

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

U.S. readies attack on Central America

Emergency protests needed!

The following statement was issued November 11 by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The danger of a U.S. military attack against the revolutions in Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador has never been more acute. All indications are that some sort of military move against one or more of these countries is being secretly prepared at this very moment.

Such an act of aggression would be a crime against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, who are

Emergency protests will be held on Saturday, November 21, in cities across the country. The demonstrations have been called by the newly formed emergency campaign against U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

struggling for their right to determine their own future, free from domination by the United States.

A military move by Washington would also be a crime against the working people in this country. We have no interest in defending exploitation and oppression in Latin America and the Caribbean — or anywhere else. We don't want to see Reagan using military might to keep in office dictatorships like the bloody junta in El Salvador.

The American people don't want to see a military adventure that could lead to another Vietnam-type war. We don't want to watch American soldiers shipped home in coffins.

What's more, we don't want to see a military adventure that could grow into a full-scale confrontation with the Soviet Union. Who wants to find out if Haig "really meant it" when he said that the United States will not shy away from dropping a nuclear bomb somewhere as a "demonstration" to Moscow?

Immediate response needed

The Socialist Workers Party appeals to everyone in this country — to the labor movement, to the antiwar youth, to Black and Latino organizations, to women's rights fighters, to the movements in solidarity with the

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Above, U.S. warplane takes off from aircraft carrier. Below, young militia members in Nicaragua prepare to defend their revolution.

U.S. threat is real, Cuba warns

By Fred Murphy and Mary-Alice Waters

There is growing evidence that U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is imminent. The details of Washington's plans are being kept secret, but the targets are unmistakable: the advancing rebel forces in El Salvador, the deepening revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, and Cuba — which Secretary of State Alexander Haig has repeatedly slandered as the "source" of the problems the United States government faces in the region.

In response to the most recent developments, the Cuban government has had its armed forces on full alert since October 31. Reserves have been called up, troops have been restricted to barracks, and anti-aircraft weapons have been set up on roof tops in Havana. The newly organized Territorial Troop Militias have been mobilized.

Along with these steps to strengthen their military self-defense the Cubans have launched a political campaign, in Cuba and throughout the world, to explain the critical situation and mobilize opposition to U.S. plans.

'New and dangerous turn'

Reagan's campaign against Cuba "has taken a new and dangerous turn," a front-page editorial in the Cuban daily *Granma* warned November 2. "There has been an escalation of hostility that brings to mind the U.S. government's behavior when the invasion of our country in April 1961 was already imminent. . . ."

The Cubans are appealing to supporters of the revolution throughout the world to get out the truth about Washington's moves, to break through the conspiracy of silence by the capitalist media that is concealing the military operations now being planned, to answer the lies that Washington is spreading about Cuba, and to mobilize in action everyone who defends the right of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean to determine their own future.

While the Cubans have no way of knowing which of the options are being chosen, they are absolutely con-

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struggles in Central America and the Caribbean — action is urgently needed.

Now is the time to get out the truth about what is being secretly done in the name of the American people. Now is the time to answer the slanders being spread by Secretary of State Haig and the capitalist press against Cuba and Nicaragua.

Now is the time to mobilize opposition to any war move by Reagan.

Because of the immediacy of the danger, quick response is needed. Emergency protest demonstrations will be held throughout the country on Saturday, November 21. These protests have been called by the Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, a broadly sponsored coalition in New York. Similar groups need to be called together in cities around the country.

"Our immediate critical challenge," the Emergency Campaign said in calling the November 21 demonstrations, "is to force the U.S. government to drop all plans for aggression that will provoke a war in Central America and the Caribbean, if not the world."

Picket lines and marches, news conferences, public rallies and teach-ins, discussions at meetings of unions and other working-class organizations — all are needed to break through the conspiracy of silence of the daily newspapers, radio, and television. The truth must be told.

Crisis for Reagan

And what is the truth?

The current crisis for imperialism and its allies, including the junta in El Salvador and the capitalists in Nicaragua, is the result of the advancing revolutions in the region.

In El Salvador, civil war is raging. The U.S.-backed ruling junta is losing the war against rebels led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Washington's policy of stepping up arms shipments to the junta and sending military advisers has not turned the tide. The position of the regime is deteriorating.

In Nicaragua, Washington's efforts to combine economic pressure and threats with diplomatic maneuvering have failed to defeat or derail the workers and farmers government, which came to power in July, 1979. As a result, the confrontation between the Reagan administration and the Nicaraguan revolution has reached a critical point in the past few weeks. "We've taken off the kid gloves," said one U.S. official in Nicaragua.

And what about Cuba?

According to Haig, Cuba is "the source" of the problem imperialism faces throughout the area. On October 19, right-wing columnists Evans and Novak reported that 500 to 600 Cuban troops had landed in Nicaragua for the purpose of "setting up a revolutionary Marxist government in eastern El Salvador." Commenting on this report, Haig said, "We are considering a wide range of political, economic and security actions, including confrontation with the source, Cuba."

Yet the U.S. government has refused to offer any evidence to back up its charge of Cuban troops in Nicaragua or El Salvador. The slanders against Cuba are simply cover for Washington's plans for armed aggression against that island.

What Reagan finds intolerable about Cuba is the fact that working people there have taken national affairs into their own hands. They are running the government, the economy, and society as a whole in their own interests. They have abolished capitalism, and taken giant strides in improving the standard of living of all working people there. Racial discrimination has been outlawed. Huge advances toward guaranteeing equal rights for women have been made.

When the Cubans abolished capitalism, they also ended the exploitation of their land by American corporations. In the eyes of the capitalist rulers of the United States, this is the ultimate sin.

And it is because they cannot tolerate other countries taking the same road that the rulers in Washington are preparing imminent military action.

Not mere threats

It would be easy — and dangerous — to allow oneself to think that all that is involved is a new round of verbal aggression by the Reagan administration.

Because Washington has been so belligerent in its stance toward the Caribbean and Central American revolutions for so long, it may appear that the new moves are merely more of the same. The decision of the news media in this country to cover up the plans for military action now being put into motion is aimed at reinforcing just this false conclusion.

But all indications are that a military confrontation is now imminent.

The Cuban government has become absolutely convinced that Washington and its allies are planning to move militarily within a matter of days or weeks. The Cuban leaders are telling this to the Cuban people, and to defenders of the Cuban revolution throughout the world. They do not exaggerate in such situations. The last time the Cuban leaders made such a prediction

was just prior to the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. They were right.

The widespread antiwar sentiment held by working people in the United States does not preclude U.S. military action in Central America or the Caribbean. This sentiment is a political factor that limits the freedom of action of the imperialist rulers. It makes military action on the scale of the Vietnam war — when Washington sent half-a-million soldiers into action — too costly politically and too explosive for the U.S. rulers to undertake today.

But sentiment, no matter how deep, must be mobilized to become an effective political force. The rulers of this country don't act on the basis of majority sentiment. They act on the basis of their class needs, which are not those of the majority.

The most powerful ruling class in history will not allow new socialist revolutions to be consolidated without attempting to use all the means at its disposal — including military force — to crush them.

The U.S. rulers are quite capable of staging a provocation and committing elements of their huge military machine to action. Their goal is both to strike at the revolutionary movements they oppose, and to provide further arguments at home for the need to bolster military strength, through such steps as reinstating the draft and still further hikes in the military budget.

Only when the working people of the United States take the military arsenal out of the hands of the capitalist rulers of this country, and take political power themselves, will the imperialist warmakers finally be stopped.

But this does not mean that Reagan cannot be slowed down or deterred from taking any particular military action. The rulers take many factors into account in making any political decision.

That is why it is so important to sound the alert now, not after the fact, and to explain the true character of the situation.

The spotlight must be turned on Washington's plans and massive pressure must be mobilized — in this country and throughout the world.

Let the voice of the American people be heard, the voice of the workers and the oppressed who want to live at peace with the rest of humanity!

Break through the cover-up and expose the lies in the news media! Spread the truth as widely as possible!

Organize public demonstrations to demand:

U.S. hands off Cuba!

No U.S. intervention in Central America or the Caribbean!

The time to act is now.

Funds needed to get the truth out

The *Militant* is straining its resources to get out the truth about the danger of U.S. aggression in the Caribbean. Despite a very tight inflation-imposed budget, we expanded this issue by four pages to get in maximum coverage on these momentous events.

Our press run has been increased and supporters are ordering extra bundles to bring out the truth to as many people as possible.

We are making plans to continue our expanded coverage in the weeks to come, including as much on-the-scene reporting from the Caribbean and Central America as can be arranged. The *Militant* has sent Joel Britton to Nicaragua to get a first-hand feel for the mobilization of the people there.

Former *Militant* editor Mary-Alice Waters has flown to Europe to discuss the threats with activists there. She and *Militant* editor Cindy Jaquith, who has been in Britain covering the antimissile move-

ment, will team up to get us reports on the European response to Washington's moves.

Extra pages will be added to make room — if lack of funds do not prevent it.

We intend to continue to respond to this emergency as the situation requires, but money — or lack of it — is a critical problem.

We are appealing to our readers for help.

I WANT TO HELP. Enclosed is my contribution of \$10 __, \$50 __, \$100 __, \$500 __, other \$ __

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vinced that some sort of military move by the Reagan administration is planned within the next days or weeks. That is what Cuban diplomats and officials are telling the press and all defenders of the Cuban revolution.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista People's Army has been placed on full combat alert. The Nicaraguan government ordered the state of alert on November 8, "in the face of threats of aggression" by Washington. All military leaves have been cancelled until further notice.

Hint of Pentagon plans

On November 4, unidentified administration officials chose to make public that Secretary of State Haig had asked the Pentagon "to study a show of airpower, large naval exercises, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to the island, a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces" (*New York Times*, November 5).

The "leak" came in the midst of a closed-door gathering in Washington attended by Latin American army chiefs November 3-5. According to the November 6 *Washington Post*, "Pentagon officials declined to discuss" the contents of keynote speeches given by U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Col. José Guillermo García, El Salvador's defense minister. "However," the *Post* reported, "U.S. officials familiar with the text of Weinberger's speech said the United States was stressing the need for solidarity among the attending governments against the perceived threat of Cuban and Nicaraguan influence and insurgency in Central America and the Caribbean."

Nicaragua had been excluded from the meeting.

"A number of Latin American diplomats here said the conference focused specifically on El Salvador and U.S. charges of Nicaraguan and Cuban involvement there," the *Post* reported.

The Washington daily added that "some administration officials believe the government of Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte may be close to collapse."

A new stage

Washington is being forced to open a new stage in its battle to halt the advance of socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. Political and diplomatic maneuvering, combined with huge weapons shipments to dictatorial regimes, has not stopped the advance of the popular forces and the deepening of the organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants. That is why these methods are giving way to active military preparations.

From the standpoint of imperialism, the situation has turned critical.

- In El Salvador, the most optimistic statements from Reagan administration spokesmen speak of a "stalemate." And as Haig told *Newsweek* magazine, "stalemate could ultimately be fatal. . . ."

But other reports indicate the situation facing Washington in El Salvador is far worse. According to a dispatch from San Salvador to the November 10 *Washington Post*, "tours outside the capital into the countryside indicate that the stalemate was broken some time ago and that the guerrilla Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) is now gaining ground faster than government troops can hold it."

A symbol of the junta's dire straits is the fact that for months its army has been unable to rout strongly entrenched guerrilla forces from the Guazapa Volcano, which is just fifteen miles from the capital and can be seen from there on a clear day.

- In Nicaragua, Washington's two-year effort to trick, entice, pressure, and bribe the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) into blunting the



Targets of U.S. military plans include revolutions in Grenada, led by New Jewel Movement; and Nicaragua, led by Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Above: Maurice Bishop, left, of New Jewel Movement and FSLN leaders at February 23, 1980, rally in Managua honoring memory of Nicaraguan freedom fighter Augusto César Sandino.

Cuban youth appeal for solidarity

By Margaret Jayko

NEW YORK — Kathryn Crowder, National Organizational Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) issued a statement November 9 calling on all defenders of the right to self-determination to "move into action across the country" to protest threats by the U.S. government to intervene militarily in Central America and the Caribbean.

The statement was issued in response to a telegram sent to the YSA from four youth organizations in Cuba: Young Communist Union; Uni-

versity Students Federation; Pioneers Organization 'José Martí'; Middle Level Students Federation.

The telegram said, in part:

"USA government prepares final conditions [to] justify aggression against Cuba. In this regard they've elaborated campaign about alleged sending Cuban troops to Central America, other lies and similar slanders. . . .

"Cuban people decided to resist any aggression and not to capitulate in their principles. If necessary will die up to the last citizen. . . .

"Before serious threats against Cuba, we request on behalf of Cuban youth, students and pioneers solidarity with our people through urgent statements, denunciation [of] aggressive plans, demonstration, message, and any other means of solidarity action."

Crowder urged young people to help get out the truth about what's happening in the Caribbean and Central America, and to participate in the protests throughout this country November 21.

anticapitalist course of the revolution has failed, and a showdown is on the agenda. Terrorist raids by armed Somozas operating from camps in southern Honduras have mounted.

The revolutionary government has acted decisively against destabilization attempts. On October 29, three top leaders of the local capitalists were sentenced to seven months in jail. Imperialist threats have escalated: "The West will not allow Nicaragua to follow the tortuous path of Cuba," U.S. Vice-president George Bush declared during a recent tour of Latin America.

- On the small Caribbean island of Grenada, the workers and farmers government led by the New Jewel Movement is standing firm against an onslaught of imperialist-inspired propaganda alleging "human rights abuse." New land-reform measures are being implemented, and the mass organizations and militias are being strengthened.

- Cuba, despite threats from Washington, has reaffirmed its solidarity with El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada. While categorically denying that Cuba has sent troops or Soviet weapons to Central America and challenging Washington to come up with one iota of proof to the contrary, Fidel Castro emphasized in an October 24 speech that it is both "just" and "moral" to aid other peoples fighting for their liberation. "The imperialists are fooling themselves if they think our people will weaken" in face of threats and economic pressures, Fidel declared.

Opposition to intervention

The Reagan administration is well aware that the majority of the American people are opposed to any military action in the Caribbean or Central America. They learned this particularly from the upsurge of protests that followed release of the now-discredited "El Salvador White Paper" earlier this year. They

know that fully 25 percent of the latest group of eighteen-year-olds required to register for military conscription have failed to do so.

But the U.S. rulers must weigh such considerations against their fast-diminishing alternatives for halting the revolutionary developments in Central America and the Caribbean.

Advances in El Salvador

In recent weeks the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) has widened its areas of operation and dealt sharp blows to the military-Christian Democratic junta.

On October 15 the strategic Puente de Oro (Golden Bridge) over the Lempa River was demolished by FMLN commandos. This greatly complicated transport and troop movement between the capital and southeastern El Salvador. The rebels have inflicted heavy damage on the country's electric-power network, sometimes blacking out up to one-third of El Salvador and cutting off vital services in major cities.

On November 7 FMLN units staged heavy attacks on army installations in San Miguel, the third-largest city in the country and the main provincial capital in eastern El Salvador.

The strategy of "repression with reforms" inaugurated in 1979 by the Carter administration has proven increasingly bankrupt. Through a phony land reform and similar measures, Carter's State Department tried to prevent "another Nicaragua" in El Salvador. The biggest farms were nationalized, but this was only a pretext for military occupation of the countryside and the slaughter of hundreds of peasant-union activists and their families.

Nineteen-eighty saw the most massive strikes and street demonstrations in El Salvador's history, but it also saw the worst massacres by the repressive forces since the crushing of the 1932 in-

surrection. As the legal channels of opposition were systematically closed off, more and more Salvadorans took up arms against the regime.

The armed revolutionary organizations united to form the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. In January of this year, just before Reagan took office, the FMLN launched a general offensive. The rebels struck blows against the armed forces throughout the country, demonstrating the fragility of the junta's grip on power.

Carter policy dumped

The new administration in Washington unceremoniously shoved aside the Carter policy-makers who had tried and failed to halt the revolutionary upsurge through palliatives and reforms. Reagan poured millions of dollars worth of arms and military equipment into El Salvador. Several dozen U.S. advisers were dispatched to help the junta's armed forces. An international political campaign was launched to convince public opinion that El Salvador was the victim of "Soviet-Cuban intervention."

Almost every week since March, a new "counteroffensive" by the Salvadoran army has been announced. But not even the elite "Atlatl Brigade," trained and advised by U.S. Green Berets, has been able to make headway against the FMLN. Instead, the guerrillas have extended their control over wide areas of the countryside, especially in the north and east.

At the same time, the FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) have gained broad international support for their cause. They have taken the offensive against the junta and Washington on the diplomatic front as well, calling for a political solution to the conflict. In this effort they have gained recognition and support from such governments as France and Mexico. On October 7, Nicaraguan leader Da-

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U.S. MILITARY THREATS



Five million Cubans — half the island's population — turned out on May 17, 1980, after Carter administration threatened to hold military maneuvers at Guantánamo naval base, on Cuban soil.

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niel Ortega presented the peace proposals of the FMLN and FDR to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

As the military situation in El Salvador has turned against them, the Christian Democrats and the armed forces hierarchy have publicly feuded. Tensions are again rising. By scheduling elections for a constituent assembly in March — a ploy aimed mainly at enhancing the junta's image abroad — the regime also brought out of the woodwork several extreme right-wing parties with close ties to the officer corps.

These groups have little use for President Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democrats. The October 23 issue of *Latin America Regional Reports* explained: "The similarities of these right-wing parties are more important than their differences. All want to throw the Christian Democrats out of government, silence any talk of dialogue, and secure a military solution to the conflict. . . ."

U.S. calls in dictators

It has become evident that the Salvadoran armed forces alone cannot stave off the collapse of the regime. Hence, in addition to the meeting in Washington, consultation has taken place among the military chiefs of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to plan stepped-up intervention by the latter two armies in El Salvador. The October 9 *Latin America Weekly Report* said Argentine army commander Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri would visit Washington in November "to discuss the final details of plans to send Argentine troops to El Salvador." And the November 5 *New*

York Times cited Reagan administration officials as saying that "several Latin American countries had been contacted at high levels in government and the military and asked if they might join in any kind of military operations" in El Salvador or against Nicaragua or Cuba.

Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders have made it clear that their governments have the right and duty to come to the aid of the popular forces in El Salvador in the event of a direct foreign intervention there.

Washington knows this, and that is why its plans for crushing the upsurge in El Salvador must include operations aimed against Nicaragua and Cuba as well.

Nicaragua at turning point

In Nicaragua, as in El Salvador, the Reagan administration is faced with a revolution that is advancing rapidly. It is clear that in recent weeks U.S. officials have become convinced that nothing short of outside military intervention can prevent the consolidation of the first socialist revolution on the American mainland. Nicaragua is where the current upsurge began. The Carter administration was unable to halt the overthrow of the Somoza regime and the destruction of its National Guard. Following the July 19, 1979, victory of the FSLN-led workers and peasants, conditions were placed on U.S. economic aid. In that way, Carter tried unsuccessfully to break the determination of the Sandinistas to defend and advance the interests of the Nicaraguan workers and toilers.

Washington had hoped to shore up the

local capitalists and landlords who did not flee with Somoza and his cronies, create economic hardships for the working masses, and eventually undermine support for the Sandinistas. But this strategy did not get off the ground.

The Sandinista revolution advanced. Attempts by private industrialists to loot their enterprises of capital were met with factory occupations by the workers. Landowners who refused to plant had their holdings confiscated and turned over to the peasants.

Through the organization of the Sandinista People's Militias, the workers and small farmers were armed and organized. The necessity of this latter step became evident as the armed gangs made up of Somoza's ex-National Guardsmen and other counterrevolutionaries stepped up terrorist attacks from camps in southern Honduras.

After Reagan took office, U.S. threats and pressures against Nicaragua mounted. All U.S. economic aid was cut off in April. Short-term credit for vital imports became hard to get as most foreign banks followed Washington's lead.

FSLN stands firm

Backed by the workers and peasants, who have mobilized repeatedly to answer Reagan's threats, the FSLN stood firm. On July 19, 1981, the second anniversary of Somoza's downfall, the anti-capitalist course of the revolution was reconfirmed.

"From this day on, the FSLN, the Government and all the people of Nicaragua are deciding the rules of the game," declared Commander Daniel Ortega to the rally of half a million in Managua. "We are not going to permit [the capitalists] to keep on playing around with our revolution — playing with the blood of our martyrs, playing with the sweat of our workers."

Since then Washington's anti-Nicaragua propaganda and threats have risen steadily. The revolutionary government's defense preparations and close ties to Cuba come in for special attack.

"The Sandinistas are creating an army and militia of over 250,000, equivalent to a full one-tenth of the population," the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* charged October 19. "Heavy equipment, including 30 T-55 tanks, have been pouring in from the Soviet bloc. The combined forces of Nicaragua and Cuba soon will dwarf any army south of the Rio Grande and drive a Soviet strategic wedge between North and South America."

Washington's allies inside Nicaragua — the local capitalists and landowners — chimed in with the rising chorus of reaction on October 22. The Superior

Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) charged in an open letter that the FSLN was carrying out "Marxist-Leninist" policies "behind the backs of the Nicaraguan people" and "preparing a new genocide."

"We are on the brink of the destruction of Nicaragua," the capitalists threatened. "We are coming to the point of no return."

The COSEP statement was a signal to Washington that anything goes in combating the Nicaraguan revolution. It was a declaration of war on the FSLN-led workers and farmers government.

In response to COSEP's provocation, the FSLN jailed three top business leaders and reiterated earlier warnings to the right-wing daily *La Prensa* that attempts to destabilize the revolution would not be tolerated. As a result *Newsweek* reported in its November 9 edition, "The Reagan administration has almost abandoned its last faint hopes that Nicaragua's Sandinistas could be persuaded to follow a pluralist [i.e., procapitalist] path — and the hard-line U.S. policy toward Central America has turned even harder."

The "right" of the capitalist owners of *La Prensa* to use their presses to organize the counterrevolution is upheld with special vigor by the big-business news media in the United States and throughout Latin America. A delegation of newspaper owners from the Inter-American Press Association is due to arrive in Nicaragua on November 10 to "express concern" about "freedom of the press" to the government. The delegation will be headed by Charles Scripps, publisher of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, one of the biggest U.S. press conglomerates.

U.S. charges arms aid

Washington's key accusation — for which no evidence has been presented — is that the Sandinistas and the Cubans are shipping arms to the rebels fighting the brutal U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador.

"The government of Nicaragua is not sending arms to El Salvador," FSLN International Relations Secretary Julio López replied during a visit to Washington at the end of October, adding that "when a people needs weapons it finds them." López said the U.S. charges were aimed at providing a pretext "for a North American escalation in El Salvador."

Likewise, Cuban leader Fidel Castro responded to Washington's charges in an October 24 speech to the second congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in Havana:

"We answered all of this at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, when we said that for many months the Salvadoran patriots have been fighting with the weapons and ammunition they captured from the enemy, that it was not a moral question, because sending weapons to them is just and if we did not do so it was because we lacked the means. Morally we feel it is just to send weapons, but we told the truth: it was a lie that we were sending arms and ammunition to the Salvadoran patriots."

"We made all three denials at the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference: we are not sending weapons from the Soviet Union to Central America, we do not have advisers there and we are not sending weapons to El Salvador. We told them they were outright liars, we said so to the spokesmen of imperialism."

But the lies escalated nonetheless. "The United States claims the arms-supply network from Cuba through Nicaragua to El Salvador remains intact," the November 9 *Newsweek* said. "In response, Reagan's planners have decided to provide more military aid and advisers to El Salvador and other nations threatened by Nicaragua's military buildup. 'Don't rule out U.S. Marines,' says one knowledgeable source."

The Nicaraguans take mounting evidence of Washington's military plans as seriously as the Cubans do. A month-

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long militia mobilization began October 4 in response to U.S.-Honduran naval maneuvers held near Nicaragua's coast. Since then the mass organizations and the armed forces have been vigilant and ready to respond to any aggression.

"Our response as Nicaraguans to the Yankee military maneuvers was to organize the most formidable anti-imperialist mobilization ever seen in Central America," Commander Tomás Borge told the CDR congress in Cuba on October 24. Speaking two days after the murder of two Cuban teachers in Nicaragua by counterrevolutionary terrorists, Borge declared:

"Now Nicaragua and Cuba are not only united by the mutual respect and love between our peoples, but by this indissoluble bond of blood. Cuba and Nicaragua, and beside them all the peoples of Latin America, are marching towards the future with their formidable mass organizations, with their people's armies united by reason, wisdom, and justice. Those who wish to hold back that march have come too late, they will always come too late!"

Internationalist solidarity

U.S. threats against Cuba have steadily mounted since the beginning of the Nicaraguan revolution and the upsurge in El Salvador. They started with the Carter administration's scare campaign around an alleged "Soviet combat brigade" in Cuba in September 1979. That was followed by the establishment of a Caribbean military command in Florida, the "Solid Shield '80" and other naval exercises in the Caribbean, a growing permanent U.S. military presence there, and even the threat in April 1980 of a mock invasion of Cuba at the U.S.-occupied Guantánamo naval base.

Further provocations have been staged by the Reagan administration. In February the first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington was expelled. A series of Latin American regimes have been induced to break diplomatic relations with Cuba — first Colombia, then Costa Rica, and most recently Jamaica. Efforts have been made to bar Cuban periodicals from the United States, or at least make them more difficult to obtain.

Mysterious epidemics of diseases like dengue fever and hemorrhagic conjunctivitis have broken out in Cuba in recent months. The U.S. Senate itself has documented attempts in the past by the CIA to use biological warfare against Cuba, and many Cubans believe that this nefarious tactic is now being employed again.

The Reagan administration recently announced plans to set up "Radio Martí" — a grotesque parody on the name of Cuba's anti-imperialist national hero José Martí. This project will involve using a powerful transmitter in Florida to beam counterrevolutionary propaganda into Cuba.

Military camps for Cuban and Nicaraguan exile terrorists in Florida and elsewhere are allowed to function openly, in violation of U.S. laws, just as they were in the months leading up to the April 1961 Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón) invasion of Cuba.

A new round of U.S. naval maneuvers in the Atlantic and the Caribbean began October 30, involving two aircraft carriers, thirty-six other warships, and more than 200 planes. U.S. Coast Guard vessels have also begun patrolling the Windward Passage between Cuba and Haiti, ostensibly to block Haitians from emigrating to the United States.

Cuba's response to threats

The Cuban people and their leaders have resolutely responded to each new threat, declaring their solidarity with the revolutions unfolding around them. Three times in April and May 1980, millions of Cubans took to the streets in disciplined mobilizations to repudiate the anti-Cuba propaganda campaign whipped up by Washington over the exodus of more than 100,000 "fainthearts" from the port of Mariel.

On May 1, 1980, Fidel Castro called for the organization of the Territorial Troop Militias. A massive campaign to build these new armed forces of the people was launched in December 1980, after the second congress of the Cuban Communist Party. In a January 20 speech, Fidel described the militias as "the ideal complement" to Cuba's regular armed forces: "There will be no part of our country left unprotected; there will be no area in which the enemy will not encounter the tenacious and firm resistance; there will be no front — for all fighters, whether from the regular forces, Civil Defense, or territorial troops, the front will be where the enemy is."

In his speech to the CDR congress on October 24, Fidel reaffirmed Cuba's determination to defend itself against any eventuality. He pointed out that the Reagan administration's policies represent a grave threat to world peace. "Peace is being threatened in two ways," Fidel said, "by the danger of a world conflict and by the threats of a conventional attack on Cuba by the United States." He continued:

Some people wonder what's going to happen in the world. I, too, wonder what's going to happen in the world if they decide to launch a direct attack on Cuba. I say this because, first of all, what we must learn and observe as our philosophy is not to wait for anybody to defend us but to be ready to defend ourselves.

If we're unable to defend ourselves then we cannot expect solidarity from anybody. If we can defend ourselves, then we'll see what happens. What will happen? We'll leave that to history and to the way in which each one fulfills his duty of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

The imperialists are fooling themselves if they think our people will weaken! If we must make the sacrifices of the first years of the Revolution we will do the same and more! If we must make the sacrifices of the war of liberation we will do the same and more! If we must make the sacrifices of our *mambí* fighters we will do the same and more!

We serve notice on the imperialists that the Cuban people will live with their Revolution or every last man and woman will die along with it!

Ominous blackout

Since the Cubans sounded the alarm over the imperialists' preparations for military action and placed their own

armed forces on alert, the response of U.S. government officials has only served to confirm the accuracy of the Cuban's charges.

No representative of the White House, State Department, or Pentagon has so much as mentioned the military alert in Cuba. None have even acknowledged the Cuban government's repeated demands that proof be presented of the wild allegations about Cuban intervention in Central America.

Instead, top administration officials have leaked word that military options are under consideration, and Secretary Haig has confirmed the substance of those reports.

To the extent that they have reported them at all, the major U.S. news media have discounted the Cubans' concerns. The November 6 *Washington Post*, for instance, cited "congressional and Pentagon sources" as saying "that there were no indications that any . . . U.S. military action against [Cuba or Nicaragua] was imminent."

Concerning the current U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean, the November 7 *New York Times* said Pentagon officials stressed that these "were planned long ago and were only coincidentally related" to Haig's request that military plans be prepared.

The *Times* and other ruling class papers have sought to portray the situation as a policy dispute between Haig and the Pentagon. According to this version, the Defense Department officials think the possibility of successful military action is limited and that, in the words of the *Times*, "it is highly doubtful that the American public and Congress would support military intervention. . . ."

The rulers are certainly aware that military moves would not be popular. But they must weigh that against their narrowing range of options. Moreover, such public policy disputes are themselves often part of a smokescreen. Compare the recent accounts with the following dispatch by James Reston published in the April 11, 1961, *New York Times* — just six days before Cuba was invaded at the Bay of Pigs:

A sharp policy dispute has developed within the Kennedy administration about how far to go in helping the Cuban refugees to overthrow the Castro Government.

Some officials are urging the President to provide enough military and economic assistance to enable the refugees to establish effective control over at least part of Cuba. It is understood, however, that the State Department is worried about the political and military consequences in the hemisphere and elsewhere of providing military force to achieve political ends.

Thus, while the *Times* was comforting its readers with the idea that nothing had been decided and the "policy dispute" was still unresolved, the ships were secretly being loaded for the invasion forces.

So this would not be the first time that the capitalist news media helped keep the public in the dark about Washington's real intentions. Also, while the main organs of the U.S. ruling class

D.C. protest hits junta

By Nick Gruenberg

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A spirited picketline of seventy-five people protested the presence here of Colonel José Guillermo García, El Salvador's bloody defense minister.

García was here for a closed-door gathering attended by Latin American army chiefs.

Despite the fact that the conference focused on U.S. charges of Nicaraguan and Cuban involvement in El Salvador, Nicaragua was the only member of the Organization of American States that was excluded.

The picketline occurred on November 9, outside the Watergate Hotel, where García was holding a news conference.

Among the sponsors of the action were the D.C. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Casa El Salvador, and the People's Antiwar Mobilization.

have downplayed the reports of plans for military action, the Spanish-language tabloids published by anti-Castro exile groups in the United States have been in a frenzy of excitement and anticipation. "Cuba Invasion Plan Ready!" screamed a banner headline on the October 4 issue of the Miami *Semana Extra*. "In military circles it is emphasized that for the first time in the past twenty years the United States is in optimum conditions to launch an action of this type," the gusano rag claimed. "It would be a decisive and lightning movement against the island. . . ."

Time to sound the alarm

Even the public dispute between Haig and Weinberger over plans for a "demonstrative" nuclear blast against Moscow should be looked at in this framework. Those who think the U.S. secretary of state is a babbling idiot would be wise to consider the possibility that representatives of the U.S. ruling class know exactly what they are doing when they make such statements. Haig's statement may have lost Washington some ground in Western European public opinion, but that is not the rulers' only concern. They paid a price, but delivered a timely warning to the Soviet Union and to the Cubans and other revolutionaries in Central America and the Caribbean.

It is clearly a dangerous moment for Cuba — the most dangerous since the revolution triumphed in 1959.

The Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Salvadoran revolutionaries face difficult times and decisive tests.

It is also the moment of truth for all the forces throughout the world that stand on the side of progress for humanity.

It is time to sound the alarm, to get out the truth, and to throw all our weight against Washington's plans for aggression in the Caribbean and Central America.



Washington seeks to bolster El Salvador's civilian-military junta, left, which is losing ground in civil war to guerrilla forces of Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). Right, members of FDR executive committee.



'We are ready to die before submitting to blackmail'

Cuba answers U.S. lies and threats

The following article was printed as an editorial in the November 2 issue of 'Granma,' the daily newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.'

In recent months it has become evident that there is a new imperialist conspiracy aimed at creating the conditions for aggression against our country and for military intervention in Central America.

The Reagan administration — faced with the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Central America, with Cuba's firm stand of rejecting imperialism's threats and pressures, with the continued deterioration of the internal economic situation in the United States, and the growing opposition to its interventionist policy in El Salvador — is deceiving public opinion in the United States by leveling false accusations against Cuba.

These accusations are leveled through use of unscrupulous journalists and lying statements by its government officials around the themes of supposed shipments of arms, Cuban military advisors, and combat troops to Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Bay of Pigs

The campaign by the reactionary and warlike group that controls the executive power of the American nation has taken a new and dangerous turn. They have initiated negotiations with important foreign governments in which they threaten to launch the aggression against our country. There has been an escalation of hostility that brings to mind the U.S. government's behavior when the invasion of our country in April 1961 was already imminent, an invasion by a mercenary army recruited, financed, trained, armed, transported, and militarily supported by U.S. officers.

As the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations did on that occasion, the Reagan government is fabricating the climate needed for the aggression, is lying about the truth of the events, is trying to ignore the Revolutionary Government of Cuba's accusations regarding the aggressions that are being prepared, and is avoiding any response to the essence of the challenge made by Cuba.

Its clear aim is to confuse U.S. public

opinion and sound out the possible reactions of other governments. While our government calls upon the Reagan government to present evidence for the false accusations it has made against Cuba, the representatives of imperialism avoid answering the Cuban challenge and remain quiet, waiting for the right moment for the aggression.

But the facts are revealing the U.S. ruling group's shameless conduct and are exposing its lack of moral principles.

False charges

To demonstrate this, it suffices to examine some of the manifestations of this imperialist conspiracy. These are not, by a long shot, the only things they have said against Cuba. This is just a sample, but one that is sufficiently illustrative.

- On July 30, in a secret session of the Senate Armed Services Committee, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig stated that "there is solid evidence that some of the materials [Soviet military aid to Cuba] are being reshipped to Central America."

- On August 3, State Department spokesman Dean Fischer alleged that "Cuba's already packed arsenal has reached a level that goes beyond Cuba's legitimate defense needs."

- In early August, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Yankee representative to the United Nations, toured various Latin American countries. Everywhere she went she slandered and threatened Cuba and tried to justify the imperialist intervention in Central America. On August 8, from Chile, she stated that her government proposed "to persuade Cuba with all the means at its command." She then added: "The government of the United States is conscious that Cuban expansionism must be directly dealt with."

- On August 11, in remarks made to the American Bar Association, Mr. Haig accused Cuba and the Soviet Union of being the cause of the worsening tensions in Central America and Southern Africa, claiming that among other things they were guilty of sending Soviet arms to Nicaragua and El Salvador. On that occasion Mr. Haig also stated that Cuba has 1,500 military advisors in Nicaragua.

That same day, Rear Admiral Robert P. McKenzie, commander of Yankee naval forces in the Caribbean, declared

that the Cuban navy is being transformed "into a fleet with an offensive capability, able to interdict navigation," and he accused Cuba of "spreading terrorism, revolution, and communism."

- On August 20, in a written response to questions from reporters, the State Department asserted that since 1980 Cuba had developed "a sophisticated and broad clandestine strategy that promotes armed violence and the destabilization of its neighbors."

- On August 23, in statements to the ABC television network, Mr. Haig repeated his threats against Cuba and, in justifying the action of the U.S. armed forces that shot down two Libyan planes, expressed the view that the time had come for the international community to no longer ignore "illicit acts" whether stemming from Libya, Cuba, or the USSR.

- The following day, August 24, Mr. Haig again made accusations against Cuba. This time he told the *Christian Science Monitor* that "the stepped up guerrilla activity in El Salvador" is the consequence of a continued provision of arms, advisory activity, and external command and control, primarily a Cuban source." Haig added that "I continue to believe we have to go beyond [internal security needs] to deal with the source of the external support."

- On August 28, the Yankee secretary of state said in a Washington press conference that for the first time the U.S. felt that Cuban military advisors are acting directly in "certain guerrilla areas" of El Salvador in support of the guerrilla operations command. Haig added that the U.S. was considering a number of political, economic, and security (that is, military) "measures involving the problem at its source, Cuba."

- On September 1, an official declaration by the State Department stated that the U.S. intelligence services had confirmed the presence of some Cuban advisors among the Salvadoran revolutionary forces, without having precise estimates of the total number of Cuban advisors in El Salvador at the moment.

Thus, in rapid succession representatives of imperialism have tried to sow

the idea among the unwary that Cuba is increasing its means of defense in an unjustifiable manner and with perverse aims (forgetting more than twenty years of systematic aggression by imperialism against our country).

They sow the idea that Cuba is the cause of the economic, political, and social conflicts on this continent and in other parts of the so-called Third World (as if the consequences of centuries of colonial rule and decades of imperialist exploitation could be hidden).

They sow the idea that Cuba is intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries on this continent (trying to sweep under the table the U.S. occupations of the territories of Cuba, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama, Haiti).

They sow the idea that Cuba must therefore be "punished" (closing their eyes to the demands by international public opinion, including in the United States, for a halt to imperialism's aggressive and warlike policy).

Cuba's reply

In the face of the evidence of the aggressive intentions of imperialism, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba issued a declaration on September 3 referring to the July 30 statements by imperialist spokesmen regarding the alleged redistribution in Central America of weapons received by Cuba, and the September 1 statement on the supposed presence of Cuban military advisors among the Salvadoran revolutionary forces.

The Cuban declaration charged that "the process of brutal U.S. intervention in El Salvador is now leading to these cynical lies to justify new genocidal acts against that heroic people and other aggressive international actions by the insane, desperate policy of the present Yankee administration."

In its September 3 declaration, the Revolutionary Government also stated that the supposed redistribution of Cuban arms in Central America "is an absolute, 100 percent lie," and that "the assertion that there are Cuban advisors with the Salvadoran patriots is a

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Fidel Castro Speeches



Paperback, 391 pages. \$7.95 (include \$.75 for postage). Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

From a review by Elaine Fuller in 'CUBATIMES' magazine:

"This collection . . . is a vital source of information for anyone wanting to know just where the Cubans stand and why. In fact, the most important thing to be gained from this book is a sense of what the Cubans mean by internationalism, the philosophy which guides their foreign policy.

"The book has sections on Angola, Ethiopia, Vietnam, the nonaligned movement, the establishment of a dialogue with the Cuban exile community, relations with the United States and the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. There is a very interesting appendix — an essay by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the Colombian novelist, on Cuba's involvement in Africa. . . ."

Cuban diplomat sounds alert on war moves

By Margaret Jayko

NEW YORK CITY — About seventy-five people attended a reception here on November 8, sponsored by *Cuba Times* magazine, to meet Rolando Lopez del Amo, Alternate Ambassador of Cuba to the United Nations.

Lopez del Amo explained that in the last month Washington has escalated its efforts to isolate Cuba, a campaign reminiscent of the early sixties.

He pointed to articles in the U.S. press repeating the charges that the Cubans have sent troops to El Salvador, and reporting on preparations for U.S. military moves in the Caribbean. He said that his government's requests for proof of this slander have been met with silence by Secretary of State Haig.

He repeated several times that Cuba is convinced that a serious danger exists, not only to Cuba, but Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, and world peace.

He pointed to the antimissiles movement in Europe, as well as the election of Mitterrand in France and

Papandreou in Greece, as examples of how the peoples of the world want "different options" than what President Reagan has in mind.

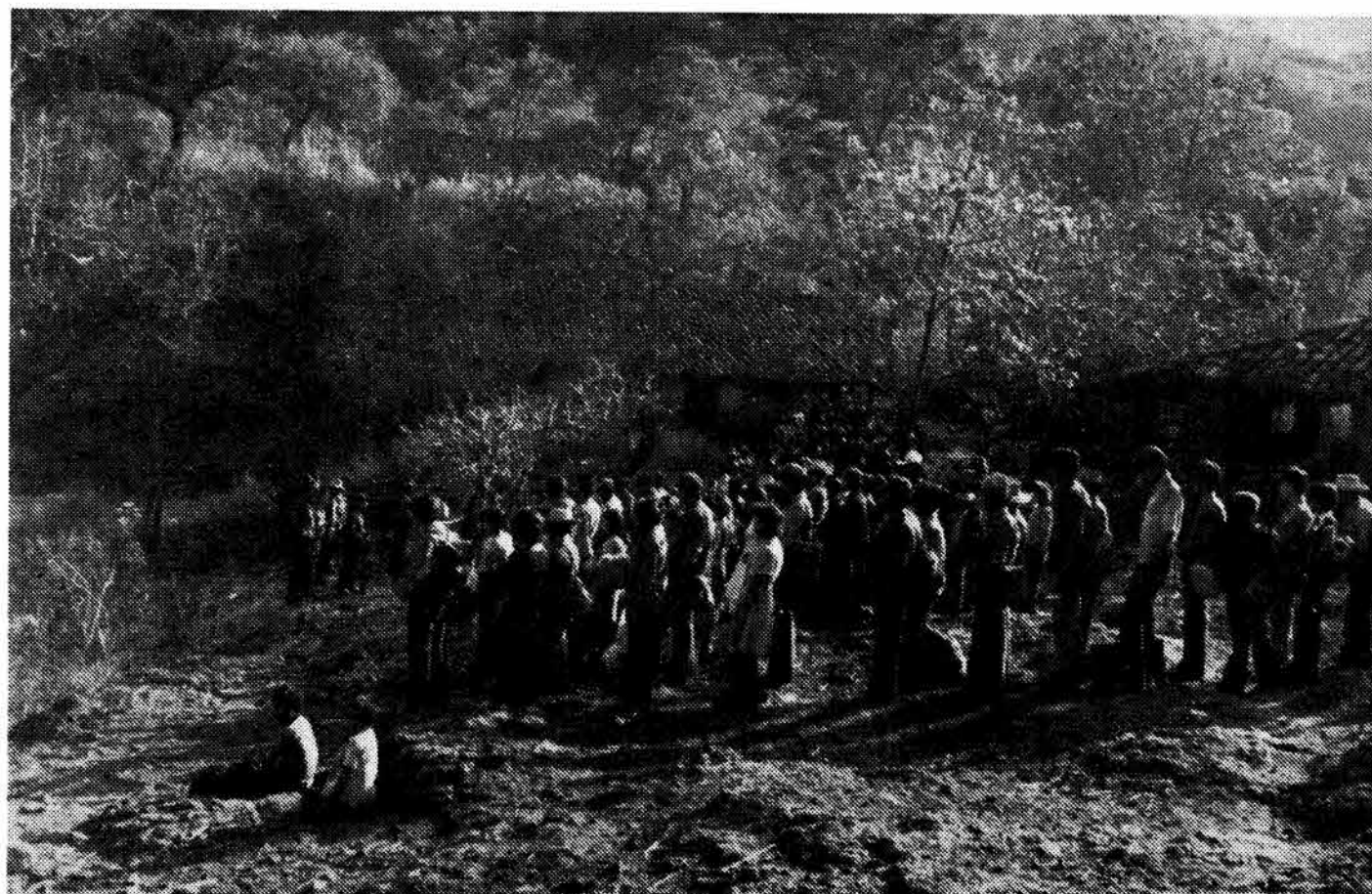
He urged those present to counter the lies and to help organize protests in this country.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark pointed to the recent U.S. naval maneuvers near Cuba and said that "the last week has been one of the worst in U.S. history."

"Cuba is the ultimate goal of Washington's war threats in Latin America," Clark told us.

He said the biggest job for supporters of Cuba is to get out the truth about the Cuban revolution and to answer Washington's lies.

Archie Sinham, who teaches at Howard University, said that members of the Congressional Black Caucus have sent a letter to Haig and the State Department demanding they formally reply to the Cuban government's request for proof of the charges against it.



Secretary of State Alexander Haig has been main mouthpiece for administration slanders. Cubans charge campaign of lies is meant, among other things, "to justify new genocidal acts" against Salvadoran freedom fighters. Latter are seen at right earlier this year in liberated zone of El Salvador.

shameless lie." The declaration added that "there has never been, nor is there now a single Cuban military or civilian advisor with the revolutionary forces that are fighting in El Salvador."

The Cuban declaration noted: "We call on Mr. Haig and his government to provide world public opinion and public opinion within the United States with the slightest evidence for these assertions. The Cuban government never lies. Let's see if Mr. Haig and the unscrupulous and lying U.S. government can say the same."

Washington repeats lies

But the United States did not respond to Cuba's challenge. According to a dispatch by the Agence-France Presse [AFP], in the face of insistent questions from journalists, the State Department spokesman merely repeated what had been said two days earlier by the State Department. This means that the State Department did not present any evidence or make the slightest effort to try to back up its false accusation. At the same time, however, and with total lack of respect for public opinion, it repeated its earlier statement. In other words, it again repeated its same lies.

For his part, on September 11 Admiral Harry Train, chief of the U.S. Atlantic fleet, declared that "the main threats to the security and stability of Latin America are Cuba and the USSR." This same Neanderthal had stated in Caracas on March 25 that "the U.S. was in a position to set up a military blockade around Cuba in reprisal for its intervention in the affairs of El Salvador."

On September 15, in his address opening the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro, reiterated the challenge to the United States authorities. After denouncing the falsehoods in the U.S. statements concerning the shipment of arms to Central America and the presence of Cuban advisors in El Salvador, Fidel pointed out: "We have called upon the United States government to provide the most minimal evidence for its assertions and it has been unable to reply with a single word!"

Escalation of threats

On that occasion as well, the U.S. government did not respond to the Cuban challenge. Coincidentally, that same day the Department of State announced that it would not grant entry visas to three Cuban officials invited to participate in an event to take place in the U.S. capital to discuss present relations be-

tween Cuba and the United States, and future prospects.

However, the aggressive escalation against Cuba has not stopped:

- On September 23, President Reagan's National Security Advisor Richard Allen, and Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders announced the decision to begin radio broadcasts against Cuba, which the French wire service Agence-France Presse termed "a virtual declaration of radio war."

- Vice-president George Bush, addressing the Dominican Republic's congress on October 12, had the audacity to say that Nicaragua "still has the opportunity to free itself from the chains that the 5,000 advisors sent by Castro are slowly placing around it."

- On October 13, an advisor to President Reagan, who according to the AFP wanted to remain anonymous, stated that "the U.S. feels that the shipments of arms by Cuba to the Salvadoran rebels is continuing and will continue in the future."

- The following day, in Colombia, Bush repeated the threats against Cuba, stating, according to an official U.S. news agency, that the United States "will not assume a passive attitude while foreign powers brutally intervene in the internal affairs of our peoples."

- On October 19, a column by journalists [Roland] Evans and [Robert] Novak was published dealing with the supposed presence of 500 to 600 Cuban soldiers in Nicaragua. These troops, it was claimed, were part of activity aimed at establishing "a Soviet-backed communist government" in "the eastern third of El Salvador."

'Expose the lie'

In his speech to the closing session of the second congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution on October 24, Fidel Castro denounced this new provocation by reactionary U.S. groups, and pointed out how they manipulate some journalists to write these articles with obvious aims: to justify their intervention in El Salvador and to justify their threats and aggressive measures against Cuba.

And Fidel added: "Messrs. Imperialists, you are lying. Lying. The only thing to do is to expose the lie, for Cuba has not sent a single soldier from any special forces or any other kind of force to Nicaragua. Cuba has never sent any troops to Nicaragua! This is a blatant lie, and we have both the right and the duty to disprove it; it is a lie from top to bottom, from head to foot."

Upon receiving reliable reports on Mr. Haig's messages to other govern-

ments backing up the lying claims of these journalists and at the same time making new threats of attacks and aggression against Cuba, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba issued a declaration on October 28, this time calling on Mr. Haig to "state, without vacillation, subterfuge, or obfuscation:

- "Whether he can back up the charge that Cuba landed between 500 and 600 soldiers in Nicaragua;

- "Whether it is true that the United States has evidence for that assertion;

- "Whether it is true that he sent this report to other governments, adding that he had such proof, and accompanying the lies with his well-known and gross threats."

"Let him state on what day, at what time, and on what planes these men landed, since he claims to know! Let him present his evidence!"

'Subterfuge'

The reply by the State Department spokesman that day was an example of vacillation, subterfuge, and obfuscation: "It is our traditional policy not to confirm or deny this kind of information [from Evans and Novak]. However, we continue to view with the utmost seriousness the extensive shipments of arms and advisors to Nicaragua. Reports of this type press us to provide military and economic assistance to the countries of the region. We stand by what we have said thus far."

On the following day, October 29, when questioned by reporters, Haig again avoided Cuba's repeated challenge, and he repeated the same lies and threatened our country with new aggressive moves.

Last Friday, *Granma* restated the Cuban challenge, and in the name of our entire people it rejected the Yankee threats. In our editorial we demanded:

"Let the United States government clearly respond to the concrete challenge of the government of Cuba, if it can!"

"Let it now stop shamefully deceiving the people of the United States and world opinion!"

On Friday afternoon, State Department spokesperson Alan Romberg spoke again about Cuba. He too was unable to respond to the firm, clear, and concrete formulations of our Revolutionary Government. This gentleman was, however, more precise when referring to imperialism's aggressive designs against our country.

'Strengthen blockade'

Showing his scorn for the norms of international law, this individual confessed that among the new activities

that are aimed against Cuba, in addition to the forthcoming start of radio broadcasts against our country, are "measures to strengthen the application of the blockade." Among these measures, he mentioned that in this year alone the Yankee government had cut all trade with twelve companies accused of having commercial ties with Cuba and he added that "new steps are being considered."

Nearly two months have passed since Cuba categorically refuted the mendacious Yankee accusations and challenged the U.S. rulers to present the evidence they say they have. There have been nearly two months of cynical and shameless silence, of total scorn for international opinion and for the people of the United States themselves, who have a right not to be miserably misled.

Nearly two months have passed and the evidence has not been presented. Nearly two months have passed in which they have not, however, stopped their torrent of lies against Cuba.

Public opinion and the people of the United States have a right to demand an explanation from imperialism. And the U.S. rulers have an obligation to answer clearly and unambiguously.

'We will resist'

The campaign of lies waged by Washington has the goal of justifying new aggressive acts against Cuba and against the Central American peoples. It seeks to justify the demented warlike policy of the present U.S. administration and is an attempt to try to cover up its growing military intervention in El Salvador.

For the imperialists the lie is a tool of their policy of war, interventionism, and aggression. It is therefore necessary to expose it and defeat it.

The present Yankee rulers have the right to be the biggest liars in history, true rivals of Hitler and Goebbels, and it seems that is what they want to be and that is what they are showing themselves to be. But no one has the right to play with world peace with impunity, as their Nazi predecessors did in another time.

Whatever the price, we will resist this overbearing, arrogant, and fascist policy. More than once, we have shown that the empire does not inspire in us the slightest fear or respect.

As Comrade Fidel told the world parliamentarians at the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union: "We will save peace if its enemies know that we are ready to die for it before submitting to blackmail and fear."

Cuba sets the example for this in practice.

Fidel Castro warns of new war dangers

By Nelson Blackstock

Cuban President Fidel Castro has warned of grave dangers facing the Cuban Revolution, as well as all of humanity, as a result of new war moves by Washington.

The warning came in a speech in Havana October 24 at the close of the second congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

"Peace is being threatened in two ways: by the danger of a world conflict and by the threats of a conventional attack on Cuba by the United States," Castro said.

At the same time the Cuban leader stated, "We want to tell the arrogant, overbearing imperialists that our first

we don't have the slightest respect for them and we have no fear of them. They know and the world knows that this is a serious matter. They are in the habit of intimidating and threatening because there are really very few in the world who dare tell imperialism everything it should be told, since it is such a strong country."

Washington's lies

Castro answered lies emanating from Washington about Cuba's role in Central America.

"There has been a host of lies surrounding the events in El Salvador. We haven't answered every time they said something, we have remained silent with contempt for them because we don't have to answer to them for anything. At a given moment we decided it was time to set the record straight because they were getting wild."

"They claimed the arms which Cuba was receiving for its defense were being redistributed in Central America. We didn't say anything because the redistribution of something that is ours depends on whether or not we want to do so, we don't have to answer to imperialism for that. We didn't want our denial to be taken as a moral renunciation, an implication that we think that what we were being accused of doing was immoral. Of course, by agreement we can't distribute arms received from the USSR and we fulfill our agreements."

Cuba has recently received a shipment of weapons for use by the Territorial Troop Militia, recently launched in response to new imperialist threats. Claims that they are being forwarded to

'The Cuban people will live with their Revolution or will die with it.'

Central America are being made "in order to justify their sending weapons and advisers to El Salvador, their intervention in Central America, to justify it to Congress, and they knew it was a lie," Castro said.

"A few days later they went wild again claiming we had military advisers in El Salvador, another big lie. Of course, this followed the French-Mexican declaration [recognizing the rebel forces in El Salvador as a legitimate party to any negotiations] and was an effort to complicate matters and embarrass those countries."

"Then they started saying we were supplying weapons to the Salvadoran guerrillas. We answered all of this at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, when we said that for many months the Salvadoran patriots have been fighting with the weapons and ammunition they captured from the enemy, that it was not a moral question, because sending weapons to them is just and if we did not do so it was because we lacked the means. Morally we feel it is just to send weapons, but we told the truth: it was a lie that we were sending arms and ammunition to the Salvadoran patriots."

Castro turned to a charge made by U.S. columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak that Cuba had sent "500 elite soldiers" into El Salvador by way of Nicaragua.

Through sowing patently fraudulent stories such as this, Reagan is able to avoid taking responsibility for them, yet still use them "to justify intervention in El Salvador, to justify their threats and aggressive moves against Cuba," Castro said.

"The only thing to do is to expose the lie, for Cuba has not sent a single soldier from any special forces or any other kind of force into Nicaragua. Cuba has never sent any troops to Nicaragua! This is a



FIDEL CASTRO

Intercontinental Press/Will Reissner

blatant lie, and we have both the right and the duty to disprove it; it is a lie, from top to bottom, from head to foot."

Tomás Borge, Nicaragua minister of the interior, spoke alongside Castro at the gathering. Borge reported that George Bush during a recent tour of Latin America had claimed that Cuba had "5,000 advisers" in Nicaragua.

While refuting the "adviser" lie, Castro proudly admitted that some 2,100 Cuban teachers, plus over 200 doctors, construction workers, and others with skills to offer were in Nicaragua.

Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, had even claimed Cuba had troops in Afghanistan. "What next?" Castro asked. "They even say we had soldiers in Afghanistan."

As for Bush's charge, Castro said, "The purpose of this policy is to encourage killings as horrible and as cowardly as the murder of the two Cuban teachers only a few days ago in Nicaragua."

"I believe, sincerely, that one of the finest passages in the history of international solidarity is being written by our teachers and doctors in Nicaragua."

Castro reaffirmed Cuba's determination to meet imperialism's challenge on both the military and economic plane. A major section of his speech dealt with the roots of the current capitalist economic crisis. He described how Reagan was trying to solve these problems at the expense of both workers inside the U.S. and of the peoples of underdeveloped countries.

Reagan's policies have caused interest rates to soar as high as 20 percent, hitting hard credit-starved countries of the

underdeveloped world.

Castro also pointed to environmental problems spurred by capitalism, which "are painting a truly bleak picture for the human race, truly difficult, and it is one to which there is yet no adequate response."

"The capitalist crisis" is also having "indirect effects on the socialist countries and causes them difficulties too," Castro said.

Arms race

Reagan's policy "differs from that of previous administrations in that it is more overt and aggressive, more arrogant and belligerent," Castro said.

Warning of new dangers posed by an accelerating arms race, Castro said:

"The danger of war continues to in-

'If we're unable to defend ourselves then we cannot expect solidarity from anybody.'

crease. Existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons ready for use are enough to destroy humanity ten times over. This made it very important to try to control the production of nuclear weapons, to limit their production in the hope — the hope! — that at a certain stage it would be possible to move towards reducing

Black caucus demands facts on U.S. charges against Cuba

The following letter was sent by eight members of the Congressional Black Caucus to Secretary of State Haig on November 10:

Dear Mr. Secretary,

We hear from many important international sources that the Department of State officials have determined that the United States relations with Cuba are deteriorating rapidly.

It is our understanding that this crisis has been precipitated by the following alleged actions:

- The landing of approximately 500 Cuban troops in Nicaragua;
- Arms shipments from Cuba through Nicaragua to El Salvador;
- Presence of Cuban advisors in El Salvador;

We request that you forward to us evidence of these Cuban activities as soon as possible.

In addition, we have been informed that the United States government is contemplating a series of options, including military ones, against Cuba based upon the above alleged activities of the Cuban government.

We request a full briefing as soon as possible regarding these issues.

The implication of any military action is extremely dangerous and a direct threat to world peace which merits full consideration.

We seek assurances that the U.S. will not engage in unwarranted military posturing and measures.

It is our judgment that U.S. interests can best be served by positive foreign policy which addresses the social, economic, and political problems facing the people of the Caribbean and Central American region based on the concept of understanding, cooperation, and above all, peace.

'Not newsworthy' can become ominous

By Harry Ring

You would have expected it to be front page news. Since October 31, Cuba has had its military forces on full alert. Reserves have been called up and anti-aircraft weapons stationed on rooftops.

Yet there's been barely a mention in the U.S. media. UPI picked up an account from a Mexican daily. Brief reference was made in a few other articles.

Why are the papers passing up this story at the very moment when they're doing so much to spread distrust and fear of Cuba?

Could it be that the story would pose the question: Why is Cuba mobilizing?

The way the story is being played down makes sense only in the context of Washington's current threats of military action against Cuba, Nicaragua, and the rebel forces in El Salvador.

That's what's really being played down.

For instance, readers of the *New York Times* had to get to the very last page of the November 7 issue to find a buried item reporting ominous naval maneuvers in the Caribbean.

That was the day before Cuba declared its military alert.

According to the *Times*, the Pentagon assured that the maneuvers had been planned for a long time and "only coincidentally [!] related" to General Haig's requests for a study of military options in the area.

The not-so-routine nature of the maneuver was indicated with Pentagon advice "that the size of the fleet and the extent of the exercises could not help but send a message to Cuba."

The way the *Times* buried that story is in itself a confirmation that Cuba's fear of pending aggression is justified.

The capitalist media has always played a very conscious role in helping to perpetrate such acts of aggression as the one now being set up in the Caribbean. And the *New York Times* has always been a pacesetter in this dirty work.

Authoritative

The *Times* has a long-established reputation for being highly authoritative. Publications throughout the country follow its lead on how to handle important political stories. When the *Times* takes a story like the naval maneuvers in the Caribbean and buries it back on the TV page, that's a tip to the rest of the media: This is an important story. Play it down.

Check back to 1961 when Washington was organizing an invasion of Cuba. It was a case history of the role of the business-controlled media as an instrument of government policy.

Over an extended period of time, the CIA and other government agencies had recruited and trained some 2,500 Cuban exiles for the invasion force. Training camps were operating in Florida and in Guatemala. Recruitment offices were functioning in New York and Miami.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Fidel Castro Responds

The Post recently published an article by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak ("Bridge over the River Lempa," op-ed, Oct. 19) dealing with Central America, El Salvador and Cuba. The article was widely publicized.

It claimed that during the second half of September, Cuba had sent 500 to 600 elite troops with the purpose of becoming directly involved in the developments in El Salvador. It even sought to link up the guerrilla action that destroyed the Puente del Oro in that country with the alleged contingent of Cuban troops. When asked by different press organs, the State Department refused to confirm or disprove the news.

Thus an attempt was made to add another element to the campaign already under way for several weeks, concerning the situation in Central America and, particularly,

in El Salvador, with regard to Cuba's alleged participation in recent arms shipments to the Salvadoran revolutionary forces and the sending of Cuban military advisers to cooperate with them. These totally false reports were officially issued by the U.S. State Department and by Secretary of State Haig himself in the months of July and August. On Sept. 3, in a press release, the Cuban revolutionary government publicly challenged both Mr. Haig and the government of the United States to offer one shred of evidence to back their slanderous assertions. Neither Mr. Haig nor the U.S. government has answered this denunciation.

The objective of the truculent and absolutely false article by Mr. Evans and Mr. Novak was to reenact and extend the campaign launched several weeks ago, which

led to Cuba's refutation. There is an event, however, that adds more serious and dangerous elements to this campaign of falsehoods and lies. The U.S. government has informed third countries that it has detected the sending of 500 Cuban troops to Nicaragua and that it possesses the corresponding evidence, all the while wielding the usual threats against Cuba. These falsehoods and lies constitute one more step aimed at setting the stage to justify further actions that, as have been publicly reported, are being prepared by the U.S. government against our country.

We have challenged Mr. Haig and the U.S. government for the second time to give an answer about those totally false statements. We are still awaiting a reply.

FIDEL CASTRO RUZ
Havana

In an effort to combat the news blackout, Fidel sent this letter to the *'Washington Post,'* which published it November 11. The *'Post'* reported that the State Department "refused to comment" on Fidel's letter.

stockpiles and finally implementing a policy of disarmament.

"Lately the climate of peaceful coexistence, advocated by Lenin at the start of the October Revolution, has gradually faded from the international scene."

The U.S. has moved away from Salt II and "started a policy of rearmament. . . urging their NATO allies to increase military spending, then they raised the issue of medium-range missiles in Europe. . . ."

To the charge that this is necessary to halt Soviet "expansionism," Castro said: "The historical truth shows that the Soviet Union has always been in a position of inferiority compared with its enemies and that the policy of the country was always rightfully and legitimately directed towards arming for defense. Who is better aware of this than our people

'Morally we feel it is just to send weapons, but we told the truth: it was a lie that we were sending arms and ammunition to the Salvadoran patriots.'

and our Revolution, given our need to devote large human and material resources to the defense of our country?"

"The imperialist countries are the only ones that seek to take over the world for the purpose of economic exploitation. . . ."

World gendarme

Noting Reagan's proclamation that he would not let what happened in Iran happen in Saudi Arabia, Castro said, "The United States thinks any revolutionary social change in any country is Soviet expansionism and declares that it is not willing to tolerate it. Never before has imperialism proclaimed itself world gendarme in such flagrantly cynical terms, ready to prevent, to forbid, even to intervene in any country where there is a revolution."

Pointing to the antimissile movement in Europe, Castro said, "In short the United States is preparing for a policy of interventionism throughout the world. It is trying to drag its allies into this policy, while they put up ever greater resistance. This resistance is being expressed primarily among the peoples of Europe, where the movement for disarmament and peace is growing, as reflected in larger and more energetic demonstrations related not only to the arms race but to the plan to deploy 572 nuclear missiles in Europe. . . ."

Turning to the recent Cancun conference — a meeting of heads of state from a number of advanced capitalist and underdeveloped countries to discuss the problems facing the latter — Castro told of Cuba's decision not to attend the meeting in Mexico in order to avoid giving Reagan an excuse to boycott it.

Reagan had insisted that Cuba be banned. "He didn't object to the Soviet Union being invited, the Soviet Union could attend," Castro said. "(H)e didn't object to China's presence, China could attend. But for some strange reason the only one that could by no means be there was Cuba, a country which has consistently in all international conferences raised these issues and maintained a policy of firmly defending the interests of the underdeveloped countries as a whole."

Finally, Castro concluded his speech by proclaiming, "We serve notice on the imperialists that the Cuban people will live with their Revolution or every last man and woman will die along with it!"



Page 48, November 7 'New York Times'

The operation was so extensive it could hardly be kept secret.

Yet the press did everything it could to keep public knowledge to a minimum. The *Times* played a key role in this.

In October of 1960, six months before the invasion, *La Hora* of Guatemala City reported that Cuban exiles were being trained by the U.S. at a military camp in Guatemala.

Prof. Ronald Hilton of Stanford University was in Central America at the time and wrote an account of this for the *Hispanic American Report*, published at Stanford. Then the *Nation* published a story on the military camp by Hilton.

The *New York Times* was fully aware of this. Herbert Mathews, then a reporter for the *Times*, recalls the incident in his book, *Revolution in Cuba*. He recalls that Hilton phoned him with information about the camps and he passed it on to the *Times* news department.

Nothing appeared.

Then Richard Dudman, an enterprising reporter for the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, went to Guatemala and confirmed Prof. Hilton's story.

Hard-nosed silence

In the next few months stories appeared in other publications. The *Times* remained silent.

Meanwhile, the entire media joined with the government in trying to whip up an hysteria against Cuba with lurid stories of Cuba being a Soviet enclave and an island-wide concentration camp.

Cuba tried to break through the curtain of silence about the pending invasion.

On October 31, 1960, at the United Nations, Raúl Roa, Sr., gave details on the training camp in Guatemala. On January 4, 1961, Roa told the UN security council of an airport being built by U.S. engineers at the Guatemalan training camp.

Roa gave the street addresses of mercenary recruiting offices in this country.

Clearly, then, the media silence was not intended to keep the Cubans uninformed of the pending attack.

As with the current sinister prepara-

tions, the purpose was to keep the American people uninformed.

Former *Times* staff writer Gay Talese wrote a 1969 book about the paper, *The Kingdom and the Power*. He described the *Times* pre-invasion coverage.

Times correspondent Tad Szulc had filed a story on the military preparations for the invasion which was published April 7, ten days before the invasion and six months after Hilton's reports.

Daniels's account

In his book, Talese provides an account of how the story was handled, as described by Clifton Daniels, a *Times* editor:

"Originally, Daniels recalled, the story had been scheduled for the lead position on page 1. But then the publisher of the *Times*, Orvil Dryfoos . . . ordered the story toned down, moved to a less prominent place on the page, its headline minimized, and any reference to the imminence of the invasion eliminated.

"It was in the national interest to withhold certain vital facts from the American people. . . ."

It's hard to find a better explanation of why and how the American people are lied to about matters that so vitally affect their interests. (It also underlines that "national interest" has nothing to do with the interests of the American people. The "national interests of the ruling rich" would be much more precise.)

Nor does the lying begin with the media. It originates with the government itself.

A textbook example of this was also given during the 1961 Cuba invasion. The example was Adlai Stevenson, then U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

A former Democratic presidential nominee, Stevenson was respected by many as a liberal intellectual.

On the eve of the invasion, four of Cuba's airfields were bombed by U.S. bombers with Cuban air force markings.

Two of the planes, piloted by Cuban exiles, flew back to Miami where they were described as defectors from the Cuban air force.

Standing before the UN, Adlai Stevenson told the entire world that the invasion was in fact a "rebellion" of the Cuban people. He cited the alleged "defectors" as examples.

Stevenson's tale was so preposterous that it was quickly exploded. Particularly since the Cuban people smashed the invasion in a matter of days and captured the entire mercenary force.

While liberal Democratic President John F. Kennedy was enraged over the crushing defeat of the invasion, he did have words of praise for Stevenson's UN performance. He admiringly told one reporter, "That Stevenson has the nerve of a burglar."

The politicians who run this country may not all have the nerves of a burglar. But they do have the morals and calculating skills of cold-blooded murderers. The same goes for the capitalist media.

That's why it's ominous when threats of aggression suddenly become non-news.

'We want peace with freedom' Nicaraguan leaders answer U.S. slanders

By Margaret Jayko

The recent series of threats, slanders and violence against the Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Cuban, and Grenadian revolutions have been firmly answered by the Nicaraguan people.

In an October 7 speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Commander of the Nicaraguan Revolution Daniel Ortega turned the tables on Washington's charge that revolution in Central America is being fomented by Cuba, the Soviet Union, and Nicaragua.

He listed the many recent moves by the U.S. government, from the escalation of the arms race, to the recent military threats against Cuba and Grenada.

He also hit the economic crisis of the semicolonial countries caused by their exploitation at the hands of world imperialism.

"It is there, in that age-old reality of exploitation of the Central American nations and in the injustice with which the developed world treats our people, that we must seek the causes of the political and social turmoil rocking Central America, and not in the Nicaraguan Revolution. Our Revolution is the first major effort made in the history of Central America to eliminate the roots of the crisis.

U.S. is true culprit

"The charge that the Sandinista people's Revolution is to blame for the rebellion in Central America reflects the hypocrisy of the true culprits of the dramatic situation in Central America."

He then went on to document the 140 years of U.S. aggression against Central America.

"More than 784 hostile acts against the right of our peoples to their sovereignty have taken place and there have been more than 100 since 1960 alone.

"Why were our countries abused, invaded and humiliated more than 200 times from 1840 to 1917? What was the excuse, if there was not a single socialist state in the world and the czar still ruled in all Russia?"

"How can we explain the many attacks, interventions and the landings from 1917 to 1954 in Latin America when the Cuban Revolution still did not exist and could not be charged with 'interference,' a charge reserved for future use?"

"The aggression, interference, pressures and blackmail have never stopped."



To illustrate that point, Ortega said, "Today, October 7, 1981, near the sovereign territory of Nicaragua, the United States is starting the military maneuvers known as Falcon Vista, in which its naval, ground and airborne forces are participating along with those of Honduras."

Peace with freedom

"Our peoples are ready to respond, as Sandino responded [Nicaraguan revolutionary who led successful war against U.S. occupation troops in 1933], to any attempt at direct or indirect aggression, be it in Nicaragua or El Salvador. We all know that the invasion threats are directed primarily against those two peoples."

"We want peace, but not at the cost of freedom. We do not want war, but if they make war on us we will resist with a people's war. We feel that although the outlook is poor, even bleak, there is still time to stop the warmongers."

Cuban teachers killed

Just two weeks after that speech was given, the counterrevolution struck another cruel blow against the Nicaraguan and Cuban people.

On October 21, two Cuban teachers and two Nicaraguan peasants were killed in cold blood by counterrevolutionary terrorists in a remote northern area of Nicaragua.

Local militia units took out after the murderers immediately, and within forty-eight hours two of the terrorists were killed. A militia member died in the battle as well.

Hundreds of Nicaraguans turned out to pay homage to the two Cubans.

Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión promised, "We will look for [the killers] wherever they are and we are going to find them, and they are going to feel the full weight of revolutionary justice."

In Cuba, thousands of teachers volunteered to take the places of the murdered two.

On October 24, Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge spoke in Havana, Cuba, at the close of the second congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs).

"The leaders of the right in Nicaragua, faithful mirrors of U.S. aggressiveness, prepared this crime patiently and coldly.

"For months they have been saying in all their media that the Cubans are living in the best houses, in the best accommodation, that they travel in the most luxurious cars, that they are exhausting Nicaragua's food reserves, that they are preaching all sorts of exotic doctrines."

"The Cuban teachers and doctors, the Cuban internationalists who are working in Nicaragua, do their work in the most isolated, wild, unhygienic and difficult places, in the rain, living in huts, bitten by mosquitoes, undergoing incredible hardships with the infinite joy that comes from fulfilling one's duty."

"Nicaragua does not pay the Cubans a single cent; the only thing we Nicaraguans pay the Cubans, with respect and emotion, is our infinite gratitude for everything they have done for our country."

Borge also used his speech to make the links between the attacks on Cuba and the attacks on Nicaragua.

'Not by chance'

He pointed to the similarity between the Cuban CDRs and Nicaragua's Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs). These are mass neighborhood defense committees in both countries, which are also charged with organizing other aspects of local life.

"It is not by chance that the CDRs and the CDSs come under violent attack, just as it's not by chance that during the literacy campaigns counterrevolutionary bands killed numbers of teachers in both Cuba and Nicaragua; it's not by chance that Cuba has been isolated, nor is it by chance that they are trying to isolate Nicaragua."

"And of course it's not by chance either that U.S. newspapers and their servile imitators in Latin America say that Nicaraguans and Cubans blew up the bridge over the Lempa River in El Salvador."

"In the last few days, George Bush... has asked the Sandinistas... to 'rectify' their political positions; or rather, he says that now is the time to rectify them and only then can he offer us a loan of 35 million dollars, which moreover would be destined for the Nicaraguan private sector."

"This is a good opportunity to tell Mr. Bush that we Sandinistas will go on being revolutionaries, will go on being anti-imperialists, will go on being internationalists, will go on being friends of Cuba, and that Sandinistas never sell out and never give in."

"Cuba and Nicaragua, and beside them all the peoples of Latin America, are marching towards the future with their formidable mass organizations, with their people's armies, united by reason, wisdom and justice!"

"Those who wish to hold back that march have come too late, they will always come too late!"

Caribbean journalists defend Grenada

By Margaret Jayko

Caribbean journalists are protesting the concerted media campaign by their employers against the revolution in Grenada.

On September 29, journalists in Trinidad met to discuss an editorial that appeared simultaneously in several papers throughout the Caribbean condemning the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada.

The editorial called on the PRG to "hold elections," "stop human rights abuse" and "free Grenada."

The journalists decided that the editorials originated from the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association (the CPBA) which includes the region's wealthy press barons, who have open ties with the United States International Communications Agency (USICA), which acts as a CIA propaganda channel.

In May of this year, at a USICA-sponsored conference in Washington, D.C., editors were briefed on "how to handle Grenada" in the news, while being wine and dined at U.S. State Department expense.

Directly after this, the propaganda assault against Grenada multiplied, mainly in CPBA-owned newspapers.

This was matched in the United States by a television series the same month portraying Grenada as a police state.

This vigorous propaganda campaign is designed to soften up public opinion for stronger measures against Grenada by Washington and its supporters in the region.

In addition to economic sabotage of the Grenadian economy, U.S. troops stationed on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques practiced a mock invasion of Grenada in August.

The imminent moves being prepared against Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador by Washington are also threats to Grenada.

The Media Workers Association of Free Grenada (MWAFFG) commented that "this new wave of co-ordinated press attacks takes place in the context of the Vieques military manoeuvres, which revealed clear U.S. intentions to invade Grenada."

In a telegram of solidarity with their colleagues in Trinidad, MWAFFG stated: "As journalists and media workers freely practising our profession in Grenada, we condemn these latest co-ordinated Caribbean newspaper attacks as blatantly false and dishonest. They represent the narrow views and interests of the media monopolists in the region, who abandon all pretenses of objectivity when it comes to reporting on the Grenada Revolution."

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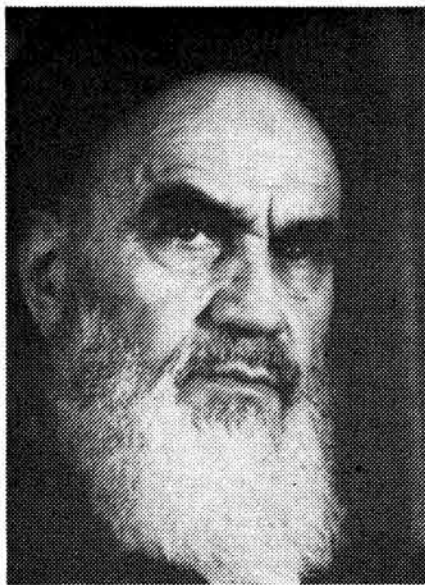
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Two views on Iran

Imperialism and the Khomeini regime

Letter from a reader

Dear Editor,

This letter concerns what I believe to be errors and unclarity in the *Militant's* position on developments in the ongoing Iranian revolution.

1. The *Militant* has been unclear or incorrect on the current crisis.

David Frankel's article in the October 9, 1981, *Militant* stated: "To begin with, it is necessary to carry out a revolutionary war against the Iraqi invaders and against the imperialist-backed destabilization campaign within Iran."

This demand of the government could easily have been taken to include continuation of the government's civil-war measures against the Mujahedeen organization. Frankel listed the Mujahedeen, the only sizable organized open opposition in Iran now, among the "forces aligned with imperialism."

The article noted government repression, but failed to include among its proposals the call for an end to the current wave of hundreds of political executions of Mujahedeen supporters.

Instead of defending the Mujahedeen victims against the firing squads, the *Militant* has repeatedly placed them in the same category as the monarchists and other direct imperialist agents in Iran. An earlier article by Fred Murphy, for example, referred to a "counter-revolutionary bloc" including the monarchists and the Mujahedeen.

It is correct to condemn Mujahedeen leader Rajavi's support for the former president, Bani-Sadr. It is correct to say the Mujahedeen military policy plays into the hands of the imperialists. (We should also note that it

plays into the hands of the present Iranian government.)

It is false, however, to put Rajavi and the Mujahedeen in the same category as the monarchists. In a *Le Monde* interview, Rajavi said the resistance organization he proposed would be open to everyone "on the condition that they not have collaborated with the Shah or Khomeini."

The cause of "destabilization" and violence in Iran, next to the Iraqi invasion, has not been the Mujahedeen, but the government's war against the Kurds, its repression of the Mujahedeen and others, and the economic sabotage of the capitalists. Yet the *Militant* for a time centered its attack on the Mujahedeen.

Frankel's article, acknowledging that the Mujahedeen campaign began in response to repression, was an improvement, in my opinion. The October 12 *Intercontinental Press* article by Fred Murphy was a further improvement, intimating opposition to executions.

The latest article only went halfway, however. The *Militant* should not just quote workers' view that the executions are "of little use in effectively defending the revolution"; it should include among its proposals an end to the anti-Mujahedeen political trials and firing squads. The *Militant* should explain that by supporting the Islamic Republican Party, the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party betrays the revolution. The *Militant* should explain that the government is by its very nature unable to carry out a revolutionary policy or a "revolutionary war."

2. The *Militant* has not been clear

on the nature of the present government.

An article by Janice Lynn in the July 10 *Militant* called the Khomeini regime "an anti-imperialist government." In the absence of an explanation since then that despite its conflicts with Washington, the government is by its class nature pro-imperialist, it is necessary to assume that the label "anti-imperialist" still stands. But since the *Militant* has not repeated that characterization, perhaps you are not sure whether it's correct.

If the government, which the *Militant* has repeatedly recognized as capitalist, is also anti-imperialist, then the entire role of the capitalist class in Iran and other countries must be re-examined. Can capitalist governments go beyond occasional anti-imperialist measures and acquire an anti-imperialist character?

In my opinion, they cannot. The Iranian government is pro-imperialist, not anti-imperialist, and has shown this in action.

Furthermore, it is not a bourgeois-democratic regime; it is a clerical dictatorship.

The *Militant* ought to say both these things.

As against the present set-up, the *Militant* should present the necessity for separation of mosque and state, elections in which all parties are recognized, a government responsible to a constituent assembly, and authoritative constituent assemblies for each oppressed nationality. That will add some content to the *Militant's* call for a workers' and farmers' government.

3. While acknowledging that Is-

lamic ideology is used by the Iranian government for reactionary purposes, the *Militant* has inexplicably endorsed Islam as a progressive set of ideas when embraced by the masses: "... the Islamic ideology of the workers and peasants expresses their hatred of imperialism and their desire for social liberation." (*Militant*, October 9, 1981, p. 17; almost the same formula was used in the July 10 issue, p. 7.)

In this way the Iranian masses' anti-imperialist sentiments and ideas, some of which have to do with Islam and some not, are made to seem equal to the ideology of Islam. But the ideology of Islam is that of the bourgeoisie and its clerical regime, which determine its content.

The best that can be said of the reactionary religious ideology of Islam is that the masses' adherence to it does not prevent them from fighting imperialism, and that is no more reactionary than the secular bourgeois ideologies that coexist with it in Iran.

4. The above three points indicate that there has been a tendency in the *Militant* that leads in the direction of advocating critical support, in the political sense, to the Khomeini regime. Articles have lent support to the regime's justification of civil-war measures against the Mujahedeen, called it "anti-imperialist," and supported the Islamic ideology that ties the masses to it. This tendency may now be reversing itself. Count me as one who supports such a reversal.

David Keil
Newport News, Va.
October 11, 1981

In reply:

By David Frankel

Three broad questions are raised by David Keil in his letter to the *Militant* (see box). These questions — the nature of the Iranian government, the role of religion in the Iranian revolution, and the character and activity of the Mujahedeen organization — are continually being discussed not just among socialists and in the workers movement, but in the daily press around the world.

The *Militant's* approach to these issues has been to analyze them in the context set by the imperialist domination of Iran.

Since Iran is a country oppressed by imperialism, all the problems facing the Iranian masses are connected to and intertwined with the struggle against this foreign domination. The Shah's dictatorship, for example, was imposed by the CIA and propped up with U.S. arms. Its hated secret police, SAVAK, was trained by U.S. experts.

Similarly, Iranian workers and peasants fighting for a better life must do so in a country where the economic possibilities have been stunted by foreign exploitation.

Thus, the struggle against imperialism is not only an integral part of the class struggle inside Iran, it also determines the framework of that struggle.

Iranian govt's actions

In his criticism of the *Militant*, Keil objects to characterizing the Iranian government as "an anti-imperialist government." He does not base his argument on the actual events in Iran's struggle against imperialist domination. Rather, he argues by definition. The Iranian government is a capitalist government, therefore it "is by its class nature pro-imperialist."

The closest Keil comes to looking at the actual events in Iran is when he asserts that "the Iranian government is pro-imperialist, not anti-imperialist, and has shown this in action."

What action is he referring to? When? Where? Keil does not tell us.

Any Marxist analysis of the Iranian government must begin with its origin and its actual relation to the working masses and imperialism. In this case, we are dealing with a government that came to power as a result of the revolutionary mobilization of the Iranian people in their millions.

Under the pressure of these mass mobilizations — which have continued to

this day — the government has carried out extensive anti-imperialist measures. These include:

- Expulsion of U.S. military advisers from Iran and closing of U.S. bases;
- Cutoff of oil to Israel and South Africa, and withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from the Zionist regime in Israel;
- Nationalization of imperialist holdings;
- Repudiation of the U.S.-backed Camp David accords;
- Refusal to back down in the face of U.S. military and economic pressure during the year-long hostage crisis;
- Encouragement of opposition movements in Saudi Arabia and Egypt — Washington's main bases of support in the Arab world aside from Israel; and
- Identification with revolutionary struggles against imperialism in other parts of the world — including support for the Irish liberation struggle and recognition of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in El Salvador.

Because of this history, the Iranian masses continue by and large to see the Khomeini government as one that will wage struggles against imperialism. And the imperialists also see it this way. They have responded with a systematic campaign of poisonous propaganda, eco-

nomic sabotage, political pressure, and military attacks.

'American lackeys'

For the imperialist rulers, the very existence of the Khomeini regime in Iran is a constant provocation. It is a living example to the workers and peasants throughout the Middle East that the mighty U.S. government can be successfully defied, that the oppressors can be overthrown no matter how big their arsenals and no matter how ruthless their secret police.

Nor has this example fallen on barren ground. U.S. policymakers, spurred by their fear that the Iranian revolution will spread, have rushed through development of a Rapid Deployment Force intended mainly for use in the Middle East, and have stepped up their scramble for new bases in the region.

Following Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's assassination on October 6, the Pentagon immediately alerted more than 70,000 troops and moved naval forces into position off the Egyptian coast. Washington's new man in Egypt, President Hosni Mubarak, accused "Moslem fanatics" of "trying to imitate something like what happened in Iran," and announced new repressive measures

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page
against "the extremists." (New York Times, October 20.)

One does not need a lot of imagination to picture the reaction among U.S. officials when Khomeini, speaking a few days after Sadat's death, declared: "The Egyptians should not fear Martial Law. . . . Like the Iranian people who flooded the streets and destroyed Martial Law, they should also flood the streets and demolish Martial Law and do away with these American lackeys." (Tehran Times, October 10, 1981.)

There is good reason for the nervousness in Washington. An indication of the degree of opposition to the Egyptian regime was given in a report by Thomas Friedman in the October 27 New York Times. According to Friedman, "More than 200,000 people packed Cairo's Abdin Square at the end of Ramadan in August for a prayer rally organized by the [Moslem] brotherhood and other Islamic associations."

It was shortly after this massive opposition rally that Sadat ordered the arrest of more than 1,500 of his political opponents.

Is imperialism intervening?

Iranian leaders have urged the Egyptian masses to rebel against the pro-imperialist dictatorship there, and as we will see later in more detail, they are doing the same in Saudi Arabia. But if we are to believe the story presented in the big-business media, Washington is taking a hands-off attitude toward Iran.

Following the August 30 bombing that took the lives of Iran's president and prime minister, the editors of the New York Times took some pains to stress that Washington was not involved. "The United States — its foot freed from the hostage bear trap — can stand aside as yet another revolution devours its children," they smugly remarked September 1.

"Iran's political course will have to be determined by its own people — or its armed forces," the editorial added.

No CIA activity here, you see.

An editorial in the Christian Science Monitor on the same day also protested Washington's innocence in the affair.

"Both sides in Iran's power struggle continue to blame the United States in one way or another for the situation that has once more brought shocking tragedy to Tehran," the Monitor commented. "But, whatever Washington's errors of commission or omission in the past, the present turmoil is the violent child of a revolutionary leadership that cannot escape responsibility for it in the eyes of the world."

"The Iranians are on their own. . . ."

Well, not quite on their own, as a look at the facts will show.

It is not hard to see how the political

struggle between the Iranian government and imperialism is reflected in the economic sphere. To begin with, there are currently \$2.4 billion worth of frozen Iranian assets on deposit in Dutch and British banks, and U.S. corporations are lining up with claims that are expected to total more than \$3 billion.

Iran has had difficulty in obtaining essential imports, with imperialist corporations demanding cash payment. At the same time, the country has not been able to sell enough oil to get the hard currency it needs.

According to radical journalist Fred Halliday, whose past writings have played down the imperialist campaign against Iran, "the regime is finding it difficult to sell more than 500,000 barrels of oil a day, less than the 2,000,000 it wants to sell and much less than the six million sold in the last days of the shah. Some observers suspect that the major Western oil companies (with the encouragement of their governments) are refusing to buy the oil of a regime that was responsible for the hostages and that is deemed incapable of survival in the long run." (In These Times, October 14-20, 1981.)

Iraq-Iran war

What really gives teeth to the economic sabotage being carried out by the imperialists, however, is that it is being implemented in the context of the Iraqi war of aggression against Iran.

"The toll to both OPEC nations in war-damaged oil facilities, vastly reduced oil exports, drained foreign exchange reserves and destruction of military equipment is said by some Western analysts to have cost Iran over \$100 billion, and Iraq probably half that amount," Loren Jenkins reported in the September 20 Washington Post.

But while the imperialists have been squeezing Iran, they have taken a very different approach to the Iraqi regime. The U.S. interests section in Baghdad is now larger than the Belgian embassy to which it is attached.

As one U.S. official explained in April, "A move to re-establish diplomatic ties is still too controversial to pass Senate approval. But formal ties are not as important as a relation of substance." (8 Days, April 11, 1981.)

Iraqi financial losses have been mitigated by massive aid from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other pro-imperialist Arab regimes. Such aid has been running at a rate of about \$1 billion a month since the war began in September 1980.

Trade between Iraq and the imperialist countries is booming. British exports to Iraq are expected to hit \$1 billion in 1981, up from \$650 million last year. U.S. exports to Iraq went up 64 percent in 1980, to more than \$700 million.

'For the imperialists, the very existence of the Khomeini regime in Iran is a constant provocation. It is a living example to the workers and peasants throughout the Middle East that the mighty U.S. government can be successfully defied, that the oppressors can be overthrown, no matter how big their arsenals and no matter how ruthless their secret police.'

West Germany exported \$1.8 billion in goods to Iraq in 1980, while Japan sold \$2.17 billion worth. In 1981 the West Germans hope to replace Japan as number one.

Arms to Iraq

A similar picture emerges in the area of arms sales. Both the U.S. government and its NATO allies have generally continued the arms embargo against Iran that they initiated during the hostage crisis.

On the other hand, Helena Cobban reported in the September 4 Christian Science Monitor, "Iraqi acquisition of French Mirage fighter planes, which has already started, may be followed by plans to buy and subsequently build British Hawk training planes. The Iraqis are also reported interested in the British Chieftan (renamed Shir Iran for the late Shah of Iran) tank, which was developed especially with the desert conditions of the Gulf region in mind."

Sadat also provided the Iraqi regime with some help. It was disclosed on March 31 that Egyptian arms worth \$35 million were being sold to Iraq.

And on October 28, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon publicly charged, "The United States is supplying weapons to Iraq."

Sharon continued: "Who'd have imagined that the United States would supply weapons to Iraq? So they do it under cover. They don't supply directly. They supply through the Saudis and through the Jordanians. But they have been supplying artillery and ammunition and shells through the Saudis for months and months now." (New York Times, October 29.)

Propaganda and reality

But the most convincing evidence of where the imperialists stand is presented every day in the mass media. The Iranian revolution has been subjected to a two-year-long propaganda barrage of unparalleled viciousness and mendacity. Anybody reading the capitalist press in the United States and Europe would

think that the only thing taking place in Iran today is executions, and that the Iranian government remains in power only by terrorizing the majority of the population.

It was not the government terror, however, that brought millions of workers and peasants into the streets throughout Iran following the August 30 bombing that killed President Mohammed Ali Rajai and Prime Minister Mohammed Javad Bahonar. In the September 8 issue of its newspaper, Hemmat, the Iranian Workers Party (HVK) pointed out that these demonstrations were larger than those that took place after the bombing of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) headquarters in June. These huge protests were the closest thing we have seen to an objective test on where the masses stand today.

Although the imperialist media tries to paint a picture of an Iran that is more repressive than the shah's dictatorship, the reality is quite different. Much as the current regime would like to stamp out all opposition currents, it has been unable to stop the political ferment in the working class, or to crush the organizations of the workers and peasants.

Members of both the HVK and the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) are known as socialists in the factories where they work. They take part in the political life of the factory shoras (committees), which continue to carry out struggles around wages, hours, and for the extension of workers' control on the job, as well as for political demands.

Both the HVK and the HKE are politically opposed to the present government, but both are able to produce regular newspapers despite attempts at repression. Both sought to run candidates in the recent elections, but were ruled off the ballot — something that has been known to happen to socialist candidates in the United States as well.

Socialists inside Iran report widespread demonstrations by peasants demanding land reform, debates on television between fired workers and government representatives, and public dis-

Iranians at Cuba press conference

The following article by Marta Rojas appeared in the October 4 issue of the English-language 'Granma Weekly Review', published in Havana. The article was part of the Cuban paper's coverage of the sixty-eighth conference of the inter-Parliamentary Union, held in Havana September 15-23.

The Parliamentary group from Iran gave a press conference at the Palace of Conventions in the course of which its members said that the Iranian revolution advocates the elimination of the influence of colonialism throughout the world. The delegates also drew attention to a series of sensitive spots in strategic areas, for example Gibraltar, the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal and Diego Garcia Island, under imperialist domination and the influence of colonialism. In the same sense, they mentioned the Mediterranean area, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, expressing their concern as to when peace and stability

will return to those areas and they will cease to be the target of imperialist schemes.

"In our opinion," they said, "world peace depends to a great extent on the maintenance of neutrality and peace in these troubled areas."

They went on to say that the Islamic revolution of Iran is in favor of every movement for independence and every genuine liberation movement. "We want the people of the world to know what is happening in Latin America, particularly in Bolivia, El Salvador and Uruguay. And we want to stress once again that what was said in the Conference regarding the Irish people's courageous struggle for their legitimate rights should be echoed by those who want a really free world."

They went on to say that "they had never heard of a country named Israel," and expressed their solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The Iranian parliamentary group was composed of Mohajerani Khati-

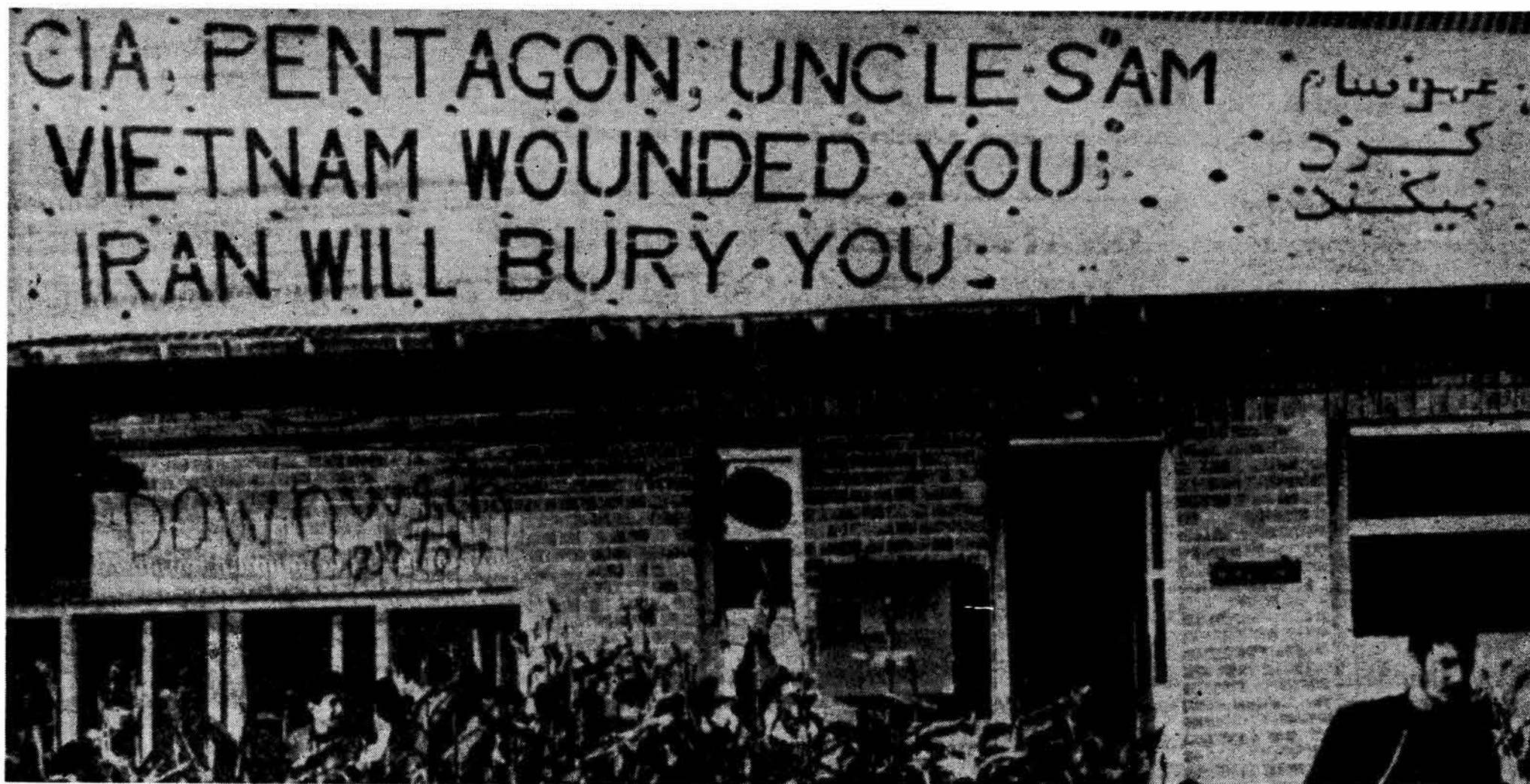
mi, Doai, Vilayati, Natig Nouri, Hejazi, Besharati and Aghah-Mohammadi. They all spoke in Persian, which was translated into English by one of the group and then into Spanish.

The press conference was conducted by Seyyid Mahmud Doai, head of the delegation. He began by thanking Cuba and the Cuban Revolution "for the opportunity to speak with our brothers and sisters regarding the problems of the Islamic revolution in Iran. We came to participate in the Conference," he went on to say, "but the most important thing for us was to see Cuba and the leader of the Cuban Revolution. We thank God for our good fortune, the best part of which was being able to hear Fidel's speech, which made the imperialists so angry."

The members of the Iranian delegation said that Iran is a rich country but afflicted by poverty as a result of colonialism and 50 years of the Shah's regime. They said that the Islamic revolution of Iran represents one of

the greatest defeats inflicted on imperialism because of the great interests that have been affected and also because of the country's strategic location. They added that the revolution's purpose was to change the situation of the people and they gave a rundown of the success in the implementation of the program against poverty and for development, chiefly in education, public health and agrarian reform, and other sectors, especially in the rural areas. They drew attention to the Iranian people's unflagging fighting spirit, pointing out that it's useless for the enemy to resort to terrorism because they refuse to be intimidated. They had words of praise for the Reconstruction Crusade, a movement composed mainly of young people who have done a great deal of work to further the country's development.

Regarding the role of women in the Iranian revolution, they said that they are working alongside the men and are particularly active in social matters related to the poorest sectors of the population.



December 1979: occupied U.S. embassy in Tehran

sent and debate on questions such as the execution of the Mujahedeen members.

What is at stake?

By reporting only the repressive actions of the Iranian government, and portraying the revolution's defenders as a collection of religious fanatics, the imperialist media seek to dress up the destabilization campaign against Iran as a defense of the Iranian people, of democratic rights and progressive values, indeed, of "Western civilization" itself.

"The statistics are appalling: Iran has executed more than 1,800 persons since June," explained the editors of the *New York Times* October 16. These supporters of the shah, who watched unmoved when the royal butcher's troops gunned down 4,000 unarmed demonstrators on a single day in September 1978, lament "Iran's retreat into darkness."

But we would see the real "retreat into darkness" if the imperialist campaign to overthrow the Khomeini government in Iran was successful. What Washington and its allies want in Iran is not democratic rights but a government that can crush the toiling masses and halt the revolution once and for all.

Such a government would make the bloody Chilean junta look mild. It would have to slaughter tens of thousands — if not hundreds of thousands — to achieve its aims.

From the point of view of the imperialist rulers, however, that would be a small price to pay. They know that the Iranian masses are continually threatening to break through the restraints imposed by the Khomeini government. As long as the Iranian workers and peasants remain undefeated, as long as their organizations remain intact, they threaten the entire status quo in the Middle East.

The rulers in Washington, Paris, and London also know that the Khomeini government is not the instrument that can achieve their aims. This is a government that leans on the masses against imperialism, that calls the masses into the streets when the threats against it become too sharp. That is why the imperialists are working to overthrow Khomeini.

Those who talk about the Khomeini government as the representative of the counterrevolution in Iran only show that they have no conception of the real power of the Iranian revolution, nor of the kind of bloodbath that would be required to finally suppress it.

What kind of gov't?

But Keil ignores all this. For him a capitalist government is a capitalist

government, and "is by its class nature pro-imperialist." Further analysis is unnecessary.

Facts, however, are stubborn things. It is a fact that capitalist governments in countries oppressed by imperialism have been known to take an anti-imperialist stance — especially under conditions of revolutionary upsurge, when they are subjected to immense pressure from the masses.

To be useful, terminology has to be accurate. Is it accurate, after the events of the past three years, to describe the Iranian government as proimperialist?

Because the Iranian government is a capitalist government, it fears the masses and takes actions — such as attacks on the rights of the oppressed national minorities, or on democratic rights in general — that objectively aid imperialism. Because it is a capitalist government it cannot carry out a consistent anti-imperialist struggle.

But it is necessary to recognize the political difference between strongly proimperialist regimes such as those in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and those whose course has led them into sharp conflict with imperialism — for example, the Angolan government, or that of Qaddafi in Libya.

Whether it is correct or not to use the term anti-imperialist in regard to the Iranian government depends upon the context in which the term is used. The article by Janice Lynn that Keil cites as being unclear refers to the establishment in Iran of "an anti-imperialist government that refused to take orders from Washington" as one of the gains of the revolution.

Later on in her article, Lynn spelled out the relationship between the Iranian government, imperialism, and the Iranian masses. As she put it:

"The capitalist government in Iran is caught between these two powerful forces — the mobilized masses on the one hand and U.S. imperialism on the other, seeking to reverse the revolution.

"The Iranian government's defense of capitalism and its fear of the masses prevent it from applying the measures necessary to carry through the war to the end or solve the country's economic and social problems. This leads it to take measures to try to demobilize the masses and erode their rights.

"Nevertheless, the working class is in a more favorable position to organize itself than under a regime that is an imperialist puppet."

There was not the slightest unclarity in Lynn's article on the character of the Iranian government. Keil simply disagrees with the political stance that the

Militant has taken toward that government.

This political stance was also spelled out by Lynn, who explained:

"Washington sees the Iranian government as an obstacle to its plans in the Middle East and a deadly threat to the giant U.S. oil companies' control of the vast oil resources in this region.

"The U.S. rulers also fear that the weak, capitalist government in Iran will not be able to prevent the deepening of the revolution and the independent organization of the Iranian workers and peasants.

"At this stage of the revolution, the Iranian working class is not powerful enough to replace the capitalist government with a workers and peasants government. So it defends this government — and its own position and organization — against imperialist-inspired attacks such as the September 1980 Iraqi invasion."

Events since this was written have made the importance of defending the Iranian government against imperialist-inspired attack clearer than ever.

Religion and politics

Another thing that Keil raises is the role of religion in the Iranian revolution. He charges that "the *Militant* has inexplicably endorsed Islam as a progressive set of ideas when embraced by the masses."

Once again, Keil tries to build his case by analyzing a particular formulation. It might be more useful to state exactly where the *Militant* does stand on the questions raised.

Marxists believe that all religion is reactionary. This includes Catholicism, Judaism, Protestantism, Islam, Buddhism, and more recent cults.

Religion as such is reactionary because it presents a false description of the world. It is a barrier to the oppressed and exploited understanding the real reasons for their position in society. Furthermore, it offers a utopian alternative to political struggle as the means to changing the world. Historically, religion has been used by the ruling classes as an instrument to maintain their rule.

But history has shown that progres-

sive political movements often take a religious form.

Thus, the antimonarchical revolution in seventeenth-century England was fought out under the ideological guise of the Protestant Reformation.

In the United States, the Black civil rights movement was led in large part by Protestant preachers such as the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Churches served as organizing centers of the movement, and prayers and religious songs were a prominent feature of its rallies and demonstrations.

Figures in the more militant wing of the movement, such as Malcolm X, were repelled by the Christianity of their oppressors and were attracted to Islam because it was associated with the part of the world oppressed by imperialism.

American socialists did not relate to the civil rights movement by lecturing its participants on the reactionary nature of religion — and it would be just as wrong to relate to the political movement in Iran that way.

Islamic fanatics?

When a political movement takes a religious form the question that is posed for Marxists is not what attitude to take toward religion in general, or toward the particular religion involved. Rather, it is necessary to analyze the movement itself, its demands and aims, its class composition, its relationship to other political forces, and to decide on a political stance based on this analysis.

What about the specific case of Iran? Here we are not involved in an abstract, philosophical discussion on religion. Enraged by the destruction of the pro-imperialist regime in Iran and the coming to power of an anti-imperialist government, the rulers in Washington and Western Europe have unleashed a torrent of racist abuse against the "Islamic fanatics" threatening their interests.

Isn't it clear that the target here is the Iranian masses, and with them the workers and peasants of any Islamic country that rebels against imperialist domination? The task of Marxists in this situation is to spring to the defense of the Iranian revolution, to expose the hypocrisy and racism of this imperialist

Continued on next page

'What is really at issue in Iran is not Islamic ideology at all, but a movement of the workers and peasants against imperialism and for social liberation. There is nothing in the Koran about the "Great Satan" being U.S. imperialism.'



Iranian volunteer in war against Iraq. Map shows city of Abadan, where much of fighting has centered since Iraqi invasion a year ago. Siege of Abadan was finally broken by Iranians in September of this year.

'Who'd have imagined that the United States would supply weapons to Iraq? So they do it under cover. They don't supply directly. They supply through the Saudis and Jordanians. But they have been supplying artillery and ammunition and shells through the Saudis for months and months now.'

**—Ariel Sharon
Israeli defense minister**

Continued from preceding page
propaganda campaign, and to explain — as the *Militant* does — the political essence of the matter.

Example from Lenin

Since its beginning, imperialism has hypocritically attacked rebellious movements in the oppressed nations for religious fanaticism and backwardness.

Lenin, in his day, responded the same way we do today. In 1900, when the whole European imperialist propaganda apparatus was denouncing the "religious fanatics" involved in the Boxer rebellion in China, Lenin wrote:

"At the present time the press is conducting a campaign against the Chinese; it is howling about the savage yellow race and its hostility toward civilization, about Russia's tasks of enlightenment. . . ."

Describing the atrocities of European armies in China, Lenin noted that "all these Christian exploits are accompanied by howls against the Chinese barbarians who dared to raise their hands against the civilised Europeans."

The reader will search Lenin's writings in vain for a word about the religious ideology of China's Society of

Righteous and Harmonious Fists. Lenin knew an anti-imperialist political rebellion when he saw one, regardless of the religious form that it assumed.

Keil, however, is worried that in the case of Iran the *Militant* is not hard enough on Islamic ideology. We are treated to a little lecture on the evils of "the reactionary religious ideology of Islam."

According to Keil, "the *Militant* has inexplicably endorsed Islam as a progressive set of ideas when embraced by the masses. . . ." To back up this claim, he quotes my statement that "the Islamic ideology of the workers and peasants expresses their hatred of imperialism and their desire for social liberation."

Let's begin by setting Keil's mind at rest. The *Militant's* position, once again, is that all religious ideology, including Islamic ideology, is reactionary. The point that I tried to make in the October 9 article quoted by Keil, although admittedly unclearly, is that what is really at issue in Iran is not Islamic ideology at all, but a movement of the workers and peasants against imperialism and for social liberation.

There is nothing in the Koran about the "Great Satan" being U.S. imperial-

ism. The events in Iran are political, not religious. The fact that the sentiments and demands of the Iranian masses are expressed in religious terminology has to do with the specific history and culture of the country.

As Thomas Friedman pointed out in the October 8 *New York Times* following the assassination of Sadat:

"At a time when Arab regimes have monopolized all the traditional forms of political discourse — trade unions, newspapers, political parties, television and radio — the mosque remains the sole forum for organizing and expressing opposition to a secular regime. . . . As the Shah of Iran learned, rulers who leave people no other forum for expressing themselves may in effect force them into a search for religion."

Khomeini on the hajj

It is instructive in this regard to take a closer look at recent events in Saudi Arabia. On September 24 Iranian pilgrims in Medina were attacked by Saudi police, who put twelve of the pilgrims in the hospital. Initial press reports claimed that the confrontation had broken out over differences in religious protocol between Iranian Shi'ite Mus-

lims and Saudi Sunni Muslims.

But it did not take long for the real cause of conflict to come out. The October 11 issue of *Tehran Times* printed a letter sent to Khomeini by Saudi King Khalid in which the king complained of the behavior of Iranian pilgrims, who held demonstrations and "chanted slogans in a loud voice."

Khomeini replied: "The crime of these Moslems has been that they recited slogans against the U.S., Israel, the enemies of God and God's Messenger."

After explaining that this was not such a bad thing, Khomeini pointed out: "The Hajj pilgrimage has undoubtedly a connection with politics and the secret of its establishment is interwoven with the rise of people for justice and destruction of tyranny and exploitation, which has been the general policy of the great prophets and especially the Seal of the Prophets."

Khomeini also suggested that if the Saudi royal family was able to rely on "millions of Moslems in an Islamic political manner, it would not need America or its AWAC airplanes. . . ."

The language is religious, but the message is political. It was in the midst of this controversy that Reagan vowed "we will not permit" Saudi Arabia "to be an Iran."

Meanwhile, the demonstrations by Iranian pilgrims in Saudi Arabia have continued. One was reported in Mecca on October 12, and others have taken place in Mena and Medina.

As part of its attempt to obscure what is happening in the Middle East, the big-business media in the United States and Western Europe emphasize the religious form that the anti-imperialist movement has taken. Warnings about the dangers of "Islamic fanaticism" should be left to the imperialist propaganda sheets. The proper role of the socialist press is to champion the anti-imperialist demands of the masses and explain the progressive character of their movement.

Destabilization

The first and longest part of Keil's letter deals with the *Militant's* stance toward the Mujahedeen and their armed campaign against the Iranian government.

Keil maintains that "the cause of 'destabilization' and violence in Iran, next to the Iraqi invasion, has not been the Mujahedeen, but the government's war against the Kurds, its repression of the Mujahedeen and others, and the economic sabotage of the capitalists."

Not a word about the imperialist campaign against Iran.

But the Iraqi invasion and the economic sabotage carried out by the Iranian capitalist class — and the *Mujahedeen terror campaign as well* — all take place within that context.

Even when Keil takes note of the Iraqi invasion, he does it in a subordinate clause. But any objective description of the problems confronting the Iranian revolution today would have to give a far larger place to the imperialist-backed invasion by Iraq. The year-long war with Iraq has resulted in an estimated 60,000 Iranian casualties, \$100 billion in economic losses, and more than one million Iranian refugees.

Keil, however, wants the *Militant* to center its fire on the Iranian government.

A question of time

Despite Keil's charges, the *Militant* has never supported the Iranian government "in the political sense" — either critically or uncritically. The *Militant* stands for the replacement of the present government in Iran by a workers and farmers government that would begin the task of transforming Iran into a workers state. The question is how to bring that about.

Such a transformation cannot be accomplished without the conscious participation of the toiling masses. But the masses of workers and peasants in Iran today either still have political confidence in the Khomeini government, or else see no better alternative.

Because of this, the question of time becomes very important. The imperial-



'What Washington and its allies want in Iran is not democratic rights, but a government that can crush the toiling masses once and for all. Such a government would make the bloody Chilean junta look mild. It would have to slaughter tens of thousands — if not hundreds of thousands — to achieve its aims.'

ists are striving with all their might to strangle the Iranian revolution before the masses can find the way forward.

Revolutionists in the imperialist countries must help gain time for the Iranian workers and peasants by exposing the imperialist campaign and countering the slanders against the Iranian revolution.

Socialists inside Iran can help speed up the political process there by putting forth a political program centered on what steps need to be taken to defend the revolution against the imperialist onslaught.

Program for struggle

Such a program was put forward in the October 9 *Militant* article that Keil dislikes so much. Starting with the most pressing problem, it said that "it is necessary to carry out a revolutionary war against the Iraqi invaders and against the imperialist-inspired destabilization campaign within Iran. This means arming, training, and mobilizing the masses under the direction of the shoras, the peasant committees, and other mass organizations."

The article also proposed steps for overcoming the economic crisis by encouraging the organization and mobilization of the working class and the peasantry, and in this context carrying out a land reform, asserting the control of workers committees over production, and establishing a state monopoly on foreign trade.

It also explained the need for the government to halt its reactionary war in Kurdistan and recognize the demands of the Kurdish people for autonomy, and called for the mobilization of the masses around a broad program of progressive social and political measures, including the extension of democratic rights.

Keil rejects this approach. "The *Militant*," he says, "should explain that the government is by its nature unable to carry out a revolutionary policy or a 'revolutionary war.'"

But what program should the workers and peasants fight for? Revolutionists start with the objective needs of the toiling masses. If the capitalist government in Iran is forced to take measures that go toward meeting these needs, that is a victory.

Insofar as the government refuses to take the measures demanded by the masses for the advancement of their interests and for the defense of the revolution, support for it will be undermined.

Keil removes the whole question from the arena of political struggle. Instead of recognizing the need to politically win the masses and putting forward a method for accomplishing this, he tells us that the Iranian capitalist government cannot carry out a revolutionary policy.

Keil objects to the inclusion of the Mujahedeen among the "forces aligned with imperialism." He tells us that it is wrong "to put Rajavi and the Mujahedeen in the same category as the monarchists."

It is certainly correct to point out the differences in origin, political history, and composition between the Mujahedeen and the monarchist organizations that oppose the Iranian government. The *Militant* has repeatedly done that.

But the fact remains that the politics of the Mujahedeen have led them into a bloc with counterrevolutionary forces. The actions of the Mujahedeen are indistinguishable from those of the monarchists.

Keil's zeal to defend the Mujahedeen is not matched by his concern for defending the Iranian revolution against the imperialist destabilization campaign — a campaign which the Mujahedeen have joined.

While admitting that "the Mujahedeen military policy [i.e., its participation in the imperialist destabilization campaign] plays into the hands of the imperialists," Keil goes on to say that it also "plays into the hands of the present Iranian government."

Does Keil really think that it is to the advantage of the Iranian government to have its top leadership slaughtered? According to this logic the Iraqi invasion has also played into the hands of the Iranian government. By taking his hostility to the Iranian government as his starting point, Keil ends up by standing reality on its head.

Nor is his statement that the Mujahedeen is "the only sizable organized open opposition in Iran now" any better. Is "opposition" supposed to be some kind of virtue in and of itself? The question is

what kind of opposition does the Mujahedeen represent?

Executions

Perhaps the most difficult thing, in discussing the role of the Mujahedeen, is to get out of the framework created by the pervasive influence of the imperialist media. It is impossible to follow the coverage of Iran on television or in the newspapers without being unconsciously affected by the endless repetition of phrases such as "leftist guerrillas," "secular Marxists," "leftist opposition forces," etc.

A sampling of headlines from the *Militant's* clipping file indicates the problem: "Iranian leftists not intimidated by ruling mullahs" (*Christian Science Monitor*, July 13); "Iran Arrests 200 Leftists as Violence Increases" (*New York Times*, July 17); "War between mullahs, leftists staggers Iran" (*Christian Science Monitor*, August 14); "Tehran Security Forces Break Up Violent Leftist Demonstrations" (*Washington Post*, September 10); "Iranian Leftists Show Firepower in New Battles" (*Miami Herald*, September 28); "66 Leftist Rebels Executed in Iran" (*New York Times*, October 5); and "Iranian Claims Victory Over Leftists" (*New York Times*, October 24).

It is in this context that Keil implies the Mujahedeen represent some kind of left opposition to the current government. That is certainly how most Mujahedeen members would also see it, but it is objectively false. The Mujahedeen organization is an obstacle to moving the revolution forward.

Mujahedeen leader Rajavi publicly declares his opposition to Marxism. His organization is opposed to the formation

of a workers and farmers government in Iran. It looks to the capitalists, not the workers, as is shown by its open bloc with former President Bani-Sadr. Finally, the Mujahedeen have joined in action with counterrevolutionary forces attempting to bring down the Iranian government.

Nevertheless, socialists are opposed to the execution of Mujahedeen members by the Khomeini government. Because of its history and the character of its membership, it is still possible to win the ranks of the Mujahedeen organization back to the revolution.

Moreover, the execution of Mujahedeen members has been used by the regime as a substitute for the anticapitalist measures that are necessary for the defense of the revolution. Finally, the executions played into the hands of the imperialists by presenting them with a new opportunity to score propaganda points against the revolution.

The task of socialists in the United States, however, is not to defend the Mujahedeen. There is no lack of activity in that regard — protests in their behalf have come from the *New York Times*, Amnesty International, and publications on the left such as the *Guardian* and *In These Times*. None of these, however, are in favor of defending the Iranian government against the imperialist destabilization campaign. That is the job for socialists in the United States. And that is where Keil disagrees with the *Militant*.

Iran paper reports suit

Azadegan, one of Iran's four major daily newspapers, featured coverage of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against U.S. government spying and harassment in its October 1 issue.

The article, entitled "Exposing the Illegal Activities of Washington: The 'End of the Socialists' Trial Against the U.S. Government," was reprinted from the September 23 issue of *Hemmat*, newspaper of the Iranian Hezbe-e Vahdate-e Kargaran (HVK).

The HVK is one of three groups in Iran that is affiliated to the Fourth International.

Azadegan has also reprinted articles from *Hemmat* on the U.S. threat in Central America and the Caribbean, martial law in the Sudan, the crackdown on dissent in Egypt, and the policies of the Mujahedeen leadership.

New Zealand holds up meat shipments to Iran

A ship loaded with 3,200 tons of New Zealand lamb bound for Iran is being held in port by the New Zealand Meat Board. According to a report in the October 31 issue of the British business magazine *8 Days*, the ship has been held for more than three weeks because Iran owes the Meat Board \$29 million and "the board has adopted a get-tough policy."

The article reports that since September the Iran Central Bank has not been approving letters of credit for imports, and notes, "The late payment could have a considerable effect on New Zealand's decision to supply lamb to Iran next year."

Also in September, the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) announced that all agreements with imperialist oil companies signed before the revolution are now null and void. A government statement declared that these companies "plundered the oil resources of Iran from 1954 to 1973 while Iran, the justified owner, had only little benefit from the contract."

Because of its shortage of hard currency, the Iranian government recently signed agreements with Yugoslavia and Romania in which Iran will barter oil for industrial products.

— D.F.

The accompanying article gives a look at McDonnell Douglas — its record of war-profiteering and bribery.

Three members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at the plant have become target of a company-government conspiracy to get them fired.

The government is demanding that the three — Jody Curran, Harris Freeman, and Barry David — fill out extraordinary security clearance applications, even though each already has a security clearance and has been working at the plant for more than a year. They are members of the Socialist Workers Party.

The IAM has filed a grievance on behalf of the three. It charges "political harassment and intimidation."

The three have received letters from the Defense Industrial Security Office, a government agency. Dated October 13, the letter claims the government has secret information about the three in its possession, and therefore must open an investigation.

The letters underline the character of the attack as a threat to the whole union movement. Such investigations could be opened against any employee. All that's needed is that some one opposed to their union or political views or activity pass along some charges to the government.

The three have secured the services of prominent St. Louis attorney Lou Gilden.

The case has received extensive coverage in the St. Louis media.

By Jim Garrison

ST. LOUIS — As you approach the sprawling McDonnell Douglas complex along James S. McDonnell Boulevard, you pass a large billboard depicting the McDonnell Douglas Harrier, F-15, and F-18 fighter and attack aircraft accompanied by the slogan "Winning combination."

The message changes occasionally — an earlier sign showed the Harpoon Missile with the promise "Keeping the sea lanes free lanes." The theme remains the same: McDonnell Douglas is the giant in military aircraft and St. Louis, as a recent *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article proclaimed, is the "fighter capital of the world."

McDonnell Aircraft, which acquired the largely commercial-oriented Douglas Aircraft in 1967, was founded in 1939 as World War II was opening in Europe. Since that year the McDonnell facility here has produced more than 8,000 fighter planes, more jet fighters than anybody else at one place.

A major war contractor for many years, McDonnell came into its own with the Vietnam War. The McDonnell F-4 Phantom was a mainstay of U.S. forces in Vietnam. Other Phantom customers included the late shah of Iran.

In a recent interview with the *Post Dispatch*, McDonnell Douglas executive Henry Covert explained, "We made 5,057 F-4 Phantoms. That plane made McDonnell cash rich at a time when Douglas was cash poor. So, in a manner of speaking, the Phantom bought Douglas."

The shah and Saudis

The fall of the shah was hard-felt at McDonnell Douglas World Headquarters. However plans were announced this month to expand its facilities in Saudi Arabia. The Saudi royal family expects delivery next year of sixty-two F-15 Eagles. McDonnell Douglas will send 500 employees to Saudi Arabia to train technicians on operation and maintenance. The company plans to have some 900 employees stationed there by 1985.

In its 1980 annual report to stock holders, McDonnell Douglas reported sales of military aircraft of \$2.7 billion. It is by far the largest manufacturer of war planes with Lockheed and General Dynamics placing a distant second and third. Profits for military aircraft for 1980 totalled \$197.8 million for McDonnell Douglas.

But profits are not a particular worry for U.S. war contractors. Government procurement involves a "cost plus fixed fee" contract in this industry. Under this arrangement the government pays all costs and a fixed profit based on the forecast cost. Such arrangements can be very lucrative.

In 1976, for example, McDonnell Douglas contracted for the production of nineteen F-4E Phantom II fighters which were eventually sold by Washington

McDonnell Douglas

A story of war profiteering and bribery

The American Eagle's stance on the Great Seal of the United States symbolizes what our country's great leaders have taught for two centuries: Seek peace from a position of strength.

President George Washington captured its meaning in his first message to Congress in 1789: To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

Today the United States Air Force F-15 Eagle is a manifestation of the Great Seal's symbology. Strong enough to win, awesome enough to deter. By its very presence it is an expression of national will.

F-15 Eagle
MCDONNELL DOUGLAS

Operational requirement: Multi-mission versatility

The Hornet combines fighter and attack capabilities. Its performance is superior to both of its single-mission predecessors in their respective roles. That gives the Carrier Group Commander tactical flexibility he never had before.

At squadron level, the Hornet's armament can be configured from fighter to attack, and vice versa, in less than one hour. Digital avionics including all-weather radar and ground-target tracking systems are combined with cathode-ray tubes and a head-up display to give the Hornet pilot the eyes he needs to win in either role.

As a fighter, the Hornet carries Sparrow missiles that can strike through clouds, plus heat-seeking Sidewinder missiles and 20mm nose cannon for close-in dogfights. In the attack role, the Hornet delivers up to 17,000 pounds of ordnance with pinpoint accuracy and in low visibility conditions.

Beyond its performance, the Hornet's total fighter-attack commonality pays off for supply and maintenance crews. About 4,000 items support the Hornet for both roles, compared to 12,500 for the F-4 and 8,000 for the A-7.

That's a 5-to-1 reduction in spares for an all-Hornet air wing, and less overtime for maintenance crews.

The Hornet is built to be easy to fly, easy to maintain, and easy to change from one mission to another. That wasn't easy to do, but it's been done.

F-18 Hornet
MCDONNELL DOUGLAS

McDonnell Douglas pushes its wares in these ads from trade journal with world-wide circulation.

to South Korea's dictatorship. The contract called for a fixed-fee profit of 18 percent.

But apparently profits don't always stay fixed. The General Accounting Office (GAO) filed suit here this month in federal district court to try to find out whether McDonnell Douglas made approximately 42 percent profit on the \$80.3 million contract for the Korean jets. The corporation has refused to obey a subpoena filed by the GAO for company records on the contract.

Political insurance

While money-making on government contracts is no problem for a war profiteer like McDonnell Douglas, the awarding of government contracts can be highly competitive. Furthermore, contracts must come up for review and renewal by Congress each year. So a little political insurance can go a long way.

A 1978 survey by the *Post-Dispatch* revealed that McDonnell Douglas's Political Action Committee (PAC) gave campaign contributions to dozens of senators and congressmen sitting on committees handling McDonnell contracts.

According to the *Post-Dispatch* report, the corporate fund contributed to the campaign coffers of twenty-five of the forty members of the House Armed Services Committee, fifteen of the forty members of the House Committee on Science and Technology, and nineteen of the fifty-five on the House Appropriations Committee.

In the 1978 elections McDonnell Douglas's PAC made contributions to ninety-six congressional candidates. Ninety-three were incumbents most likely to be re-elected and repay the favor with their influence.

Friends in government can be very handy for a corporation like McDonnell Douglas when they get caught breaking the law.

Indictments

In November 1979 four top officers of McDonnell Douglas were indicted on eleven counts of conspiracy and mail and wire fraud. The corporation was also named as a defendant.

There followed two years of legal and political maneuvers involving McDonnell Douglas, a friendly senator, and understanding officials in the Justice Department.

Specifically, the indictment charged that McDonnell Douglas and its executives had made more than \$7 million in illegal payments between August 1972 and February 1977 to promote foreign sales of the DC-10 airplane. Bribery schemes were cited in sales to airlines in Pakistan, Korea, and Philippines, Venezuela, and Zaire.

In early spring of this year, McDonnell Douglas contacted Sen. John Danforth of Missouri, complaining that it was being persecuted by the Justice Department.

Before long a meeting took place in Washington between McDonnell Douglas's general counsel John Sant and Associate Attorney General Rudolph Giuliani. Giuliani excluded from the meeting department attorneys handling the criminal case. He was sympathetic and agreed to review the case.

The criminal attorneys involved called for internal investigations into the propriety of Giuliani's secret meeting. But a department investigation found that the associate attorney general had done nothing wrong.

The *Post-Dispatch* reported August 9 that members of the McDonnell family and a top corporate executive made contributions and pledges of \$12,000 to Sen. Danforth's election campaign. Eight thousand dollars were listed on his campaign report as having been received May 13 — the day before the Justice Department meeting.

Charges dropped

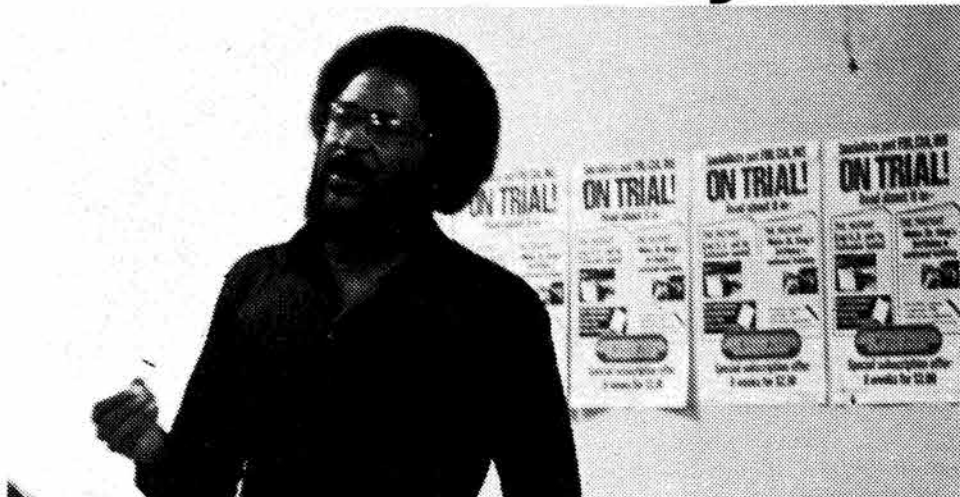
In September criminal fraud conspiracy charges against the four executives were dropped. McDonnell Douglas Corporation agreed to plead guilty of technical violations of fraud laws and was fined \$55,000 and ordered to pay \$1.2 million in civil penalties.

The case was closed on November 4 when an executive who had been charged with making false statements to a grand jury was allowed to plead guilty to a lesser charge, contempt of court. He was fined \$40,000 six months probation, six months suspended sentence, and 200 hours of "community service."

Capitalist politicians are doing a lot of talking these days about cracking down on crime. But when it comes to members of their own class, we can see just what kind of crack-down they have in mind.

Socialist council member exposes

Police brutality in Seaside, California



MEL MASON

Militant/Andy Rose

By Janice Lynn

SEASIDE, Cal. — At a November 5 city council meeting here, socialist city council member Mel Mason denounced rising incidents of police brutality in Seaside.

"I am firmly convinced," Mason angrily declared, "that police brutality, especially as it concerns Black people . . . is happening all over this country. We are going to have to deal with this problem and this problem is getting out of hand in Seaside."

Mason, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, told the council that there were some \$4.5 million in suits against the police department and city of Seaside.

The latest of these suits is a \$500,000 claim against the city filed on behalf of thirty-five-year-old Carolina Walker, a nurse at the Monterey Convalescent Hospital.

On the morning of September 25, Walker had been stopped for a traffic offense by two Seaside cops. One of the cops told Walker, "Shut the fuck up, you Black bitch," and then proceeded to break her arm and elbow, causing a compound fracture of the arm.

When Walker fell to the ground the cops beat her about the head and back, handcuffed her, and forcibly placed her in the back of a squad car. The cops then sprayed her in the face with mace and drove her to the police station. Upon her request for medical assistance, she was doused with buckets of water.

She was then subjected to further racial epithets and physical abuse before being released to her husband several hours later. At no time was Walker taken to the hospital to receive treatment for her injuries, despite the fact that paramedic ambulance drivers at the police station noted that the bone of her arm was protruding outside of the skin.

"I, maybe unlike the other council members," Mason said, "have taken the opportunity to visit most of the people who have filed claims against the city. And I'll tell you, what I saw made me sick — especially when I went by to see Mrs. Walker. . . ."

"What I saw was a tremendously battered person. And I cannot conceive why or how anything like this could have happened," Mason declared.

Addressing the mayor, Mason said, "I don't know if people contact you, but people contact me all the time — people just like Mrs. Walker who are not filing claims against the city."

Mason told the *Militant* that he thought the police should be removed from Black communities across the country and replaced with a security force elected and controlled by the Black community.

At the council meeting Mason raised the idea of a citizen's police review board elected by the Seaside community. "Such an elected board," Mason said, "would make the victims of police brutality here in Seaside feel a little bit more secure about lodging complaints against the police and would help expose the kind of police terror carried out against Black people."

The local NAACP already announced the formation of an NAACP task force to investigate police brutality incidents and the use of excessive force by the Seaside police.

In response to the number of lawsuits being filed against the police the Seaside police association sent a letter to city council members stating its plan to take "legal action against anyone who files a legal suit with the malicious intent to defame or harass any association members."

This letter was released to the press by Mason who denounced it as "an arrogant attempt to intimidate citizens."

The Seaside city council meeting was

attended by more than a dozen representatives from various community groups that are concerned about the police problem.

The night before, at a successful community meeting jointly sponsored by the Seaside chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the Monterey Peninsula NAACP, and the Seaside Citizens League for Progress, Mason had urged people to turn out for the council meeting.

The community meeting had been held to discuss fighting Reagan's budget cuts. Mason, speaking in behalf of the NBIPP, linked the escalating police brutality and terror against Black people around the country to Reagan's cuts. "They are starting with Black people because we are the hardest hit," Mason said. "They are trying to stop any kind of movement coming from the Black community to protest their budget cuts."

A lively debate on whether or not Black people should work within the Democratic Party or form their own independent political party dominated the discussion period. Everyone at the meeting agreed that despite these disagreements it was important to work together to organize against the budget

cuts and police brutality, hold more community meetings to educate and inform the community, and participate in future actions like the Solidarity Day marches.

In another matter before the city council Mason cast the lone dissenting vote against an ordinance to consolidate future municipal elections with statewide general elections beginning in November 1982.

Following a public hearing where most of the speakers opposed such a move, the rest of the council members moved ahead anyway to pass the ordinance. The immediate effect of this move is to extend the terms in office of the mayor and two right-wing city council members by an additional seven months.

"The only way I can see this issue being settled is by a vote of the people," Mason said in explaining his no vote. "The democratic way," Mason said, would be to "put this before the people in the form of a referendum and let the people decide whether or not they want to have our terms in office extended. . . . In April of 1984, I cannot in good faith serve on an additional seven months when the voters have not given me that approval."

Conference to discuss Haitian refugees, immigration

By Andrea Baron

MIAMI — Friends of Haitian Refugees, a coalition of many Miami groups, will sponsor an Emergency Southeast Conference on immigration on December 4-6 at Miami-Dade Community College north campus.

The conference will discuss how President Reagan's immigration plan is tied to the foreign policy of the U.S. government, especially in Central America and the Caribbean, and to the attacks on working people and union busting policies here at home.

Conference organizers explained "the recent death of thirty-five Haitian refugees in Broward County and the outpouring of solidarity from the Black community, church groups, and others around the country and around the world, have dramatized the concern that exists for justice for the Haitian refugees, for the release of those imprisoned in the Krome camp, and for the granting of political asylum for all Haitians who flee the bloody dictatorship of Duvalier."

The opening panel on "The Reagan

Plan as an Extension of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Caribbean and Latin America" will include Jitu Weusi, national coordinator of the National Black United Front; Father Gerard Jean-Juste of the Haitian Refugee Center, Incorporated; José Medina, president, International Brotherhood of General Workers, Los Angeles; Ramon Damzós Palomino, Central Independiente de Obreros Agrícolas y Campesinos, Mexico; and Patrice Perillie of the Central American Refugee Center in Washington D.C.

There will also be a panel on "Political Repression in Haiti" with Marc Romulus and Jean-Claude Exulien, both ex-political prisoners in Haiti.

The conference is sponsored by the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., the Florida Farmworker Rights Organization, and the National Immigration and Refugee Network.

For more information or literature on the conference, call Marty Goodman (305) 672-5132, or write to the Southeast Emergency Conference c/o Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., 32 N.E. 54 Street, Miami, Florida 33137.

L.A. labor officials back socialist lawsuit

By Matthew Herreshoff

Chuck Sheehan, President of PATCO Local 593, will headline a Los Angeles rally in defense of political rights.

Joining Sheehan at the rally, scheduled for December 12, will be Paul Van-

bertson and J.J. Rodriguez, secretary-treasurer and president of the L.A. County Federation of Labor, George Hardy, retired international president of the Service Employees International Union, and PATCO's Sheehan.

Other supporters include James Franklin, regional representative, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; Jerry Whipple, director, United Auto Workers Region 6; and Miriam Ludwig, education director, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Southern California Joint Board.

Diane Wang, a garment worker and member of the SWP National Committee, will be a keynote speaker at the rally. She is one of seventeen SWP and YSA leaders touring the country to build support for the socialist's lawsuit.

Trade unions and union leaders representing millions of people are backing the socialist suit.

Why? Because working people are a central target of the secret police.

The socialist suit challenges the gov-

ernment's claimed "right" to victimize unionists like Paul Vanotti, to spy on and disrupt political groups and unions like PATCO, and to deport foreign-born workers because of their political views.

Winning even broader support will make it possible to continue the fight.

Rallies like the one in Los Angeles will take place in fifty cities across the country. They will help to boost a \$125,000 fund-raising effort to build support for the socialist fight for political rights.

So far, \$41,000 has been raised. And across the country, plans are being made to reach the \$125,000 goal.

Supporters of the suit in New York and Newark aim to raise \$15,000. Workers in the area auto plants, and in the post office, have pledged to contribute their holiday overtime pay to the fundraising effort.

Making the \$125,000 goal can be a big victory in the battle for political rights. If you can help, send in the coupon below.



☐ Enclosed is my contribution.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

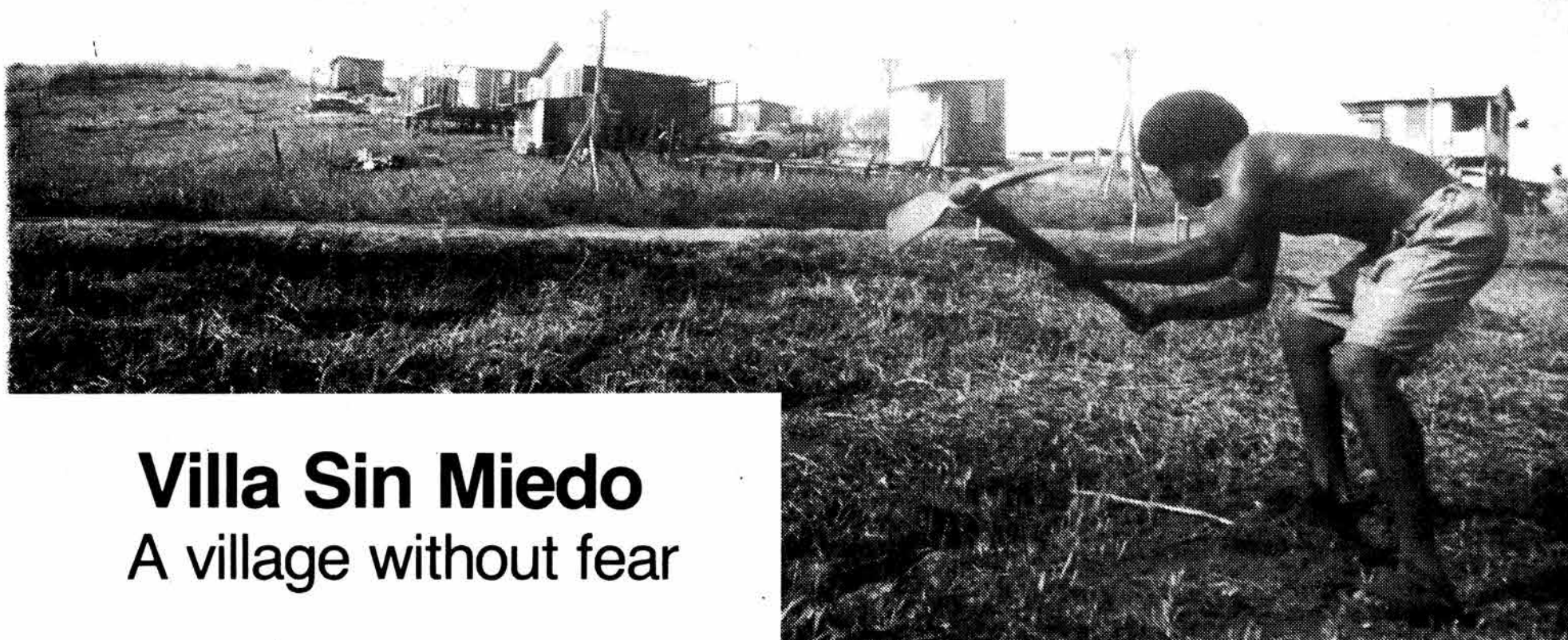
Return to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

The Los Angeles rally will be held at 6 p.m., Saturday, December 12, in Channing Hall at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St.

notti. Vanotti is fighting to regain his job at Hughes Helicopter. He was fired, at the instigation of the government, because of his involvement in the student movement ten years ago.

Dozens of Los Angeles labor leaders have recently endorsed the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) legal battle against the government and its secret police.

Heading the list are William R. Ro-



Villa Sin Miedo

A village without fear

By Nelson Blackstock

RIO GRANDE, Puerto Rico — They call it "Villa Sin Miedo" — village without fear.

Here some 350 families live in small houses strung out across sixty-five acres of land east of San Juan.

Like many others, the people here were homeless — until a year ago. Last fall they seized this government-owned land and claimed it for themselves.

Their fight to stay in the tiny homes they have built is being watched closely on this island.

For pro-statehood Governor Carlos Romero Barceló it has become a gnawing embarrassment. Romero is in charge of implementing Reagan's austerity program on the island.

The government — consistent with the needs of the system it upholds — has decreed that the people here must give up their new homes.

They are known as the *rescatadores*, the rescuers. They have rescued the land and put it to use for human needs.

The name they have chosen for their community is a testimony to their heroism, for they have plenty to fear.

Any day they know they could be invaded by police — "the hired killers of the government," as Miguel González calls them. González is the main leader and spokesperson of the *rescatadores*.

Already they have seen the cops assault their little village, throwing tear gas bombs and firing guns. González has been hauled off to jail three times on assorted trumped-up charges.

The dirt road cutting through the middle of the village is called Calle Adolfin Villanueva — named after a woman who was murdered in cold blood by police as her children looked on. They were acting on orders to evict her from land that had been her home for twenty years. The government had decided to build a hotel there.

One morning in early October I met González here at his home, where he lives with his companion, Ada Rivera, and their two small children.

González looks to be about forty. He used to work on the docks and was a leader of the Teamster union.

We moved through the community up to the top of a steep hill in its center. Flying from the pole at its peak is the flag of Puerto Rico. Along the way he had a word or a nod for everyone we met.

On the side of the hill a young boy was sitting on the frame of a house under construction. Nearby his father was digging a furrow with a mattock. Several cultivated patches of land are already bearing fruits and vegetables.

Three girls were filling a bucket with water from a communal faucet.

How it began

I had spent the previous evening with González and several other *rescatadores*. We sat on the floor of a tiny wooden building under the light of a kerosine lantern as they talked of their struggle.

The ravages of colonialism have forced thousands out of the countryside and into the urban areas in search of work and a place to live. But jobs and housing are hard to come by.

Families are forced to live two or three at a time in small apartments or houses, often little more than shacks.

Meanwhile the government holds vast tracts of land. The law says it should go to people who need it. But the authorities parcel it out very slowly, and then to only a favored few. They have lists where people can sign up for a lot, but the odds of getting anything are slim.



Militant photos by Nelson Blackstock
Photos on this page were taken at Villa Sin Miedo.

Last November the outcome of the elections was extremely close, provoking a crisis. Charges of fraud were hurled at the pro-statehood governor. For a time it was unclear which politicians would make up the government.

Landless people saw an opening to claim the land that was due them. In nine spots on the island settlements were established, González told me. Eventually most were broken up by the cops.

"When they first came in here the people were willing to go all the way," González said. "They were conscious they had to violate the laws. You can get six months in prison, or a \$500 fine, or both."

In face of police attacks in the first days, they organized a march to the governor's home.

"We said we will hold the governor personally responsible if they come up here and kill our women and kids," González said. They asked his help in getting water and electricity.

But they got no help. "The governor's people said we would have to enroll on a waiting list."

"But some of our people had been waiting eighteen years already," González said. "We told them we needed our land now."

Negotiations with housing officials ensued. But the authorities, as it turned out, were not negotiating in good faith and unilaterally broke off talks.

The battle ground shifted to the courts. The government asked a judge to order the *rescatadores* to vacate the land. The judge complied, and the people appealed the order.

Laws made for rich

"We knew all the time the court would rule against us. Because we understand the laws here in Puerto Rico are made to protect the rich people and not the poor people," González said.

"We appealed the judge's order to gain more time to get support. We knew that once our people in Puerto Rico found out about our plight they would respond."

And they have responded. González says support has come from the Catholic Church, the Baptists, unions — such as UTIER (Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers Union) and the teamsters.

Groups such as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the International Workers League have aided the fight.

The next focus is November 2, the court deadline for the residents of Villa Sin Miedo to abandon their homes. Many anticipate an assault by heavily armed squads of SWAT-type cops on that date.

"They want to make an example of us," said González. "They claim we are subversives and communists."

"The reason they say this is that they have not been able to fool us with false promises."

"We are tired of beautiful talk. We have not let these politicians manipulate us."

"We understand that we have a right to our own land in our own country. The only way to get us out is to do us in."

A lot of people here have put every cent they could scrape together into their new homes. For example, there was one unemployed worker who had moved here from Los Angeles just five months ago.

"Like a lot of others who have been forced to migrate, I came back worse off than when I left," he told me.

"If they come in here, I'm going to have my three kids and wife there. I hope they don't do anything to them. Because they are going to have to kill me if anything happens to us or our belongings."

Earlier in the week a top government official had charged the residents of Villa Sin Miedo were arming themselves. The *rescatadores* said it was a lie.

As I was about to leave, González called me into a tiny hut. "Come here," he said. "I want to show you something."

"Look, here. This is our weapon."

Something was hanging in the middle of the room. The sun outside was bright, and at first I couldn't make it out — until my eyes adjusted to the darkness. Then I realized it was a hammock with a tiny baby sleeping in it.

"He was born here, in Villa Sin Miedo," Miguel González said.

Reagan's answer

In late October a meeting took place in Cancún, Mexico. It drew together twenty-two heads of state. They came to discuss problems of colonial and semicolonial countries.

Ronald Reagan was there and he had his own solution. What's needed, he said, "is to improve the climate for private investment."

In Puerto Rico, U.S. big business has been in a position to do that very thing for well over eighty years. The results are there for all to see.

They used to tout Puerto Rico as a "showcase." But you don't hear much about that anymore. Because it's become a showcase all right, a showcase of what U.S. imperialism really has to offer. As in much of the underdeveloped world, big sections of the population are condemned to dire poverty, without even a roof over their heads. The people of Villa Sin Miedo can testify to that.

They can also attest to the indomitable spirit of oppressed peoples willing to risk even their lives for what is rightfully theirs.

The November 2 court deadline ordering the *rescatadores* occupying Villa Sin Miedo to vacate passed with no action being taken to remove them.

The people there built barricades made of old cars and tree stumps, then surrounded their village with old tires, which they plan to set on fire to form a protective smoke screen when the attack begins. In addition trenches have been dug in strategic areas to prevent the passage of unwanted vehicles.

Mario Dones, president of the Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers Union (UTIER), as well as other trade union and religious leaders have spent time on the barricades with the *rescatadores*.

Cuba goes to the polls

Elects delegates to popular assembly



Members of Cuban children's organization, the Pioneers, serve as poll-watchers during elections. Before the revolution, polls were 'watched' by armed soldiers.

By Arnold Weissberg

HAVANA — Among the stock charges in the U.S. government's propaganda arsenal against the Cuban revolution is the claim that Cuba is a one-man dictatorship where no elections have been held for more than twenty years.

This claim is repeated so frequently and shamelessly that many people in the United States don't think twice about statements like that made by Vice-president George Bush October 11, that "The day Fidel Castro holds free elections, that's the day I'll say something good about him."

Ironically, the very same day Bush made that statement some six million Cubans were streaming to the polls to vote in the general elections held here every two-and-one-half years. Cubans were electing delegates to the municipal assemblies of Poder Popular (People's Power), the foundation of the effort started in the mid-1970s to increase the participation of the Cuban people in governing their country.

The 169 municipal assemblies are Cuba's local governments. These assemblies in turn elect delegates to provincial assemblies and to the National Assembly of Poder Popular, which is the

highest body in Cuba's government. All government ministers and members of the Council of State, which runs Cuba's government on a day-to-day basis, are elected by and responsible to the National Assembly, including Fidel Castro, who is president of the Council of State and Council of Ministers.

Here in Havana and other cities across Cuba, lines of voters began to form as early as 4 a.m. as people took to heart the call to vote early. By noon, some 90 percent of the eligible voters had already cast their ballots.

Eight-year-old guards

The polling places were scattered throughout the city. In one working-class neighborhood I visited, there was one about every two blocks.

Before the revolution, sixty-seven-year-old Guillermo told me, the polls were guarded by armed men in full battle dress. Today, however, they were guarded by Pioneers, members of the children's organization. Many of the "guards" were all of eight years old, and I spotted two being walked to their posts by an older brother.

All the candidates live in the immediate neighborhoods they are hoping to represent. "The delegate lives on the

next block and I live right here," said the voter. "When I have a problem, I just go over and tell him about it."

Cross section of society

In Cuba, there is no campaigning by candidates, and all organizations — including the Communist Party — refrain from making endorsements or from running slates. Since the district represented by a delegate is small — between a few hundred and 3,000 people — and since candidates are nominated by community meetings open to all residents of a precinct, the views and record of a candidate are usually known to the voters and people make their choice on this basis. In addition, candidates' biographies and pictures are posted on community bulletin boards and store windows.

The candidates reflect a cross section of Cuban society. They are young and old, workers, administrators, teachers, doctors, students, members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and housewives. They tend to be outstanding activists, and while a large number of members of the Cuban Communist Party (CCP) and Union of Young Communists (UJC), many are not, and there is no formal or informal requirement that candidates be in PCC or UJC to run or to be elected.

No fear

"People tend to vote for who they know," I was told. But a woman explained that one of the candidates in her block lived in her building, and she doubted that anyone from the building would vote for him. The candidate had the responsibility for turning the building's water pump on and off, and many people thought he set the hours to suit his own convenience.

Missing on election day here was any feeling of tension or danger, in contrast to other Latin American countries, where, even if there is some sort of electoral charade, it is nearly always a cause for crisis, and for trucks full of troops in the streets.

"Everything is calm," commented one neighborhood activist.

A total of 6,097,639 people voted in the first round of the elections, which represents 97.2 percent of those eligible, the highest rate of participation in Cuba's history.

On October 18, runoff elections were held in close to 1,000 districts where no candidate had managed to get a majority of the votes. By law, all races for delegates to the municipal assembly of People's Power must be contested by at least two nominees, but often there are as many as eight candidates.

Nearly 8 percent of those elected were women, a slight increase from the previous election in 1979. In the past, top government leaders have repeatedly singled out the low percentage of women

elected as a problem.

Of those elected, 22.6 percent are "obrereros," i.e., manual workers in industry and transportation, roughly corresponding to the American term "blue collar workers."

The figure represents an increase from the 18.3 percent achieved in 1979. In recent years Cuban leaders have increasingly stressed that the task of governing the country should not be left exclusively to the layer of full-time functionaries and administrators, and highlighted the special importance of involving growing numbers of industrial workers in government assemblies.

Responsible for services

The more than 10,000 local delegates will constitute 169 municipal assemblies with broad powers over local industries, distribution of goods and services, health care, and education. Poder Popular is responsible for organizing and delivering these goods and services within the general policy framework set out by the central government.

Poder Popular was designed to replace a highly centralized system that required even the smallest decisions to be made in Havana at the ministry level.

This overcentralization led to much bureaucratic inefficiency and footdragging in the 1960s and early 1970s.

With responsibility in the hands of local people, the system works more efficiently and responsively. In one example cited in Chilean journalist Marta Harnecker's book *Cuba: Dictatorship or Democracy?*, the work originally done by fifty-four officials of the Ministry of Interior Commerce was taken over by five people working for Poder Popular.

Not only does bringing government closer to the people help control bureaucratic delays, it is more democratic. The Poder Popular delegates are subject to recall elections if 20 percent of their constituents sign a petition asking for one. The right to recall has been exercised scores of times since Poder Popular was set up.

Elected local delegates continue at their regular jobs. Poder Popular is not a highly paid exclusive club like the U.S. Senate. The delegates are required to spend a good deal of time keeping in touch with the people in their neighborhoods, both through holding regular meetings and seeking out people to check for problems.

Poder Popular works closely with the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR), a block-level, grassroots organization to which most Cuban adults belong. As a voluntary organization, the CDRs carry out such tasks as mosquito control, organizing blood donations, and anticrime community patrols. The Poder Popular elections were organized by the CDRs.

Cuba

Rail and Miners Tour — February 14-21, 1982 — eight days, \$610
Workers Democracy/May Day Tour — April 18-May 2, 1982 — fifteen days, \$960
May Day Tour — April 25-May 2, 1982 — eight days, \$640
Youth Economy Tour — August 8-15, 1982 — eight days, \$425

Nicaragua

Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1150

Grenada

Third Anniversary Tour — March 7-14, 1982 — eight days, \$850

Prices include round-trip airfare from Miami, hotels (double occupancy), three meals (except for August 8-15 tour), transfers, and guide service.

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CUBA

NICARAGUA

GRENADA

In Review

Callous disregard for refugees from Nazi Germany

The Boat is Full. In German with English subtitles. A Quartet/Films release.

The Boat is Full is a Swiss film written and directed by Markus Imhoof, a Swiss expatriate living in Italy. Sharply critical of Switzerland's policy toward refugees from Nazi Germany, it aroused both controversy and acclaim in Imhoof's native country and won five richly merited awards at the Berlin Film Festival.

The Swiss government refugee policy shown in this film is today being repeated by the United States government in its treatment of Haitian refugees. As the Swiss government did, the United States is working hand-in-glove with a ruthless dictatorship while pretending to uphold the right to political asylum. *The Boat is Full* so stunningly depicts the callousness,

Film

meanness of spirit, and racial prejudice lying behind this policy that it demolishes all the rationalizations for it.

The film begins with the escape over the border of a mixed group of refugees: a German army deserter, a German Jewish woman and her seventeen-year-old brother, an aged Austrian Jew and his teen-aged granddaughter, a French boy of six or so who has lost his parents. Exhausted, they find shelter in an innkeeper's barn, where they are discovered by his wife.

Although they were only 8,300 refugees in the country at the time, the government has just declared Switzerland to be an "over-crowded little lifeboat" which must strictly limit the number of refugees it accepts and return to Germany the rest. Army deserters, political refugees, children under six, and family groups will receive priority. Racial victims of the Nazis are not to be considered political refugees by that very fact.

The innkeeper and his wife are subject to conflicting emotions. They are law-abiding citizens, resentful of the problems caused by the refugees' presence, and suspicious of them as "alien-thinking elements," but they cannot help feeling compassion.

Informed by the innkeeper of the government poli-



Austrian Jew and his teen-aged granddaughter who fled the Nazis. The Swiss authorities, like Reagan's policy towards Haitians, returned them to Germany and certain death.

cy, the refugees decide to pose as a family. Thus this little group of strangers of different nationalities becomes united into a kind of brotherhood of the persecuted.

But their desperate stratagem does not hold up when they are questioned by a police officer, a smugly chauvinistic martinet who is contemptuous of "the trickiness" of "those people." This attitude is shared by many of the village burghers although there are some who are sympathetic to the refugees.

The innkeeper, who had at first seemed an insensitive boor, had been so moved by their plight that he seeks to help them escape. He is a most unlikely hero, but what we have in this film is the complexity of real people, not the soap-opera stereotypes of the TV drama *Holocaust*. Instead of an obvious playing upon our emotions, there is a purposeful understatement, which is all the more effective.

When the refugees accidentally run into a troop of police, they are captured and escorted to the border and certain death. The accident is, however, no facile "irony of fate": in a country whose regime is so unsympathetic to the refugees, everything works against them.

In a final irony an immigration guard at the last moment decides to keep the little boy, who, not realizing what is involved, objects bitterly to not being allowed to go with his new family.

But, if the boy does not understand what is happening, the Swiss officials who noted on the German passports of the refugees that they had attempted to escape, stamping those of Jews with a "J," knew full well what they were doing. The same is true of the American officials who return Haitian refugees to a government which regards all those attempting escape as political enemies.

— Paul Siegel

Learning About Socialism

Workers and oppressed nations of the world unite

Four hundred million backward Asians have attained freedom, and have awakened to political life. One quarter of the world's population has passed, so to say, from torpor to enlightenment, movement and struggle.

— V.I. Lenin

At the turn of the century, millions of toilers in the colonial and semicolonial world were becoming active participants in world events for the first time. The 1905 revolution in Russia was followed by democratic struggles throughout the East, in China, Turkey, Persia, India, and Java.

This awakening of the colonial world coincided with the increasing confrontation between the working class and the bosses in Europe, producing a new epoch in world history. Lenin referred to this as the era of democratic and proletarian revolutions.

As an internationalist, Lenin analyzed these new world developments. He embraced the peoples of the East as allies of the working class in the imperialist countries and explained the interconnection between these two sectors of the world revolution.

The National Liberation Movement in the East is a collection of Lenin's writings between 1900 and 1923. It follows the evolution of his ideas as a participant and leader of the changing world. The selections are divided into three sections.

The first part includes writings between 1900 and 1914. Lenin examines the colonial upsurge as struggles directed against imperialism. The capitalists in Europe, threatened by their own working class, looked to and supported repressive regimes in the underdeveloped world.

Lenin wrote in 1913, "The bourgeoisie of Europe, scared by the might of the working-class movement, is embracing reaction, clericalism, and obscurantism. But the proletariat of the European countries and the

young democracy of Asia, fully confident of its strength and with abiding faith in the masses, are advancing to take the place of this decadent and moribund bourgeoisie."

World War I is the context of the second section of the book, 1914-1917. Lenin continues to develop a Marxist analysis of the role the colonial world was playing in the struggle for emancipation of the world workers and toilers.

"[T]he focal point in the Social-Democratic programme must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which forms the essence of imperialism. . . . Solidarity with and support to the colonial revolution became even more important during this period. The European working class had to recognize that its ally was not its own ruling class, but rather the people who were rising up against imperialism in the colonial world. Lenin showed how it would weaken the European workers' struggle against their bosses to support the same capitalists against the oppressed nations.

Lenin wrote, "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," said Marx and Engels. . . . it is impossible, in the twentieth century and in Europe (even in the far east of Europe), to 'defend the fatherland' otherwise than by using every revolutionary means to combat the monarchy, the landowners and the capitalists of one's own fatherland, i.e., the worst enemies of our country."

With the victory of the October 1917 Russian revolution, a new force came into world politics — the first workers state. The workers and peasants of Russia successfully stood up to imperialist invasion, which had a big impact on the colonial revolution.

The history of the early Communist International, under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky, is one of support and collaboration with oppressed peoples.

The third section of the book, 1917-1923, is Lenin's contribution to this development.

The "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions," written for the second congress of the Communist International, outlines the necessity and the method by which the new workers state had to support and further the colonial revolutions and the interdependence between struggles of the working class in Europe and the colonial peoples.

Lenin explains how, with the victory of the first workers state, the fight between oppressed and oppressor had become focused on the imperialist battle against the Soviet Union: "around which," he wrote, "are inevitably grouped, on the one hand, the Soviet movements of the advanced workers in all countries, and, on the other, all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities, who are learning from bitter experience that their only salvation lies in the Soviet system's victory over world imperialism."

The value and timeliness of these lessons can be seen today. The world is still divided into oppressed and oppressor nations. Revolutionaries in the imperialist nations can learn from Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who tackled this question of the relationship to the overexploited world. This selection from Lenin can help us figure out how to approach some of the questions that arise today, such as the Ethiopian-Somalian War in 1978; the Iran-Iraq war; and the use of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

The National Liberation Movement in the East is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, for \$2.45.

— Connie Allen

Subscription scoreboard

As of November 7, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
**Cleveland	55	66	5	6	60	72	120
*Portland	75	73	0	1	75	74	99
New Orleans	110	99	0	2	110	101	92
Salt Lake City	140	132	20	10	160	142	89
*Lincoln	40	33	0	2	40	35	88
Detroit	200	175	15	6	215	181	84
Atlanta	165	145	10	0	175	145	83
San Diego	90	85	30	12	120	97	81
*Boston	200	174	25	6	225	180	80
*Piedmont	180	143	0	1	180	144	80
*Washington, D.C.	235	200	40	19	275	219	80
*San Antonio	130	106	35	22	165	128	78
Philadelphia	130	111	40	17	170	128	75
St. Louis	115	87	5	1	120	88	73
Capital District	90	66	5	1	95	67	71
*Harrisburg	130	92	0	0	130	92	71
Louisville	125	89	0	0	125	89	71
Newark	275	233	75	17	350	250	71
*Brooklyn	475	347	75	30	550	377	69
Denver	95	62	5	3	100	65	65
Phoenix	75	51	25	14	100	65	65
Twin Cities	180	117	0	0	180	117	65
*Iron Range	110	70	0	0	110	70	64
*Pittsburgh	290	189	10	3	300	192	64
Kansas City	125	84	25	11	150	95	63
Oakland	170	121	30	2	200	123	62
*Birmingham	200	116	0	3	200	119	60
Los Angeles	325	209	75	23	400	232	58
Tucson	20	18	15	2	35	20	57
Chicago	215	122	35	8	250	130	52
Gary	115	64	10	0	125	64	51
Milwaukee	150	85	25	5	175	90	51
Baltimore	130	65	5	1	135	66	49
Morgantown	120	59	0	0	120	59	49
San Francisco	150	87	50	6	200	93	47
**Cincinnati	70	32	0	0	70	32	46
**Toledo	50	23	0	0	50	23	46
Albuquerque	60	30	25	6	85	36	42
Seattle	140	55	10	7	150	62	41
Indianapolis	125	50	0	0	125	50	40
*Manhattan	705	318	245	52	950	370	39
Dallas	110	45	50	12	160	57	36
Miami	90	32	10	3	100	35	35
Tidewater	120	37	0	0	120	37	31
San Jose	90	27	40	5	130	32	25
Charleston	125	22	0	0	125	22	18
Houston	135	13	40	0	175	13	7
Miscellaneous		228		33		261	
TOTAL	7250	4887	1110	352	8360	5239	63
SHOULD BE		4163		637		4800	60

*indicates area that has raised goal

**indicates area petitioning to put SWP on ballot

Black party leader on independent political action

By Bronson Rozier

BEREA, Kentucky — Manning Marable, a national leader of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), spoke here on October 29. The Black leader explained to the audience of several hundred students the need for independent working class political action.

At an earlier dinner reception, Marable stated that the solutions to the problems facing Blacks and all workers lie in the direction of forming a party of working people. Indicating that the exact evolution of such a party is not possible to predict, he said it is necessary to develop parallel movements of working people and of the oppressed minorities independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Formation of the NBIPP was hailed as a concrete start of this process.

In describing the NBIPP, Marable said that it plans to be a totally new type of party — "not a Black-faced Democratic or Republican Party." The NBIPP, he said, should be a force that helps mobilize the Black community in struggle. For it to be successful its goal must be to develop a base among Black workers.

Marable also outlined the devastation caused by President Reagan's austerity and militarization policies. He noted that these were an escalation of policies begun under the Democratic administration of James Carter.

Marable expressed several times the opinion that socialism is the only solution to the problem's facing working people and Blacks.

He received a standing ovation at the end of his speech when he urged the students to choose which side of the struggle they are on — the side of Reagan and cutbacks or on the side of working people and the poor.

Unions protest in Argentina

More than 10,000 people turned out for a November 7 mass in Buenos Aires, Argentina, that quickly became a protest of the policies of that country's ruling military junta.

The protest, held at San Cayetano Catholic Church on the outskirts of the capital city, was led by the Confederación General de Trabajadores (CGT — General Workers Confederation), Argentina's outlawed labor federation. The CGT included nearly all Argentine unions before it was banned by the junta.

CGT leaders said the November 7 action was the largest by unionists since the military seized power in March 1976. It occurred despite threats by the Interior Ministry against anyone who attended the San Cayetano mass for other than "spiritual reasons."

Help the 'Militant' get out the truth

By Lee Martindale and Nancy Rosenstock

As soon as evidence became clear of imminent U.S. military moves in Central America and the Caribbean, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) immediately responded.

Special meetings were called to which other supporters of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Salvadoran revolutions were invited. National SWP leaders flew to several major cities to give emergency reports and phone calls were made to other cities alerting socialists to Reagan's preparations for some kind of military move. Advance copies of the key articles appearing in this issue were sent by express mail to forty cities. At extra cost special efforts are being made to get bundles of this issue out as quickly as possible (see page two for special fund appeal).

A central aspect of this emergency response is stepped up sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, our Spanish-language biweekly.

The Cubans have appealed to defenders of the Caribbean and Central American revolutions to help break through the wall of silence imposed by the capitalist media.

We are helping to get out the truth, to sound the alarm, and to inform as many people as possible of these dangerous moves by the Reagan administration. Sales at street corners, shopping centers, plant gates, and campuses are being stepped up.

The next issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, which will carry much of the same material that's in this issue of the *Militant*, will roll off the press on November 17. Special steps will be taken to get this issue out rapidly by sending it express mail.

The SWP and YSA in many cities are raising their normal bundles of these two publications. The SWP in Winston-

Salem is increasing its bundle of *Militants* to 175, Pittsburgh to 400, Twin Cities to 175, and Los Angeles doubled theirs to 200.

In the Twin Cities a special subscription leaflet for the *Militant* will be distributed during sales of the paper. The leaflet, headlined "Halt Imminent War Danger in Central America and the Caribbean," includes a short text and a subscription coupon.

Eight weeks ago we launched a drive to get 8,000 new subscribers. So far we have received 5,228 subscriptions. Close to half of these were sold at the huge Solidarity Day protests held across the country on September 19.

The initial response from readers who subscribed on Solidarity Day confirms that the *Militant* is a necessary tool for understanding the employers' offensive and how working people can fight back.

Sixty-five people who bought a four-week trial subscription to the *Militant* at Solidarity Day have already decided to renew their subscriptions for a longer period of time. That's 3 percent and the number is growing each day. Eight of these new subscribers have also sold subscriptions to their friends.

As part of our special sales effort in response to the events in the Caribbean and Central America, selling subscriptions to everyone who wants continuous coverage of the emergency situation will be very important. Sales teams scheduled to reach out to cities where there are not many subscribers will be doubly important now.

Join us! We urge all of our readers to tell your friends about the *Militant* and get them to subscribe. We also urge you to join us in our special emergency effort to get out the *Militant* by helping to distribute this issue. Call us right away at (212) 929-3486 and we will rush you a bundle. The cost to you is 55 cents per copy.



A paper that takes sides — Your side.

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☐ New ☐ Renewal
☐ Enclosed is a contribution to the *Militant*.

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That takes care of that — To ensure the safety and well being of 7,000 families living near the Sequoyah nuclear plant, Tennessee officials are distributing potassium iodide pills to be taken in the event of a blowout. This will help deal with the possibility of thyroid cancer if radioactive iodine is released.

Lucky are the poor — If it weren't for slums, poor people would have no place to live, advises urban economist Anthony Downs. The poor, he opined, "have to live somewhere."

Matches the crown? — Nancy Rea-

gan is sporting a neckpiece shaped like the U.S., with a diamond for each state Ron took in the elections.

Straight for Jesus — In our neighborhood they used to suggest a good way to start a fire was to rub two Boy Scouts together. Our dim view of the organization was not lessened on learning that Boy Scout membership policy specifically bars atheists and gays.

Just kept cutting away — The chief heart surgeon at an Air Force hospital in San Antonio who had a patient mortality rate eight times average was fi-

nally yanked after a rebellion by anesthesiologists. Attorneys for the good doctor, now in private practice, says his batting average was due to taking on all the "poor risk" patients.

Down-to-earth approach — Persuaded a big drop is imminent, Wall Streeters are checking out depression-proof stocks. A leading contender is the funeral service business. "The basic rationale here," the *New York Times* explains, "is that the death rate is rising — recession or no recession — and certain companies stand to benefit."

Nutrition dep't — Researchers claim they may be able to safely solve the problem of disposing of the deadly cancer-causing chemical PCB by converting it into reusable oil and table salt.

Tempering justice with mercy — A North Platte, Nebraska, Safeway manager had a French tourist arrested because she ate a grape in his store. She was released on a \$50 cash bond. But later the D.A. decided that it was inappropriate to give someone a record for less than a penny. Charges will be dropped and the bond sent to Paris.

What's Going On

Protest U.S. military threat

MICHIGAN DETROIT

THE NEW THREAT OF WAR IN THE CARIBBEAN. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Nov. 22, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

BEHIND THE U.S. THREATS IN CARIBBEAN. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

EMERGENCY! STOP U.S. WAR DRIVE IN THE CARIBBEAN! Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m., 6 p.m. dinner.

215 E. 6th St. Donation: \$3, \$1.50 forum only. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

TEXAS HOUSTON

EMERGENCY PROTEST MEETING: U.S. HANDS OFF CUBA! NO U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. Speakers: John Sarge, Socialist Workers Party, visited Cuba in May 1981; others. Fri., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CUBA — AGGRESSOR OR VICTIM AS THE U.S. PREPARES FOR WAR? Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. N.W. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

WHERE THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS STAND TODAY. Speaker: Dave Evans, president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 502. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway (2 blocks north of Broadway off Golden State ramp, No. 5 freeway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

OAKLAND

CUBA: AN INSIDE LOOK. Eyewitness report and slide show. Speakers: Karen Wald, Cuba Resource Group, author, *Children of Che*; Robert Mattson, U.S. rail worker who recently toured Cuba. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

CLASS SERIES ON 'COMMUNIST MANIFESTO': THE RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THIS HISTORIC DOCUMENT TODAY. Speaker: Young Socialist Alliance member. Mon., Nov. 16, 23, 30, 7 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN DIEGO

REAGAN'S WAR ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS: HOW TO FIGHT BACK. Speakers: Vickie Algarin, representing Womancare feminist health center; Debbie Madden, member, International Association of Machinists Local 755 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

GUATEMALA: U.S.-BACKED DICTATORSHIP STEPS UP REPRESSION. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN JOSE

REAGAN'S ATTACKS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS: HOW WOMEN ARE FIGHTING BACK. Speakers: Maxine Jenkins, negotiated Hay Study for American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) 101 city workers; Ann Menasche, Socialist Workers Party; Julie Moore, chair, Reproductive Rights Task Force San Jose South Bay National Or-

ganization for Women; representative, AFSCME 101. Sun., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. (near the Alameda). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

INDIANA GARY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE. Meet Indiana's socialist candidates: Jesse Smith for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.; Dave Ellis for U.S. Congress, 10th C.D. Sun., Nov. 22, 12-4 p.m. 3883 Broadway. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

THE POLISH STRUGGLE: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT WITH SLIDE SHOW. Speaker: Martin Koppel, reporter for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sun., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount. Donation: \$2. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA VIRGINIA

'THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ROSIE THE RIVETER.' Film on the experience of women workers during World War II. Fri., Nov. 20, 7 p.m. 1012 2nd Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NEBRASKA LINCOLN

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEAS OF MARXISM. A class series. Sat., Nov. 14-Dec. 12, 1 p.m. UNL East Campus Union. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

INDOCHINA TODAY: U.S. INVOLVEMENT CONTINUES. Speakers: Chan Bun Han, Kampuchean na-

Report on Cuba

Cuba Update, a bimonthly report published by the Center for Cuban Studies, offers useful information about current Cuban developments. The October issue is devoted to a chronology of U.S. Cuban relations since the revolution came to power in 1959. It also lists twenty-seven bombings and murders for which the Cuban exile thugs, Omega 7, took credit. A subscription to *Cuba Update* is included with membership in the Center, \$25. Separately, it's \$10 a year. The Center for Cuban Studies is at 220 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

tional, will show slides from recent trip to Kampuchea; Abe Weisburd, Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; member of Committee of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S. Sat., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK ALBANY

AN EVENING IN DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS. Speakers: Thabo Ntweng, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Vera Mickelson, Coalition Against Apartheid; Dr. E.J. Josey, vice-president, Albany NAACP; Odell Winfield, local representative, National Black Independent Political Party; and others. Sun., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. Channing Hall, 405 Washington Ave. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund and Social Responsibilities Committee of the First Unitarian Society of Albany. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

BROOKLYN

MIDEAST CONFLICT: REAGAN RENEWS THREATS. Speakers: Will Reissner, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*; Elias Ayoub, Palestinian student facing deportation; Nell Said, November 29th Coalition. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

SCHENECTADY

GRAND OPENING: SOLIDARITY BOOKSTORE. Slides from Poland and September 19 Solidarity Day. Fri., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

REAGAN'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS BUILDUP: MILLIONS SAY 'NO.' Speakers: Pete Shidemantle, chair, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign; Randy Cunningham, Cleveland New American Movement; Alicia Merel, 1982 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON PORTLAND

AFTER SADAT: THE FUTURE FOR PALESTINIAN LIBERATION. Speaker: Joel Aber, former staff writer for the *Militant*. Sun., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA HARRISBURG

GRAND OPENING OF SOLIDARITY BOOKSTORE AND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY AND YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE HEADQUARTERS. Sat., Nov. 14, 3-6 p.m. 803 N. 2nd St. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore, SWP, YSA. For more information call (717) 233-8564.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

SADAT DIES, U.S. MILITARY BUILDUP CONTINUES. Speaker: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Nov. 18, 11:30 a.m. UWM Union W-191. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

DEMAND AN END TO U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

NEW YORK CITY
Demonstration: Saturday, November 28, 12:00 noon, Broadway and 34th St. The United Nations has declared Nov. 29 to be International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Demands: Support for the Palestine Liberation Organization; Condemnation of Zionism; Demand that U.S. military aid to Israel be stopped. Ausp: Nov. 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 625-9858.

From Pathfinder

Grenada: The Revolution in the Caribbean

By Sam Manuel and Andrew Pulley

35 pp. \$.95

The Grenada Revolution at Work

By W. Richard Jacobs
Grenada's Ambassador to Cuba

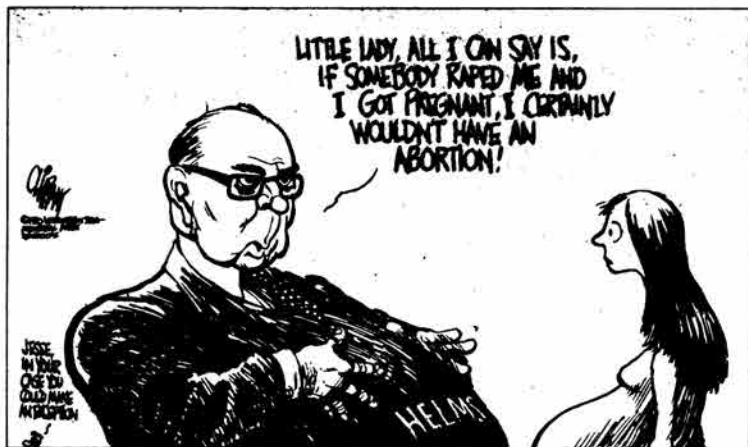
15pp. \$.50.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Add \$.75 for postage. Write for a free catalog of socialist books and pamphlets.



RALLY FOR IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

Speaker: Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. Holy Name School, 200 W. 97th St., (corner of Amsterdam Ave.), New York. Donation: \$5. Ausp: N.Y. H-Block/Armagh Committee. For more information call (212) 436-4770 or 243-1759.



Rights of the child?

The right-to-lifers scored a victory in Michigan last week. An eleven-year old girl will have a baby next January in Kalamazoo.

The child was repeatedly raped by her mother's live-in friend. The prospective father was arrested last August. During court hearings on the fitness of the child's mother, the pregnancy was discovered. The child's court-appointed attorney asked the judge to order an abortion in September, the child's father supported him, the mother strongly disagreed.

Enter the judge, Juvenile Court Judge Donald Halstead. Halstead had already publicly supported anti-abortion propaganda when he heard the attorney's motion. He responded to the attorney's motion by doing nothing. Declaring that he had no power to order an abortion he refused to rule on the motion.

The attorney, Nelson Pelletier, finally got a federal judge to rule that Halstead had to make some decision. Finally, with the child twenty-three-and-a-half weeks pregnant, Halstead ruled that an abortion would "not be in the best interest of the child."

The child is now back with her mother. Local feminists are trying to get Halstead thrown off the bench. A confused, frightened eleven-year-old girl stares at her growing belly. I hope the right-to-lifers are satisfied.

Seth Widgerson
Detroit, Michigan

New book

Since it is published by a commercial publisher and not

yet widely known in the left community, I would like to announce to the *Militant* readership that Volume 4 of *Research in Political Economy* has just been published.

International in perspective, this series of annual volumes is founded on understanding societies in a theoretical manner consistent with classical Marxism (against social-democratic and Stalinian distortions). Given the relative underdevelopment of theory in the United States, Lenin's comprehension that there is no revolution without revolutionary theory takes on renewed meaning—in particular, theory grounded in the working class, not "theory" as ideology.

Commercial publishers, of course, produce for profit. For this publisher to continue to offer the *Research*, sales must increase. I would therefore like to suggest that readers encourage any libraries or bookstores with which they are in contact to order the *Research in Political Economy* (JAI Press, 36 Sherwood Place, P.O. Box 1678 Greenwich, Connecticut 06836).
Paul Zarembka
Buffalo, New York

Bad headline

I am writing to express my concern over the headline "ERA rally points wrong way forward" in the October 23 issue of the *Militant*. This headline unnecessarily antagonizes many women (and men) who support the ERA and want to work for its ratification.

Vivian Sahnner's article was quite good, and a necessary

contribution to the discussion in the women's movement on where we go from here and who our real allies are. But I am afraid that a number of people will not read it, or will read it with the assumption that the Socialist Workers Party does not support NOW or the women's movement.

Many women in my NOW chapter (Albany NOW) who went to the NOW conference came back feeling energized despite the NOW leadership's attempts to squash any discussion or activity. They were inspired by seeing the numbers of women who turned out for the conference and by participation in this rally. (Speakers and content were secondary.)

In addition, for people who do not know the SWP's uncompromising support for the ERA, the headline could be misread in the sense that the ERA and rallies to support its ratification (regardless of content) should not be a major axis for the women's movement.

"Socialism" has often been counterposed to "feminism" by other groups calling themselves socialist or communist. This is not our position and we should be careful not to put ourselves in a position which can be interpreted as less than full support to the ERA. I repeat that the article did not have this problem, it is the headline that prompted this letter.

Something along the lines of "How to win the ERA" or "Do Democrats really support the ERA?" would avoid some of this confusion.

Julia Steinberg
Schenectady, New York

All right

Let's hear more from Margaret Jayko and Cindy Jaquith. Their articles in the October 16, 1981, edition of the *Militant* were tremendous. I wish both of them were members of our local's women's committee.

In the words of Cindy Jaquith to the Republicans and Democrats, "we're not going to push the doorbells for you anymore, answer the phones for you, or give you our votes."

We're tired of subordinating our program to getting you elected." Are you listening, Eleanor Smeal?

Alan Orr
UAW Local 145
Aurora, Illinois

'Loss prevention'

An additional feature will be added to the guard shack at the entrance of Toledo's United Parcel Service. Within the next few months employees will be forced to empty pockets and purses as they exit through a metal detector. On October 15 a representative from the 'loss prevention' department informed an initial group of workers that the company "did not want to cause an inconvenience to employees, merely take precautions against theft."

In response, a sorter asked whether this "precaution" would be on company time or employee time. "You'll punch out here as you usually do, only now you'll have to exit through the detector. Just like at an airport, it won't take any more than two to four minutes

after we get the bugs out."

Meanwhile, as the company works out the bugs, workers are getting pretty bugged. Questions are being raised regarding harassment for carrying books and newspapers, as most workers are also students.

Teamsters Local 20 was contacted regarding the legality of this move. The reply was, "We don't like it, but you'll have to live with it." The American Civil Liberties Union is to reconduct a workers' inquiry. One worker offered, "This was tried at two other Northeast Ohio plants. All of the workers carried nuts and bolts which they put in their mouths, shoes and socks until the thing was so messed up the company got rid of it."

Kathy Latta
Toledo, Ohio

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Appeal from a prisoner

On August 17, 1981, a political prisoner and one-time representative of Lolita Lebron and other Nationalist Party political prisoners, was assaulted by guards who came to Luis González's cell to take all political books and legal materials. The order to do this came from the FBI and CIA to Warden Jim Quinlan and other prisoner officials.

Luis González is serving sentences for refusing to talk to a grand jury about FALN [an alleged Puerto Rican group which police claim is responsible for several bombings] activities and threatening U.S. District Court Judge Milton Pollack; González's sentences on both charges equal six years; his release date is January 26, 1982.

González has been harassed since he went to prison. He was originally sent to Marion Penitentiary located in Illinois; on May 21, 1981, he was transferred to Otisville, New York.

Luis González would appreciate people sending letters to Norman Carlson, Director, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 320 First Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20534; William F. Smith, Attorney General for the United States, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530; and Jim Quinlan, Warden, FCI-Otisville, N.Y. 10963.

González, who became a victim of violence and crimes by the U.S. government imperialists, needs public support to demand his release June 19, 1981.

González wants to stop the harassment he has been taking since he started serving his sentences.

Anyone sending letters of support for Luis González to those officials named above should send copies of their letters to Luis González, Re. No. 06423-158, P.O. Box 1000, Otisville, New York 10963.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 1118 NW 3rd Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613. **KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30221. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 483-6236.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave.

Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711.

Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Black activist released, terrorism smear continues

By Nelson González

On October 27 screaming headlines in the big-business press proclaimed the capture of an alleged "terrorist" connected to the recent robbery in Rockland County, New York.

Fulani Sunni Ali, (Cynthia Boston), a member of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) had just been arrested at a farmhouse in Mississippi.

She was accused of removing materials from an apartment in Mount Vernon, New York, linked to the robbery.

The media immediately accused her of being a "terrorist" and running a paramilitary training camp for young Blacks.

She was tried and convicted by the press long before she even came close to a lawyer. When she was finally able to organize her defense, the government branded one of her lawyers a terrorist as well.

To complete the hysteria being whipped up around her arrest, she was placed under a half-million-dollar bond and her arraignment in New York was conducted under such heavy security that one official described the courtroom as an "armed fortress."

Suddenly, ten days later, on November 5, all the charges were dropped and she was freed.

It turns out, she wasn't even in New

York on the day she was supposed to have committed the conspiratorial act that linked her and the RNA to the so-called "terrorist apparatus."

When the FBI was faced with the inconvenient fact that she was more than 1,000 miles away in New Orleans getting her car fixed, they grudgingly admitted that, "there was a reasonable doubt as to the specifics in the affidavit supporting her arrest," — i.e. their frame-up hadn't worked.

At a November 6 news conference, Ali called the cop operation that led to her arrest "a war plan."

She vividly described the four armored vehicles, helicopters, and agents that were used to surround her, two other adults, and twelve small children on her farm.

"All the children down to age six were handcuffed," she explained. "All of the children were brought to the middle of the road, handcuffed behind their backs and grabbed and told to run, to run away from the driveway leading to the house and to the [police] cars. They frightened the children. . . .

"Once I was out in the road they looked at each other and said, 'Is this her?' The female agents nodded. I had a hat on my head which they snatched off and they were tickled that my hair was



Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston)

in braids. They said, 'that ought to make a good shot.'

Although charges against Ali have been dropped, the "terrorism" smear is still going on full force.

Immediately after her release, Ali

was subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury on November 16.

At the same time, Judge Irving Cooper handed down a decision granting a motion by government attorneys to bar one of her lawyers, Chokwe Lumumba, from representing her.

According to the *New York Times*, the reasons Cooper gave for his decision was that "Mr. Lumumba was an official of a Black-nationalist group, the Republic of New Africa, which the Federal Bureau of Investigation called a 'terrorist organization.'"

Yet Lumumba has never been accused of any crime by anyone.

The continuation of the smear campaign against Ali, Lumumba, and the RNA bears ominous consequences for all Americans. The government can brand anyone it wants a "terrorist" without bothering to prove it.

Ali's lawyers accused U.S. Attorney John S. Martin of "suspending the Constitution" in his moves against Lumumba. The New York Civil Liberties Union called for Martin's resignation.

As Vernon Mason of the National Conference of Black Lawyers put it, "I'm worried. This gives them [police] an excuse to go kicking down doors in the middle of the night."

L.A. meeting of 2,700 hits nuclear weapons

By Barry Schier

LOS ANGELES — A conference of over 2,700 people here October 31 heard the chilling consequences of nuclear war described by medical professionals.

"A one-megaton bomb dropped in Los Angeles would kill 900,000 people and severely injure 1.3 million," Dr. Jack Geiger of City College of New York told the gathering.

"The Medical Consequences of Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War" was organized by Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Council for a Livable World Foundation. It was sponsored by the University of California campuses at Los Angeles (UCLA), Irvine, and San Diego.

Dr. Richard Saxon, an orthopedic surgeon at the University of Southern California (USC) School of Medicine, urged doctors in the audience to tell their patients that "survival of the nation does not depend on more nuclear weapons."

"Every physician must leave this symposium as a teacher — to teach what he has learned here today."

There were over 1,000 medical personnel at the meeting including 300 doctors and 450 registered nurses. It was organized as an educational symposium and was certified for six hours of credits by the Department of Health Services of UCLA Extension.

But the symposium became a rally against nuclear weapons, against war, and against the waste of resources on weapons instead of human needs.

Dr. Judd Marmor, a professor at USC and former president of the American Psychiatric Association, pointed to the powerful protests against nuclear weapons in Europe and the role played here by the antiwar movement in ending the Vietnam war.

Dr. Helen Caldicott, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, also described the recent massive protests in

Europe. She had spoken at some of the rallies there.

Both Marmor and Caldicott urged more involvement in building a movement against nuclear weapons in this country.

Dr. Marvin Goldberger, president of the California Institute of Technology, opened the afternoon session of the conference with a report that more than 120 teach-ins against nuclear weapons have taken place at U.S. colleges already this semester.

Just three days earlier, a teach-in at California State College in Long Beach was capped off with a rally of 2,000 people protesting war and nuclear weapons.

SECOND NATIONAL LABOR SAFE ENERGY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

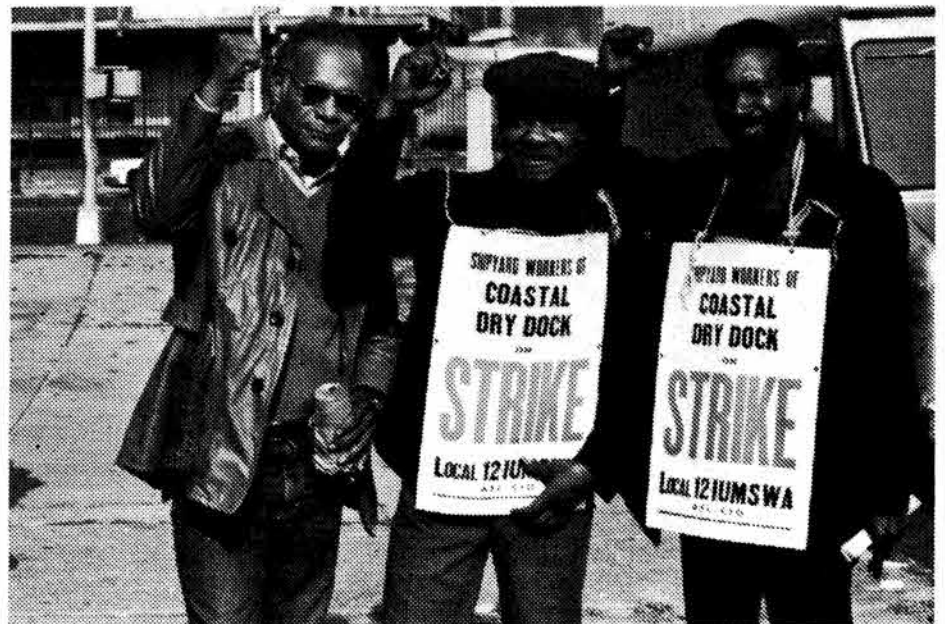
RALLY. Speakers: Robert Poli, president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Roger Myers, executive board member, United Mine Workers. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m.

Saturday keynote speeches: Robert Poli; Roger Myers; Charles Hayes, vice-president, United Food and Commercial Workers; Bob Muehlenkamp, Hospital Workers Union 1199; Mike Olszanski, chair, environmental committee, Local 1010, United Steelworkers; Richard Hatcher, mayor, Gary, Indiana. Workshops on coal as an alternative to nuclear power, nuclear war and nuclear energy, jobs and energy program of the Reagan administration, and others. Nov. 20-22, Sheraton Hotel, Gary, Indiana.

Retired Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque, now director of the Center for Defense Information, explained that the Reagan administration plan to build 17,000 nuclear weapons in the next ten years is the biggest expansion in history.

He refuted the claims of his former Commander-in-Chief Ronald Reagan that there is the possibility of "limited" nuclear war. "There is no way to control a nuclear war once it starts," the retired naval planner explained.

Brooklyn shipyard strike



Militant/Arthur Hughes

By Arthur Hughes

BROOKLYN — Six hundred Brooklyn Navy Yard workers jam the meeting hall as we come off day shift. The old contract just expired. The negotiating committee has a new proposal.

Summaries are handed out at the door and read carefully. The pay hikes are less than half what the union demanded.

Shouting starts. The original union contract demands are read off. "That's right. That's what we want. Not this."

"Montanti [the company owner] said he'd close the yard before accepting our demands. We'll close it for him."

"Strike! Strike! Strike!"

The majority voted to strike.

Arthur Hughes is a pipefitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and a member of Local 12, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

Monday morning, November 2, hundreds of welders, burners, shipfitters, riggers, machinists, picket the front gates. The yard is 'shut tight.'

The company says we're overpaid.

The pickets know better.

"We lost 15 percent in real wages in the last contract," one says.

On the fifth day of the strike, the company gives out a letter with the last pay check.

In the letter Montanti says we were tricked by "a handful of people who don't care about your jobs" into going on strike. "At a time when there are more than eight million people unemployed and millions of workers who have exhausted unemployment insurance benefits, a strike ought to be based on hard facts. Not false propaganda."

Mantanti's lecture doesn't go over. "Why doesn't he give us the figures for what he made himself?" "This letter's an insult," another picket says.