged and the already existing ones have worsened. When racist violence exacts countless victims in South Africa and Namibia, when South African aggressors criminally attack southern Angola and other sovereign states in the area, the main victims are the poor workers. When Israel launches a surprise attack against Iraq and brutally annexes Arab territories occupied by force, as in the recent case of the Golan Heights, when it massacres Palestinians in Southern Lebanon, those who fall as a result of that policy are workers. When the imperialist allies in Asia relentlessly harass Vietnam or encourage the genocidal elements ousted from power in Kampuchea, the ones who shed their blood as a result of that policy are also workers.

When patriots of many countries subjected to fascist regimes in South America are persecuted, tortured, murdered or disappear, the victims of the imperialist backing to these bloodthirsty regimes are also workers. When in Central America, the people of Nicaragua are forced to mobilize in the face of threats of aggression and mercenary bands, when internationalist Cuban teachers are cowardly assassinated by counterrevolutionaries operating in that country, it is the workers who die as a result of Yankee policy.

When thousands and thousands of workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and even children succumb in El Salvador and Guatemala, the victims of repulsive tyrannies shamelessly armed and bolstered by U.S. imperialism, it is once again the people and the workers who pay with their sacrifice and their lives for the lofty aspiration of achieving free-

dom and blazing the path towards a decorous and honorable existence for the exploited and oppressed majorities.

This Congress, meeting precisely in the Central American and Caribbean area, will certainly not remain silent vis-à-vis the interference, the threats of direct military intervention and the demagogic maneuvers of those who attempt to annihilate at all costs the Salvadoran and Guatemalan peoples and crush their heroic and admirable rebelliousness.

The arms race unleashed by the United States entails an immediate and direct threat to the very survival of mankind. But it is not solely this reality which confers upon it a tragically painful nature. To this must be

The arms race unleashed by the United States entails an immediate and direct threat to the very survival of mankind . . .

added the monstrous squandering of resources in a world now facing the most serious economic crisis of the past 50 years.

The human mind is filled with indignation at the thought that many of the distressing problems that afflict most of the world population — hunger, lack of culture and health care, shortage of housing and jobs — could be greatly alleviated if only a portion of the fabulous resources allotted to the arms race and military expenditures were destined to the just cause of the peoples' well-being and progress.

The United States at present possesses 2,112 nuclear delivery weapons, comprising launching platforms for intercontinental ballistic missiles, strategic bombers and submarines. One single discharge of all these means could trigger off, at one stroke, 10,000 nuclear charges, their yields ranging between 50 kilotons and 10 megatons each.

In addition to this staggering destructive capability, the United States has nearly 4 million men in arms; 200 tactical-operational missile delivery vehicles, which may be fitted to nuclear weapons; over 11,000 tanks; 12,000 field artillery, including atomic howitzers; more than 20,000 air force units of various kinds and 848 naval units, among them 79 nuclear submarines and 20 aircraft carriers. The United States has over 300 major military bases scattered over all continents, and more than half a million soldiers permanently stationed abroad. This colossal

development of offensive means, whose implementation dates back to the end of World War II, has forced the socialist countries to make an enormous defensive effort to ensure their own survival.

We might ask ourselves, "Is the United States actually threatened by anyone? Is any power getting ready to make war on it? Can the skyrocketing increases in military expenditures adopted by that country be justified by threats against its national security?"

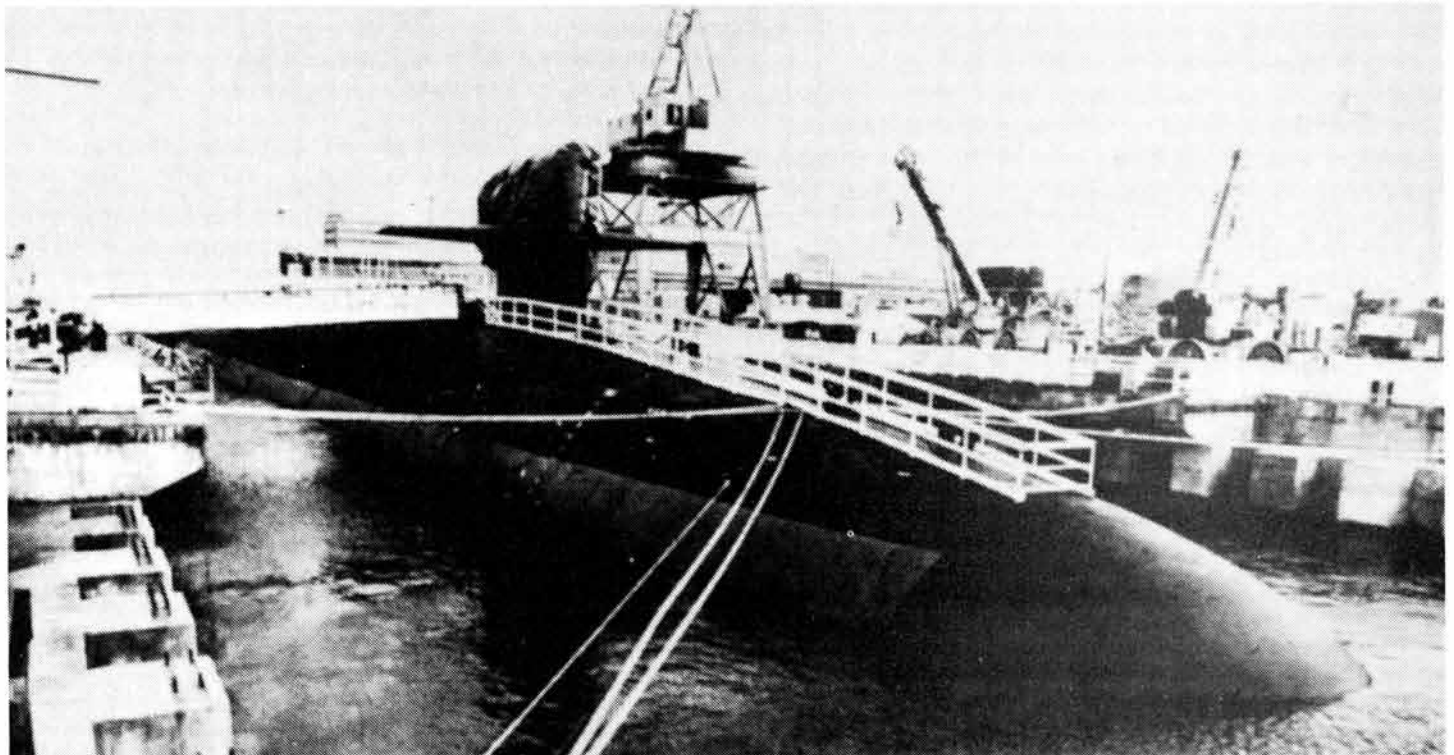
We are fully convinced that the answer is no, and that the only possible explanation for this military, warmongering path is the aspiration of the most bellicose and right-wing Yankee imperialist circles, in their all-out attempt to prop up the United States' role of gendarme of world reaction and to erect a barrier before the irrepressible struggle of the workers and the peoples the world over.

In economic terms, this frenzied arms craze implies a fabulous increase in the U.S. military budget in the next four years, so that in 1986 it will amount to the hallucinatory figure of \$373,000 million, 36% of the country's overall budget for that year. Between 1982 and 1986, U.S. military expenditures are estimated at \$1.5 trillion.

The nuclear weapons stockpiled now are more than enough for the total destruction of the world several times over. The explosive capability of the present nuclear arsenal is estimated at nearly one and a half million times that of the Hiroshima bomb. In conventional terms, that power is equivalent to more than 15,000 million tons of TNT. This means that each of the inhabitants of this planet, including women, old people, children, has been granted the sinister privilege of being allotted over 3 tons of explosives.

In the prevailing conditions, the streamlining of any of these weapons triggers off a reaction which brings about new developments in the arms systems and the casting aside of former means of war as obsolete. With each passing day, the cost of these means becomes higher and their effectiveness more ephemeral. This is the absurd and irrational logic of the arms spiral.

Man's most elementary common sense should suffice to realize that it is aimless to spur on this mad race, as is clearly evidenced by the experience accrued from the last postwar period. Trying to achieve greater security by resorting to this method is but a dangerous mirage. Instead, the power that embarks upon new arms race rounds will end up with just



For the cost of one Trident submarine, 16 million children in the underdeveloped countries could attend school for a year.

the opposite. The deployment of ever more sophisticated and destructive means multiplies risks and increases the likelihood of a nuclear catastrophe being unleashed by irresponsible and rash actions.

The arms race evidently embraces the two world systems and its negative effects are felt both on capitalist and socialist economies. But an attempt to place similar responsibilities on the two systems in this phenomenon is, in our view, a flagrant injustice. In all honesty and objectivity, we must acknowledge that in the past 40 years the initiative to create or produce new types of strategic weapons has never come from the socialist community. History shows that the socialist countries have been compelled to incur considerable military expenditures to safeguard their integrity and their sovereignty in the face of their enemies' aggressive policy and threats.

Socialism, as a social regime of a new type, is totally alien to the ambitions of encroaching upon the sources of raw materials, of conquering markets, dominating strategic areas and exploiting the labor and resources of other peoples, these being the past and present causes of militarism and warmongering. After the October Revolution, the Soviet people experienced the intervention of imperialist powers, diplomatic isolation and economic blockade policies, and hardly 20 years had elapsed before the fascist onslaught claimed the lives of 20 million of their best sons and daughters.

Since the establishment of the first socialist state in history, who have been the aggressors and who the victims?

In promoting the arms race, the United States and its allies seek military superiority as an instrument for political pressure and, eventually, as a means for the forcible destruction of socialism and of the revolutionary movements of the world. They also seek to hamper the development of the socialist community, force these countries — reconstructed with enormous sacrifice after the last war — to incur considerable defense expenditures and sacrifice, to that end, resources which would otherwise be used for economic and social development or for cooperation with other peoples in greater need.

But there is still another side to this question. After World War II the weight of the military budget in public expenditure made the militarization of the economy one of the main instruments of economic policy of major capitalist states. For a few years during the postwar period, military expenditures tended temporarily to step up the rate of economic growth in some countries which, like the United States, were not using their full production potential and had a surplus of material resources.

The 1974-75 economic crisis, however, evidenced that military expenditures, like other economic policy instruments, were no longer able to cushion the impact of the crisis, let alone provoke, albeit artificially, a significant economic recovery. Moreover, its intrinsically unproductive and inflationary nature became manifest, since they increase money supply and commodity demands, without a compensating increase in the production of consumer goods. Moreover, military expenditures absorb high-quality material and human resources from the civilian industry, thus retarding its development and restraining the growth of labor productivity.

The cost of one modern tank would pay for the construction of 1,000 classrooms for 30,000 children in underdeveloped countries . . .

Likewise, military expenditures reduce employment possibilities. In this sense, U.S. scientists have shown that expenditure of \$1,000 million only generates 76,000 jobs in the military, when compared with 112,000 in the civilian sector, that is, 36,000 fewer jobs.

In 1980, more than \$500,000 million was dedicated to military expenditures, including arms production. Even if the rate of growth of military expenditures remained the same, disregarding the unrestrained thrust Reagan's arms program will give rise to, in the year 2000 this figure would amount to a staggering \$940,000 million at 1980 values.

What do these colossal figures represent for mankind in concrete terms? Here are some objective facts:

Half the resources at present allocated to military expenditures in one day would suffice to finance a program for the total eradication of malaria, a disease which affects 66 countries where one-fourth of mankind lives, and which kills over a million children a year in Africa alone.

In five hours, the world's military expenditures are the equivalent of the overall UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund] yearly budget for child care programs.

The number of people working in the military sphere, including armed forces staff, is today twice the total number of teachers, physicians and nurses in the world.

Approximately 25% of the world's scientific personnel is engaged in military activities. It is estimated that 60% of overall scientific research

The United States has over 300 major military bases scattered over all continents, and more than half a million soldiers permanently stationed abroad . . .

expenditures is absorbed by military programs. The volume of such research projects is five times greater than that of the projects devoted to health protection.

However, what makes the current situation even more worrisome is the fact that the tense international atmosphere resulting from imperialist aggressive policy, the regional conflicts — on many occasions fanned and promoted by neocolonial interests — the atmosphere of violence generated by the actions of some states that play the role of reactionary regional gendarmes, and, in other instances, the pressure on the exploited and oppressed peoples struggling for their liberation, have forced the same underdeveloped countries to join in the arms race and double their military expenditures during the past decade.

What is the result of this phenomenon given a reality of poverty, hunger, ignorance, squalor and shortage of resources in the so-called Third World? Let us again give some examples based on reliable data:

The countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America allocate 5.9% of their Gross National Product to weapons and military expenditures, whereas they devote only 1% to public health and 2.8% to education.

One percent of the developed countries' military budgets would overcome the existing deficit in international assistance for financing an increase in food production and creating emergency reserves.

The cost of one modern tank would pay for the construction of 1,000 classrooms for 30,000 children in underdeveloped countries.

The price of a Trident nuclear submarine — the United States is planning to build 13 of them before 1990 — equals the cost of keeping 16 million children from the underdeveloped world in school for a year; the construction of 400,000 dwellings for 2 million people, or more than the total value of grains imported by Africa in a year.

The expenditures for military activities in a year during the mid-1970s would have financed, among many other things, a vaccination program against infectious diseases for all the children in the world, a program for the eradication of adult illiteracy in the entire world before the year 2000, a supplementary food program for 60 million pregnant women, and a classroom increase for over 100 million pupils.

Endless examples could be offered to show the absurd and criminal nature of this huge squandering of resources.

The arms race not only seriously jeopardizes world peace by increasing the risks of a war which may do away with mankind, but also creates unstable and rarefied circumstances where the tragic and burdensome problems stemming from underdevelopment cannot be offset, where no progress can be achieved in securing the rights and demands to which all workers in industrialized countries aspire.

The arms race makes all the more unbearable the profound economic crisis the capitalist system is currently going through. The negative impact of the crisis falls on the world economy as a whole, and with particular intensity on the working masses.

The very documents of this Congress offer ample information on this topic. There is a veritable avalanche of statistical data which illustrate how instability and crisis have become chronic phenomena in capitalist

economies since the sharp drop in 1974-75. Even the most optimistic theoreticians of this system cannot envisage a way out of the drop in investments and production, the unrestrained rate of inflation, increasing unemployment, disruption in the monetary system, the wave of bankruptcies which fall upon industrialized countries and whose amplified effects are transmitted to the weak and precarious economies of backward or least developed countries.

What's more it is undeniable that the present crisis is intimately related to phenomena that further complicate and aggravate it, such as the rise of the price of energy and the prospect of depletion of its conventional sources in a relatively short time, the growing shortage of basic raw materials, the endemic deficit world food production is reaching,

The arms race makes all the more unbearable the profound economic crisis the capitalist system is currently going through . . .

the distressing outlook of an exaggerated population growth in the world's poorest and most neglected areas and the destruction of farmlands, water, forests and other irreplaceable resources for mankind's own reproduction.

As in the past, the monopolies' reaction to crisis has been to curtail production, cut back investments, underutilize production capacity and lay off tens of millions of workers. The monopolies and large transnationals, taking advantage of the progress of the scientific-technical revolution, use the crisis to intensify the exploitation of workers and to worsen working conditions through mechanisms which have caused unprecedented exhaustion — mainly of the nervous system — in the working masses.

In the last five decades, unemployment has reached unprecedented limits. In the developed capitalist countries that belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the 1981 official unemployment figure was 25 million, that is, 4 million more than in 1980 and 10 million more than during the 1974-75 crisis. It is estimated that the rate will reach over 28 million in 1982. Although these are dramatic figures, they nevertheless do not reflect the actual extent of unemployment, since statistics in the countries affected are used in different ways to deceitfully conceal it.

Meanwhile, how does unemployment behave in the underdeveloped countries? According to International Labor Organization [ILO] data, in 1980 there were some 455 million unemployed or underemployed workers in the Third World, representing over 43% of the working age population. During that same year, 46% of the labor force in Latin America was affected by open unemployment or underemployment,

and, since then, the situation has deteriorated remarkably.

On the other hand, as a paradoxical absurdity, in 1979, there were 75 million children under 15 years of age working in the world, especially in underdeveloped countries, in many instances doing exhausting and always underpaid jobs, and having no rights.

And, what about the working woman in general? According to ILO estimates, there are 575 million women who work, that is, 35% of the world's labor force. But, although they represent a little over one-third of the total labor force, they receive only one-tenth of the world's revenue. The scourge of unemployment and the antilabor offensive waged by the exploiters in these times of crisis particularly affect women.

The principle of equal pay for equal work is acknowledged through legislation in many capitalist states, but in real terms, remuneration differences between women and men range between 20 and 50%. In enterprises that the transnationals have transferred from developed capitalist countries to underdeveloped countries, female nationals are shockingly underpaid, their average wage being even one-tenth of what they are paid in developed countries.

The World Health Organization has pointed out that among the workers in capitalist countries women are most afflicted by certain occupational diseases, especially in enterprises that manufacture goods from toxic components, such as asbestos, zinc and lead. Labor intensification and harmful working conditions not only jeopardize women's health but also endanger their fundamental biological function.

Other victims of the present situation deserving special attention from the international labor movement are the large masses of migrant workers who, cornered by unemployment and poverty in their own countries, turn to countries with greater industrial development in order to sell their labor under precarious conditions, taking on the hardest and worst paid jobs, deprived of their basic rights and, in many cases, suffering from the most loathsome forms of racial discrimination.

The workers and the workers' children are the ones that go hungry, the ones that lack schools, the ones that die without medical care . . .

But the Third World is likewise stripped of its most skilled labor through the so-called brain drain, which constitutes an extremely harmful form of looting and pillage of human resources whose training is so costly and difficult in underdeveloped countries. UNCTAD [UN Conference on Trade and Development] surveys indicate that in the past 15 years the plunder of university graduates and highly trained specialists from Third World countries reached the 300,000 mark. In the United States, between 25 and 50% of the doctors that begin to practice yearly,



Jobless workers in California line up for unemployment benefits.

between 15 and 25% of the technicians and almost 10% of the scientists are immigrants from underdeveloped countries.

In 1979, the rate of growth of the developed capitalist countries' Gross National Product averaged 3.7%, dropping in 1980 to 1.2% and remaining at that low level during 1981. On the other hand, industrial production growth dropped from 4.7% in 1979 to under 0.5% in 1980, and to 0.2% growth in 1981. In 1979, the inflation rate reached 9.8%, while during 1980 and 1981 it remained above 10% on average.

The crisis, as some bourgeois economists presumptuously declared at times of bonanza, has not been curbed. Far from it, it burgeons with implacable strength, taking on new features to the bafflement of the bourgeoisie, such as the combination of economic stagnation and inflation that has done away with traditional formulas of postwar economic policies.

Several bourgeois governments hypocritically present the phenomenon of inflation as public enemy no. 1, to be fought against by the whole nation, by all social classes alike, and to that end they especially call for moderation in workers' wage demands and even wage cuts.

But the truth is that the inflationary process unleashed since the end of World War II, and that has lately become uncontrollable, is a legitimate product of monopoly capitalism and of the interconnecting interests of large monopolies and the state acting as an economic agent through monetary and fiscal policies.

It has not been by chance that during the past 35 years the governments of developed capitalist countries have applied the policy of increasing circulating monetary stocks, nor can it be explained solely in technical terms. It essentially resulted from the policy of price increases stimulated by the monopolies, and from imperialist wars, such as that of Vietnam when tens of thousands of millions of dollars were issued in order to finance that criminal, genocidal, inhuman venture.

The economic crisis of capitalism is today reflected more severely than ever in the countries of the underdeveloped world, aggravated by the poor overall development of the productive forces in those countries and the malformation of their economic structures.

Figures show that the rate of growth of the underdeveloped countries' Gross National Product, as a whole, dropped from 4.8% in 1979 to 3.8% in 1980, and to 3.2% in 1981. But these figures do not show the entire truth. Suffice it to recall that the annual rate of growth of the lowest income countries in the underdeveloped world during the 1960s was only 1.8% and 0.8% during the 1970s.

From another point of view, these figures mean that the lowest-income countries — representing one-fourth of the world's population — would require some 400 to 500 years to reach the present per capita income levels of the most developed capitalist countries at the present rates of economic growth. That is a graphic representation of the outrageous gap separating the richest from the poorest nations.

The share of underdeveloped countries in world exports — excluding fuels — was reduced from about 25% in 1950 to less than 12% in 1980. The continuing deterioration in trade relations between basic products and manufactures, sharpened by the increase in oil prices, has likewise contributed to the emergence of a huge, chronic deficit in the balance of payments of oil-importing underdeveloped countries, amounting to some \$53,000 million in 1980.

The most significant result of this situation from the economic point of view is the monstrous indebtedness of the underdeveloped countries. The external debt of the so-called Third World is estimated to have reached in 1981 the enormous figure of over \$524,000 million, and the tendency points to a continued increase, in a brutal, vicious circle of debt service payments with growing interest rates, and more debts. Of course, the overwhelming majority of underdeveloped countries will never be able to settle this colossal debt.

The present capitalist crisis, added to the accelerated population growth in underdeveloped countries, stagnation or regression in their agricultural production plus a general lack of industrial and technical development, has placed the entire underdeveloped world in the most acute and difficult economic situation in its history, one which will only lead it toward its gradual indebtedness, growing impoverishment, greater dependence, financial paralysis and total economic asphyxia.

Socially, this crisis is reflected in the tragic and desperate situation in



"Some 800 million human beings go hungry or are underfed in the underdeveloped world."

which more than one-fourth of mankind lives today, a situation that can be summarized in very few words: hunger, ignorance, squalor, poverty, unemployment, lack of opportunities, lack of security, despair, inequality.

Some 800 million human beings go hungry or are underfed in the underdeveloped world.

Per capita food production, which increased by 9% between 1970 and 1980 in developed capitalist countries, remained practically at a standstill during that same period in the underdeveloped world. Between 1971 and 1980, per capita food production decreased in 52 underdeveloped countries, many of them regarded as among the world's poorest. Considering the case of Africa separately, data show a 15% decrease in this respect with the resulting decrease in availability of food resources for that continent's population. Sixty percent of Africans suffer from chronic hunger.

Per capita calorie intake in underdeveloped countries is currently more than 33% lower than that of developed countries, considering each

The cause of this disastrous situation lies in the imperialist policy and the ruinous economic and social heritage that the capitalist system of production has bequeathed the world . . .

of the two sets of countries as a whole. Average per capita animal protein consumption in underdeveloped countries as a whole is almost 80% lower than that of developed countries. The average inhabitant of that underdeveloped world has 3.5 less fats available for his daily nourishment than the population of the developed world.

Between a fourth and a half of children under five years of age in countries regarded by FAO [UN Food and Agriculture Organization] as the most seriously affected by food problems suffer from malnutrition. UNICEF estimates that 100 million children went hungry in 1981. Ninety-five percent of the children delivered throughout the world whose weight is under the normal minimum limit, are generally born of poorly fed mothers in underdeveloped countries. The World Health Organization estimates that some 100,000 children under five go blind every year in those countries due to inadequate diets.

Over 1,500 million people drink contaminated water.

A total of almost 800 million illiterates raise the illiteracy rate in the Third World as a whole to 48%. Over 200 million children lack schools

or the means and possibilities of attending them.

The average infant mortality rate in underdeveloped countries is six times higher than in developed countries, and as much as 10 times higher in the poorest countries. Over 15 million children under five years of age die there every year.

The UNICEF executive director has recently published a report in which he states concerning this situation that 1981 has been another year of silent emergency: 40,000 children have silently died every day; 10 million children have silently become mentally or physically handicapped; 200 million children in the 6 to 11 age bracket have silently watched other children attend school; that is, one-fifth of the world's population has silently struggled for mere survival.

The workers and the workers' children are the ones that go hungry, the ones that lack schools, the ones that die without medical care.

The cause of this disastrous situation lies in imperialist policy, its selfish, warmongering and aggressive nature, and the ruinous economic and social heritage that the capitalist system of production — first through colonialism and later through neocolonialism — has bequeathed the world, with its characteristic consequences: wars, bloodshed, social injustice, and the exploitation of classes and nations.

We would have very little faith in the enormous fighting capabilities of the exploited masses, both in underdeveloped and in developed capitalist countries, and very little confidence in humanity's capabilities of progress, if we did not firmly believe that mankind can and must solve these problems. In that struggle workers are to play a leading role. It is they who must undertake in the first place — being the most revolutionary class in society — the historic task of transforming the unjust and merciless social order that has given rise to these appalling realities. (APPLAUSE)

The huge capitalist propaganda machine continuously stresses the alleged virtues of its system. It refers to wealth and affluence, to its economic indicators, its technology and its consumer goods. Furthermore, it extols its social model, seeking to oppose it to the socialist society. It speaks of democracy, rights and equal opportunities.

In the United States, a country seeking to present itself as a model, unemployment — which in 1981 reached 8.9% representing 9.5 million jobless people — was recorded as follows: white population, 7.8%; black population, 17.4%; white youth, 19%; black and Hispanic youth, 42.9%.

While 8.7% of the white population was reported at poverty levels, the Hispanic population below the poverty line reached 21.6% and the black population 30.6%.

Educational opportunities for the various sectors of the U.S. popula-

tion also show the huge social differences that prevail. . . .

The health programs launched in the 1960s as a way to solve the enormous differences as regards access to high-quality health services for the poorest strata of the population, because of their astronomical costs, have undergone major cuts. In 1981, cuts in these programs amounted to \$16,400 million, and \$17,200 million in 1982. These cuts affect 24 million people, 7 million of whom are children. While the infant mortality rate in 1977 was 12.3 per 1,000 live births for whites, it was 21.7 for blacks and minorities.

Today, there are 27 million people under 20 years of age in the United States. One-third of them suffer from instability, dissatisfaction, rejection of society, big personal conflicts and depression, accompanied by sharp family crisis. Every year, one million teenagers leave home. The suicide rate among young people increases by the year.

Eleven percent of students in grades 7 to 9 and 15% in grades 10 to 12 suffer severe problems of alcoholism. According to data from the Social

Half a million U.S. workers came together to protest against the domestic and foreign policy of the Reagan administration . . .

Research Institute of the University of Michigan, 72% of students in senior high school drink, 34% smoke marijuana, 12% take stimulating drugs and 5% consume cocaine.

According to the FBI itself, every two seconds a crime is committed in the United States; larceny is committed every four seconds, assault and robbery every eight seconds, car robbery every 28 seconds, assault and battery every 48 seconds, holdups every 58 seconds, rape every six minutes, murder every 23 minutes.

In 1980, declared rape cases rose to 82,000; half a million people were robbed; 650,000 were held up; and 23,000 murders were committed. Is this a society to be taken as a model? (APPLAUSE)

During the last quarter of 1981, U.S. industrial production went down 5.6%, revealing a sharp downturn. The trade balance was negative, totaling \$40,000 million, which reflects a growing decrease in its competitive capabilities. The budget deficit, which Reagan promised to reduce to \$54,000 million, this fiscal year is estimated to reach \$109,000 million. The promise of attaining a balanced budget in 1984 is already part of the discarded illusions of demagogues; the deficit is estimated to reach the astronomical figure of \$162,000 million this year. All this is a total and shameful failure for the illustrious president of the United States, elected by only 26% of the citizens with the right to vote in that

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Osborne Hart/Militant

Air traffic controllers' contingent on September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C.

country.

The U.S. Labor Department acknowledges a current unemployment rate of 8.9% already and it is believed that it will rise to over 10% in 1982.

The brutal cuts in social security expenditures have made the situation still more desperate for the jobless workers in that country, especially women, youths, blacks and the superexploited national minorities.

In the United States today, there is a larger number of poor, unemployed, discriminated against, marginalized and exploited people than during the whole post-World War II period. Today, the already waning social benefits of the aged, the ill, the handicapped, the pensioners, the lower-income families, have also been reduced as never before.

From the start, Mr. Reagan's government has been marked by a deeply antipopular and antilabor attitude. He flung air traffic controllers out of their jobs with unheard-of harshness. And he revives the most turbulent periods of trade union repression, resorting to the entire arsenal of legal measures, the use of the army, the banning of trade union activities, fines, the imprisonment of workers, and police brutality. His economic program is the living expression of the reactionary monopolistic

Reagan shamelessly promotes the most vile propaganda campaigns, posing as a defender of the interests of the workers and people of Poland . . .

policy, and as many of his own countrymen have declared, it is aimed at making the poor poorer and the rich richer.

Nevertheless, that same government, on the occasion of the unfortunate events in Poland, an unquestionable result of serious mistakes made during the process of building socialism in the fraternal country as well as of the action of the imperialist enemy, shamelessly affects demagogic attitudes and promotes the most vile propaganda campaigns, posing as a

defender of the interests of the workers and people of Poland. That same government — whose hands are tainted by the blood of tens of thousands of workers and peasants, foully murdered by the genocidal regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala; which sponsors plans of aggression against Nicaragua and Grenada; which keeps up a hysterical campaign of threats and provocations against the Cuban people, while tightening even more the criminal and total economic blockade imposed for more than 20 years against our country; which backs Israeli massacres against Palestinians and Lebanese; which is a bosom friend of South Africa, where 20 million Africans are discriminated against, exploited and brutally oppressed; which is an accomplice of all reactionary tyrannies, fascist or racist regimes on earth — that government can never be the defender of the workers' interests in any part of the world. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We cherish the great hope that, in spite of Reagan, his demagogy, his blockades and economic aggressions, our sister Poland will, by itself and with the fraternal and solidary cooperation of all progressive forces in the world, be able to overcome its difficulties without a civil war or bloodshed and will continue to march successfully on the path of socialism.

The capitalist economic crisis has assumed such dimensions that its effects are also being felt by the economies of socialist countries, although the latter, by the very nature of their social system, do not generate them and are in a better position to counteract their negative consequences.

For more than a century, imperialism and the oppressors have followed the tactics of dividing, opposing, isolating and weakening the workers' actions. In our increasingly smaller and interrelated world of today, the universal nature of the problems is such, and the presence of monopolies in economic life so intense, that the community of interests of all workers is more forcefully enhanced, and demands an increasingly unanimous and international response.

Peoples and events are no longer shut up within their frontiers. Proof of this is the activities of transnational consortia, which on transferring

The world's labor movement is growing, not only in numbers, but also in scope and depth . . .

entire industries and plants to countries that have a lower living standard, have sought to create rivalries among the workers of the different countries, multiply their own profits and ignore, often with the backing of repressive and bloody regimes, the just demands of the working class.

Charges have been made that transnationals are thus paying, in some countries, salaries 27 times lower than those paid in highly industrialized nations.

But, despite these and other maneuvers, at present we find that growing solidarity is forcing its way among the workers and trade unions in different areas of the world, an awareness of unity develops and strikes, demonstrations and protests which express the struggles of the working class for its legitimate and unrenounceable rights become ever greater.

The world's labor movement is growing, not only in numbers, but also in scope and depth. The interrelation between economic problems and the most vital aspirations of a political nature becomes ever more manifest. If a few years ago wage demands were the basic motivation of labor strikers, today, on the other hand, they evince the struggle for employment, against layoffs, in favor of trade union rights, for the sovereignty and independence of their respective countries, against imperialist intervention, for denouncing the arms race, for transforming the war industry into a peace industry, for détente, disarmament and peaceful understanding in international life.

Half a million U.S. workers came together to protest against the domestic and foreign policy of the Reagan administration, and millions more have thundered down the streets of the major European capitals, demanding jobs, security and peace. We do not doubt that in the future the workers' resistance to the policy of the cold war, the arms race and

the perils of war will be increasingly staunch and determined.

In our socialist society as well, trade unions occupy a major position. In our opinion, they too are called upon to be ever more active and efficient in carrying out their tasks.

This Congress will give you the opportunity of learning about our trade unions and how they operate. We revolutionary Cubans are, by nature, unsatisfied with and critical of our own work; we do not believe we have reached the ideal in trade union development. Socialism, as a burgeoning political system, is not devoid of difficulties, inefficiencies, quests and mistakes. But we have worked in all honesty and loyalty to foster a revolutionary and democratic trade union movement, with a strong class awareness, capable of aiming at and attaining great objectives on its own.

Our trade unions defend the Revolution and defend and represent the interests and the rights of all workers and of all workers' collectives. The purest practice of proletarian democracy sustains them. Our trade union leaders are workers promoted by their fellow workers from the grassroots to the highest responsibilities. As worthy heirs of the legacy of the extraordinary master of trade union cadres, the unforgettable Comrade Lázaro Peña, (APPLAUSE) our workers' leaders operate closely and permanently linked to the masses. They educate the workers in the love for their country and in the feeling of solidarity with all the peoples of the world. Tens of thousands of Cuban workers today give their devoted internationalist cooperation to the development of over 30

Our trade unions defend the Revolution and defend and represent the interests and the rights of all workers and of all workers' collectives . . .

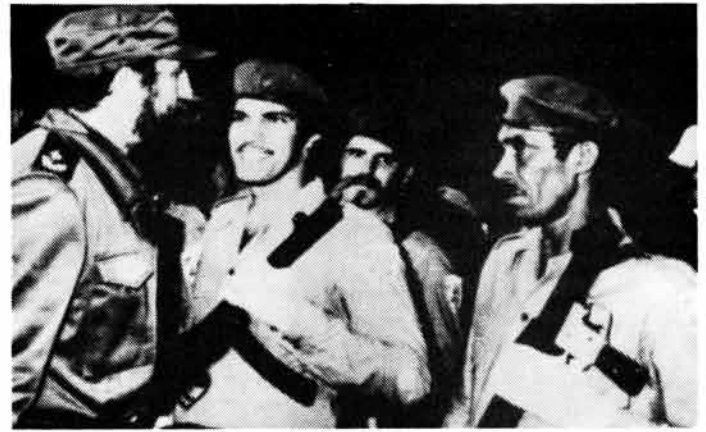
sister countries. Our labor movement is more vigorous and powerful than ever. Its functions and role within society are increasingly important and decisive.

Thanks to the efforts of our workers and to our socialist regime, illiteracy has been banished years ago from our country, the minimum educational level has been raised to sixth grade and is moving towards ninth grade. Our health indicators can compare with those of developed countries; the scourge of unemployment has been done away with; and racial discrimination, prostitution, gambling, begging and drug addiction do not exist. (APPLAUSE) Our example shows that the most serious social problems of underdeveloped countries can be solved.

With the support of the workers and the backing of international solidarity, our country has overcome the hardest trials; we have reached this point, and will continue forward, shaping our future, and no power will be able to subjugate us, intimidate us or force us to give up a single one of our principles.

Cuba continues to be seriously threatened; over our revolutionary people looms the danger of new imperialist aggressions. It is being cynically reported that new steps are under way to make the economic blockade as stringent as possible. At the same time, it is being announced with a certain degree of expectation that Reagan will soon make an important statement on Cuba, and there have been leaks in the U.S. press in the sense that it will be a harsh, aggressive and threatening one. Some U.S. publicity media even mention aggressive plans and possible ultimatums in connection with the weapons our country received last year to build up its defense in the face of the reiterated and increasing threats of the present U.S. administration against our people, allegedly because some of the planes our country has lately purchased are offensive and thus break the agreements entered upon at the time of the October Crisis in 1962. Such statements are false from beginning to end.

Apart from the fact that our country has never acknowledged, nor will it ever acknowledge, any constraint on its sovereign prerogative to purchase the weapons it deems necessary for its defense — a right all countries in the world exercise (APPLAUSE) — Cuba has not received any type of plane which is in any way different from the ones it has been receiving in past years, all of which are tactical, and none strategic. This is thus a gross, clumsy and cynical pretext imperialism has been using of



Granma

Castro reviews newly formed Territorial Troop Militias.

late to provoke tensions and justify cowardly aggressions.

Let it be a resolute warning that no threat, no blackmail, no ultimatum will ever be accepted. (APPLAUSE)

Our enemies do not frighten us by rattling their weapons, with their arrogant declarations and gross, slanderous campaigns. They will never bring us to our knees by any means, and if they dare attack us, they will find here a strong people, ready and willing to fight in every house, in every factory, and to defend every single inch of our territory with Spartan courage. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Nor are we thinking solely of the risks that may await Cuba. We are part of humanity and we have thrown in our lot with these peoples, the workers and the poor of the earth.

The challenge the world faces today is unprecedented.

For the first time in mankind's age-old history, we are confronted with the actual possibility of annihilation of everything created by the peoples' intelligence and labor, of the disappearance of humanity, and with it, of the dreams and noble hopes of attaining the highest goals of justice, well-being and happiness.

Our enemies do not frighten us by rattling their weapons, with their arrogant declarations and gross, slanderous campaigns. They will never bring us to our knees . . .

If past experiences are to be of any use to us, we must all become aware that this time we would have no second opportunity to amend our own mistakes.

Over and above any philosophical, religious or political differences, that which unites the workers is far greater than that which separates them.

We are united by mankind's vital interest in peace; the determined struggle against the insane arms race; the aspiration of all the workers of the world to a better, worthier, more equitable, reliable and just life; the right of the peoples to economic and political independence; the struggle against colonialism, racism and fascism; the combat against the exploitation of the oligarchies and neocolonial plunder; the universal struggle for a new and more just international economic order; the feeling of solidarity for the peoples still struggling for their liberation!

History unites us, our destiny unites us, our future unites us!

Let us struggle with all our might for mankind's survival and for a future truly worthy of being called human!

For this reason, allow me to repeat here the noble slogan of those who were the immortal and unforgettable champions of the workers: Workers of the world, unite!

¡Patria o muerte!

¡Venceremos! (OVATION)

Cuba pledges defense of Angola

In face of continued South African attacks

[The following statement was issued in Luanda, the capital of Angola, on February 4. It was signed by Cuban Minister of Foreign Affairs Isidoro Malmierca and Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs Paulo Jorge. The text has been taken from the February 14 issue of the Cuban English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Havana.]

* * *

The presence of Cuban forces in Angola has been the subject of slanderous and ill-intentioned propaganda by the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, who are shamelessly trying to link this presence with the process of independence in Namibia as a means of preventing the application of resolutions already adopted by the UN.

In view of this, the governments of Angola and Cuba feel it is their duty to make it perfectly clear to international public opinion why Cuban forces remain in Angola. They wish to remind international public opinion that those forces first came to Angola at the request of President Antonio Agostinho Neto, and they have remained here at the request of the Angolan government to help train the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) and to help them defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola, which are threatened and attacked by the South African racists, imperialism, its mercenaries and puppets.

In order to carry out its plans to destroy the revolutionary movement in Angola, the U.S. government launched the South African army against Angola on October 14, 1975, taking advantage of the fact that then, as now, the South African racists were illegally occupying the territory of Namibia.

In less than 20 days the South African troops advanced over 700 kilometers into Angola. Meanwhile, regular foreign troops and mercenaries marched dangerously close to the capital from the north. That was when President Antonio Agostinho Neto asked for military cooperation from Cuba.

This heroic resistance of the Angolan people, backed by friendly internationalist forces, made it possible not only to stop the South African racist troops some 200 kilometers from Luanda, but also to drive them out of Angola on March 27, 1976.

A South African takeover of Angola would have posed a serious threat to the states of the region and in fact to all of independent Africa.

Cuba's internationalist aid to the Angolan people in their battle against the South African racist invaders is thus a valuable contribution to the African people's struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Since this represents a practical application of the principles and aims of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the 5th Summit Meeting of the Movement, held in Sri Lanka in August 1976, "congratulated the government and people of Angola for their heroic and victorious struggle against the South African racist invaders and their allies; and praised the Republic of Cuba and other states which helped the people of Angola foil the expansionist and colonialist strategy of the South African regime and its allies."

In keeping with this, the Cuban and Angolan governments state:

First: The presence or withdrawal of Cuban forces stationed in Angola is a bilateral issue between two sovereign states, the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba, as stipulated in Article 51 of the UN Charter.

Second: Less than a month after the South African racist troops were driven out, on April 22, 1976, the governments of Angola and Cuba worked out a program for the gradual reduction of those forces. In less than a year the Cuban military contingent was reduced by over one-third. This process was stopped when foreign threats against Angola recurred.

Third: The scale and reach of the South African attack on Kassinga in May 1978 and the threat posed by the stationing of paratroopers from NATO member states along Angola's northeastern border [in Zaïre] represented a grave danger to Angola and made the presence of the Cuban military forces, with the means to safeguard Angola's security and territorial integrity, even more necessary.

Fourth: In mid-1979 the governments of Angola and Cuba agreed on another program for the gradual reduction of the Cuban forces. However, almost immediately, in September of that year, the South Africans carried out repeated large-scale attacks on the provinces of Cunene and Huila.

Fifth: In August 1981 there was a large-scale invasion of Cunene province by great numbers of South African regular troops backed by heavy artillery, armored vehicles and dozens of planes. These forces occupied the provincial capital and other places for several weeks. In spite of the international community's condemnation of this criminal attack, expressed in a [UN] Security Council resolution — although the resolution was vetoed by the United States of America — the South African troops still occupy considerable portions of the provinces of Cunene and Cuito-Cuanavale.

Sixth: It has been shown that the program to withdraw the Cuban forces gradually from the People's Republic of Angola has been ob-

structed several times as a result of the constant criminal attacks on Angola.

Seventh: During the last few years, the United States of America and South Africa have increasingly resorted to the use of counterrevolutionary bands based in Namibia — where they have training facilities, ammunition depots and radiocommunications centers — as instruments of aggression.

At the same time, the current U.S. administration is now providing greater political, economic and military support to South Africa, its gendarme against the peoples of southern Africa, with absolute contempt for the resolutions of the UN, the OAU [Organization of African Unity], the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and international public opinion. The threat to Angola and the other Front Line States is greater than ever before.

Eighth: Given the hypocritical ploy of making the question of Namibia's independence conditional on the withdrawal of the Cuban forces, the Angolan and Cuban governments reiterate that the presence of those forces, which results from the aggression of the South African racist and fascist troops, in close alliance with the United States of America, constitutes an absolutely sovereign and legitimate act by the two countries and thus has no bearing whatsoever on the Namibia problem.

Ninth: If the dedicated struggle of SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation], the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and the pressure of the international community make possible the real solution of the Namibia problem, in strict compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 435/78, and lead to the establishment of a truly independent government and the total withdrawal of the South African occupation forces to the other side of the Orange River* (which would considerably reduce the danger of an attack on Angola), the governments of Angola and Cuba would then consider renewing the program for gradual withdrawal of Cuban forces in a period of time agreed upon by the governments in question.

Tenth: Thus, when the governments of Angola and Cuba deem it appropriate, the withdrawal of the Cuban forces stationed in Angola will take place as a result of the sovereign decision of the government of the People's Republic of Angola, once there is no longer any possibility of attack or armed invasion. The Cuban government reiterates that it will unhesitatingly abide by any decision made by the sovereign government of the People's Republic of Angola as to the withdrawal of those forces. □

*The border between Namibia and South Africa.

Nicaragua answers Reagan

'Stop aggressive plans of U.S. administration'

[The following are major excerpts from a statement issued by the Nicaraguan government in response to U.S. President Reagan's February 24 speech to the Organization of American States. The Nicaraguan statement was read by Commander Jaime Wheelock at the close of a speech on March 4 to the Latin American Studies Association in Washington, D.C. The translation is by the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington.]

* * *

The dramatic crisis situation in which the people of Central America and the Caribbean live today has its fundamental cause in the existence of unjust and archaic structures of power common to the region, which economically, politically, and socially oppress our people, condemning them to conditions of misery and to the deprivation of their most elementary rights.

In the face of this situation, characterized by chronic economic stagnation, the misery of the majority, and politico-military repression as the only way of preserving the existing system, currents have been generated in Central America and in the Caribbean that fight for social change and democratization as a first requirement to begin to solve the crisis that affects us in achieving national self-determination.

The Reagan administration has tried systematically to deny this reality and has pretended to explain the crisis in the region and the just fight of our peoples as a product of extra-regional factors, attributing all the evils of the region to the existence of revolutions like that of Nicaragua, and to the supposed influence of the East-West conflict in a crisis that has fundamentally internal causes.

However, the kind of measures announced by President Reagan demonstrate again that a grave error is being committed in not recognizing the true causes of the regional crisis. In the present circumstances this error increases the risks acutely and radically, bringing the region to the gates of a conflict of unpredictable consequences.

Economically, the financial assistance that President Reagan offers for the twenty countries of the region — \$350 million — does not even reach one-third of the needs of one country like Costa Rica, which requires in 1982 \$1 billion for its governmental activities. It appears still more insufficient if we contrast it with the \$15 billion that the Central American countries need to deal with their balance of payments problems in the next five years.

For another thing, apart from the fact that private investment is not a panacea for the problems of the region, this effort is contradicted totally by the provisions specified in the

program itself.

Is it reasonable to think of a significant flow of foreign investment to the region when the private entrepreneurs of those countries — like El Salvador and Guatemala — emigrate from those countries and take their capital with them?

In reality, the proposal of President Reagan constitutes a joke compared to the economic necessities of the region. And its only practical objective is to cover up the aggressive and interventionist nature of the administration's foreign policy in the area, directed toward isolating and crushing democratic and progressive processes, like those in Nicaragua, that have the broad support of the people.

That same plan is intended to strengthen — even at the risk of sending troops — repressive and antipopular governments that try to restrain the aspirations for justice and liberty of peoples like those of El Salvador and Guatemala, who are representative of the desires and the problems of the countries of the third world.

In relation to our country, this program is nothing more than a complement to the aggressive policy, like the support for plans of destabilization, the tolerance of counterrevolutionary training camps, the opposition to loans from international financial organizations, the pressure on other governments to involve themselves in a regional military conflict, and the provocative stationing of warships off our shores.

For another thing, the absolute omission from President Reagan's speech of the proposals that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) made in the recent meeting of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties (COPPPAL), directed toward finding a political and overall solution to the crisis of the region, and the equally significant omission of the proposals of the president of Mexico — a country that sponsors a program of providing petroleum that amounts to cooperation many times greater than that offered by President Reagan — seriously limit the importance of President Reagan's program and make clear its exclusively aggressive and military objectives.

Interpreting the sentiment and the desires for peace of the people of the region, the Nicaraguans, represented by the FSLN, have maintained that the first step for finding a solution for the problems of Central America and the Caribbean consists in resolving the great political problem that we confront.

During the meeting of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties held in Managua on February 28, the FSLN announced a new proposal for peace that we

want to share with you in this forum.

The plan is the following:

1. Nicaragua reiterates its commitment to maintain a consistent policy of nonalignment, expressed in maintaining relations with all the countries in the world regardless of their economic, political, or social systems, especially with the countries of Latin America.

2. Nicaragua considers convenient the signing of non-aggression and mutual security agreements with its neighbors based on the principles of non-intervention and mutual respect.

3. Nicaragua also considers it wise to make an effort to define "military borders" and to find a way to jointly patrol the common borders with Honduras and Costa Rica, in order to prevent irregular military activities of elements opposed to any of the three governments.

4. These solutions must be made with absolute respect for the national sovereignty of Nicaragua, including noninterference in its internal affairs, not encouraging counterrevolutionary activities, accepting the principle of nonaggression, and not initiating economic blockades, but recognizing Nicaragua's right to receive international cooperation and to aspire to a just international economic order — all these in circumstances in which Nicaragua is not obligated to adopt rigorous means of defense and survival. Nicaragua maintains its determination to develop its revolution and to conduct its history within the framework of a mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment, and to carry out democratic elections no later than 1985.

Finally, although for justifiable reasons Nicaragua has the historic right to demand cooperation from the government of the United States for the damages caused to our country in the past, we are not asking for economic assistance from the Reagan administration.

The only thing that we demand from the government of the United States is respect for our self-determination to reconstruct peace in our country.

We have put forward a realistic and responsible proposal to the government of the United States. Until now, they have only responded to us with intransigence and threats, but we have faith that the representatives of the intellectual community gathered in this forum, the people, the Congress, the churches, the business community and the American press will appreciate this proposal, and stop the concretization of the aggressive plans of the Reagan administration against Nicaragua. Only in this manner is it possible to avoid the catastrophe. And the American people can and must avoid it. □

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