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Firsthand Report From Buenos Aires **Argentine Masses Defiant in Face of British Aggression**



Demonstration in Buenos Aires. Argentine junta is caught between demands of masses and imperialism.

Travel Ban a Step Toward War **Reagan's New Attack on Cuba**



Reagan's new attack on Cuba

By Ernest Harsch

In an ominous new step toward war in Central America and the Caribbean, the Reagan administration on April 19 reimposed a ban on travel by U.S. citizens to Cuba.

All those who support democratic rights and oppose Washington's aggressive military moves in the region must vigorously denounce this action.

The ban, which goes into effect on May 15, was imposed under the Trading With the Enemy Act, which was applied to Cuba in 1963 as part of Washington's earlier attempts to strangle the Cuban revolution.

John M. Walker, the assistant secretary of the treasury for enforcement and operations, announced the move in Washington, calling it "an important part of this Government's policy of tightening the current trade and financial embargo against Cuba," which was "designed to reduce Cuba's hard currency earnings from travel."

Threats and slanders

But the action's aim was more than just to inflict further economic hardship on Cuba. It was intended as a direct threat against the revolutionary government and against others in the region struggling to rid their countries of imperialist domination.

It comes at a time of sharpening military hostilities toward Cuba. On April 27, the U.S. Navy was scheduled to begin its largest military maneuvers ever held in the Caribbean, involving some 39 warships and 200 planes.

This provocative action occurs as Washington is tightening its noose of military encirclement around Nicaragua, and as Reagan is stepping up his attacks on the Caribbean island of Grenada.

Ominously, the Treasury Department warned that additional steps against Cuba were being considered, "measures . . . designed to make Cuba more fully bear the costs of its adventurism."

These actions and threats are highly dangerous, reflecting the American imperialists' desire to strike out at anyone who challenges their authority.

But they are also a product of weakness. They come at a time when the U.S. rulers have been unable to block fresh advances by the liberation forces in El Salvador and Guatemala, despite the recent charade of elections in both countries.

The great fear of the American capitalists is that the workers and farmers in these countries will follow the Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Grenadians in ousting proimperialist regimes and establishing governments that act in their interests.

The U.S. rulers cannot admit that the working people of Central America and the Carib-

bean are choosing the path of revolution as the only means to end colonial plunder and class oppression. So they have consistently charged that the upsurge in the region is the result of "Cuban-sponsored violence" or "Cuban adventurism."

That charge has now been repeated to justify the travel ban. A Treasury Department statement declared, "Cuba, with Soviet economic and military support, is increasing its support for armed violence in this hemisphere. In the face of Cuba's increasing attacks on freedom, self-determination and democracy, our economic embargo is being tightened."

Because of a 1978 Supreme Court decision restricting the government's ability to impose outright travel bans, the new measure takes the form of outlawing the spending of money by U.S. citizens to travel to or from Cuba, or to make purchases or investments there. In effect, this outlaws travel to the island.

The only stated exceptions to the ban are Cubans with relatives on the island, reporters, and "bona fide researchers." Penalties for violating the restriction include a 10-year prison term and a \$10,000 fine.

The real aggressor

The Reagan administration's charges that Cuba acts against self-determination and democracy, and threatens its neighbors, are a frame-up. They are designed to distract attention from precisely the crimes the U.S. imperialists are guilty of.

It is Washington that has kept in power the brutal military dictatorship in El Salvador — through arms, money, and American advisers — in blatant violation of the right to self-determination of the Salvadoran masses.

It is Washington that installed, through a CIA-led coup in 1954, the long line of generals who have stamped out democratic rights in Guatemala to this day.

It is Washington that is openly promoting and organizing military attacks into Nicaragua by counterrevolutionary bands of former Somozaist National Guardsmen. Several thousand counterrevolutionaries, operating from bases in neighboring Honduras, have been conducting raids into Nicaragua on an almost daily basis. Others are being trained in the United States itself.

At the same time, Washington has surrounded Nicaragua with destroyers, air bases, and growing concentrations of U.S. troops and advisers.

As the attacks from Honduras have escalated, so has the number of U.S. advisers there — from 27 last year to about 100 today. The Pentagon currently projects extending three Honduran airport runways so they can handle U.S. military transport planes and jet fighters.

The head of the Honduran armed forces, ac-

ording to the April 20 *New York Times*, "noted that he would welcome American combat troops into the country in an emergency."

Four U.S. warships are currently positioned off Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, and at least one more in the Gulf of Fonseca off the Pacific Coast. Washington already has bases in the Panama Canal Zone, less than 300 miles southeast of Nicaragua. And it is negotiating for landing facilities on San Andrés Island, Nicaraguan territory currently occupied by Colombia.

In face of this outright preparation for an invasion of their country, the Nicaraguans have been accused by Washington of trying to improve their defense capabilities. And Cuba, along with the Soviet Union, is charged with aiding them. Nothing could be more arrogant.

Reagan slams door on talks

Despite Washington's provocations, Cuba and Nicaragua have made extraordinary efforts to reduce tensions, repeatedly offering to negotiate with the U.S. government.

In February, Mexican President José López Portillo offered to serve as a mediator in discussions between Washington and Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Salvadoran liberation forces. The latter three immediately accepted the Mexican president's offer.

After stalling on Portillo's initiative, Washington was subsequently forced to begin moving toward discussions with Nicaragua. But the April 20 *Washington Post* reported that the Reagan administration now says Nicaragua "does not seem sincere about negotiating," and that the White House "plans to try putting more pressure on Nicaragua before it agrees to begin talks."

That "pressure" is nothing less than an escalation of the aggression against Nicaragua.

The Cuban government also has had a consistent stance of favoring negotiations with Washington. But the Reagan administration, in imposing the travel ban, has clearly slammed the door on these offers.

The White House's move follows repeated rumors in the U.S. big-business press of the possible opening of new negotiation efforts. Some of these reports, including one by Leslie Gelb in the April 6 *New York Times*, claimed that the Cuban government was prepared to compromise some of its positions in order to get negotiations going.

But the Reagan administration knows that the Cubans are not about to give up their revolutionary principles. As one State Department official explained April 23, "What we have said consistently is that if Cuba were to change its policies in certain areas, then we would be willing to change our relationship with Cuba."

Since the Cubans have refused to change their policies, the U.S. government intends to drive ahead with its systematic campaign of economic, political, and military pressures and threats.

Part of counterrevolutionary package

The travel ban is not an isolated attack on democratic rights. The U.S. ban imposed on

travel to Cuba in the 1960s was similarly part of a broad package of counterrevolutionary measures taken by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and then continued under subsequent administrations.

Their goal, like Reagan's, was to overthrow the Castro government.

A trade embargo — designed to starve the revolution into submission — was begun in 1960. In 1961 counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, trained and armed by the CIA, were ferried to the Bay of Pigs to spearhead an invasion of Cuba. They were smashed by the Cuban workers and farmers.

In 1962, Kennedy brought the world to the brink of a nuclear war over the presence of Soviet defensive missiles on Cuban soil.

A direct ban on travel to Cuba was also imposed during this period, and lasted until 1977.

The extent of Washington's secret war against Cuba did not surface until the mid-1970s. In 1975, a Senate committee headed by Frank Church reported that from 1960 to 1965, U.S. officials organized a whole series of plots to assassinate Fidel Castro. Revelations also appeared on Washington's use of chemical and biological warfare to destroy crops and spread deadly diseases in Cuba.

These facts are only a small portion of the U.S. crimes against the Cuban revolution — crimes that have never stopped. Over the past year, the Cubans have reported many instances of current chemical and biological warfare. And they have captured terrorists and would-be assassins who traveled to Cuba from the United States.

Cuban counterrevolutionaries are openly undergoing military training in Florida, with the full knowledge and backing of the U.S. government.

Most of this information has received scant attention in the big-business press in the United States. Nor has there been a peep of protest from Democratic or Republican party politicians, even from those masquerading as "peace" candidates.

The imposition of the travel ban is also a calculated step to test the reaction within the United States, to see if further aggressive moves can be taken. It follows a step-by-step escalation.

Last year, the Treasury Department impounded the newspaper *Granma* and other Cuban literature, preventing them from reaching U.S. readers. In face of protests, the department backed off and eventually lifted the ban.

But then in February 1982, executives of the American Airways Charter Inc., an airline that flew regularly to Cuba, were indicted under the Trading With the Enemy Act. Finally, on April 9, American Airways Charter was shut down entirely by the Treasury Department.

This sequence of moves underscores the urgency of speaking out against each and every attack on Cuba the moment it occurs. Every successful action by the U.S. government will only encourage it to try another.

An important aim behind the Cuba travel

ban is the U.S. ruling class's attempt to deny working people in the United States access to the truth about the Cuban revolution.

The government does not want Americans to read Cuban publications or listen to Radio Havana, much less go to Cuba and see for themselves the progress that has been made there since the revolution.

Despite all the slanders about Cuba and the previous obstacles to traveling there, the Treasury Department itself admits that about 40,000 people from the United States visited Cuba each year. They saw for themselves that the government's lies about Cuba were just that — lies. And some came back to the United States to speak out and tell others what they had seen.

The travel ban is thus also an attack on the democratic rights of American workers. It serves as a reminder that with every step toward war abroad, the U.S. rulers must slice

deeper into democratic rights at home.

The travel ban is only one of many assaults on democratic rights in the United States today: the threat to prosecute youth who refuse to register for the draft, sharply escalating attacks on Black rights, stepped-up harassment of unionists working in war industries, and an array of bills in Congress to strengthen the CIA and FBI.

Washington's war moves in Central America and the Caribbean are part of its war against the American workers themselves.

Immediate protests are needed to answer the Reagan administration's travel ban. At the same time, those opposed to the ban should intensify their efforts to build opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and to the imperialists' huge arms buildup. The massive antiwar demonstrations scheduled for June in the United States and Western Europe will be the best answer to Reagan's new threats. □

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Masses rejoice over Malvinas, reject junta

Eyewitness report by an Argentine socialist

[The following is an interview with Lucía Gómez, an Argentine socialist who currently lives in the United States. At the time of the Malvinas takeover, Gómez was in Argentina visiting her family. The interview was conducted in New York City on April 22, shortly after Gómez's return to the United States.]

* * *

Question. Perhaps you could first explain how the Argentine people have viewed the question of the Malvinas Islands historically.

Answer. The first Perón government was in power when I was growing up in Argentina. One of the first sentences I remember learning in school was, "The railroads are Argentine." They taught us that the post office and the telephone company were also being made "Argentine."

Every one of those things had been owned by the British. Colonialism was ending in Argentina — this was emphasized in all the schools.

So everyone felt this kind of nationalism, this anti-imperialism. And it is still there. No other form of imperialism was ever so obvious, so open for the Argentine people as British colonialism was. It was the one you could see every day.

The last British stronghold was the Malvinas. The Argentine people had always felt humiliated — we had taken over everything else, but the British were still there on the Malvinas.

Q. Why do you think the government chose this particular time to recover the Malvinas?

A. The military regime was on the verge of collapse. The economy is a total disaster. People are going hungry in a country where there has always been plenty of food.

The refusal to clear up what happened to the thousands of "disappeared" was evoking growing outrage. Even soccer stars and other prominent persons who aren't usually involved in politics were speaking out about this.

The workers could not be held back any longer. Before, they had stayed quiet because of the repression and because they had to hold onto their jobs to survive. Now, with massive layoffs, they have absolutely nothing to lose. They had to take to the streets.

On March 30, the General Confederation of Labor [CGT] called for mass demonstrations in the main industrial cities.

In Buenos Aires, three huge columns of marchers converged on the Plaza de Mayo. The turnout was tremendous. The government went to great lengths to prevent the marchers from reaching the plaza — it was cordoned off

for 20 blocks around by the police and army. The subways were closed down and people who worked in the area were sent home early.

Still, many marchers were able to break through and get near the plaza. There were confrontations with the police. About 2,000 persons were arrested in Buenos Aires, including the entire CGT leadership.

The government was in a difficult spot. The CGT declared itself in "permanent session" — meaning that there would be an ongoing series of actions. They first called for a general strike on April 1, but postponed this to negotiate the release of the union leaders.

At that point, the government decided to occupy the Malvinas.

Q. How did the workers movement and the political opposition respond?

A. The response of the people was first of all immense joy that the Malvinas had been recovered. But this did not translate into popularity for the government. In fact, people were saying things like, "For once, the military is doing what it should be doing — defending Argentina — rather than running the government."

The CGT leaders, who were supposed to have been jailed indefinitely, were all released within two days and invited by the government to attend the installation of the new authorities on the Malvinas. The CGT's response was a statement saying something like this:

"As everybody knows, this organization does not exist so far as the government is concerned. We have been considered illegal. So there is no way that our organization can accept an invitation from a government that does

not even recognize our legal right to exist. Nonetheless, the ranks of the army are made up of workers and the sons of workers. So we CGT leaders are going to go to the Malvinas to congratulate the soldiers on behalf of the Argentine people."

The newspapers all published this statement, and the government had to let the union leaders go to the Malvinas.

Q. What about the role of the U.S. government — how was this viewed by the people?

A. The reaction was immediately one of suspicion. The occupation of the Malvinas took everyone by surprise, so the first thing many people said was that the junta had seized them in order to turn them over to the Yankees. As this rumor spread, the government had to come out and state clearly that it was establishing Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas and had no intention of giving them to anybody else.

Washington miscalculated. They thought it would be easy to get the regime to back down — that the junta was in a desperate situation and would not have the backing of the Argentine people.

The junta miscalculated too — they thought they would have U.S. support, or at least real neutrality. Once Reagan's position became clearer, the regime had no choice but to mount a show of popular support for the taking of the Malvinas.

The day Haig was to arrive for the first negotiations, the radio and television — all government controlled — called for a big rally at the Plaza de Mayo. The opposition parties all lent their support to this. As for the CGT leaders, they responded by saying they could not participate officially, because that would mean giving support to the government. But they called on all workers to go as individuals and as Argentines to celebrate the recovery of the islands.

When Haig's plane landed, he could easily have been brought by helicopter to the roof of the Casa Rosada [presidential palace]. But instead the government had him driven by car all the way from the airport. The entire highway was lined with people. They drove him right into the Plaza de Mayo, which was filled with nearly 300,000 people waving Argentine flags and chanting slogans. Haig must have been scared, but he could see how much the Argentine people support the recovery of the Malvinas.

The majority of the crowd was made up of working people — public employees and industrial workers. Many middle-class people turned out as well. And many of the chants

FMLN backs Argentina

The following item was reported as part of Radio Havana's regular news broadcast on April 21:

"The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador expressed its support for the unquestionable right of Argentina to exercise sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. At the same time, it called on the Buenos Aires government to withdraw from El Salvador the advisers sent to aid the genocidal military-Christian Democratic regime.

"Whatever the initial motivations that led to the recovery of the Malvinas, the Farabundo Martí Front added, the occupation of those islands by Argentina constitutes a legitimate, sovereign, and patriotic action supported by the entire people."

were the very same as those chanted on March 30. You never heard any slogans like "Long live the junta" or "Long live Galtieri."

Instead, a favorite chant was "The English are gone, and now it's Alemann's turn!" Roberto Alemann is the minister of the economy, and the main target of the workers' discontent. People also chanted "Viva Perón!" and even, "Se va a acabar, la dictadura militar!" [The military dictatorship is coming to an end!]

Leftist groups like the Montonero Peronist Movement and the Communist Party participated openly in the rally. The CP youth had a big banner, and led chants of "The people

united will never be defeated."

At one point, General Galtieri came out on the balcony and declared that he and Haig were going to represent the Argentine people in the negotiations with Britain. People responded with booing and whistling — their way of saying, you don't represent the Argentine people, we do!

Four weeks ago, the Argentine armed forces were talking openly about sending troops to help the U.S. imperialists in Central America. Now their relations with Washington are extremely bad.

Inside the country, the situation has turned

completely around. The working class is gaining confidence and coming out of six years of the worst defeats in its history. The government has been weakened tremendously in relation to the workers.

Before March 30, there was the danger of another big wave of repression. But now the government is in no position to do anything other than grant more and more concessions. Even if Galtieri were to fall and some other general take power, they would immediately have to give concessions. And if they back off from fighting Britain, the Argentine people will take things into their own hands. □

'We side with the victim of imperialism'

Questions and answers on the Malvinas crisis

By Larry Seigle

[The following article appeared in the April 30 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Working people are being bombarded with "news" and "analysis" of the conflict between Argentina and Britain. Every night on TV and in the morning papers we are told that Argentina is the "aggressor." That Britain — which "used to have an empire" — is today fighting for the lofty principle of self-determination. And that Washington, with no stakes of its own in the matter, is the "peacemaker."

We are told that morality and fairness are on the side of Britain. After all, it is a "democratic" country like our own, and therefore far superior to the military dictatorship in Argentina. What's more, English is spoken in Britain, so it naturally holds values closer to those on which the United States rests.

Most important, they tell us, what is involved in this conflict is whether the rule of law will prevail in world affairs over the use of military aggression.

The London *Economist*, one of Britain's most authoritative magazines, summed up the "principle" at stake:

"If a democracy is not armed enough or self-confident enough to resist even such small-scale thuggery then democrats must expect thugs to rule."

But is this really a contest between "democrats" and "thugs"? And where, amidst all the contradictory arguments, do the interests of the working people — in Argentina, in Britain, and in the United States — really lie?

To provide a clearer picture of what is at stake, here are some questions and answers on the Argentina-Britain conflict.

Question. In a nutshell, please. What side is the *Militant* on?

Answer. The Malvinas Islands, called the Falkland Islands by Britain, are an inalienable part of Argentina. Most nations of the world

recognize Argentine sovereignty over the islands. Britain has held the islands as a colony since it seized them by force 150 years ago. London should give up its claim to its colony and stay out.

But much more is now involved than the islands alone. There is a military, economic, and diplomatic confrontation between one of the world's mightiest imperialist powers and a country oppressed by imperialism. In this conflict, we side unequivocally with the country that is the victim of imperialism.

We demand that Britain turn its fleet around, lift its economic embargo, and recognize Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas.

Q. Your position is clear enough. But I'm not convinced. Isn't there a real dispute over the sovereignty?

A. A glance at the map will tell you that, geographically, the Malvinas are part of Argentina. Historically, the story is the same. In the 1700s Britain, Spain, and France all made claims on the islands.

The Spaniards bought out the French and drove out the British. Spain governed the islands, as it did Buenos Aires and most of Latin America. When Argentina declared its independence from Spain in 1816, it claimed sovereignty over all of its territory and took control of the islands.

In 1833, however, a British warship took the islands by force. The British rulers have ignored Argentina's protests for a century and a half.

Q. Yes, but whatever the historical merits, how can you side with the aggressors?

A. I guess the last answer wasn't clear enough. The *British* seized the Malvinas by force 150 years ago. They have held it by force since. *They* are the aggressors.

According to the imperialists' moral code, if they steal someone's land and hold on to it long enough, it becomes theirs. Whenever op-

pressed peoples anywhere in the world fight to regain control over their own territory, they are called the "aggressors."

What's more, Britain refused every Argentine effort to negotiate in good faith. In 1965 Argentina finally got a resolution passed in the United Nations calling on the British to negotiate. But Britain stalled the discussions. As recently as this past February, Argentina's diplomats at the UN pressed for a speedup in the drawn-out talks. The British refused.

Q. But what about the residents of the Malvinas Islands? Margaret Thatcher says Britain has no interests in the islands and is fighting solely for the right of the islanders to self-determination. Of course, I don't really believe her, but isn't the issue itself important?

A. The real issue of self-determination is Argentina's right to exercise sovereignty over its own territory.

The English-speaking islanders are not oppressed by Argentina. Many people of British origin or descent live in Argentina. They do not face racial or national discrimination.

The islanders do have interests in this conflict, however. Their most immediate concern is to avoid having the British fleet attack the islands and destroy their homes.

Jim Burgess, a carpenter in the Malvinas, put it this way. "There will be a bloodbath here if the navy tries to recapture the islands. If they try to take Stanley, they will destroy Stanley. Everything is made of wood here. Half a dozen fires and a good wind and the town will be gone forever."

One passenger on a flight out of the Malvinas told a *New York Times* reporter that the islanders had told him to deliver a message to Thatcher: "For God's sake, cool it."

In fact, the islanders themselves are victims of British capitalism in more ways than one. The land they live on and the sheep they tend are owned by British absentee landlords. A single company, the Falkland Islands Co.

(FIC), owns 46 percent of the land, most of the sheep, the warehouses, and the ships that transport the wool to Britain.

What the capitalist papers portray as the "picturesque" life of the Malvinas islanders is merely a cover for low living standards and the absence of social services.

"The FIC has never reinvested a cent in the Falklands," said one legislative councilor from the capital city of the Malvinas. "They have continually put the squeeze on us to make more money for their shareholders in the UK."

What's more, under Britain's new racist immigration law, aimed primarily at keeping out nonwhite immigrants from countries in the British Commonwealth, the children of the islanders will no longer even have the right to move to Britain.

The islanders are victims of British imperialism. They will benefit, above all, from a worldwide movement that can force the British fleet to turn back.

Q. OK, I agree that it's absurd that the British imperialists would be fighting anywhere for anybody's self-determination. Look at their occupation of Northern Ireland! But, then, what are they fighting for?

A. Like John Reed said: profits.

Q. Can't you be more specific?

A. Sure. Oil, for one. Some estimates have said the oil in the waters around the Malvinas could rival the rich North Sea deposits. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* of April 6, "Bernardo F. Grossling, an international petroleum expert formerly with the US Geological Survey and currently with the Inter-American Development Bank, says that 'many people from the petroleum industry consider the area off Argentina one of the most promising in the world, and I agree with them.'"

Exxon and Arco are engaged in exploratory work off the Argentine coast. One successful test well yielded 5,000 barrels a day. Last December, when Argentina invited prospectors to search for oil in waters off the Malvinas, the British government kicked up quite a fuss about whose oil it was.

Of course, the exact reserves are unknown. And British and U.S. government officials are downplaying the amount as part of their pretext of displaying only humanitarian motives. But some U.S. oil companies have already begun negotiating a drilling pact with Argentina.

Sovereignty over the islands also bears directly on ownership of the seabed, the Antarctic, and the vast potential wealth there.

Of course, profits are at stake in a broader sense as well. What concerns London — and Washington — is that the masses of the colonial and semicolonial world are getting the idea that now is a good time to take back what belongs to them. They see the weakness of imperialism, especially since Washington was defeated in Vietnam. That is what Reagan is run-

ning up against in Central America today.

As the *Economist* of London put it in an editorial headlined, "By jingo, if we can":

"To shrink will be to shrink: to show that today democracies really are less able to defend their interests — even the tiny ones, never mind the bigger ones that matter more — than are authoritarian regimes. And thereby to encourage bigger losses in future than the Falklands today. That is the issue."

And the *New York Times*, representing the interests of the ruling class of this country, agreed. "If the British Navy is capable of lowering the Argentine flag over the islands, at least temporarily, that fact needs to register in Buenos Aires." After all, the *Times* editors say, "Let's face it, there are worse things than this matter coming to blows."

Q. So is that why Washington is "tilting" toward Britain?

A. Washington isn't "tilting" toward anyplace. It is pursuing its own imperialist interests, just as it always does. It has common interests with Britain in making sure that the masses of Argentina, and the rest of Latin America, don't get the idea that they can kick out the imperialist powers.

Q. Okay, I see what London and Washington are up to. But your position still makes me uncomfortable. How can workers support the blood-soaked military dictatorship in Buenos Aires? Aren't they the immediate enemy?

A. It is not a question of supporting the military dictatorship. To support Argentina against Britain does not mean to serve the military regime. It means supporting the fight against imperialism *despite* the military regime. By supporting the struggle against British imperialism, the Argentine workers are not giving political support to the regime, which they justifiably detest. Their goal is to bring down the generals, and they correctly see a defeat for Britain as a step toward that objective.

Class-conscious Argentine workers are the most resolute in the fight against the British. But they don't count on the military government to lead an uncompromising struggle. Just the opposite.

The last thing the generals want is to mobilize the working people in the kind of struggle it will take to defeat Britain. In fact, the government's occupation of the Malvinas was timed to curb the mass struggle and protect its own increasingly shaky rule.

But the regime's motives and intentions are not at issue. A conflict is under way between imperialism and a country oppressed by imperialism. In this conflict the workers have a decisive interest.

The struggle of the Argentine toilers for a workers and farmers government is not separate from the struggle against imperialism. It is part of it. The Argentine workers and peasants, in order to bring to power a government that defends their interests, have to fight to free

their country from imperialist domination. A victory for Britain would increase the subjugation of Argentina to exploitation and oppression by foreign capital. The workers and farmers will suffer.

On the other hand, if Britain fails in its efforts to bring Argentina to its knees, working people there will be in a better position to carry forward the fight against the military dictatorship and imperialism.

Q. One final question. Is what you are telling me the traditional Marxist view, or is this some new approach?

A. This is the position that revolutionary Marxists have always taken in such situations. In 1938 Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution, offered the following observations on the relationship between the class struggle and the anti-imperialist struggle, in a discussion with an Argentine revolutionary union leader:*

"I will take the most simple and obvious example. In Brazil there now reigns a semifascist regime that every revolutionary can only view with hatred. Let us assume, however, that on the morrow England enters into a military conflict with Brazil. I ask you on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally — in this case I will be on the side of 'fascist' Brazil against 'democratic' Great Britain.

"Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship [which ruled Brazil from 1930 to 1945].

"The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat. Truly, one must have an empty head to reduce world antagonisms and military conflicts to the struggle between fascism and democracy. Under all masks one must know how to distinguish exploiters, slave-owners, and robbers!" □

*See *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1938-39]*, p. 34. Available for \$7.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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A semicolonial economy

Controlled by foreign capital, dependent on agriculture

By Will Reissner

In the current conflict between the Argentine and British governments over the Malvinas Islands, the hypocritical commentary in the big business media focuses on the fact that Argentina is now ruled by a military dictatorship while Britain has a parliamentary democracy.

This obscures a much more fundamental difference between the two countries — that Argentina is a semicolonial country while Britain is one of the major imperialist powers in the world.

Decisive control over Argentina's economy is not in the hands of Argentines, but in the hands of the capitalist investors from abroad. This fact explains both how the Argentine economy has developed and how it has been misdeveloped.

Argentina's level of development

Argentina is one of the most highly developed, and one of the most industrialized, of the semicolonial countries. But comparisons between semicolonial Argentina and imperialist Canada show the limitations of industrial development in the semicolonial world.

Argentina and Canada have many similarities. Both were settled overwhelmingly by Europeans. Both are important producers of grain and livestock. Both export large amounts of food and raw materials. Both have educated and skilled workforces. Both are largely urban.

But the following chart shows the tremendous difference in their levels of economic development.

	Argentina	Canada
Population	27,300,000	23,940,000
% Urban	72%	75.5%
Gross Domestic Product	\$61.5 billion	\$245.8 billion
Imports	\$6.7 billion	\$62.6 billion
Exports	\$7.8 billion	\$67.5 billion
Electricity produced (kilowatt hrs.)	29.05 billion	335.71 billion
Crude steel produced (metric tons)	3.2 million	16.1 million
Autos in use	2.03 million	9.02 million
Autos manufactured	135,000	1.14 million
Trucks manufactured	45,480	610,800
Rail freight (net ton = km)	10.37 billion	215.35 billion
Telephones	2.6 million	14.5 million
Beef production (metric tons)	3.19 million	1.06 million
% 5- to 19-year-olds in school	59%	76%
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	59.0	12.4

The reason for the gap between the two countries is explained by the principal differ-

ence between them: Argentine economic development has been deformed and distorted by the predominant role that foreign capital has played in the development of industry, and by the fundamental influence that imperialist companies exert on the Argentine state.

Power of landowners

Argentina's economic development has been largely determined by an alliance between Argentine landowners and imperialism. The landowners, who raise grain and livestock on huge estates (*estancias*), have traditionally been content to export their produce and import industrial products, which are generally cheaper and better made than domestic production.

Their power rests on the staggering concentration in land ownership in Argentina. Only two-tenths of 1 percent of the landowners control 65 percent of the country's acreage and employ 50 percent of the agricultural labor! Two land companies alone own as much land as the total areas of Belgium and Switzerland put together.

While 160,000 farmers cultivate 1.5 million hectares, the 2,100 largest landowners cultivate 53.5 million hectares. Two out of every three farmers do not own the land they work.

While in absolute terms Argentina's agricultural exports are enormous, its agriculture is inefficient by advanced capitalist standards, being based on minimal cultivation of huge tracts. According to 1964 and 1966 figures compiled by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), Argentine farmers used 19 times fewer tractors per arable acre than their British counterparts, and 140 times less fertilizer than West German farmers.

The fact that Argentine exports are overwhelmingly agricultural make it particularly vulnerable to shifts in the world market.

Foreign investment

While the large landowners are mainly Argentine, imperialist investment became the dominant factor in Argentine industrial development in the third-quarter of the 19th century. That investment, largely from Britain until the 1940s, was initially concentrated in railroads and the meat export trade.

But investments in the railroad system were made to further the interests of British capital rather than the internal needs of the Argentine economy. Lines were laid out in a fan pattern, to move exports from the interior to the port of Buenos Aires, and to move imports from Buenos Aires to the interior. No grid was built to facilitate internal trade and communication be-



Buenos Aires shantytown.

tween the cities and regions of Argentina itself.

The second major focus of early imperialist investment was in the meat-packing industry. The development of refrigerator ships in 1876 made it possible for the first time to transport large amounts of Argentine beef to European markets, and by 1890 a fleet of 278 refrigerator ships was constantly moving between Buenos Aires and Britain.

For all intents and purposes, Argentina had become a British colony by the turn of the century. Fully 80 percent of all foreign investment in the country came from Britain and British influence permeated all aspects of Argentine life.

By the 1930s, British capitalists controlled three-quarters of the railroad mileage, most of the urban transit systems and utilities, much of the meat-packing industry, and had large stakes in other industries as well. Capitalists from other countries also had a substantial presence in Argentina.

Growth of Argentine industry

During the 1930s and 1940s there was considerable development of consumer-oriented "import substitution" industries in Argentina. Due to the world-wide capitalist depression, markets for Argentine exports to Western Europe shrank, leaving the country with less money to purchase manufactured goods abroad. And when markets for Argentine agriculture picked up with the outbreak of the Second World War, Argentina was still unable to purchase industrial goods due to the conversion of European industry to war production.

By the close of the war Argentina had built up gigantic foreign currency reserves, and the nationalistic government of General Juan Perón used that money to buy out the holdings of British capitalists in the country and establish state-owned companies to develop new areas of the economy.

At the end of the war, Argentina seemed to be poised for large-scale independent industrial development. It had established a considerable industrial base in the previous two decades, it had bought out the largest imperialist holdings, and it possessed large amounts of capital built up during the war. But the hoped-for independent development did not take place.

With the end of the war, the imperialist corporations could again turn their attention to Argentina. By the early 1950s, foreign corporations, now predominantly U.S., were again entering the country in large numbers, often purchasing Argentine-owned companies that had been built up in the preceding two decades.

In 1954, a study of the 100 most important companies functioning in Argentina, found that at least 89 were controlled by or closely connected with foreign capital.

Another study in the 1960s examined the country's largest companies, as defined by sales, and found that half of the total sales volume went to foreign-owned firms, one-third to state-owned firms, and only one-sixth to private companies owned by Argentine capitalists.

The trend toward imperialist purchases of existing Argentine industries is continuing. Of the 50 large state enterprises that the Argentine government turned over to private control between 1963 and 1968, 29 passed into the hands of U.S. corporations.

'Argentine' auto industry

The evolution of the Argentine automobile industry illustrates the growing control of imperialism. In 1960, 21 automobile companies were functioning in Argentina, of which only four had majority foreign ownership. The remainder were either entirely or majority Argentine owned, and operated under license from imperialist firms. In 1963, locally-owned auto firms still accounted for more than 50 percent of total production.

Leaving aside the fact that all the locally-owned companies were already tied to imperialist corporations through licensing agreements, these figures show that there was still significant Argentine participation in the industry in the early 1960s.

Today the story is totally different. The Argentine producers have folded or been bought out and the remaining five automobile companies are all foreign owned.

In a study of the Argentine auto industry, British scholar Rhys Jenkins points out that the imperialists take far more capital out of the country than they invest in it. He reports that "between 1958 and 1964, that is, the period during which most of the foreign investment in the automotive industry was made, the inflow of \$33 million into the industry was exceeded by the outflow of dividend payments that amounted to \$52.3 million."

Jenkins adds that the situation got even worse in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when annual payments of dividends and royalties to

foreign owners exceeded the total new foreign capital invested over a six-year period.

This pattern is not unique. In fact it is the norm. Contrary to the myth expounded by generations of proimperialist economists and politicians, foreign investment does not result in an inflow of capital to the semicolonial world and does not necessarily result in the creation of new industrial capacity.

A study by the United States Department of Commerce shows that between 1950 and 1965, U.S. private investment in Latin America totaled \$3.8 billion, while in those same years the flow of profits from Latin America to the United States totaled \$11.3 billion.

In addition, most "foreign" investment does not bring new capital into the semicolonial countries from the imperialist countries. According to a U.S. Department of Commerce study, 96 percent of U.S. foreign investment in Latin America is actually raised in Latin America.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America points out that "the growing tendency of foreign investors in recent years to purchase all or part of industrial enterprises that are already operating in Latin America, far from providing a stimulus to industrial activities in the region, entails an increasing outflow of financial resources, without the creation of new production capacity to justify it."

This pattern — imperialist investors borrowing Argentine capital to purchase Argentine industrial plants and sending the profits out of Argentina — has another pernicious impact besides the export of capital from the country. It also establishes Argentine industry as a branch office operation, in which imperialist firms satisfy the local internal market through their own local production rather than through imports. But all research, development, technical innovation, engineering, and the like is carried out in the "home" office.

Development of classes

The degree of imperialist control over Argentina's industrial production has had a big impact on the relationship of class forces within the country. As Argentine economist Gustavo Polit notes, "since its birth Argentinian industry has been centralized in a few hands, inextricably intertwined with the landholders and foreign capital." As a result, the degree of concentration of ownership and production is higher than in the advanced capitalist countries, which developed in a more organic and rounded manner.

Argentine corporations were huge from the start. As Polit shows, they "emerged in the economic arena of Argentina as fully developed offspring of large foreign enterprises."

Already by 1936, still in the early stages of Argentine industrial development, 47 individual factories (one-tenth of 1 percent of the total) employed 15 percent of all workers — a degree of concentration that was 10 times higher than in the United States at the same time. By 1954, the 69 largest establishments alone were responsible for 20 percent of the

value of production.

The Argentine working class, therefore, was from its beginnings concentrated in large factories, which are the most conducive arena for the development of working-class consciousness and organization. As a result, the Argentine working class has traditionally been one of the most class-conscious and militant in the capitalist world.

This huge, powerful working class confronts a stunted Argentine capitalist class. In face of competition from huge foreign corporations, most Argentine capitalists are content to play the role of junior partner to imperialist firms, or avoid industrial investments totally.

The Argentine capitalist asks himself, says Polit, "why should millions be invested in such items as blast furnaces if a much smaller capital investment will bring high and immediate profits when invested in land, elegant buildings, the stock market, or textile enterprises?"

This stunted and deformed Argentine capitalist class finds itself sandwiched between two giants — the Argentine workers and the imperialists. Unable to control and contain the working class on its own, it must rely on brute force by the military to keep the workers in check, and it turns over the reins of government to representatives of imperialism.

In 1970 and 1971 James Petras and Thomas Cook carried out interviews with the top executives of the 150 largest corporations and industrial associations in Argentina. They found that 55.4 percent of the top executives of foreign-owned corporations have held Argentine government posts as cabinet ministers, cabinet advisers, or ministerial subsecretaries. But only 19.7 percent of the top executives of Argentine-owned companies had held similar posts.

Argentina at impasse

Today Argentina is in the midst of a terrible economic crisis characterized by years of triple-digit inflation, a rising wave of bankruptcies and bank collapses, unemployment that is officially 10 percent but is thought to be nearly double that figure in reality, and a dizzying fall in the living standards of Argentine working people.

The military, which has ruled since 1976, has no solution to the economic crisis. In 1981, five different officers occupied the presidential palace. One after another was swept out by the deepening depression.

Today Argentina faces the dead end of semicolonial development. Because of the penetration of imperialist investment, Argentina sends massive amounts of capital to the imperialist centers in the form of remitted profits, and then has to turn around and borrow that same capital from British, U.S., European and Japanese banks to finance infrastructural development. Argentina's foreign debt now stands at more than \$35 billion.

The Argentine working class, in its millions, with its fighting traditions, is the only force capable of breaking the hold of imperialist capital on Argentina and taking charge of the country's destiny. □

SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT

[The following selections are devoted to comment on the crisis over the Malvinas Islands.]

Internationalet

"The International," weekly newspaper of the Socialist Party, Swedish section of the Fourth International. Published in Stockholm.

An editorial in the April 8 issue is titled "Falkland Islands: Military Madness." It says in part:

"A 4,000-strong Argentine invasion force has overcome 80 British marines and has held in check 1,850 shepherds. The British House of Commons is in a rage. . . .

"We shall recover the Falkland Islands," promises a shamed Margaret Thatcher.

"If the Argentine people are attacked from the air, sea, or land, an armed nation will stand up and fight with every available means," proclaims the Argentine hangman and president Leopoldo Galtieri. . . .

"This is a barbaric farce involving two rotten regimes trying to save their own skins by stirring up nationalist sentiment. The only standpoint the British and Argentine workers can take is that their own regime's defeat is the lesser evil.

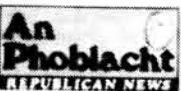
"Military solutions to the conflict can only be reactionary, playing into either Thatcher's or Galtieri's hands.

"So much as a breath of support for either regime's war effort is a betrayal of the workers' interests.

"The British war preparations must be stopped immediately! The Argentine troops must be withdrawn from the islands right now!

"The question of the status of the islands can only be solved through negotiations. Only a peaceful solution to the conflict can serve the interests of the Argentine and British peoples.

"Despite the nationalism that has arisen in Britain in relation to Argentina, thinking workers must turn against their own regime's war preparations."



Weekly newspaper reflecting the views of Sinn Féin and the Provisional Irish Republican Army. Published in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Under the headline "British humiliation," the April 8 issue notes that in Ireland, "the reaction of the British government and media, with a few rare exceptions, has provoked feelings of disgust at the hypocrisy and chauvinism of the British towards the issue of the so-called self-determination of the Falklanders.

"The flagging morale of British troops in the North [of Ireland] has been given a boost by the belligerence and bellicosity of their politi-

cal leaders back home, a jingoistic militancy particularly heralded by the Labour Party and its 'socialist' leader, Michael Foot. . . .

"The spectacle of Britain 'going to war' and the 'blood-curdling' speeches of British politicians are of some amusement to the oppressed nationalist people who hope that the royal fleet and Prince Andrew aboard the 'Invincible' aircraft carrier become a permanent feature of the South Atlantic sea-bed."

On the same page, Kevin Burke and Ciaran Dowd point out, "For the Argentinian people, the reconquest of the Malvinas has been a cause for justifiable nationalist celebrations. But these nationalist sentiments have been grossly abused by the corrupt military dictatorship which rules their country, and it is generally accepted that the expedition of reconquest was also a cynical move to distract attention from the internal protest against repression which have been regaining strength. . . ."

The article notes that the British settlers on the Malvinas Islands are mainly tenants working for absentee landlords. "When they are too old to work the islanders have to leave their homes and the islands and move elsewhere. . . .

"In the light of this, Britain's bleatings about the 'self-determination of the Falkland Islanders' ring very hollow indeed. . . .

"Meanwhile, in Ireland, we can gain comfort from the humiliation of British imperialism and perhaps gain too an Irish opportunity from Britain's difficulty."



"Socialist Word," monthly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (PST) of Argentina. Published in Buenos Aires.

On the front page of the April issue is a column signed by Juan Carlos Pereira, entitled "Malvinas: the socialist position." Pereira writes:

"We socialist workers want to set forth our principled position in face of this armed conflict.

"In any confrontation between an imperialist country — in this case England — and a semi-colonial one — such as Argentina — we socialists are always on the side of the semi-colonial country against the imperialist one. . . . That is to say, we are *against England*, despite the fact that it has a bourgeois-democratic government, and *on the side of Argentina*, despite the malignant dictatorship that governs it.

"If there is a war, we socialists will be for the victory of the Argentine army, even though Galtieri commands it at the outset, and for the defeat of the British one."

Having answered that question, Pereira continues, it is necessary to pose others:

"Since when has our national sovereignty mattered to a government that has had as a cen-

tral point of its economic program the auctioning off of Patagonia to the Yankee oil companies?"

To really defend national sovereignty against imperialism, Pereira says, "we must start by throwing out the group of agents of Washington that since 1976 has occupied an important part of our territory — the *Casa Rosada* [presidential palace]."

Pereira concludes that "the workers movement cannot permit the question of the Malvinas to be used as a pretext for suspending its struggles. . . .

"To sum up, the only way to safeguard our national sovereignty against *all* the imperialist countries is a workers and people's government that would break the colonial pacts that subordinate Argentina to imperialism (the Rio Treaty, the Inter-American Defense Treaty, etc.); break with the International Monetary Fund; nationalize without compensation all the foreign capitalist enterprises; and repudiate the foreign debt."

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers Party, the Australian section of the Fourth International.

Under the headline, "The Malvinas are Argentine," an editorial in the April 14 issue notes, "There is an uncommon amount of hypocrisy being spread by media and governments over the confrontation between Britain and Argentina in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands."

The editorial points to the statements of such unlikely defenders of peace, democracy, and self-determination as Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, "whose concern for self-determination extends all the way to the South Atlantic, but without encompassing Australian Aborigines."

Having seized the Malvinas militarily in 1833, *Direct Action* says, British imperialism "would like us to believe that because it has hung on to the booty for 149 years, it has the right to hang on to it for the indefinite future."

On the question of the islanders' self-determination, *Direct Action* points out that the residents of the Malvinas have enjoyed "precious little" of this right under British rule: "Most of them are tenants of the British-owned Falkland Islands Company, who are forced to leave when they become too old to work or are no longer required by the company. If Thatcher wants to defend self-determination, she should start closer to home, by withdrawing the troops that maintain a colonial regime in northern Ireland against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people."

As for the character of the Argentine gov-

ernment, *Direct Action* notes, "The Thatchers and Reagans are the firmest supporters of such military dictators, except on the rare occasions when the latter do something that conflicts with imperialist interests."

The editorial concludes:

"The reclaiming of the Malvinas is a thoroughly progressive action: a blow struck by a neocolonial country against its imperialist oppressor. It has sparked a mobilisation of the Argentine masses that may go further than the generals intend, leading to a struggle against the British and other foreign capitalist investments in Argentina, which the dictatorship continues to defend.

"The battle for the Malvinas is a part of the growing worldwide struggle of oppressed countries against their oppressors. Working people should demand the immediate withdrawal of the British war fleet and recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas."

was tun

"*What Is to Be Done*," a socialist newspaper published fortnightly in Frankfurt, West Germany, by the International Marxist Group (GIM), the German section of the Fourth International.

An editorial in the April 15 issue pointed out that "the biggest demonstration ever" against the Argentine junta took place in Buenos Aires on March 30. Yet, just a week later, "the biggest mass demonstrations supporting the junta took place. At times, there were 300,000 jubilant Argentines, including trade unionists who just a few days before had been getting clubbed by General Galtieri's police gangs. The reason for this change of mood is just as ridiculous as it is alarming."

Lamenting the "susceptibility to chauvinism" evidenced in Argentina and Britain, *Was Tun* asked: "What if Argentina already had the atom bomb. . . ? What if in place of the unequally matched partners, two equally strong have-not nations or allies were pushing one another around: Argentina and Chile, Israel and Syria, South Africa and Angola? What if a less distant island were at stake — Cyprus, Malta — or Berlin? The peace movement in Western Europe must also arm itself against the poison of chauvinism."

Militant

"*The Marxist paper for labour and youth*," published weekly in London, England.

This is a newspaper published by a current that is prominent in the left wing of the Labour Party. An editorial in the April 9 issue is headlined: "No Support for Junta — No Support for Tories."

The first section of the editorial is devoted to an attack on the Argentine military dictatorship. "It was in an attempt to provide itself with some measure of popularity and to distract the opposition at home that [Argentine

President] General Galtieri launched his adventure last week," the editorial says.

It continues: "The Falkland Islanders were quite understandably opposed to Argentine sovereignty if that meant the same 'rights' for them that it meant for ordinary workers in Argentina itself.

"It is clear that the fears of the Falkland Island population were well-founded. Already the military governor on the Island has announced penalties of up to 180 days in prison for insulting military personnel, and" — outrage of outrages — "it has been reported that the islanders have been told they must learn Spanish.

"Given the class basis of the Argentine regime and the effect of the invasion on the islanders themselves, there can be no hesitation in condemning the invasion that took place on April 2nd."

The editorial, which goes on to condemn "the jingoism and chauvinism of the Tory press and the Thatcher government in Britain," puts Argentina and Britain on the same plane. It never explains that Argentina is a semicolonial country and that Britain is an imperialist country.

On the level of political action, the editorial says, "Labour must demand, not just the resignation of Defence Minister Nott, but the entire Tory government. They must demand a General Election. . . ."

"Labour must demand a general election in order that a Labour government can support and encourage workers' opposition in Argentina."

An editorial in the April 16 issue goes a step further in giving a phony progressive twist to the imperialist arguments around self-determination and democracy.

"Some on the left of the British labour movement have declared their support for Argentine sovereignty of the Falklands, on the basis that Britain is the traditional imperialist power," the editorial complains.

The editorial goes on to argue that "the population of the Falkland Islands have been perfectly justified in opposing Argentine sovereignty on the basis of that regime's horrific totalitarianism."

Another article in this issue takes up the tasks of the labor movement. "Workers," it says, "must boycott the sale of arms to Argentina and must campaign for trade and commercial boycotts, but not from the standpoint of the interests of British capitalism, which has belatedly and hypocritically discovered the police-state in Argentina. . . ."

Such a boycott, the article says, should be carried out "from the standpoint of the interests of the workers in Argentina," and it compares a trade boycott against Argentina to one against South Africa.

But it is South African Blacks struggling for majority rule who have urged a commercial boycott of the apartheid regime. In the case of Argentina, the call for a commercial boycott has not come from the Argentine opposition, which supports the struggle against British ag-

gression, but from the British imperialists.

Whatever the *Militant* says about its "standpoint," its demand comes down to support for imperialist economic aggression against Argentina.

la gauche

"*The Left*," French-language paper of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT), Belgian section of the Fourth International. Published weekly in Brussels.

The April 16 issue carries two pages of articles on the Argentine-British conflict. The lead article by François Vercammen is headlined: "British: go home!"

After reviewing the history of the conflict and Britain's longstanding occupation of "territory that was historically and geographically part of Argentina," Vercammen states:

"We are for the dismantling of this fragment of British colonialism. We are for the exercise, in an appropriate way, of Argentine sovereignty over this territory and its territorial waters. We are against all British intervention. We are against all support to British aggression in the framework of NATO or the EEC [European Economic Community]. We are against the imperialist mobilization that is being prepared against Argentina.

"All other political remarks come after this response and this fundamental choice. These remarks would include the following, which is the most important: Such a position does not imply for us — and still less for our Argentine comrades — any political support for, or "holy alliance" with, the Argentine bourgeoisie and military dictatorship. The latter wants to put on an anti-imperialist show with its operation, and thus stave off a real anti-imperialist struggle. . . ."

"Without wanting to, the Argentine generals have put Reagan and Haig in a difficult spot. If conflict breaks out and Washington opts for Thatcher, a new wave of anti-imperialist struggle will explode in Latin America. The reactionary alliance between Washington and the dictatorships in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay against Cuba, El Salvador, and Nicaragua will fall apart."

In a second article, Harry Mol discusses the crisis of the Argentine dictatorship. Mol points out that "the invasion of the Falkland/Malvinas Islands took place just after the Argentine trade-union CGT [General Confederation of Labor] had organized mass demonstrations throughout the country" against the junta's economic policies.

"The invasion," Mol says, "has resulted in the CGT quickly dropping all its criticisms in order to collaborate in 'national unity' and even to help organize demonstrations in support of the dictatorship's military adventure." Mol finds the position taken by the CGT leadership "downright distressing. In this way, they help the diversionary maneuver of the dictatorship to succeed."

A new antiwar movement is arising

'June 12 will be an action the whole world will be watching'

[The following speech by Mary-Alice Waters, a national chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party, was given at an April 3 meeting in New York against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. The text is taken from the April 23 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

When Daniel Ortega, a central leader of the Nicaraguan government, spoke at the UN Security Council March 25, he affirmed that Washington's intervention in Central America is already under way.

He detailed fact after fact, none of them denied by the United States government: the arming and training of counterrevolutionary ex-Somoza units, ex-Green Berets, commandos from the Argentine army, and others concentrated in Honduran camps across the border from Nicaragua.

Ortega detailed the mounting attacks on Nicaragua: land attacks, sea attacks, and air attacks. He detailed the acts of sabotage — the bridges blown up, the boats and airport terminal bombed — the provocations by the Honduran armed forces.

He said, "Our military resources are the most modest in the region. We have no air force and yet it is Nicaragua that is being encircled. . . . We are the only state in Central America over which hangs the permanent threat of the world military might of the United States. . . ."

"It is inconceivable," he explained, "that the country that is carrying out the greatest arms buildup and spending the most on weaponry in the history of mankind seeks to demand that we not fulfill the minimum requirements for the defense of our nation."

U.S. idea of 'inter-American system'

It is a very fitting expression of its own policy that the U.S. government vetoed the resolution on Nicaragua put before the UN Security Council. That resolution named no names, made no charges — it simply repeated the United Nations's charter principles opposing intervention in the affairs of other countries and the use of force.

The U.S. deputy delegate to the UN responded that such a resolution breeds "cynicism," harms the United Nations, and most important, undermines the "inter-American system."

It could not have been stated more bluntly — to affirm the principle of nonintervention in the affairs of other countries undermines the

so-called inter-American system as it is understood by the U.S. government.

The inter-American system is based on the principle of the U.S. imperialists' right to intervene in the affairs of all other countries of this hemisphere at any time in order to protect U.S. profits and investments.

And that is precisely the inter-American system from which Nicaragua withdrew itself with the victory of its revolution July 19, 1979. That is precisely the inter-American system from which El Salvador is struggling to extricate itself today; from which Guatemala is struggling to extricate itself today.

That is the inter-American system from which Grenada withdrew itself with its revolution on March 13, 1979, and from which Cuba withdrew itself more than 23 years ago. The Cubans showed the road and set the example for what can be done when a people who have been impoverished by centuries of colonialism and imperialist exploitation set out to reconstruct their society on the basis of fulfilling human needs, not insuring the profits of the rich and the superrich.

The great subversive

When Fidel was writing from prison years before the July 26 Movement marched into

Havana, he said our goal is to build a society in which every man, woman, and child in Cuba is happy.

It sounds like a very simple goal. But this is the great "subversive" that is stalking Central America: the desire of millions of people to be free of hunger, disease, illiteracy, racism, war, tyranny. The desire to unleash their own productive capacities and the productive capacities of the rest of humanity. The desire to abolish the nuclear arsenal that Washington threatens to use to bomb us all into oblivion.

Reagan administration officials are talking about making nuclear war "winnable." They are setting up civil defense programs to assure our "survival" in case of a nuclear war.

This is all designed to prepare us for the fact that they intend to use their nuclear weapons — against the people of Central America, against the people of the Caribbean, against the people of the world.

The people of Central America are fighting for the opposite goal — to use their productive capacities to insure that children have enough to eat; to build schools, hospitals, and homes. And that is why the confrontation with U.S. imperialism has begun.

The battle continues in El Salvador. The civil war is making its way into Guatemala.



March 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

And Nicaragua is being invaded daily by counter-revolutionaries.

Nicaragua mobilizes

The Nicaraguans believe they are on the verge of a full-scale war. Just in the last few days, all the traditional Easter vacations from work were cancelled there. Easter in Nicaragua is the biggest holiday of the year — like what Christmas is in this country. The Nicaraguans decided that this year there will be no time off from work because of the pressing problems of defending the country against the increasing attacks along the northern border with Honduras.

This escalating war in Central America is not a mistake being made by some mad movie star in the White House. Reagan is carrying out the domestic and foreign policy decided, not by him, but by the most powerful business and financial interests in this country.

And whatever the differences between and amongst the American rulers on tactics over how best to accomplish this goal, they are united in their conviction that the advance of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean must be halted.

Because they know very well that just the existence of these revolutions is a deadly threat to what they consider to be the "American way of life."

And this is not an option. It is not a debatable question for those who rule the United States. They must try to stop this advancing revolution in our hemisphere. They must show those who dare to struggle, who dare to snatch their lives out of the grasp of imperialism, that they will be punished, that they will be made to pay, as a lesson to others who would dare to follow the same heroic example.

There is another basic feature of the struggle in Central America today. To paraphrase Augusto César Sandino, that is the fact that the workers and peasants of Nicaragua are ready to go all the way. And so are the people of El Salvador.

They do not want war. They are willing to talk with anyone to try to avert it. But they are ready to die to protect what they have won. They say "no" to the Yankee enemy of humanity.

And behind the heirs of Sandino stand the workers and farmers of Grenada. And behind them stand the people of Cuba. That is another key fact. The existence of the Cuban revolution slows the hand of imperialism; it means the chances for successfully extending the revolution in Central America and the Caribbean are greater and that the cost will be less.

But there is another powerful force that has a crucial and in many ways the decisive role to play. That is the factor that we here in this room have the most to say about and the greatest responsibility for.

New antiwar movement

That's what is symbolized by the tens of thousands of youth and working people in this country who were in the streets of Washing-

ton, D.C., March 27 saying, "Hey hey Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam."

It is symbolized by the hundreds of thousands of draft-age youth who have refused to register.

It is symbolized by the millions of people around the country who put their names on petitions because they want to take nuclear weapons out of the hands of those madmen in Washington.

These are all part of the new antiwar movement in this country. These actions are all happening *before* U.S. troops are sent to fight in Central America, *before* any bombs are dropped. They show the tremendous potential of this new movement, a movement that has every Democratic and Republican politician scrambling to look like a peace candidate in 1982.

This new movement is in its infant stage, of course. It has yet to show its full strength. It has many political and organizational problems to resolve, the same problems that confront every new movement.

It's easy to miss what is happening, to get the impression there are many different, seemingly separate struggles taking place.

There are the many solidarity movements: solidarity with the people of El Salvador, with Guatemala, with Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua. There is the antidraft movement. There is the movement in opposition to deportation and victimization by the immigration cops.

But the impression that these are all separate movements would be one-sided and false. It is true there are many people who are particularly concerned about one or another of these issues.

But what we are seeing is the birth of a new antiwar movement. All of these struggles are fueled by the same thing — the growing realization on the part of millions of people in this country that the U.S. government is taking us into war.

Not our war

They are forcing us into war again, against our will, against our needs, and against our interests. Our response is not just solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Central America, but opposition to what the U.S. government is doing to take us into a war against those advancing revolutions.

It is not just opposition to the draft registration law; it is the realization that that law is to prepare us for war in Central America.

It is not just opposition to nuclear weapons; it is the realization that we are heading toward war, and it is in war that our government will use those weapons.

Washington's war moves abroad are not an aberration. They are part and parcel of exactly the same policies that are being carried out right here inside the United States. They are an extension of those policies, part of the war on our rights and our living standards here in this country. Everything from budget cuts to attacks on Black and women's rights, to union busting, plant shutdowns, and environmental pollution.

The growing demands for U.S. nuclear disarmament, for opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America, for opposition to the draft, are rooted in resistance to the domestic policies of the U.S. ruling class.

And there is a growing realization that our job, first and foremost, is to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism, to stop its intervention, to halt its war drive; so that the people of the world can solve their problems without the U.S. government on their back. That is a job that we and only we here in the United States can do.

Legacy of Vietnam

What's different about what is happening in the United States today is related to the legacy of Vietnam.

It is a two-fold legacy. There is the economic side. The present recession does not simply stem from the Vietnam War, but it was exacerbated by the long-term policies of the war and its impact on the economy.

We are going into this developing antiwar movement at a time when the unemployment in this country is the highest since World War II, when inflation and interest rates are the highest ever over a sustained period, when there is the highest rate of personal and business bankruptcy of any time since the Depression and the realization by millions of people that war and human needs are incompatible.

No 'Great Society'

There are no promises this time around like there were in the mid-1960s that there will be a "Great Society" to go along with the "great" war.

There are only more promises of growing holes in the so-called safety net as the bombs and missiles crash through.

But then there is the other legacy of Vietnam. That is the consciousness — the consciousness of the need to unite in opposition to the war plans of the U.S. government, the consciousness of our ability to do so, of our power to make the difference.

This time around too there are three powerful contingents of the organized antiwar forces that we should take special note of.

One is the existence of the organized forces of the Black movement, forces like the National Black Independent Political Party, the National Black United Front, and others who are determined to lead the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, to lead the struggle against the nuclear buildup of the U.S. ruling class.

This is a new factor, part of the increased consciousness against U.S. imperialism in this country.

Another factor is the presence in this country of a sizable and growing Central American and Caribbean population. These workers identify with and are part of the struggles that are taking place both throughout Central America and the Caribbean and right here in the United States.

And these forces too have a big role to play

in educating and mobilizing the antiwar forces in this country. There was no comparable Vietnamese or Southeast Asian population in this country at the beginning of the Vietnam War that could play the kind of role that the Central American and Caribbean workers in this country are playing today.

Third is the existence of an increasingly conscious and radicalized working class.

This class is already deeply affected by the economic crisis of capitalism. The organized labor movement can be and will be the determining factor in the evolution of this new antiwar movement.

Everyone who was at the demonstration in Washington, D.C., last week was struck by the youth of that demonstration, the fact that it was a whole new generation of antiwar fighters who were coming on the scene, and the realization that the future is in good hands.

Australia

100,000 protest war threat

Demonstrations in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide

By Ray Fox

[The following article appeared in the April 14 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*.]

* * *

Over the period April 3-7, the largest antiwar demonstrations since the 1970-71 Vietnam Moratorium marches occurred throughout Australia.

In the months to come we are going to see this new movement in the streets on many occasions. It will be there on May 1 in the streets of Washington, D.C., and at every single emergency mobilization to respond to whatever may be coming.

But the time and place when this new movement is going to assemble in the most massive way, with the broadest forces yet, will certainly be on June 12 at the United Nations — demanding the disarmament of the U.S. government, the force that stands in the way of the progress of humanity.

June 12 will be an action that the whole world will be watching. Everyone who understands what the stakes are, where the real enemy of humanity resides, will be mobilizing that day to say no to the danger of nuclear war emanating from Washington, and no to the war that is already being fought today in Central America. □

inspired by the peace movement in Western Europe, they wanted to add their voices to the growing outcry against the threat of nuclear war and the arms buildup spearheaded by the United States.

In each of the demonstrations strong contingents marched in opposition to US threats of direct military intervention in Central America.

Placards carried by marchers called for "US out of El Salvador. No troops!" "US hands off El Salvador!" and "El Salvador. The people will win!"

The largest demonstration occurred in Sydney on April 4. Around 40,000 people marched in the rain from Circular Quay to Hyde Park, where they heard a platform of speakers including author Patrick White and secretary of the Western Australia Trades and Labor Council, Peter Cook.

It was estimated that this crowd was larger than the biggest Vietnam Moratorium march in Sydney in 1970.

On the same day in Melbourne well over 30,000 people rallied in the Treasury Gardens, where they heard historian Professor Manning Clark and actress Rowena Wallace, and then marched through the centre of the city to the Flagstaff Gardens.

At the Flagstaff Gardens the protesters heard former West German Major-General Gert Bastian. Bastian, who came to Australia to help build the marches, resigned from the West German armed forces when it was decided to situate a new generation of nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

In Adelaide, "up to 8000 people rallied on April 3, rallying to hear Major-General Bastian, Senator George Georges, and the director



Part of Melbourne march of more than 30,000.

Alan Lee/Direct Action

of the New South Wales Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Pat O'Shane," reports Helen Clarke.

And in Brisbane on April 7, 5000 people marched from King George Square to the Roma Street Theatre, where they were addressed by Major-General Bastian, Professor Manning

Clarke, and Senator George Georges.

Reporting from Newcastle, Dave O'Neill writes:

"Some 500 people marched through the streets here on April 3 in a protest twice the size of any antinuclear march held in recent years.

"The day after, 600 people attended a rally organised by the combined churches of Newcastle. In all, 1100 people protested during the weekend."

A march of 4000 also took place in Perth, as well as a number of pickets, meetings, and other antiwar activities around the country. □

Western Europe

Reagan visit a focus for mass protest

Against imperialist war and austerity

By John Ross

[The following article appeared in the April 12 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly magazine published under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Following the imposition of martial law in Poland last December, the imperialist ruling classes had two immediate common policy objectives. The first was to take advantage of the new international situation to crush the revolution in El Salvador and, more broadly, in Central America. The second was to defeat and break up the antimissiles movement in Western Europe.

Reagan's trip to Western Europe in June 1982 will illustrate not only that he has not defeated the Central American revolution but that he has not derailed the antimissiles movement either. The support for both these causes will combine to produce the largest demonstrations ever seen in Europe against a U.S. president.

The development of the struggle in Central America and the worldwide rise of a movement in solidarity with it have been reported in a number of articles in *International Viewpoint*. In this article, I want to deal with the antimissiles movement since the crackdown in Poland, its increasing intertwining with the movement in support of El Salvador, and the important insights into the state of world politics today that can be gained from looking at this development.

U.S. military strategy

The imperialist powers have understood very well right from the beginning the objective interrelationship between their moves in Central America, and against the colonial revolution in general, and the antimissiles movement in Europe.

The vast increases in the U.S. military budgets carried out by Carter and Reagan have focused around two items. The first is to create the infrastructure for the so-called Rapid Deployment Force — which in reality is nothing more than a colossal interventionist force that can be sent with great speed into any part of the

colonial world. This involves an accelerated buildup of the U.S. Navy, in particular new aircraft-carrier forces, the construction of foreign military bases, and the development of sophisticated conventional weapons of virtually every type.

The second focus of the new U.S. arms drive is to build and deploy a whole new generation of nuclear weapons aimed against the Soviet Union. This includes in particular the MX missile, the B-1 and the so-called Stealth bombers, as well as the Cruise and Pershing II missiles, and the neutron bomb.

The relationship of these two types of armaments is very clear. It is not the aim of U.S. imperialism today to move toward rapid all-out nuclear war with the Soviet Union. As the U.S. ruling class is well aware, this would, in the present international relationship of class forces, lead to its own destruction.

The sort of war that the U.S. ruling class is preparing for today is not a vain attempt to restore capitalism in Eastern Europe. It is preparing, in fact, for war against the colonial revolution. The situation that the U.S. ruling class finds unacceptable and which it must reverse is that it was unable to intervene militarily to defend its positions in Vietnam in 1975, in Angola in 1975-76, and in Iran and Nicaragua in 1979. In all these cases, the local agents of imperialism proved too weak to defend U.S. interests, but the strongest military power on earth was not able to act on its own behalf. This is the state of affairs that the U.S. imperialists must turn around.

Three goals

In order to achieve its goals, however, the United States and its allies must achieve three objectives — all of which are interconnected:

1. They have to break the hostility of the working classes inside their own countries to imperialist wars. This is the most fundamental precondition, since this mood among the workers has been a major obstacle to open U.S. military intervention since 1975.

2. The U.S. has to have what it considers the necessary technical military capacity to crush any colonial revolution *rapidly*. This second precondition is obviously connected to

the first. What finally led to the development in the United States of overwhelming opposition to the war in Vietnam was the fact that it went on so long and involved such huge sacrifices. The U.S. ruling class, therefore, believes that it must have the means to crush any revolutionary outbreak with great speed before opposition to its policy can mount inside the imperialist states — and above all inside its own country. For this reason, the United States is undertaking colossal expenditures to acquire weapons of qualitatively greater destructive power than those used in Vietnam.

3. A significant factor determining how long a colonial revolution can sustain its struggle and whether it can achieve victory is the military and material support given by the Soviet Union and other workers states. For example, although Soviet assistance to Vietnam was grossly inadequate by comparison with the needs of the situation, and although this significantly prolonged the war, the aid it did give was sufficient to allow the Vietnamese people to win in the final offensive of 1975.

It was the intervention of Cuban troops, airlifted and supplied by the Soviet Union, that played the decisive role in defeating the 1975-76 South African invasion in Angola.

It is Soviet economic and military aid that makes possible the survival of the Cuban workers state and its leadership — which is itself a decisive fact in the development of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions and all the other revolutionary struggles in Central America and in the Caribbean islands.

The aim of the massive imperialist buildup is not to launch immediate war against the USSR, but it is designed to put the United States in a position to blackmail the Soviet leadership into cutting off its material aid to colonial revolutions.

Impact of antimissiles movement

Once the aims of U.S. military and political policy are understood, then it becomes clear why the antimissiles movement in Western Europe is a threefold threat to such plans. First, it increases antiwar sentiment inside the imperialist centers. At the same time, it combines with the impact of the colonial revolution to

reinforce antiwar sentiment in the United States itself. Secondly, this movement makes it harder for the United States to deploy some key elements of its technologically most advanced weapons systems. Thirdly, it makes it much harder to blackmail the Soviet Union into cutting off material aid to the colonial revolution.

This whole objective interrelation of the antimissiles movement with the colonial revolution has been reflected in the dynamic of the movement itself. The broadest mass mobilizations, involving between 1.5 and 2 million people last autumn, were against the Cruise and Pershing II missiles and the neutron bomb. But the development of this broad mass movement has gone hand in hand with wider and wider sections of the vanguard explicitly taking up solidarity with the revolutions in Central America.

Already in West Germany in 1981, where the antimissiles movement is particularly developed, more than 20,000 people have taken part in a demonstration in support of El Salvador, and \$500,000 has been raised there to help the revolutionary forces.

With the new moves by U.S. imperialism in 1982 and the advance of the struggle of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), this movement of solidarity has extended rapidly into other West European countries. As could be expected, it found a fertile ground prepared by the antimissiles movement.

Given these developments, it is little wonder that one of the chief aims of all the imperialist ruling classes was, and is, to break up the West European antimissiles movement. The issue they chose to try to accomplish this was Poland. How and why they failed offers a major insight into the state of world politics today.

The pretext of Poland

There is no doubt that the imperialist ruling classes had already selected Poland as an issue they intended to use to break the antimissiles campaign even before the imposition of martial law. More than a year ago, for example, the London *Sunday Times* explained that a Soviet intervention in Poland would not be such a bad thing because it would deflate the movement for nuclear disarmament.

Interviewed by *Newsweek* magazine in December following the crackdown in Poland, NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns expressed clear satisfaction with the course of events: "I believe what has happened in Poland has certainly not weakened the [NATO] alliance. On the contrary, the power relationship of the U.S. and Europe vis-à-vis the USSR is stronger than before; the Soviet Union now has a turbulent country astride its umbilical cord between East Germany and Moscow."

Luns then went on to outline what was clearly NATO's objective. It was to move ahead with its program, swelling still more the already massive arsenal of U.S. weapons in Europe: "The new U.S. administration has taken the offensive with regard to Soviet moves, and

Reagan's rearmament program has, in a political way, strengthened the hands of the U.S."

The British and French governments also took the occasion of the Polish events to justify their own nuclear weapons program. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has major differences with the United States on the question of economic sanctions against the USSR, but not on missiles. He made it clear that he was maintaining his threat to resign and bring down the government if the Social Democratic Party failed to endorse his support for the NATO arms decisions.

With respect to the antimissiles movement itself, Luns stepped up his perennial "Red scare" campaign by declaring that "the Soviet Union is manipulating peace and anti-A-bomb groups through covert actions, funds and infiltration." This line was echoed by the right-wing reformist sections of the British labor movement leadership. Labour Party deputy leader Dennis Healey, for example, felt emboldened to declare in the debate in the British Parliament, openly breaking official party policy, that "What has happened in Poland . . . struck a fatal blow to the noble hopes of many who believed sincerely that unilateral disarmament in the West would find its echo in the East."

Real attitude of imperialists

The illogicality of such ruling-class arguments was unusually glaring. Far from defending the Polish workers, the capitalist governments, starting with the United States, made it clear from the beginning that they fully accept the "right" of the bureaucracy to crush these workers. Although the capitalist powers were undoubtedly well aware of what the bureaucracy planned to do, they consistently urged moderation and austerity on the Polish workers in the face of Stanislaw Kania and Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski. This was quite in line with their actions in 1968 when, despite the U.S. government's knowledge of the impending Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, it took not one single step to release information to the Czech workers of what was being prepared. In the current international relationship of forces, the capitalist ruling classes were, and remain, opposed to the overthrow, and particularly any *revolutionary* overthrow, of the bureaucracies in Eastern Europe. The division of Europe decided at Yalta remains as much a keystone for the imperialist governments in the present situation as it does for the Soviet bureaucracy.

Furthermore, it could be easily understood by most of the participants in the antimissiles movement that the deployment of nuclear weapons in Western Europe has nothing whatever to do with defending the Polish workers. Indeed, many of these weapons are aimed directly at the Polish workers.

Because of the transparency of the real nature of the imperialists' positions on Poland, even at the height of the ruling-class campaign, the antimissiles movement maintained its underlying strength. This is despite the fact that there was undoubtedly disorientation in re-



October 24, 1981, antimissiles protest in London.

formist circles created by the imposition of martial law and Reagan's "zero option" [arms control] fraud.

The basic features of the situation showed up fairly rapidly. At the first mass demonstration on missiles after the crackdown in Poland, 20,000 people came out in Geneva. It was an impressive turnout, despite the fact that the organizers created some confusion by adding many issues besides the missiles question to the platform of the demonstration. In Britain, no significant attempt was made either in the Labour Party or the trade unions to overturn their official position of support for unilateral nuclear disarmament and opposition to the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles.

In West Germany, the key country for the antimissiles movement, the Hamburg regional conference of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) rejected a motion to call for an immediate halt to the deployment of the missiles. But it also voted down a resolution that endorsed the line of Schmidt and Defense Minister Hans Apel — despite the fact that both of them addressed the conference delegates.

Moreover, the "Green" Party, which is pop-

ularly seen as to the left of the SPD and is against the missiles, made a spectacular electoral breakthrough in the Lower Saxony vote in March, gaining 7 percent of the vote and representation in the state parliament. In short, despite the initial confusion that undoubtedly existed, the imperialist campaign did not succeed in diffusing the basic feeling of opposition to the missiles.

Polish solidarity

Another important element in the failure of the ruling-class campaign was the reaction to the Polish events themselves. What the ruling classes wanted was a polarization between right-wing procapitalist forces, that would come out against the imposition of martial law, and a left that would seem at least not actively to oppose it. This was in fact what the bourgeoisie achieved after the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary.

What the ruling classes hoped for from such a polarization was that the left wing of the workers movement would be tarnished by appearing to fail to oppose the Polish bureaucracy. Since this left wing is also the backbone of the antimissiles movement, if it could be discredited that would open up the way for dealing blows to the campaign against imperialist militarism.

The pro-Soviet Communist parties, of course, did exactly what the imperialists hoped they would do. When 100,000 French workers took to the streets in support of Solidarity, the French Communist Party denounced this as part of an "anti-Communist campaign" — a claim believed by no one except their unconditional supporters and one which totally isolated them in face of the imperialist attack. The Swiss Communist Party also refused, for example, to participate in the demonstration in Geneva because it took up other issues besides the missiles, including Poland.

Unlike 1956, however, and in contrast to the U.S. imperialists' expectations, no serious wave of right-wing demonstrations developed in response to Poland. In the United States itself, despite the efforts of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the clearly right-wing demonstrations were not large. At the same time, the American left was too weak and too politically confused to respond in any significant way.

In Britain, right-wing forces spurred on by the Thatcher government and right-wing Social Democrats and Liberals did demonstrate. But so also did left-wing forces in the labor movement, despite the default of the Labour Party leadership. No real reactionary dynamic was generated in the country.

In the other West European countries, where the bourgeoisies were also hampered by their conflict with the United States over the question of economic sanctions against the USSR, the demonstrations took on a character opposite to those in 1956. This, in fact, was a major indication of the shift in the relationship of class forces that has taken place. In the solidarity actions, the initiative was taken not by

right-wing forces but by the workers movement and its left wing.

The only exception was in Spain where, reflecting setbacks and disorientation that have occurred, sections of the workers and nationalist movement opposed Solidarity.

Change since 1956 and 1968

This difference from the situation in 1956, or even 1968 over the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, was particularly clear in France. The Gaullist demonstration on Poland brought out about 1,000 people, and the demonstration of the Socialist Party and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), about 100,000.

France however was only an extreme example of the general trend in Europe. Right-wing or fascist demonstrations on Poland were notable for their extreme weakness. In general the labor bureaucracy attempted to block action on Poland and in particular to limit the movement to general "humanitarian aid." It was the left-wing currents and groups which took the initiative.

These actions in Western Europe were also for the first time accompanied by significant demonstrations in colonial and semi-colonial countries against repression in a bureaucratized workers state.

The result of these actions in solidarity with Poland in turn has had a significant effect on the scope of the mobilizations for El Salvador. Workers quite rightly see it as perfectly logical that the left-wing organizations that took to the streets in December and January should call in February and March for mass actions in solidarity with El Salvador. If, however, these left-wing organizations and currents had failed to take the initiative on Poland, workers would be far more reluctant to follow their advice to come out against the United States over El Salvador.

Indeed, the whole experience of the Polish mobilizations was an important indicator of the rising level of class consciousness among wide layers of workers. These workers proved quite capable of distinguishing between those who were fighting for workers interests and those who were not.

The attempts of the imperialists and their servants to exploit the Polish issue, such as Reagan's January 30 day of action and his TV show "Let Poland be Poland," were relative flops. In contrast, the left-wing demonstrations in Europe mobilized relatively large numbers of people and had a significant impact in the workers movement.

So, when Reagan comes to Europe the hundreds of thousands who will turn out against him will not be demanding that he take action on Poland but that he get out of Central America and take his missiles out of Western Europe.

New upturn of struggle

Thus, the result of the reactions to the Polish events was, contrary to the expectations of the imperialists, that the left wing of the

workers movement was not weakened. On the contrary it gained a certain greater credibility and audience. This helped to lay the basis for the demonstrations that immediately afterwards started to spread to all countries over El Salvador. The workers movement and its left wing appeared to be taking the lead both on Poland and in solidarity with the Central American revolutionists fighting imperialism. This represents a major turnabout compared to the situation arising in the wake of previous repressive outrages in Eastern Europe.

Finally, another factor, and by no means the least important, that will add to the problems of the West European imperialists and augment the scope of the mobilizations against Reagan is that the beginning of 1982 coincided with an upturn in the fightback against austerity by sections of the West European working class.

The strikes against unemployment in southern Belgium constitute the most important struggle in that country since the 1961 general strike. There was also an important success in the general strike in southern Italy. In France, sharp struggles touched off by employers attempts to sabotage the reduction of the workweek from 40 to 39 hours shows that the workers continue to expect and demand significant reforms from the Mitterrand government.

Confronted with this situation, various of the West European governments, notably the West German, have been making demagogic utterances blaming the severity of the recession on high U.S. interest rates, as well as on the perennial threat of "Japanese competition." Such claims are of course designed to hide the responsibility of the West European imperialist governments for the austerity policies. But they also reflect the weight of increased inter-imperialist competition and heighten hostility to the U.S. ruling class and its economic policies.

Thus, three elements — opposition to the missiles, opposition to U.S. imperialist policy in Central America, and opposition to austerity — will come together to impel really massive mobilizations against Reagan in June. These demonstrations, in turn, can be a powerful lever for building the movements against imperialist intervention in Central America and against the missiles.

The slogans of these demonstrations should be:

Imperialist hands off Central America and the Caribbean!

No missiles, no neutron bomb!

No to austerity — jobs not bombs!

Reagan and his imperialist hosts will hear these demands raised by the voices of hundreds of thousands of people when he comes to Western Europe this summer. □

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For a workers government

Revolutionary policy and the Workers Party

By João Machado

[The following article appeared in the March 25–April 7 issue of *Em Tempo*, a socialist fortnightly published in São Paulo, Brazil. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

As the crisis of the dictatorship deepens, the debate becomes more lively over what banners socialists should raise in the course of the struggle for a new power. We offer here a sketch of the history of the “workers government” slogan in the international workers movement, and its meaning in Brazil today.

The slogan of a “workers government” [*governo dos trabalhadores*],¹ as it is employed in Brazil today, is a version of the old slogan of a “workers government” [*governo operário*] or a “workers and peasants government.”

The “workers and peasants government” formula first appeared in 1917, in the agitation of the Bolsheviks. It then represented little more than a popular expression of the Marxist concept of the “dictatorship of the proletariat,” that is, of a workers state, a state organized in such a way that power was exercised by the toiling masses and not by the bourgeoisie and its representatives as is always the case in capitalist states.

The inclusion of the words “and peasants” in Russia in 1917 corresponded to the need to emphasize that the dictatorship of the proletariat, workers power, could only be exercised in the framework of an alliance between the proletariat and the peasants (who made up a big majority in Russia). In any case, the truth is that the dictatorship of the proletariat demands the exclusion of the bourgeoisie and the exercise of power by the working class in alliance with the toiling masses of the city and countryside.

The utilization of the slogan “workers and peasants government” in Russia corresponded to the need to show the workers that the revolution could not go forward so long as there were coalition governments with the bourgeoisie, such as the various governments in which the Cadets (the party of the Russian bourgeoisie) participated alongside the parties that claimed to be part of the workers and peasants movement (the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks).

Besides helping to educate the workers on the need to exercise power directly, the Bol-

sheviks contributed to discrediting before the masses the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, who persisted in tying themselves to the bourgeoisie.

The position of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International

At the Fourth Congress of the Third International, held in 1922 (the last congress in which Lenin participated), the main resolution adopted on the tactics of the International devoted an entire section to this slogan. Certain advances in the understanding of it were introduced.

“The call for a workers government (eventually a government of the peasants as well) should be raised everywhere as a *general propaganda slogan*. But as a slogan of present-day political activity, the call for a workers government takes on its greatest importance in countries where the situation of bourgeois society is particularly unstable, where the relationship of forces between the workers parties and the bourgeoisie puts on the agenda, as a political necessity, the solution to the question of a workers government. [. . .]

“The parties of the Second International [that is, the reformists] are seeking to ‘save’

the day in these countries by calling for and forming coalitions between the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats. . . . To the coalition between the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, whether it be open or concealed, the Communists counterpose the united front of all workers and the political and economic coalition of all workers parties against bourgeois power, in order to overthrow the latter once and for all.”

Thus what was involved was the same tactic used in Russia in 1917. Nonetheless, this resolution added the clarification that workers governments (or workers and peasants governments) can exist as distinct from the dictatorship of the proletariat (which would already be a new state).

Such governments “do not represent the dictatorship of the proletariat; they do not represent a necessary form of transition toward the dictatorship, but they can serve as a point of departure for attaining this dictatorship.”

Thus, besides being a pedagogical form of speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat, workers governments (or workers and peasants governments) can exist “as a point of departure.” The resolution explains what such a government would be:

“The most elementary program of a workers government must consist in arming the proletariat, disarming the counterrevolutionary bourgeois organizations, installing supervision over production, insuring that the main burden of taxation falls on the rich, and smashing the resistance of the bourgeois counterrevolution.

“A government of this sort is only possible if it emerges from the struggle of the masses themselves, if it is based on working-class organizations that are suited for combat and formed by the broadest layers of the oppressed working masses.”

The Nicaraguan government — a current example

In the Transitional Program, adopted in 1938 at the Founding Congress of the Fourth International, the “workers and peasants government,” understood in the manner outlined above, was adopted as a central slogan:

“Each of the transitional demands should, therefore, lead to one and the same political conclusion: the workers need to break with all traditional parties of the bourgeoisie in order, jointly with the farmers, to establish their own power.” It is necessary at each new stage to “advance such slogans as will aid the striving of the workers for independent politics, deepen the class character of these politics, destroy reformist and pacifist illusions, strengthen the connection of the vanguard with the masses, and prepare the revolutionary conquest of power.”

So we can term a “workers government” [*governo dos trabalhadores*] one that is born out of the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and based on them, and is oriented in practice toward the destruction of the bour-

Workers government and constituent assembly

[The following appeared along with the *Em Tempo* article on the workers government slogan.]

* * *

The level of organization and mobilization achieved by the workers in Brazil today, and the degree reached so far by the crisis of bourgeois domination, does not allow the replacement of the dictatorship by a workers government to be put on the order of the day. This is not an alternative to the dictatorship *today*; it is not possible to call for a mass insurrection *today* against the power of the bourgeoisie.

The existence of the dictatorship, in a situation where the workers still are not struggling directly for power, makes it necessary to raise, as an immediate slogan, the call for replacing the dictatorship with a *democratic and sovereign constituent assembly*. This encompasses all the democratic demands (and the confrontation with the dictatorship). It is a *tactical* slogan, which goes along with our strategic slogan of a *workers government*.

1. The two Portuguese words *trabalhadores* and *operários* can both be translated “workers”; however, *trabalhadores* has a much broader connotation, rather like the English word “toilers.” The connotation of *operário* is more limited, usually meaning industrial worker, or urban waged worker.

geois state. This is "a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat," as the Transitional Program states. A decisive criterion is the replacement of the armed forces of the bourgeoisie with popular militias and armed forces controlled by the workers.

It is in this sense that we can say that today in Nicaragua there exists a "workers government" or a "workers and peasants government": political power is exercised by the Sandinistas and by the mass organizations, and military power is also in the hands of the revolutionary forces. The bourgeoisie has still not been expropriated, and it still maintains a considerable share of economic power (besides having the direct support of imperialism). It is still not a question of a workers state, but it is a workers government that is struggling against the [bourgeois] state, that defends the political power of the masses, that at each step reaffirms its independence in face of the bourgeoisie.

The workers government in Brazil

In Brazil, the slogan of a "workers government" [*governo dos trabalhadores*] has the sense of a "general propaganda slogan," one that expresses the need for the workers to aim toward the revolutionary seizure of power, and to reject supporting any government of the bourgeoisie, even a liberal one. It is the means of concretizing the policy of reinforcing the political independence of the workers, and it is the basic strategic axis of a working-class policy.

It also retains its character as a rejection and counterproposal to the policy of the reformists (the PCB, PCdoB, and MR-8, among others),² which call for a government of coalition between the workers and the liberal bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the latter, or else simply call for supporting the liberal bourgeoisie.

The Workers Party³ is the only party in Brazil that aims in the direction of a "workers government." However, a PT government arising out of an electoral victory would still not be a true workers government. The persistence of the bourgeois state, with all its institutions controlling the government and with its repressive apparatus still intact, would not allow the exercise of power by the workers.

But even so a PT government arising out of an electoral victory would not lose its value — it could be a powerful means of pressing forward the organization and mobilization of the masses, in such a way that the workers could

destroy the bourgeoisie's power (above all their military and repressive apparatus), and thus be able to effectively exercise power.

If we speak today of a "workers government," it is not to say that it is enough for the

PT to win the elections in order to have such a government; rather, it is because this is our fundamental aim — the conquest of power by the workers, in order to be able to transform society in a radical way. □

'We need political power'

Interview with head of Brazil's Workers Party

[During a February visit to the United States, Brazilian Workers Party leader Luís Inácio da Silva ("Lula") was interviewed by Elizabeth Farnsworth of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a major capitalist daily. Following is the text of the interview, which was published in the March 17 issue of the *Chronicle*.]

* * *

Question. Why did you come to San Francisco?

Answer. I was invited by Joan Baez [folk-singer and pacifist] to participate in a seminar on non-violence organized by HUMANITAS, and I also came to establish contacts with San Francisco union leaders. We believe it is difficult to discuss one country's labor problems in isolation. There must be contact between persons in different countries who suffer from the same problems.

Q. What problems do you suffer in Brazil?

A. In Brazil, the majority of the population cannot share in the fruits of their labor or participate in political decision making. We live in a nation of contradictions.

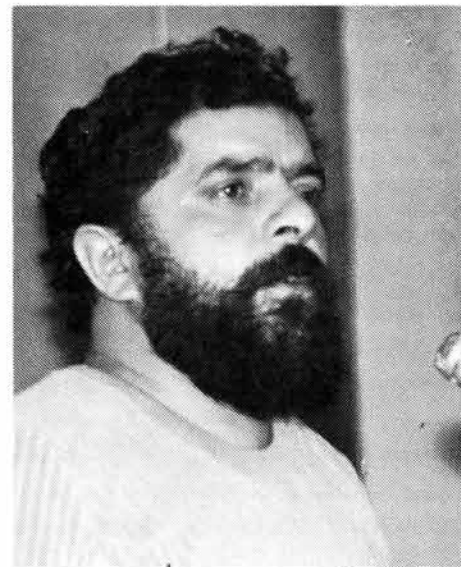
We are a people who are hungry, and yet we are one of the nations with most land area, rivers and seacoast. We lack tractors and agricultural implements, and yet we export luxury automobiles. We have millions of children out of school, and yet we are the sixth largest weapons producer in the world.

We have a population of 120 million, but only some 5 million of these receive over 50 percent of the national income. I come from a trade union struggle which has imprinted in my own flesh the violence of the bosses and the government of my country. They are indifferent to the miserable working and living conditions of our people.

Q. You have led three strikes of São Paulo's metalworkers. What did you seek and what was accomplished?

A. In all the strikes, we asked for working conditions that already exist in other countries. We asked for job security, for reduction of the work week to 40 hours (presently it is 48 hours a week), for union representatives inside each factory, and for direct collective bargaining over wages.

We won none of these demands, but we did get something very important: the political education of Brazil's workers. They discovered



Diane Wang/Militant

Lula speaking at March 5 news conference in New York City.

who their real enemy was and learned that they need to be better organized. They learned they must always be alert to the manipulation of factory executives. The consciousness of the workers grew enormously.

The government intervened in our union, which means it placed an official inside the union offices. I was banished from union activity and taken to prison. I have been tried twice, have been convicted twice and am now appealing the conviction. I have been banished from union activity.

We have learned that the question of union freedom is a political issue.

Q. Is this why you organized the Workers Party?

A. Yes, if you do not transform a political system you cannot transform labor conditions and cannot achieve social progress. We discovered in our strikes that it is useless to have highly combative unions if political decisions are made by the owners of industry. We need political power in order to enlarge on union gains.

The Workers' Party has been in existence only 2½ years; already we have 400,000 members. This will enable us to run in the municipal, state and congressional elections scheduled for November 15. It will be the first

2. PCB — Brazilian Communist Party, pro-Moscow; PCdoB — Communist Party of Brazil, Maoist; MR-8 — October 8 Revolutionary Movement, a former guerrilla organization that now has a political line similar to that of the PCB.

3. The Workers Party (PT) is a mass-based, legal party that has arisen in Brazil in the past four years out of the big workers' strikes and other struggles against the military dictatorship. The PT has declared socialism to be its goal. For further information, see *Intercontinental Press*, Oct. 26, 1981, page 1036.

time in our history that Brazilian workers have been able to vote for other Brazilian workers.

Q. Is the Workers' Party a Socialist Party?

A. Our party has a clear preference for socialism, because we want to have a society without exploiters or exploited. However, we are not interested in importing models, and it will be the Brazilian workers themselves who determine the actual characteristics of the socialist proposal.

Q. Will you be a candidate in the November elections?

A. The party has nominated me to be a candidate for governor of the state of São Paulo, but we do not know at this time whether the government will permit my candidacy. If not, we will have to call a state party convention to decide whether I should be a candidate anyway. This is a very important issue to face in the weeks ahead. We must decide what is best for the party and not for my personal interest.

Q. Other political parties which oppose the government have united into an Opposition Front to combine their forces against the government-supported candidates. Why did the Workers' Party stay out of this front?

A. The opposition front is too broad. It incorporates bankers, large landowners and factory owners. This makes it difficult for workers to participate. Why do the bosses call only for unity in politics? Why not in their houses and fancy clubs? How can the peasant join the same party of the landowner who has expelled him from the land? We must identify ourselves as an independent entity. This is our opportunity to clarify our party's position.

Q. Why do you think the U.S. government pays more attention to the repression of Poland's Solidarity than to the repression of Brazil's union movement?

A. Because of their anti-communism, the U.S. government and other capitalist countries have tried to demonstrate that Solidarity was against the Socialist regime in Poland. On the other hand, it was obvious to us in talking to [Lech] Walesa that what he wanted was to perfect the Socialist regime in Poland — for the workers.

Our own support for the workers of Poland should not be confused with certain anti-communist campaigns which have been promoted by those interested in maintaining a society divided into classes. We cannot stand the hypocrisy of supporting the labor movement that fights for its rights in Poland and at the same time being against labor unions in the rest of the world which also fight for workers' rights.

It was hypocritical to transmit throughout the world President Reagan's television show on Poland, to speak against the Polish government, and to defend Solidarity and not mention that Reagan fired all the air controllers in the United States who went out on strike. □

Iran

What peasants are demanding

'Hemmat' reader points to revolution's tasks

[The following article appeared in the February 1 issue of *Hemmat* (Determination), the newspaper of the Workers Unity Party (HVK) of Iran. The HVK is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

One of *Hemmat's* readers, Homayoun Rafi'i of Azar Shahr, near Tabriz, sent us a letter concerning the problems of the peasants. Our reader began by pointing out the key role played by the peasants in advancing the war and the revolution:

"The peasants, who make up about 70 percent of the country's population, have always played a worthy role in advancing the revolution. They have continually mobilized, and have formed rural *shoras* [councils] to reach their goals.

"When the Spy Den [the U.S. embassy] was occupied, they demonstrated their support for this revolutionary act with their picks and shovels. When the war began, they participated in military training and went to the front lines. Most of the fighters at the front were from the toiling classes of society. Peasants and rural youth were numerous in the Revolutionary Guards and the Baseej [Mobilization Corps]. They have sacrificed their lives to win this war. This shows the immense role of the peasants in the revolution."

Our reader then added:

"Unfortunately, despite all this devotion and sacrifice, three years after the February insurrection we now see that none of the peasants' problems have been solved. The peasants call for the implementation of land reform (Section C)* and the establishment of hospitals, schools, paved roads, health insurance, and so on. In general, we see that the poor villagers are dying for lack of hospitals and roads."

Rafi'i considered inflation and the government's pricing policies to be among the most important of the peasants' problems: "The peasants have suffered greatly from the dizzying inflation rate. This year, the government fixed prices for all agricultural products, but these prices in no way covered the investment needed to produce them. No one knows how the peasants, who work day and night, can make a living.

"For example, the price of onions stands at

0.27 tumans a pound [1 tuman = US\$0.13]. The peasants are barred from selling onions for more than this price. But by selling at the official price they cannot even make up their costs of production. They sink deeper into debt.

"On the other hand, the price of onions for the consumer is several times greater, because the middlemen buy the onions from the peasants at the official price and hoard them. When the time is right, they sell them at a price several times what they paid the peasant. Then everyone goes around demanding to know why onions are so expensive. The poor peasants have to buy onions at an exorbitant price.

"The upshot of all this is that the profits line the pockets of a few parasitic middlemen. They are the main cause of inflation and high prices."

Rafi'i also pointed to the problem of credit as one of the peasants' main concerns. He said:

"The well-off farmers who have a lot of land get huge amounts of credit, while most peasants with little land can only get an insignificant amount of credit. For example, a well-off farmer can get between 300,000 and 500,000 tumans in credit, while a peasant with little land can get 10,000 to 20,000 tumans — and that only after going through a lot of trouble.

"Taking inflation into account, this solves nothing at all. For example, one problem the peasants face is the lack of agricultural implements and resources. Of course, a peasant cannot dig a deep well for 20,000 tumans. But the government has done nothing about this.

"Tractors are another big problem. A peasant must run around for three years to find a tractor, and then it must be paid for in cash. And getting 20,000 tumans' worth of credit will not solve this problem. Not to mention peasants who do not even own a spade, the simplest agricultural tool. Even if the price of implements is low, they must still pay some 400 tumans for a spade that is only worth about 20 or 30 tumans. And this, only when there are spades to be had at all."

The interesting facts that Rafi'i laid out in his letter demonstrate once again the need for a deepgoing land reform in the countryside — the implementation of Section C and the division of the land among the peasants; providing for the peasants' principal needs, such as credit and implements; the harnessing of all the resources required for agriculture; and the setting of fair prices for agricultural goods, cutting off the hands of the parasitic middlemen. Such measures would secure the interests of the peasantry, and would lay the basis for far broader mobilizations of the peasants in the war of resistance against imperialism and in advancing the revolution. □

*In early 1980 the government adopted a land-reform law, but its implementation was suspended a year later. Section C of the law would have legalized the seizure of big estates and their division among the peasants. — IP

How Cubans aid revolution

Unconditional help based on internationalist policies

By Pat Kane

ST. GEORGE'S — During the early morning hours of March 13, most Grenadians were too busy dancing and celebrating the third anniversary of the revolution to notice a large cargo ship dock in the harbor of this capital. It was the *González*, a Cuban ship loaded with the latest batch — and the largest so far — of gifts from Cuba for the people of Grenada.

In the days of colonialism, gifts were cheap: beads and mirrors given by imperialists to trick people into a false sense of security before their countries were plundered. In the era of proletarian revolution things are different. Gifts from one revolution to another are helping Grenada toward economic development.

Aboard the *González* were a complete prefabricated housing plant, an ice plant for storing fish and agricultural products, a tile-making plant, a paint-making plant, and hundreds of tons of cement. Grenada will also receive technical assistance to train workers in the assembly, running, and maintenance of these vital additions to the country's fight against underdevelopment.

Aid for development

Raul Freire, head of the Cuban Economic Office of Cooperation, attached to the Cuban embassy in St. George's, explained his country's aid policy toward Grenada:

"Our government's policy is based on collaboration between brother countries in different areas, so they can strengthen and develop their lines, their revolutionary aims, and accomplish their plans. This policy of help is certainly unconditional."

Because the Cuban government is led by revolutionaries, it has different principles than the imperialist governments. "The political principles that are guiding collaboration between Cuba and Grenada," explained Freire, "are based on our internationalist policies toward all those countries that are fighting for their independence. Cuba gives its aid without any interest. Cuba receives no material profit from this aid. Cuba receives requests from many of these countries throughout the world. Cuba is also a poor country, but from what we have we give to other countries to consolidate their independence."

Cuba has provided aid whenever it has been asked by the government of Grenada. The generosity of the people of Cuba can be seen in every sphere of the development process, a generosity which transcends the criminal blockade enforced by the U.S. government over the past 22 years. This blockade has hampered the economic development of Cuba, but

it does not stop the aid from being given to other countries.

In contrast, along with imperialist aid come the profit-seekers. Suddenly, there is a new branch of a U.S. bank downtown, a Coca-Cola distributor, and other U.S. businesses. Then the supply of spare parts for machinery becomes an important political weapon in the hands of the imperialists, as was so clearly shown in the destabilization campaigns against Chile and Jamaica. None of these things happen in Grenada as a result of Cuban aid.

Cuba came to the aid of the Grenada revolution in the first month after the overthrow of the proimperialist dictator Eric Gairy. The

government of Grenada appealed for aid and assistance, especially after a series of radio broadcasts by Gairy from San Diego, California, calling for the overthrow of the revolutionary government. Gairy appealed to the U.S. government for support and aid for a mercenary attack on Grenada.

The Grenadian government asked several governments for assistance, including those of the United States, Canada, and Britain. They received some support from Guyana and Jamaica — and on April 7, 1979, a delegation arrived from Cuba.

The response of the U.S. imperialists was swift. They did not send the food, medical

Bishop praises Cuba's assistance

[In answer to a question from *Intercontinental Press* reporter Pat Kane, Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of Grenada, explained the relations between Cuba and Grenada to a packed press conference held on March 14. The following were his remarks.]

* * *

Our relations with the Cubans and the kind of aid that we have received from Cuba has been all-round. It has been disinterested. It has been speedy. And it has gone into areas that have helped to leave us with a capacity to continue to be self-reliant. In other words it hasn't been your classic handout model, or just moving into areas that would assist private investors.

It has been things like helping us get a fishing fleet. We now have gifts of seven Cuban boats as part of our fishing fleet. They have helped us establish the fishing school. So we now have the ability to train our own fishermen.

They have helped in education, particularly in the literacy campaign. There has been massive assistance in infrastructure. The international airport — it was Cuban assistance that was really responsible for the project getting off the ground in the first place. They sent several hundred of their workers, and they sent over 100 pieces of important equipment.

They have not been able to assist, of course, in the areas of finance, or oil — things that they themselves do not have —

but their assistance was the key to getting the airport project moving in the first place.

They have also helped us with the quarries and the stone-crushing and asphalt plant. This is a very important complex for us, and provides the capacity to get the asphalt mix for use on the roads. Once the airport is finished, and the asphaltting of the surface is done, that particular complex is going to help tremendously in the infrastructural work that we have to complete.

Yesterday morning there arrived in Grenada the Sandino Plant. This is a plant which makes prefabricated concrete units, and will have the capacity to build 500 houses a year. We will also use the concrete units for other purposes. Along with this will be a tile-making plant and a block-making plant.

From all that I have said, I'm sure you realize that the relations therefore at the level of aid and in other ways, between ourselves and Cuba, have proceeded at the highest levels of fraternal cooperation. They have *never*, ever made *any* request of us to do anything in return for any aid.

There has never been any attempt to compromise any of our principles, or make any suggestions to us about how we should conduct any aspect of our foreign or domestic policy. In other words, they have been giving a lot of assistance, yet making no requests or demands.

On the other hand, the United States government, which has been giving no assistance, is the one that is making all the requests and demands.

supplies, arms, and technicians that the Grenadians needed. Instead they dispatched their ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean, Frank Ortiz, who arrived April 10, 1979.

Ortiz left the Grenadians in no doubt as to the U.S. government's views. They would "view with displeasure any tendency on the part of Grenada to develop closer ties with Cuba."

Ortiz dismissed the justified worry of the Grenadian government about a possible invasion. When asked for aid to help overcome 400 years of colonial rule, Ortiz left a check for US\$5,000 from his discretionary fund.

On April 13, in a broadcast over Radio Free Grenada, Maurice Bishop outlined the revolutionary leaders' rejection of imperialist domination. He announced to the world that Grenada was "not in anybody's backyard." The next day Grenada established diplomatic links with Cuba, and Cuban aid began to arrive.

When President Ronald Reagan announced that his Caribbean Basin "aid" scheme would exclude allies of Cuba, the Grenadians explained that *they* would pick and choose their own friends in the world.

Types of aid

Cuban aid is mainly in the construction of Grenada's international airport. But it also extends to health care, culture, housing, sports facilities, advisers on planning and the collection of statistics, agro-industries, the construction of a new radio station, transportation, and the maintenance and development of the island's electricity system.

"We have around 400 Cubans here advising on these affairs," said Freire. "All salaries and wages are paid for by the Cuban side. Cuba is a socialist country, which applies the internationalist principles of socialism.

"The aid that Cuba gives is very different from that given by the capitalist countries. The imperialist countries may offer some aid, but they just do it with the aim of obtaining some profits. They don't give this aid with the aim of helping development. We give our aid simply to fulfill the aims of our principles.

"Cuba is presently under blockade, so we know perfectly what imperialism does, because we have felt it in our own case. In any attempt by the imperialists to blockade Grenada, Cuba will *always* go to the international organizations that we belong to, and will condemn any aggression. This will *always* be our position."

Cuban doctors

One Cuban currently working in Grenada is Sonia Aguila Setien, who is head of the Cuban medical brigade and a professor of gynecology and obstetrics. There are 15 Cubans in the brigade, spread throughout the country. They also have a base in Carriacou, the sister island of Grenada. There are 3 dentists and 12 doctors.

"Grenada has a fairly healthy population," said Aguila. "There are no really serious illnesses. In my field we have a lot of high blood



RAUL FREIRE

Pat Kane/IP

pressure and premature births. The island's nutrition is good.

"The brigade has been here since the first few months of the revolution. We arrived in June 1979. We Cuban doctors felt strange at first. It's a different country, with a different language and culture. It took awhile to get acquainted with the population."

In 1981 alone, the doctors saw 52,900 patients. Due to a lack of facilities, the dentists have only been carrying out extractions, but they will soon be engaged in other work. The treatment is free, and the Grenadians stand in line from before sunrise. Private fillings cost up to EC\$60 (one East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$0.38).

"We are now fully integrated into the medical establishments, in all our different jobs. We also have a general practitioner working with the army," Aguila added.

Cubans are now a frequent sight throughout Grenada. They celebrate the anniversaries of their own revolution, and many Grenadians attend. Small "Che" buttons can be seen on the caps of the island's youth. There is a Grenadian branch of the Cuban Communist Party and, as in Cuba, all Cuban workers are encouraged to help in voluntary work.

Several Grenadians have married Cubans, and dozens of Grenadian young people are studying on scholarships in Cuba. Delegations from the various Cuban mass organizations are frequent guests in Grenada. The Cubans also hold social, sports, and cultural events, which Grenadians attend.

The links, and respect, between the two peoples increase daily.

Similar links have been established with Nicaragua. Daniel Ortega, the Nicaraguan leader, visited Grenada for the first anniversary of the revolution. Nicaragua's own economic problems have prevented it from sending aid, but Grenada has sent youths to assist in Nicaragua's literacy campaign in the English-speaking areas of Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast.

Grenadians can see for themselves that the lies told by the Gairy regime about Cuba were indeed lies. The present press campaign of lies and distortions about their own revolution has forced many Grenadians to think again about what they themselves were told about Cuba by the proimperialists throughout the region.

The links with Cuba are, like the Grenada revolution itself, getting stronger. And no one will be able to dictate to the Grenadian people that they should be broken. □

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Seoul regime gets boost from Olympics

1988 games already being used to justify repression

By Suzanne Haig

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

* * *

The South Korean government's attempt to legitimize and further institutionalize the division of Korea has received a shot in the arm from the International Olympic Committee.

Meeting in Baden-Baden, West Germany, last fall, the committee in a surprise move awarded the 1988 Summer Olympic games to Seoul, South Korea.

Now the foreign minister of the South's dictatorial regime claims that since the country is to host the Olympics it should be a "member of the United Nations."

Since the Korean War in the early 1950s, neither the Democratic People's Republic of Korea nor South Korea have been recognized by the United Nations.

UN membership for the South would further legitimize the forced division of Korea, cementing the notion of "two Koreas." Both Washington and Seoul have continued to press this view, despite the fact that a large part of the population of both North and South Korea want to see their country reunified and independent of U.S. military and economic domination.

Excuse to suppress rights

The dictatorship also hopes to use the Olympics as an excuse to take even harsher measures against democratic rights, under the pretext of preventing a disruption of the games and ensuring the safety of international tourists.

South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan's seven-year term expires in March 1988, and the games are expected to be held from late September to October 1988.

Some critics of the dictatorship fear Chun will use the Olympics as an excuse either to postpone the elections or to create a situation that would effectively eliminate opposition and ensure his reelection.

Even if Chun's regime never makes it to 1988, the games are already being used to bolster the image of economic stability in hopes of attracting greater foreign investment, such as the several billion dollars in long-term credits just granted to the South by Japan.

Despite talk about South Korea's "economic miracle" the economy is in a state of crisis. Thirty-three billion dollars is owed to imperialist banks and governments, and debt repayment including interest is over \$4 billion annually. The 1981 trade deficit was \$5.3 billion.



CHUN DOO HWAN

In 1980 the growth rate was a negative 6.2 percent, and in 1981 it was 7.1 percent. Thus, following the 1981 recession, there has been only a partial recovery. Inflation, moreover, continues at a rate of 14 percent.

Workers and farmers will pay

The authorities claim that the games will "stimulate the economic boom." But the only people who will benefit are the very wealthy. For the workers and farmers of South Korea, the games mean further hardships. The government plans to pay for the Olympics — which are estimated to cost \$2.2 billion — by further taxing a population that now pays some of the highest taxes in the world.

On November 19, 1,500 riot-equipped police and city employees forced 500 families out of a slum area in Seoul so that bulldozers could destroy their homes. Even household belongings were reduced to rubble.

City officials took the action because, they said, the slums would mar Seoul's appearance for Olympic visitors.

In order to bolster its image as a host of the Olympics and to try to placate growing opposition at home and abroad, Chun's government has made several cosmetic reforms.

Pledging in his New Year's address this January "to achieve without fail a great democracy ensuring the well-being of all," Chun made a proposal for reunification with the

North and lifted the 35-year-old midnight to 4 a.m. curfew in many parts of the country.

On March 2, the government announced that it was reducing the prison term of Kim Dae Jung from life to 20 years. Other political prisoners will also have their terms reduced.

Kim, the most prominent opponent of the Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship, was found guilty and sentenced to death in September 1980. He was charged with instigating the massive revolt in the city of Kwangju in May 1980, although he was in jail at the time. Only international protests stayed the hands of his executioners.

Kim is now 56 years old and in poor health. Having to stay in prison 18 more years is tantamount to a death sentence.

Chun's reunification scheme, moreover, includes retaining 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea and keeping 700 nuclear-tipped missiles targeted against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

A 'test war'

Chun's proposal comes as U.S. and South Korean troops are engaged in "Team Spirit '82," one of the largest joint maneuvers ever staged by an imperialist country. The "test war," as it has been called, involves 100,000 South Korean and 61,800 U.S. troops and aircraft. It is scheduled to last through April.

Speaking of these "reforms," a Protestant clergyman in the South told the *Miami Herald*, "Chun issued those orders to impress the foreigners. They really mean nothing in the daily lives of most of the people."

The true nature of the Chun regime was revealed soon after his New Year's message. On January 22 a Seoul district court sentenced publisher Lee Tae Bok to life imprisonment.

Under the repressive national security law, Lee was found guilty of plotting to infiltrate trade unions in order to cause labor disruption and foment a student revolution to topple the government and set up a communist regime. Currently more than 500 opposition politicians are forbidden from engaging in any political activity.

The South Korean embassy recently told the *New York Times* that some 3,000 people were imprisoned — this figure was given in order to refute reports that 15,000 people are being detained for political reasons.

Dissidents can be held indefinitely

Under the Preventive Custody Measure of the Public Security Law, political prisoners who have served out their prison term but are regarded by the administration as being "dan-

gerous enough to recommit the crime" can continue to be detained. The measure can be renewed every two years, enabling the authorities to keep dissidents in prison for life.

The government also has plans to increase from 60,000 to 88,000 the combat police and import \$1.4 million worth of riot-control equipment and tear gas from the United States. Additional detention centers are being built throughout the country, and torture and beatings of prisoners are standard practice.

It is no wonder that students at Kyunghee University and Korea University of Foreign Studies in South Korea issued a joint declaration attacking the decision of the International Olympic Committee, asking "What difference is there between this and Hitler's Olympic games in Berlin in 1936?"

Kim Young Sam, a businessman who once led the now-outlawed New Democratic Party, has said that "Chun is far worse than Park [his predecessor]. He has increased police control. Now nobody can do anything."

It is not surprising that Washington has a different opinion.

Chun's 'popularity'

According to the February 15 *Miami Herald*, Richard Walker, U.S. ambassador to South Korea, described dissidents there as "spoiled brats." Chun has "come a long way," he said, towards eliminating repression and is very popular among the South Korean working class.

"The workers have no sympathy at all for those spoiled brats," he said. "Most of the workers are so busy trying to make ends meet" that they accept martial law and the suspension of individual liberties in the name of economic progress.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In an interview appearing in the *Wall Street Journal*, South Korean trade unionists pointed out that the South Korean government's new labor laws are designed to stem the growing labor movement by making it illegal for workers in different factories to belong to one national union. Terror, they said, is also being used.

"They are just trying to smash our unions," a former local union president, who is being hunted down by the government, told the *Journal*.

Since 1980 practically all labor union leaders have been arrested and investigated.

In one case reported in *Korea Communique*, union leaders from the Suhtong Corp., a wig and battery manufacturer, were hung upside down by their ankles and tortured because they had published a union bulletin.

Chun may have "won the confidence of his allies abroad and much of the military and business elite at home," as the *New York Times* claimed in a March 4 article, but he has not won the confidence of the workers, farmers, and students.

The strong backing the U.S. government gives the hated dictatorship is generating widespread opposition to Washington.

On March 18, for example, a United States

International Communications Agency office in Pusan was set on fire. The government responded by detaining some 5,700 people in Seoul.

Laos

Rebuilding from the rubble

Economic and social gains

Seven years after the last U.S. troops were driven out of Laos in 1975, that small Indochinese country of 3.5 million people "is in a position to tell an encouraging story of socioeconomic progress," according to Cuban journalist Francisco Ramírez.

Ramírez, a *Prensa Latina* correspondent in Indochina, provided a brief overview of the gains made in Laos in an article in the January-February 1982 issue of the Cuban bimonthly *Tricontinental*.

These gains, he noted, were particularly noteworthy given the fact that the country had been devastated by a long war against French colonialism and then American imperialism. When the monarchy was abolished in December 1975, Laos was ranked as one of the 25 poorest countries in the world.

With financial assistance from the Soviet Union and other countries, the new government was able to rebuild many of the villages that had been destroyed during the massive U.S. bombings. Hospitals, schools, ports, warehouses, and roads were built. Some 450 bridges were constructed.

"For the first time in its history," Ramírez wrote, "in 1980 the country produced more than 1 million tons of rice, the basic food of this population of 68 nationalities."

Timber production rose by 30 percent. More than 100,000 hectares of land were placed under irrigation. And about 40 percent of all peasants joined agricultural cooperatives.

"Although the vital problem of food has not yet been satisfactorily solved," Ramírez noted, "the total value of the products available to the population in 1980 was 11 percent higher than in 1978. The network of government and cooperative stores has been extended into rural areas."

"Compared to the 1973-74 school year, there are now twice as many primary schools and 12 times as many intermediate schools; there are 936,000 students in basic and higher education — 26.7 percent of the population — and several thousands are studying abroad."

In an accompanying interview, Kamsouk Keola, the vice-president of the Lao Front for National Construction and of the Supreme People's Assembly, stated that "we are carrying out a campaign to improve literacy and the people's educational level. By June 1981, two provinces (Huaphan and Luang Prabang), one municipality, 26 districts, 361 communes and

Opposition continues despite the knowledge that imprisonment, torture, and even death may await critics of the regime, the employers, and the U.S. government. □

4,981 villages had already freed themselves from illiteracy."

Ramírez pointed out that Laos still faces external threats. The proimperialist dictatorship in neighboring Thailand — with the backing of the Chinese government — has closed its border with Laos and imposed an economic blockade against the country. Thai troops, moreover, have repeatedly encroached on Laotian territory.

Laos, Ramírez reported, "is the only landlocked country in the Indochinese peninsula, and the blockade by Thailand . . . has inevitable consequences for the economy."

A recent agreement has been signed between Laos and Vietnam, however, allowing the Laotian government to increase its shipments of imported goods through Vietnam.

"In addition to the aid granted by the Vietnamese people's army to the Lao armed forces to help in defense efforts," Ramírez wrote, "many civilian specialists and technicians work in several branches of the young republic's economy."

"Irrigation and drainage projects, bridge and road construction, reestablishing the productive capacity of small factories and training technicians are just some of the facets of this cooperation." □

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After elections, more terror

U.S. seeks new civilian facade for dictatorship

By Fred Murphy

Within weeks of the phony March 28 elections, killings of civilians by the military and its death squads were back on the rise in El Salvador. At the same time, the armed forces high command and the U.S. State Department were trying hard to patch together a new civilian facade for their bloody dictatorship.

At least 48 peasants in the eastern village of Barrios fell victim April 18 to the most brutal massacre to come to light since the elections. Uniformed army troops were responsible. *Washington Post* correspondent Joanne Omang visited Barrios three days after the killings and interviewed survivors:

Hector Bialta Osorio came back today to pick up some of the clothes and other remnants of a life that he left behind when he fled Sunday morning. "When the shooting started I saw the soldiers making everyone lie down like this," he said, putting his face to the ground and his hands behind his head. He said the soldiers raped many of the women. . . .

Serbando Hernandez, 45, a weatherbeaten farmer, went in from San Pedro with some other men that afternoon to see what had happened. "They had killed women pregnant out to here," he said. "There were little children lying on their backs like this," he said, throwing his head back. He made a cutting motion across his throat.

Bodies of death-squad victims are again being dumped at night along the roadsides on the outskirts of San Salvador. "A worker at the Human Rights Commission said that before the elections they would find 20 to 25 bodies a week," *New York Times* correspondent Raymond Bonner reported in an April 23 dispatch. "The number has risen to about 35 a week since the elections, he said."

Bonner reported observing "15 sun-bleached skeletons" at the El Playón lava field north of San Salvador on April 18. The site has been a favorite spot for the death squads to display their victims. The *Times* reporter pointed to strong circumstantial evidence of military involvement:

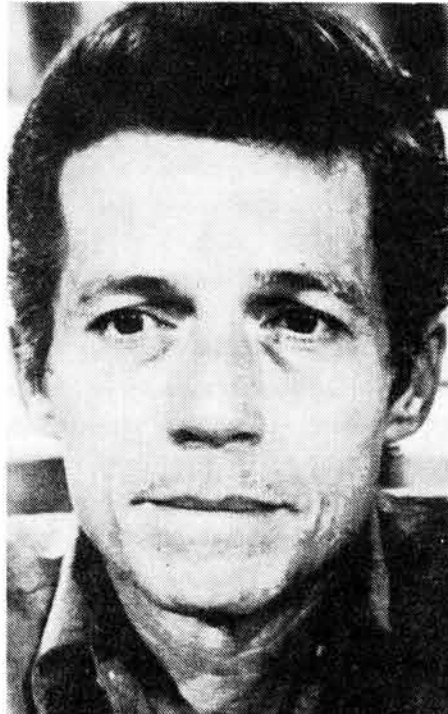
"The victims at El Playón are tossed less than 100 yards from the pavement, and the road that bisects the El Playón sepulcher is heavily patrolled. Less than three miles away is the entrance to the headquarters of the Atlacatl battalion, El Salvador's elite army unit that has been trained by the American advisers. An artillery unit is also close by."

Killings are part of strategy

Pentagon propaganda claims that Salvadoran troops are being taught to avoid "indiscriminate acts of violence." But the real targets of the U.S.-backed war were spelled out in a dispatch by Bonner from the village of Barrios to the April 22 *New York Times*.

"Some Salvadoran officers have told their friends and diplomats that there are no so-called 'innocent' peasants in these rebel-controlled zones. They argue that peasants who support the guerrillas, either tacitly or by supplying food or other assistance, are legitimate victims of the war."

The villagers who survived the application of this strategy in Barrios shed more light on



ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON

another of its facets, the March 28 elections. Nearly all the villagers had walked several miles to the nearest town to vote, they said. "The officials said if we didn't they would come and drag us out at night," Pablo Flores told the *Washington Post*. "If we didn't we expected to die," said Santos Benítez.

Despite Washington's propaganda about the "success" of the elections, they failed to produce the results desired by the State Department. The Christian Democrats, who for two years had lent their supposedly reformist image to the dictatorship, emerged with a minority of seats in the new constituent assembly. The bulk of the votes went to the extreme-right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), headed by death-squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, and to the National Conciliation Party (PCN), the traditional political front for the oligarchy and its generals.

The Reagan administration is well aware that open rule by D'Aubuisson and the PCN would evoke still greater opposition in the United States to aiding the Salvadoran regime, and further its international isolation. Thus the postelection period has seen a heavy-handed attempt by Washington to dictate the choice of the country's president by the constituent assembly.

A series of meetings at the U.S. embassy and a visit to San Salvador by U.S. Congressional leaders did not yield the desired results. Nor did an April 20-21 visit by State Department envoy Gen. Vernon Walters stave off the election of D'Aubuisson as head of the constituent assembly on April 22.

But Walters did make progress in forging a bloc between the PCN and the Christian Democrats in support of naming banker Alvaro Magaña president of the country. Magaña was described in the April 26 *Washington Post* as a member of one of El Salvador's "14 families" and a close friend of three former military presidents.

The armed forces high command helped Walters apply the screws to the politicians. According to a report in the April 23 *Washington Post*:

The leaders of each party were summoned to separate meetings at military headquarters where they faced a united front of at least two dozen officers, representing the chiefs of all the major military branches, the zone commanders and the provincial brigade commanders.

They said, "Here are three names. Pick one," related a politician who went to one of the meetings. . . .

Alvaro Magaña was clearly the Army preference, the political leader said.

As of April 26 the assembly had still not voted on Magaña's election. ARENA and D'Aubuisson were reportedly maneuvering to block the U.S. choice. These rightists know they have Washington in a difficult spot.

"The United States has never cut off aid anywhere for very long or even entirely," a D'Aubuisson reporter told the *Washington Post*. "Reagan will never let the communists win here."

As if corroborating this assertion, U.S. ambassador Deane Hinton told reporters the same day that Washington's "aid for El Salvador . . . will continue in any case. . . ."

Hinton's declaration of the administration's intent points up the need for intensified efforts to mobilize the vast anti-interventionist sentiment that poll after poll have shown to exist among U.S. working people. "Proposals for further economic aid elicit solid disapproval," the *Wall Street Journal* admitted April 23. "The notion of sending troops, not surprisingly, is abhorred. . . ."

"There is solid evidence that the surveys are accurate and that people understand the implications of the Central American situation. No matter how questions are phrased, no matter how the numbers are read, they reveal genuine hesitation to endorse any form of American participation in El Salvador." □