

U.S. gov't prepares military attack against Nicaragua



U.S. troops on 1983 military maneuvers in Honduras. Another 5,000 GIs will carry out such maneuvers in Honduras in coming weeks as Washington gets ready to attack Nicaragua.

Reagan victory no mandate for Central America war

President Reagan has declared that his landslide victory over Democratic contender Walter Mondale means that he has been given a mandate to pursue his policies at home and abroad. But no matter how vigorously he argues this notion, the fact is that the majority of the U.S. workers who voted for him did not give him a mandate to invade Central America.

Working people do not want another Vietnam-type war in which U.S. men are

timed to coincide with the end of the U.S. elections, they are not a result of Reagan's landslide victory.

The tiny handful of capitalist ruling families in the United States make and carry out *their* decisions on such questions with little if any regard for which Democrat or Republican is elected.

Big business profiteers in the United States cannot permit the revolutionary overturn of capitalist rule in Nicaragua and its repercussions in the rest of Central America to go unchallenged. They are waging an aggressive struggle to crush the Nicaraguan revolution.

They first attempted to accomplish this objective by organizing, arming, and financing counterrevolutionaries to enter Nicaragua, establish a stable beachhead, and raise the flag of a "provisional government" that Washington could rush to aid. But this scheme was squashed by the effective and determined action of the Nicaraguan defense forces.

It was this defeat on the battlefields in Nicaragua, not what happened November 6 in the voting booths in the United States, that determined the next steps the U.S. rulers would take in their war against Nicaragua's working people.

The capitalist rulers now have no alternative but to use direct U.S. military forces, including air and naval attacks and combat troops, to do the job; and that is what they are presently laying the groundwork for.

This, however, will not be easy. And Washington has no guarantee of victory. The Nicaraguan workers and farmers are armed and committed to defend their revolution and the social gains it has brought.

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Washington hands off Nicaragua!

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NOVEMBER 8 — Washington is preparing an imminent military attack on Nicaragua, involving both bombing raids and U.S. troops. The justification for the aggression is the claim that there is a "Soviet arms buildup" in Nicaragua — the same lie used in the criminal invasion of Grenada one year ago.

Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential candidate, immediately denounced the U.S. moves and called on "trade unionists and all those opposed to U.S. military intervention in Central America to sound the alarm."

'Knock out planes'

In carefully orchestrated "leaks" to the press November 6, the U.S. government charged that a Soviet freighter headed for the Nicaraguan port of Corinto was bringing a shipment of Soviet MIG combat jets. Despite an immediate denial by the Nicaraguan government that such jets were on the ship, officials in Washington openly declared they were preparing direct military strikes against Nicaragua.

The November 7 *Wall Street Journal* reported that administration officials were discussing strikes against Nicaraguan air fields. The November 7 *Philadelphia Inquirer* wrote that government spokesmen said if MIGs were on the ship, they "would consider a surprise attack to destroy them." According to the November 8 *New York Times*, Washington's plans include "air strikes to knock out the planes or a naval quarantine of the country." An ominous warning note was sent by the U.S. government to the Soviet Union, as well.

These are not idle threats. On November 7, two U.S. warships invaded Nicaragua's territorial waters, pursuing the Soviet freighter as it prepared to dock at Corinto. They made threatening moves against a Nicaraguan coast guard vessel. At the same time, a U.S. C-130 plane flew along Nicaragua's coast, prompting antiaircraft batteries to fire warning rounds toward the

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Sandinistas declare military alert

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, November 7 — Nicaraguan workers and peasants have gone on alert to defend their country against the threat of direct U.S. military attack.

Following an emergency joint meeting of the governing junta and top ministers late last night, the Nicaraguan government issued an urgent appeal this morning. The appeal announced that new "aggressive measures against Nicaragua have already been put in motion by the U.S. government."

The statement said, "The government of Nicaragua places the people of Nicaragua on alert, to be ready to follow the calls which the government of the republic will issue to carry out the necessary mobilization for the defense of the homeland, given the extreme gravity of these events."

The communiqué came in response to charges by the U.S. government that a Soviet freighter was heading toward Nicaragua carrying MIG-21 fighter jets. U.S. military strikes against Nicaragua were threatened.

The Nicaraguan government categorically denied that "any ship, of any nationality, is transporting combat planes toward Nicaragua." It added, "nor have any combat aircraft already been unloaded."

Nicaragua has repeatedly affirmed its sovereign right to obtain combat aircraft like MIGs or French Mirage jets for self-defense against Washington's aggression.

U.S. escalation predicted

Five weeks ago, Nicaraguan government coordinator Daniel Ortega warned that the U.S. government had plans to sharply escalate its war against Nicaragua around the time of the Nicaraguan elections.

Statements by top Sandinista officials have become more urgent here in recent days, following an October 31 flight across the breadth of Nicaragua's territory by an SR-71 U.S. Air Force spy plane. The spy flight was accompanied by air raids against two Nicaraguan settlements near the Hon-

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Texas cops attack strikers picketing General Dynamics

BY KATHY RETTIG

DALLAS — More than 1,000 members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) District Lodge 776 were attacked by police and seven were arrested on November 5. It was the first day of their strike against General Dynamics Fort Worth Division, the largest employer in Tarrant County, Texas.

The strikers — many of whom were accompanied by family members — were gathered outside the plant. Police from White Settlement, a town on the edge of General Dynamics' property, had been harassing the strikers and arrested a number of them earlier that day on the charge of "obstructing traffic."

When the police arrested yet another

striker, the unionists responded by throwing rocks and bottles and shouting "Let him go!"

Police then lobbed tear gas and smoke canisters at the strikers and into the union hall, which is directly across from the plant. Some workers had fled into the union hall with their children, but had to run out the back door when it filled with tear gas.

The police also turned water hoses on the strikers and their families.

When the strikers began throwing more bottles following the arrest of another striker, police Lt. D.T. Plate threatened to arrest all of the workers.

Shortly afterward 50 members of the

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EDITORIAL

drafted and sent off to Central America only to be returned in caskets. That's not why Reagan carried 59 percent of the vote and 49 of the 50 states.

In fact, on the issue of the war in Central America and the Caribbean, there was no clear line distinguishing the positions of Reagan from former vice-president Mondale.

During the election campaign Mondale endorsed Reagan's invasion and occupation of Grenada.

He also supported Reagan's threat to carry out a military strike against Nicaragua if it exercises its sovereign right to acquire Soviet-built MIG jet fighters to defend itself against the superior air power of Washington and its allies.

If the Nicaraguan government should obtain such aircraft, Mondale declared, "it would be intolerable. . . . What it means [is] that the Soviets have to get out of there and it means we have to take such steps as to bring about that result."

While Washington's latest threats against the Nicaraguan revolution are

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

On a recent Young Socialist Alliance-sponsored speaking tour for the 1984 Socialist Workers presidential campaign, I participated in a number of socialist campaign teams at plant gates.

The YSA puts a priority on campaigning against the U.S. government's war in Central America and the Caribbean and for socialism among workers in industrial unions. YSA chapters across the country help get out socialist campaign literature, especially the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM), and the YSA's newspaper, the *Young Socialist* (YS), as an important contribution to strengthening opposition to the war in Central America. Talking to workers at plant gates is a way for YSA members to help more U.S. trade unionists see that they are engaged in a common struggle against the U.S. rulers with workers and farmers in Central America and

the Caribbean and to develop a socialist perspective.

I talked with many United Auto Workers (UAW) union members at plant gates in several cities. These unionists are on the front line of the domestic war of the capitalist class against the working class. They were just forced to accept another concession contract from the billionaire owners of the auto companies.

At every plant gate, we told workers we were YSA members campaigning for the socialist candidates, against union-busting and the war in Central America, and for a workers and farmers government. We sold the *Militant* and PM, and in talking about the YSA, sold the *Young Socialist* as well.

This helped show that socialists are not just individuals with a newspaper, but part of a movement, including a youth organization, a movement that thinks workers and farmers are getting

the shaft from the government and the employers. A movement that is doing something about it.

In Indianapolis, one UAW member said, "There's a group of young people. That's a good sign for the future." He bought both the *Militant* and the YS.

Another worker also bought a copy of both papers and told me he had someone in mind inside the plant to give the YS to.

Although most workers expressed a bitterness at their worsening job conditions, many did not agree with or were not interested in our antiwar and socialist views. Many workers walked by and only took a free piece of campaign literature.

At one plant in Cincinnati, a group of right-wing workers stood in a parking lot a block away and threw some eggs at us. But many more workers at this same plant gate stopped to discuss the U.S.

government's war against the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution with us. We sold six *Militants*, and handed out all our campaign and YSA literature.

One young worker told us that there was a big discussion and debate inside the plant since the socialist sales teams have been selling at the gate. He wanted to know what socialism was all about. "They say you are communists, but I bought the paper last week and I agree with everything in it."

He stayed and discussed the views and activities of the YSA with us for 10-15 minutes. We gave him a leaflet, and discussed activities protesting the U.S. occupation of Grenada. He said he wanted to learn more, and would come by the socialist bookstore.

The U.S. elections are over, but the SWP and YSA will continue their campaigning at the plant gates.



Militant John Cotman
Selling the *Militant* at auto plant. Getting out our press at the gates stirs up discussion and debate about socialist ideas among workers on assembly line.

Mason demands: 'Washington hands off Nicaragua!'

Continued from front page plane.

One of the U.S. warships came within five miles of Nicaragua's coast. By late afternoon, the ships had withdrawn to 10 miles from shore, but still within Nicaragua's territorial limit.

The obvious goal of these provocations was to spark an incident that could be used to justify a full-scale assault on Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto, in a protest letter to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, said, "The U.S. administration is carrying out efforts to create a propitious atmosphere for possible direct military action against Nicaragua, including massive bombardment of our territory and the carrying out of aggressive acts with the participation of U.S. troops."

82nd Airborne Division

In a November 7 statement to the Nicaraguan people, placing them on military alert, the Nicaraguan government warned of troop movements in the United States involving the 82nd Airborne Division, one of the units used in the invasion of Grenada.

The November 6 *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that major U.S. troop maneuvers are planned this month at Ft. Stuart, Georgia. The maneuvers involve the 82nd Airborne Division from Ft. Bragg, North Carolina; a brigade of the 101st Airborne Division from Ft. Campbell, Kentucky; and the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division from Ft. Stuart.

The Pentagon refused to comment when asked by the *Inquirer* about the purpose of the exercises. The newspaper quoted a congressional committee staff member as saying, "There is suspicion that they are gearing up for Central America. . . ."

The *Inquirer* said major U.S. troop maneuvers are also planned in Honduras soon, involving 5,000 GIs, and naval maneuvers are being prepared for the Gulf of Fonseca between El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The governments of Nicaragua and Cuba have warned for more than a month that Washington is preparing a major escalation of the war. As Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca told the United Nations in October, "The scene appears to be set. . . . The necessary military, infrastructure, and logistical conditions exist, and now the commanders are only waiting for the political decision to intervene."

At a news conference in Managua November 5, Nicaragua's newly elected president, Daniel Ortega, explained that Washington is now planning a direct intervention because its attempt to overthrow the Sandinistas with a mercenary army has "failed on the military terrain." Unable to generate any support among Nicaraguan workers and peasants or take a single town with its paid army, Washington has no alternative but to use its own troops in an attempt to bring down the Nicaraguan government.

The Sandinistas announced some time ago that to defend their country against increasing air attacks by U.S. and Honduran planes, they were seeking combat jets abroad. The Nicaraguans explained it is their sovereign right to obtain whatever weapons they need to defend themselves against superior arms.

Both Reagan and Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale declared that if elected, they would launch military strikes against Nicaragua to destroy such jets. Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan, who has posed as a critic of Reagan's Nic-

aragua policy, confirmed November 8 that there is complete bipartisan agreement in Washington that if Nicaragua receives combat jets, the U.S. government should attack the country to wipe them out.

The issue of combat jets is simply the pretext for invading.

On November 4, the day Nicaragua successfully completed its national elections, U.S. officials explained to the *New York Times* that "the chances of some kind of American military intervention" were high. The officials mentioned no "Soviet threat" at all. Two days later the tale of the Soviet freighter was "leaked" — U.S. officials now say they have been spying on the freighter for more than a month.

The lies about the "Soviet arms buildup" are aimed at U.S. working people, to try to convince them Nicaragua poses a genuine threat to peace and democracy, thus laying the basis for an invasion.

At a news conference November 7, Reagan charged that delivery of MIGs to the Nicaraguans would mean "they are contemplating being a threat to their neighbors here in the Americas." As two U.S. warships steamed toward Nicaragua's coastline, Reagan had the audacity to claim Nicaragua had "no need" for such aircraft.

Mason condemns racist arrogance

Socialist Mel Mason condemned Reagan's threats. "It is the height of racist arrogance for the president of the country that has financed a war of murder, rape, burning, and bombing against Nicaragua to tell her people they have no need and no right to defend themselves. I stand unconditionally behind the right of the Nicaraguan people to obtain whatever weapons, ships, and planes they need to defend

themselves from Washington's aggression.

"There is no 'Soviet arms buildup' in Nicaragua," Mason declared. "The stories about that are designed to cover the massive U.S. arms and troop buildup all around Nicaragua, and to justify direct U.S. intervention in the war."

The socialist candidate also assailed the Democratic Party. "It's clear the Democrats and Republicans have been in agreement for some time on the moves being made today. Not a single Democrat has made a peep about the latest threats to Nicaragua. Walter Mondale got up on election night, as the war plans were being announced, and urged working people to unite behind Reagan because, 'We are all Americans.'"

"No! The majority of us are workers and farmers whose sons will be sent to die in the war that the U.S. businessmen and bankers have under way in Nicaragua."

"The most urgent thing to do today is get out the truth about what is happening in Nicaragua. We must sound the alert on Washington's plans to invade. We must answer the lies about the 'Soviet arms buildup.' We must spread the truth about the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution, which the U.S. government wants to destroy."

"The U.S. unions have a special responsibility to speak out," said Mason. "Labor should demand the withdrawal of every single U.S. soldier and 'adviser' from Central America. We should call for cutting off every cent to the dictatorships in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, and the funds for the CIA's mercenaries attacking Nicaragua. We should demand the removal of all U.S. warships and spy planes from Nicaraguan territory."

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The Militant

Closing news date: November 7, 1984

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

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Socialist campaign holds victory rallies

BY YVONNE HAYES

NEW YORK — Mel Mason and Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, topped off their campaign with victory rallies in Chicago and New York on election night, November 6. They spoke to supporters of the socialist campaign in 34 cities across the country via national telephone hook-up.

War is central issue

"At the beginning of this campaign," González said, "Mel Mason and I pledged to put the issue of Washington's wars at the center of our campaign because it was the issue of central importance to working people. This is even clearer today than it was then."

González pointed to the escalation of the U.S. war against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people and the promises by both Reagan and Mondale that they would continue to deepen this war under the guise of defending U.S. "national security."

"In 1979, workers and farmers took power in Nicaragua and today, in El Salvador, working people are determined to follow that example," said González. "It is this power of the working class that the U.S. government is waging war against."

"When they talk about 'our' interests that they are defending in Central America, the U.S. rulers are not talking about your interests or my interests. They are talking about the interests of the ruling rich in this country, the capitalist class."

"But, in order to try and win support for their efforts to crush the power of the workers and farmers in Nicaragua, they talk about defending 'freedom and democracy,'" said González.

A perspective of struggle

"It is a class war, one that is being waged against working people in the U.S. as well," she stated. "And the perspective of the socialist campaign is one of struggling against the ruling rich and their war."

"This perspective of struggle and of working class solidarity has attracted working people who want to fight back." She noted the presence at the New York rally of activists from the Irish freedom struggle, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), organizations in solidarity with Nicaragua such as Ventana and Artists' Call, and fighters against police brutality and for the rights of Haitian immigrants.

Mel Mason stated, "Ronald Reagan won the election today because he was lucky. He happened to be in office during an upturn in the capitalist economic cycle."

"But Reagan did not solve the fundamental problem which exists any more than any policy of Carter-Mondale caused it. Because the problem is the profit system itself," Mason said, "and that system is in crisis."

"The capitalist class will continue to push against working people in the U.S. and against workers and farmers in this hemisphere to try and make us pay for this crisis. They will step up their attacks."

'Glimpse of our own future'

Mason said that big battles are ahead for working people. He cited the British coal miners strike as a "glimpse of our own future" and an example of how working people can begin to mobilize to meet the offensive of the ruling class.

The socialist presidential candidate went on to explain the highlights of the socialist campaign over the past 11 months. He said, "We met striking copper miners in Arizona and hotel workers in Las Vegas and auto workers in Toledo. We met farmers fighting foreclosures and Blacks fighting segregation in education. We met women organizing to defend abortion rights and affirmative action."

"Through our campaign literature and the *Militant*, hundreds of thousands of working people got the word about the only socialist alternative. And ours was a bilingual campaign, with all national campaign literature appearing in Spanish as well as English."

"We fought for and won ballot status in 23 states and Washington, D.C., and carried out a national protest campaign against our undemocratic exclusion from the ballot

in New York State.

"We campaigned as members of a world working class, traveling to Ireland, Britain, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, and Canada."

"And we will continue to fight and to defend the rights of working people internationally. Our campaign does not stop tonight but goes on with the fight for a workers and farmers government."

One more step

Nan Bailey, the SWP candidate for Congress in the 16th District in Harlem, and the cochairperson of the Manhattan chapter of the NBIPP, addressed the crowd of 140 in New York. She explained that the socialist campaign has helped a layer of activists to "take one more step on the road toward breaking with their illusions in the imperialist parties." She said, "The number one task of our campaign is to help working people understand that no political representative of the ruling rich, including a Jesse Jackson, can help alleviate our problems. We need to drop the idea that they can speak for us if we just compromise with them."

Bailey explained, "We need to learn the lesson taught by Malcolm X, that we should not approach politics emotionally, but as cold-bloodedly as the ruling class."

"These elections did not change which class rules in this country," Bailey said, "the ruling rich who are responsible for the misery and suffering of millions around the world."

To change which class rules, she explained, working people need to adopt a perspective of struggle, not compromise.

Priscilla Schenk, the SWP candidate for



Militant/Harry Ring



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González spoke to hundreds of supporters across the country via telephone hook-ups from victory rallies held in Chicago and New York on election night.

U.S. Senate from New Jersey, told the New York rally that working people "need to fight against the attempts to divide our forces through racism and sexism." She pointed to the stepped-up attacks on immigrant workers as part of the ruling-class campaign to weaken solidarity among working people as they escalate their war in Central America.

Schenk's husband, Héctor Marroquín, is an immigrant worker fighting the U.S.

government's attempts to deport him for his political ideas, especially his opposition to the U.S. war against Nicaragua and El Salvador. Marroquín has been campaigning for the socialist presidential ticket. He joined Mel Mason on the platform at the socialist victory rally in Chicago.

"I have been campaigning for Mel and Andrea," Marroquín said, "because theirs is the only campaign that supports the interests of all working people."

SWP campaigners wrapping up fund

BY YVONNE HAYES

On a Cable News Network nationwide call-in show, "Take Two," on November 2, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason explained that his campaign has received a "good hearing from workers, women, Blacks, and

Latinos" across the United States. A lot of interest, he said, has been generated by the socialists' call for a workers and farmers government to replace the current government of the capitalist class and place the resources of society at the service of the vast majority.

Thousands of working people have learned about the socialist solutions to the crisis of the capitalist system through the efforts of socialist campaign supporters. Over the last 11 months they have handed out campaign literature at factory gates and on street corners, organized meetings for socialist candidates and spokespeople, and distributed the socialist newspapers, the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*, and the Spanish-language news magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The participation of socialist campaign supporters in antiwar activities and their support to the struggles of working people, from striking copper miners in Arizona to striking auto workers in Toledo, Ohio, have meant that socialist ideas are more widely known today than they were at the beginning of the campaign of Mason and his vice-presidential running mate, Andrea González.

Thousands of workers signed petitions placing the socialist presidential ticket on the ballot in 23 states and the District of Columbia.

In addition, these supporters have contributed thousands of dollars to help pay

the costs of the campaign. This fall alone, over \$75,000 has been contributed toward a goal of \$100,000. This is a large sum of money contributed by working people in a very short period of time. And the contributions continue to come in, including money collected during the final days of the presidential election campaign and at election night activities.

A recent contribution to the campaign came in response to an ad placed in the *Irish Echo* newspaper by Irish activists George Harrison and Thomas Falvey. It read, "Please find my very small contribution for your most worthy cause. Wishing you continued success. The oppressed are arising. Thanks to leadership such as yours and the true and noble Celts, such as Falvey and Harrison."

In the coming days, socialist campaigners will be wrapping up the 1984 socialist election campaign and beginning to map out plans to continue their activities in opposition to imperialist war and against the bosses' attacks on working people at home. In order to rapidly move forward, \$24,554 of the outstanding pledges to the socialist campaign need to be collected. The final bills of the campaign are now coming due. A special appeal is being made to campaign supporters to send in this money without delay.

A future issue of the *Militant* will report the final tally on the Socialist Campaign Fund.

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Mel Mason on Cable News Network's "Take Two," a call-in show. Hard-earned contributions of many working-class supporters financed socialist campaign.

BY LAURA GARZA

Are youth more conservative today than they were 10 years ago?

This is the impression the capitalist media has tried to create. Article after article has cited polls that show a higher percentage of support for Reagan among youth than among other age categories.

Concepts such as "generational politics" and the "age gap" abound in these articles — concepts which shed as much light on the situation as would consulting a crystal ball.

Consistently absent from the capitalist commentators' analysis is the concept of social classes in society — including among young people. The interests of the two main classes in society — the capitalists and the workers — are the opposite. What benefits the capitalist class comes at the expense of the majority of people — working people.

The employing class makes money from paying women and Blacks less, busting unions, and waging wars against workers in other countries to protect their investments.

Young workers, on the other hand, have nothing to gain from being drafted to die in such a war. We suffer more from the lower wages for new hires that are imposed in concession contracts. We are the victims of cop brutality, especially in Black and Latino communities. We are the targets of the attempts to limit access to birth control and abortion.

There are some young people, from the better-off middle class, who have done well during the last few years and who do not face the same problems that young workers do. It is what class you are in

which determines what is in your best interests, not your age.

Polls have noted that among Blacks, and some other working-class youth, Reagan did not receive much support, though there was a layer of young workers, as among working people in general, who did support Reagan.

As the U.S. rulers step up their war and union-busting, accompanied by an increase in jingoistic, patriotic propaganda, some youth identify with the openly right-wing policies Reagan pushes. This includes a layer of better-off young workers. But it's clear that most young workers who voted for Reagan did so because the administration happened to preside over an economic upturn.

For many youth this fact overrode their differences with Reagan on a wide range of political and social issues. The capitalist press has taken note of the fact that many young people disagree with Reagan's stands, most frequently citing his opposition to abortion rights. Most students still do not approve of cuts in educational aid, and most young people don't want to go to war in Central America.

But because Mondale's campaign also promoted the U.S. war in Central America, social service cutbacks, and other reactionary measures that were similar to those of the Republicans, many youth didn't see voting for him as an alternative.

Those who voted for Mondale because they opposed the U.S. war in Central America had to do so despite his vow to continue the war in El Salvador and against Nicaragua. Given the lack of a clear-cut choice between Mondale

and Reagan it would be hard to draw any conclusions about where young people stand on U.S. intervention in Central America based on their votes.

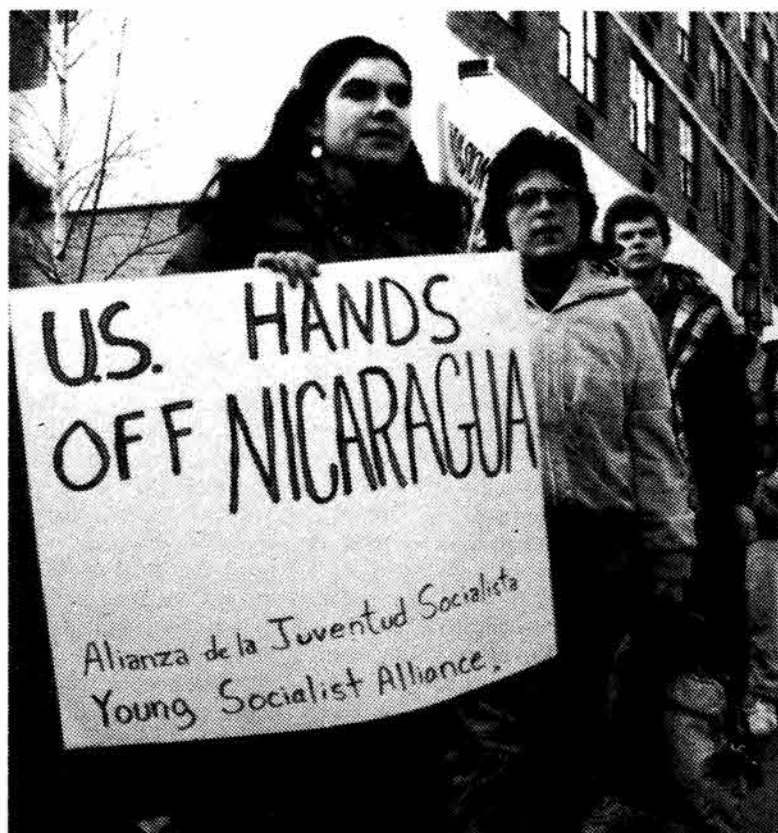
There are those who try to use the elections as proof that youth are more conservative, pronouncing dead the days when young people stood in the front lines of the fight against Washington's criminal war in Vietnam, or in support of the civil rights movement.

These movements resulted because, despite the lies about the U.S. war in Vietnam, and despite the force and terror used to deny Blacks their civil rights, a fight took place. A fight, initiated by a small number of people, to get the truth out and oppose these policies. These movements won the hearts and minds of millions of U.S. working people and moved millions of youth to act on these ideas.

One legacy of these struggles is the "Vietnam Syndrome." Many working people today oppose the U.S. war in Central America. They support Black rights and women's rights; and oppose prayer in the schools and cutbacks in social services.

There have been some important fightbacks by working people against the latest attacks on our unions, our living standards, and our democratic rights. As the ruling class escalates its war in Central America and tries to force our class to sacrifice our lives and livelihoods for this war, who benefits from the policies of the ruling class will become clearer. And there will be more and bigger struggles.

Beginning now to win youth to



Militant/Lou Howort

fight for our interests against the employing class is what the Young Socialist Alliance is all about. We are confident that youth can be won to be a part of battles against war, racism, sexism, and union-busting — that they can be won to socialism. Young workers have the greatest stake in fighting to replace the current rule of a handful of super-rich families, with a government of the majority — the workers and farmers.

Such a government will set out to build a society where human needs — not profits — are the priority. Young people who want

to be a part of this fight should join the YSA.

Laura Garza is a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and was a national youth coordinator for the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign.

To find out more about the YSA write to Young Socialist Alliance, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's bimonthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.

Good post-election 'Militant' sales anticipated

BY TOM LEONARD

Participants in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* five-week sales blitz covered a lot of territory before Election Day. And some areas have definite plans for how they will reach their cumulative sales goal in the post-election period.

A call came in from Houston to say, "We don't have any doubt about reaching our goal of 1,000. We've already sold 623 papers, including 150 *Perspectiva Mundiales*."

He said they were having regular Saturday sales of more than 100 papers "to people of all colors, and they're all responding favorably."

In addition to street sales, Houston is selling 15 *Militants* and *PMs* at targeted plant gates. And they handed out a lot of election campaign literature for the Socialist Workers Party candidates.

The wide-ranging nature of the discussions salespeople are having with workers buying the press led Houston socialists to the conclusion, "We think this is just the beginning of our campaign. We are just starting to have the real discussions," that are possible today.

Sales teams in the Piedmont in North Carolina have also been on the move. "We decided to cover every ACTWU [Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers] organized textile plant we could in the seven days before the elections, and we got to seven of them. We sold 14 *Militants* to textile workers, and gave out about 400 national and local election campaign brochures," they told the *Militant*.

"At one plant gate, Fieldcrest, we had a press conference for our senatorial candidate, Kate Daher, who had prepared a statement addressed to textile workers." The conference was covered by the local press. Socialists there sold *Militants* and talked to a lot of workers.

Piedmont has sold 217 out of their goal of 275 papers, and is planning to go to the three union-organized textile plants they didn't have time to reach before November 6.

Socialist campaigners in Washington, D.C. described a sale in the Columbia Row

area of the city where a lot of Latino workers live. One of the bilingual salespeople on the team said he had excellent discussions with workers who were happy to see someone writing the truth about the struggle of people in countries like Guatemala and Honduras. His team sold 15 *PMs* and 11 *Militants*. They also distributed 400 Spanish-language campaign brochures.

Last week, Washington, D.C. socialists distributed more than 1,000 pieces of literature, and sold out their *Militant* bundle

early. They called the sales office to send them more papers.

Tidewater, Virginia, campaigners called to report they also sold out their preelection day *Militants* early. They've already sold 154 papers toward their cumulative goal of 250.

Seattle reported they had done especially well at last-minute political meetings. At a demonstration of 600 protesting the appearance of the United States' representative to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpat-

rick, socialist campaigners sold 30 *Militants* — all they had with them — and gave out a lot of literature. They also sold another 63 *Militants* at a pro-Mondale rally.

Finally, we think Houston is right. There will be important opportunities to have political discussions with workers after the elections, including what people thought about the elections. That's where socialist salespeople want to be in the final days of the sales campaign.

Socialist takes antiwar campaign to miners

BY LEE MARTINDALE AND JOE GEISER

PRICE, Utah — A team of campaigners for Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González traveled throughout Utah in the days leading up to the November 6 election. The team talked with coal miners and other working people about the socialist campaign's opposition

to U.S. wars and union-busting.

Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) at the three Utah Power and Light Co. mines here had been on strike for four weeks against the mine management company, Emery Mining Corp. The miners were demanding that Emery Mining sign the national contract between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association which was reached on October 1. Emery Mining Corp. finally agreed to do so.

The only candidate for governor who spoke out in support of the strike is the SWP candidate, Cecelia Moriarity. Moriarity is a member of one of the UMWA locals that was on strike. The team accompanied her as she campaigned in solidarity with the miners. Pickets at the downtown headquarters of Emery Mining stopped to talk with the campaign team. Several striking miners, miners' wives, and a widow of a retired miner carried signs reading, "Our strength is within. UMWA is here to stay" and "Pensioners' widows have rights, too. No backward steps." The team also visited pickets at the Wilberg and Deercreek mines.

A retired miner who spoke with Moriarity in the Castleview Hospital parking lot told her that if the striking miners didn't continue to defend the 1950 Health and Retirement Fund in this contract, then Emery Mining would go after the younger miners' pensions next.

The socialist campaign got a great response at mine portals and plant gates. Moriarity was introduced to miners getting off day shift at U.S. Steel's Kaiser mine as the only candidate who is against the U.S. war in Central America and against union-busting. Two miners said in response "I am too."

At Utah Power and Light's Hunter plant, organized by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the team passed out literature to more than 100 power plant workers and distributed 15 copies of the *Militant*. The workers were surprised and pleased that a coal miner was running for governor.

The team also campaigned among Moriarity's former coworkers at Koret of California, which is organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

A Black student at the College of Eastern Utah bought a *Militant* because of its position against the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada. Another student agreed that the United States should get out of Central America. "We shouldn't be in Grenada either. We should let those people alone," he said.

A woman high school student at Carbon High especially liked the campaign's defense of women's right to safe, legal abortions and the right to a job.

The team accompanied Moriarity to Salt Lake City and will go on to Arizona to speak with coal and copper miners there.



Militant

Cecelia Moriarity, SWP candidate for governor of Utah.

How left responded to '84 elections

Socialist Workers Party called for break with capitalist politics

BY PETER THIERJUNG

A significant feature of the 1984 presidential elections was the fact that most organizations and publications that consider themselves socialist or communist backed capitalist candidate Walter Mondale. Some groups did so openly, while others did so under the slogan "defeat Reagan." The Socialist Workers Party ran the only campaign calling for independent working-class political action in the elections, putting forward the socialist perspective of struggle to replace the capitalist U.S. government with a workers and farmers government.

A review of the positions put forward by some left groups on the elections is useful in highlighting a few key lessons of this campaign.

'Guardian'

The *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly published in New York, departed from past practice and for the first time in a presidential campaign openly urged a vote for the Democrats. In endorsing Mondale, the August 8 *Guardian* argued that, "A defeat for the reactionaries in November can offer an important breathing space to the left and progressive forces in the U.S., and, perhaps more importantly, to the liberation movements and anti-imperialist countries around the world."

When Mondale came out just a few weeks later endorsing the U.S. invasion of Grenada and threatening to "quarantine" Nicaragua, the *Guardian* squirmed a bit, but didn't back down one inch from urging a big vote for Mondale.

Workers World Party

The Workers World Party campaigned vigorously for capitalist candidate Jesse Jackson. When Jackson lost the Democratic Party nomination to Mondale, Workers World decided to step up its own campaign of Larry Holmes for president and Gloria La Riva for vice-president, rather than endorse Mondale.

This represented no break from capitalist politics, however. The September 6 issue of the party's paper *Workers World*, reporting on Jackson's endorsement of Mondale, insisted that it had been correct to support Jackson's Democratic Party campaign and that the task was now to "build an even stronger independent working class movement to carry on the legacy of the Rainbow Coalition." According to the paper, "The candidacy of Jesse Jackson, particularly during the Democratic primaries, was objectively an independent campaign that exposed and challenged the racist structure and rules of the anti-poor, anti-worker bourgeois Democratic Party."

Democratic Socialists

The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) has always supported Democratic candidates. This is in line with its outlook of accepting the framework of U.S. imperialism and seeking merely to reform it. Declaring that "We are Americans and democratic socialists and Democrats," the DSA endorsed the Mondale-Ferraro ticket saying, "They... have the potential to create a liberal and humane administration infinitely superior to Ronald Reagan's on every count."

Advising the Democratic Party on how to win the election, Michael Harrington, a central leader of the DSA, pointed to the example of Harry Truman, who as Democratic president ordered the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Writing in the May-June issue of *Democratic Left*, the DSA newsletter, Harrington said:

"Think of Truman again. He is not my hero... but we can sure learn from him. He talked tough facts in 1948. He talked to workers and blacks and farmers; he mobilized... And he won. And we can win in 1984, but only if we are at least as much a bunch of hell raisers as he and his friends."

Communist Party

The Communist Party (CP) ran its own candidates, Gus Hall and Angela Davis, for president and vice-president. While not

formally endorsing the Democratic ticket, the clear message of the Hall-Davis campaign was to defeat Reagan by electing Mondale. This is not a new position for the CP; it has backed liberal capitalist candidates for half a century.

"For the period of the 1984 elections," Gus Hall told a CP central committee meeting last June, "all our creative energies must be focused on defeating Reaganism."

"The reality," Hall was quoted as saying in the June 21 *Daily World*, the CP paper, "is that the electable candidate against Reagan is the lesser evil." He explained that the CP should only criticize Mondale if it would help strengthen the Democratic campaign. "Our party will express its differences and criticisms of the Democratic candidate when we think that will add to the struggle against Reaganism."

As the polls began to move and more confirm that Reagan had a strong lead over Mondale, the CP campaign took on a shrill pitch. It argued that U.S. capitalism is rapidly moving toward fascism under Reagan and that unity of all "anti-Reagan" forces was desperately needed to prevent another Republican term in office.

An editorial titled "Fascist odor" in the October 6 issue of the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, conveyed this view: "We do not use the term 'fascism' lightly. It is not just the normal, oppressive, exploitative, and brutal rule of capital that has characterized this system since its advent 200 years ago. It is rule by a special sector of that capital, the very sector which put Ronald Reagan in the White House and in whose interests he presently serves. It can happen here. It is a clear and present danger, and good reason to make sure the Oval Office has a new resident after Nov. 6."

The U.S. capitalist class will certainly prove capable of attempting to impose fascist rule, but that is not what is happening today.

The CP portrays Reagan as representing a "fascist" wing in order to cover up the fact that there is bipartisan support for the employers' policies of war, racism, and attacks on democratic rights. Mondale would have driven this antilabor offensive forward had he been elected, just as Reagan has done. Both represent the same fundamental class interests — the opposite of the interests of workers and working farmers.

The U.S. rulers will step up their assault on working people here and abroad. Big class battles are going to erupt. But the best way to prepare working people for these battles is to tell them the unvarnished truth about the Republican and Democratic parties. The CP candidates have done the opposite. Let's take a few examples.

Fight against imperialist war

Throughout the campaign, Hall and Davis argued that nuclear war could well be the result of another four years of Reagan, while the world would be safer with Mondale in office.

As part of prettifying the imperialist policies of the Democrats, the CP endorsed their call for a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons production in the United States and the Soviet Union. This stance blurs the real source of war — U.S. imperialism and its twin parties — and implies the Soviet Union shares some responsibility for the nuclear arms buildup, for which Washington alone is to blame.

The CP's support for Mondale led it to downplay the current war against Nicaragua and El Salvador being carried out with the support of Democrats and Republicans alike. It is precisely in such shooting wars that the danger of Washington using its nuclear arsenal is posed. But rather than expose the bipartisan character of the war drive, the CP told working people that voting Reagan out of office was the best way to guarantee peace. As Davis put it in an interview in the July 12 *Daily World*, "the most immediate priority of all in the peace movement, of all who are threatened by nuclear conflagration, is the defeat of Reagan and his pathologically anti-Communist Administration."

Adaptation to the Democrats on the war question has led the CP to bend also to the

THE MILITANT
Workers in Yale strike
Minors strike Philippine regime
Nicaraguan elections
SIX MONTHS NOVEMBER 1984 70 CENTS

Reagan, Mondale agree: wage war to defend rich
The following statement was released on October 21 by the Socialist Workers Party, National Committee for the 1984 Presidential Election:
The election of Ronald Reagan or Walter Mondale will not change the fundamental nature of the U.S. government. Both candidates represent the interests of the capitalist class. Both will continue the policy of war, racism, and attacks on democratic rights. The only way to prevent this is to elect a government that represents the interests of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. The Socialist Workers Party is running for president and vice-president to bring about this change. We are running on the basis of the following platform:
1. End the war in Vietnam and all other wars.
2. End the arms race.
3. End the policy of racism and discrimination.
4. End the policy of imperialism and interventionism.
5. End the policy of attacks on democratic rights.
6. End the policy of attacks on the environment.
7. End the policy of attacks on the working class.
8. End the policy of attacks on the poor.
9. End the policy of attacks on the oppressed peoples of the world.
10. End the policy of attacks on the planet Earth.
The Socialist Workers Party is the only party that stands for the interests of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. We are running for president and vice-president to bring about this change. We are running on the basis of the following platform:
1. End the war in Vietnam and all other wars.
2. End the arms race.
3. End the policy of racism and discrimination.
4. End the policy of imperialism and interventionism.
5. End the policy of attacks on democratic rights.
6. End the policy of attacks on the environment.
7. End the policy of attacks on the working class.
8. End the policy of attacks on the poor.
9. End the policy of attacks on the oppressed peoples of the world.
10. End the policy of attacks on the planet Earth.

REAGAN MUST GO
More than anything else, the 1984 presidential election will be a referendum on the administration's policies of building and assaulting working class and poor people.
It is crucial that Reagan be removed from power by the right. This includes voting for him and for his Democratic Party ally, Walter Mondale. But much more important, the left is militant organizing against Reaganism.
U.S. Guardian viewpoint
Reagan stands for...
This stand on voting represents a...
...the Reagan administration embarks on an unchecked, will alter the course of...
For the left, the crucial work is not in the...
...the total issues of the day against nuclear...
...U.S. intervention against racism and...
...women's liberation and working people...
...The way to defeat Reagan and...
EDITORS FOR YEARS TO COME
The left must...
...the total issues of the day against nuclear...
...U.S. intervention against racism and...
...women's liberation and working people...
...The way to defeat Reagan and...
Keynote '84 —
HALL & DAVIS DEFEAT REAGANISM!
• Danger from the right • page 3
• Unions drive to beat Reagan • page 4
• People Before Profits program

Headlines from *Militant*, *Guardian*, and *Daily World*, newspaper of Communist Party, printed its cover in red, white, and blue.

patriotic, chauvinist propaganda campaigns of both capitalist parties.

For example, the October 24 *Daily World* gave favorable coverage to AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland's recent tour to garner votes for Mondale. The paper quoted uncritically Kirkland's anti-imports, patriotic line, reporting that the AFL-CIO bureaucrat attacked Reagan as "a man who appeals to patriotism for the benefit of those business and banking interests who would sell their own country out — people who don't care what flag flies over their plants or shops or ships."

The CP has even gone so far as to print issues of the *Daily World* in red, white, and blue.

Abortion rights

Over the last few months, women's right to legal abortion has come under attack from right-wing groups, the Catholic Church hierarchy, and Democratic and Republican politicians. While claiming she will uphold legal abortion as long as it is the law of the land, Democratic vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro has emphasized her personal and religious view that abortion is murder. Explaining why she has voted for some Medicaid funding for abortions, Ferraro said, "The cost of putting an unwanted child through the system far outweighs the cost of funding an abortion on demand." This is the line of the racist, population-control forces.

What has been the CP's response to Ferraro's reactionary views on abortion rights? A September 21 column in the *Daily World* rushed to defend her! "Ms. Ferraro's position on abortions is a principled, democratic position," it said.

SWP campaign

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance approached the 1984 elections from a completely different standpoint than the other groups on the U.S. left.

The SWP ran 56 candidates for local office in 26 states. Its candidate for president was Mel Mason; for vice-president, Andrea González.

The fight against imperialist war was at the center of the Mason-González campaign as they visited plant gates, union halls, picket lines, farming areas, and working-class, Black, and Latino neighborhoods across the country. They talked to working people about the gains workers and peasants have won in Nicaragua and Cuba, and stressed the important role the

labor movement must play in opposing U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The socialists called for international working-class solidarity with others fighting for their rights, from the striking British coal miners, to Puerto Ricans demanding independence, to Blacks struggling against South Africa's apartheid, to the workers and farmers of Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Mason and González opposed the reactionary anti-imports, protectionist schemes used to falsely label workers in other countries as the source of unemployment in the United States, rather than the U.S. employers.

The SWP ticket was the only one that consistently defended abortion rights. Mason and González demanded repeal of all laws restricting the right to safe, legal abortion. They called for restoring — and expanding — government funds for women who want abortions and cannot afford them.

The socialists explained that the problems of war, attacks on Black and women's rights, farm foreclosures, and union-busting cannot be solved at the ballot box. They explained the need for working people to reject the Democratic and Republican parties — the twin parties of war, exploitation, racism, and sexism. What is needed, they said, is independent working-class political action that can organize and mobilize the victims of class exploitation to overturn capitalist rule and establish a workers and farmers government.

Mason and González called for a labor party based on a fighting, democratic trade union movement that will champion the interests of workers, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, women, and other victims of capitalism. They also called for the formation of an independent Black political party, which would not only be an advance for Blacks, but also help inspire and hasten the development of a labor party.

The goal of the labor party, they explained, will be to lead the struggle for a workers and farmers government in the United States that will use the vast resources and technology of this country to aid in eliminating hunger, poverty and disease all over the globe. This government will abolish capitalism in the United States and join the worldwide struggle for socialism.

Peter Thierjung is national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and was a youth coordinator of the Mason/González campaign.

Gandhi's death exposes India's instability

BY STEVE CRAINE

The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi exposes the instability of capitalist rule in India today. Sharp class and national antagonisms there and throughout the Indian subcontinent threaten to weaken the system of imperialist domination of the region.

The fact that Gandhi's assassins were members of the Sikh religious minority was seized on by right-wingers, mainly led by Hindu chauvinists, to foment attacks on Sikhs and their property in many parts of the country. Within three days, at least 1,000 people were killed, over half of them in the capital, New Delhi.

In Trilokpuri, a suburb of New Delhi, an entire neighborhood, housing about 1,000 Sikhs, was burned to the ground. The government reported only 95 bodies had been found in the area, but local residents told reporters of seeing truck loads of bodies taken out at night. Sikhs were dragged from trains and buses, beaten, and often killed by mobs.

Police did little or nothing to stop these attacks. In many areas the attacks were not spontaneous outbursts but were carried out by well organized bands of thugs who arrived and departed from the scene of their attacks in trucks. Still, the big-business news media have portrayed all the violence as the result of interreligious conflict, often passing it off as simply an unavoidable aspect of Indian life.

But this outburst of killing actually reflects the more fundamental problems facing the country — frustrations caused by conditions of extreme poverty, exploitation, and oppression forced on India by its status as a semicolon of U.S. and European capitalism.

Despite its size — India has three times the population of the United States — it is an oppressed country, not very different from Honduras, Brazil, or Chad. In fact, with a per capita income of only \$260 a year, India is the 11th poorest nation in the world today. Two-fifths of the people live on less than \$7.50 a month, and life expectancy is only 54 years. Although the literacy rate has been growing somewhat, it has not kept pace with the growth of the population. So the absolute numbers of adults who cannot read or write grew from 288 million shortly after independence was won in 1947 to 386 million in 1971.

As in other semicolonial countries, the fundamental conflicts are between the exploited workers, peasants, and unemployed on the one hand and the landowners, capitalist bosses, and owners of foreign corporations on the other. Because working people lack a revolutionary leadership to direct the fight for their class interests, this conflict often seems to be hidden or distorted by a complex of other divisions between religions, language groups, regions, and nationalities.

Imperialism, which benefits most from the exploitation of the Indian working people, needs to keep these conflicts under control. The Congress Party under Indira Gandhi's control had long played the key role in doing this. Without her firm hand, it is questionable whether the Congress Party or any other bourgeois party in India can put together a stable regime.

This is why her assassination is cause for alarm in Washington, London, and other imperialist capitals.

The Sikhs, the victims of last week's ter-



Striking textile workers march through Bombay streets in 1982. Increasing class conflicts underlie present turmoil in India.

ror, make up only 2 percent of the population of India and are concentrated in the northern state of Punjab. Most Sikhs have been in opposition to the Gandhi government, especially since earlier this year. In June Gandhi ordered the Indian army to attack and occupy the Sikhs' most holy site, the Golden Temple in Amritsar. The temple had become the rallying point for a rebellion of militant Sikhs. They demanded recognition of Sikhism as an official religion, not just as a variety of Hinduism, and greater autonomy for the majority-Sikh state of Punjab.

In crushing the rebellion, Gandhi's troops massacred more than 1,000 rebels at the Golden Temple. Martial law was declared in Punjab in an attempt to reassert the authority of the central government. Troops continued to occupy the Golden Temple until late September. More importantly, military rule over Punjab beat back the movement for religious and political autonomy and for social and economic demands as well.

The Sikh movement was initiated by rich farmers and other Sikh capitalists. They were mainly interested in strengthening their position in relation to the mainly Hindu manufacturing capitalists who dominate India economically and politically. But in early 1984 the Sikh movement was becoming more militant through the

participation of poor peasants, landless agricultural workers, and urban workers and students. These were the forces that pushed aside the traditional Sikh leadership and occupied the Golden Temple in June in protest against the Gandhi government.

'Outside agitators'

Gandhi had claimed the Sikh rebellion was fomented by "outside agitators" and "terrorists," charging (without any evidence) that the rebels were being directed from Pakistan. Using a time-tested technique, her government emphasized the religious aspect of the revolt, attempting to obscure the real class divisions it was based on.

The murderous government assault on the Golden Temple was designed to be a warning to all those in India who might be tempted to challenge the authority of the government, from workers fighting for higher wages and the right to organize unions, to peasants defending their land and livelihood, to activists demanding political freedoms and groups struggling against national or religious oppression.

By casting the Punjab conflict in exclusively religious terms, the regime set the stage for the anti-Sikh attacks that followed Gandhi's assassination.

Within hours of the prime minister's

death, the Central Committee of the ruling Congress Party selected her only surviving son, Rajiv, to be her successor. His appointment was unanimously ratified two days later by the Congress Party's parliamentary caucus.

Congress Party

The Congress Party has been in power for 35 of India's 37 years of independence. And for 32 of those years it was led by Gandhi or her father, Jawaharlal Nehru. This capitalist party emerged from the long struggle against British colonial rule. Its authority stems in large part from its identification with that struggle and with such figures as Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi, the central leader of the independence fight.

The Congress Party also built its support on promises of social reform including limited nationalizations of banking and industry and an anti-imperialist stance on some international issues. Nehru helped found the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, and India has long had friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Indian capitalists face no immediate challenge to their rule has allowed the Congress Party to tolerate a considerable degree of political democracy in the country. But at the same time, this democracy has always been subject to limitations. Whole sections of the population are periodically terrorized by racist and chauvinist organizations like those now attacking the Sikhs. Military campaigns have been used to wipe out opposition movements. And elected local governments have been removed by decree of the New Delhi government.

The most serious break in the facade of democracy came in 1975 when Gandhi imposed a dictatorial state of emergency after she was convicted of election fraud. Hundreds of thousands of political opponents were jailed. When the state of emergency was lifted and elections held again in 1977, the Congress Party suffered the only defeat in its history. But the rival bourgeois parties soon discredited themselves, and the Congress Party was returned to office again three years later.

The authority of the Congress Party, and of the central government as a whole, has continued to erode since 1980. More and more, Indira Gandhi personally dominated the party and government. After the 1980 election she boasted that the party won "entirely on my name."

Indira Gandhi

Ever since she took over the leadership of the party after her father's death, Gandhi had been preparing to keep the power in the family dynasty. For several years she had groomed her younger son, Sanjay, to be her successor. When he was killed in a

Continued on Page 9



Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi day before her assassination. U.S. rulers are worried her death will further weaken shaky capitalist regime.

'IP' reports on upsurge in Burkina

In one of the poorest countries of the world, in the heart of West Africa, imperialism has suffered some setbacks over the past year. Burkina, formerly called Upper Volta, has been swept by massive mobilizations ever since radical junior officers and left-wing political activists seized power in August 1983. They overthrew a French-backed neocolonial regime.

The November 26 *Intercontinental Press* features the first of two background articles by Ernest Harsch on these little-known developments.

In this article, Harsch examines the upsurge that brought to power the National Council of the Revolution (CNR), headed by Thomas Sankara, as well as the new government's anti-imperialist foreign policy, its ties with various liberation struggles and workers states, and its efforts to defend the country from imperialist-inspired attacks. The second will look at the radical social programs that have been initiated under the CNR.

The current, November 12, *IP* includes an analysis of the restoration of Jordan's diplomatic ties with Egypt, in the context of the mounting pressures against the Palestine Liberation Organization.

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A book working-class fighters should study

Battle to build Communist International holds lessons for today

(First in a series)

BY CINDY JAQUITH

This week marks the 67th anniversary of the Russian revolution, in which the toiling masses, led by the Bolshevik Party, successfully overturned capitalist rule and established a workers and peasants government. The Russian revolution, as its central leader V.I. Lenin often explained, fundamentally changed the relationship of class forces in world politics. Its anniversary is an appropriate occasion to review an important new book being distributed by Pathfinder Press, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, Documents: 1907-1916, The Preparatory Years*.

The book is the first volume to appear in a projected series published by Monad Press on the early years of the Communist International (also called the Third International or the Comintern). The goal is to print in English the documentary record of the Comintern, from the preparatory years to the role of the 1917 Russian revolution in shaping the new international, to the

LENIN'S STRUGGLE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

proceedings of the first four congresses of the Comintern. The series will also include documents of meetings of the Comintern's executive committee, and the special conferences it called of revolutionary trade unionists, communist women, revolutionary nationalists from colonial countries, peasants, and young workers.

Much of this rich experience of the communist movement from 1907 through 1923 has never before appeared in English or in such a comprehensive form. The work in preparing the series, which will take several years, is an international effort involving translators and researchers in many countries around the world.

Classes on book

To facilitate organized study of this new book, Pathfinder Press has just published the *Study Guide to Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*. The guide outlines a series of classes on the volume, which complement and enrich the ongoing classes on Lenin's *Collected Works* that members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are engaged in. For more information on the study guide and related literature that can be ordered from Pathfinder, see the article and ad on this page.

Beginning with this issue, the *Militant* is running a series of articles about the political lessons contained in *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*. Along with each article, we will devote the "Learning About Socialism" column on page 14 to an excerpt from a document in the book. This week's column is taken from the pamphlet *Socialism and War* by Lenin and Gregory Zinoviev.

The two leaders of the Russian Bolshevik Party wrote the pamphlet in 1915 to

explain the working-class perspective on the big political questions being debated among socialists during World War I. When the imperialist war began, the majority of parties in the Second International rushed to back "their own" bourgeois governments and urged workers to join in "defending the fatherland" against fellow workers in uniform from countries on the other side in the war. The "socialist" misleaders of these parties also called for a halt to struggles by workers and the oppressed for their rights and living standards for the duration of the war.

Lenin and a core of Bolshevik leaders were the first to conclude that the Second International was dead as an instrument to lead the fight of the working class for political power. It had become an agent of the bourgeoisie inside the workers movement. The task of revolutionaries was to build a new, communist international whose goal was to help build and politically train Marxist parties capable of leading the overturn of capitalist rule in their countries. This meant a sharp break with the opportunist, social chauvinist line and practices of the now degenerated Second International. *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* records the Bolsheviks' fight to win over other revolutionaries in the Second International to this perspective.

Read how debate unfolds

Of special value is the way the book has been compiled, including documents, articles, and speeches not only from the Bolsheviks, but from right-wing opportunists in the Second International, from centrist forces who acted as lawyers for the opportunists, and from revolutionaries who, despite sharp disagreements with the Bolsheviks, were groping for a way forward toward a Marxist world leadership. The reader is thus able to follow the actual debate as it unfolds and see its evolution as events in the class struggle more and more confirmed the correctness of the Bolshevik perspective.

Some readers may wonder why debates that took place nearly 80 years ago, under different concrete conditions, are relevant today. Why are revolutionary workers in this country, as well as workers and peasants in many parts of the world, today studying Lenin and the early Comintern?

Ever since 1917, working people have turned to the experience of the Russian revolution and the early Comintern as a model in the struggle for the world socialist revolution. The lessons of that period took on new meaning with the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, followed by the successful Nicaraguan and Grenada revolutions in 1979. The first workers and peasants governments were established in the Americas, led by revolutionaries determined not only to overturn capitalist rule and chart a course toward socialism in their own countries, but to aid the oppressed around the world to also throw off their imperialist and capitalist exploiters.

The development of the Cuban Communist Party, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front, and the Grenadian New Jewel Movement under the leadership of Maurice Bishop marked the first revolutionary internationalist leaderships in power since the 1917-1923 period in Russia. For the first time since the



Russian revolution in 1917. How Bolsheviks prepared way for seizure of power and forging of Communist International is subject of first volume in new series.

Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern more than 50 years ago, leaderships committed to advancing the world socialist revolution and building the parties needed to do so — the goal of the Comintern at its founding — had taken power.

'Finding our own road'

The Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutionaries returned to the lessons of the early Comintern — how it was established and what it did — as part of thinking out how to advance the revolution in their own countries. As Cuban Communist Party leader Carlos Rafael Rodríguez explained in his 1970 article on "Lenin and the Colonial Question," the Cuban revolutionaries found that "what we need to do is start from Lenin, as well as from Marx, in order to find our own road." (An English translation of Rodríguez' article appears in the Fall 1983 *New Internationalist*, available for \$4 by writing to New Internationalist, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.)

Rodríguez noted in his article that Lenin's writings on the preparatory years

that led to founding the Comintern are of particular value:

"There is no richer period in the history of the international workers' movement (except, of course, the daring days when Marx and Engels began to build it) than the five years from 1912 to 1917. These were the days of final differentiations, brought about and accelerated by the first imperialist war. Whoever would take Lenin's measure as a master of strategy and tactics must examine those decisive clashes step by step."

The point is not to look for recipes that can be applied to the concrete problems of revolution today, he warned. The goal is to learn how to think and act more consciously from the standpoint of the working class and learn from its historical experience.

"Lenin has not left us a booklet of ready-made solutions, but rather an instrument of orientation," Rodríguez wrote. Answers to all the problems confronting the Cuban revolutionaries cannot be found in Lenin's *Collected Works*, he explained, but "What is in those works, when they are studied, is a method of analyzing social reality and an example of how a revolution more difficult and complex than our own was made. . . ."

Revolutionaries in imperialist countries

Study of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenada revolutions has led many U.S. communists to also go back and examine Lenin and the documents of the early Comintern — and not only to better understand the revolutionary process as it is unfolding in Central America and the Caribbean. In reading *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, workers in imperialist countries like the United States will find that many of the major questions confronting those who founded the Comintern are the same as we face today: strategy in the fight against imperialist war; the role of the colonial revolution, national liberation struggles, and immigrant workers; revolutionary policy in bourgeois elections; the role of the labor bureaucracy and labor aristocracy; and how the working class welds an alliance with working farmers.

These questions are all interrelated and tied to the decisive task of forging working-class combat parties that can lead the oppressed and exploited in the battle to overthrow capitalist rule and establish workers and farmers governments to carry out the transition to socialism.

Continued on Page 11

New study guide is off press

BY DON DAVIS

The publication of *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* provides socialists with an opportunity to deepen their study of the writings of Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin and other Marxist revolutionaries of his time.

In recent years, branches of the Socialist Workers Party have been organizing classes on Lenin's writings on the class forces in the Russian revolution and on the important political conquests made by the Communist International in Lenin's time. Classes on *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* will complement and

strengthen this ongoing study.

To assist in the study of this book, Pathfinder Press has published a *Study Guide to Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*.

The guide selects the most important writings in the book and organizes them under the following topics: the rise of imperialism and the crisis of the Second International, revolutionary policy against imperialist war, launching the struggle for a new international, debates within the Zimmerwald Left, and the struggle to forge revolutionary parties in Germany and Russia.

It recommends beginning the class series with *Socialism and War* by Lenin and Gregory Zinoviev.

Other suggested readings not in the book itself include selections from the two volumes of the *Revolutionary Continuity* series on international working-class leadership from 1848 to 1922 by Farrell Dobbs, who was a longtime leader of the SWP, and an article by Zinoviev entitled "Wars — Defensive and Aggressive." The Zinoviev article, which has been unavailable in English for decades, is reprinted in the study guide. An article in next week's *Militant* will discuss its significance.

The classes outlined in the guide will take several months to complete. In addition to aiding SWP branches in organizing their study, the guide will serve individuals reading the book on their own as a useful tool.

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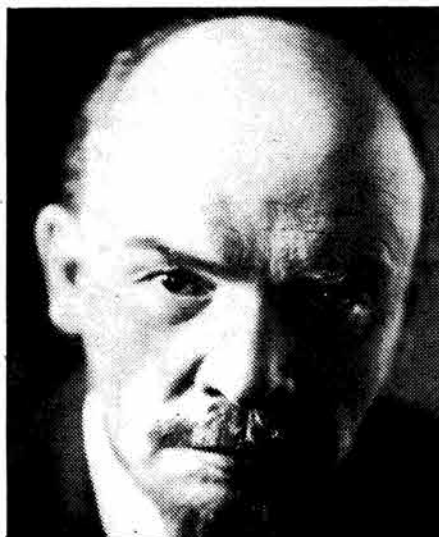
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'Improper Conduct': anti-Cuba lies exposed

'Granma' answers charge of antigay repression in Cuba

The following article is reprinted from the October 7 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, the weekly newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, published in Havana.

The article was titled "A proper reply to improper conduct." *Improper Conduct* is a reactionary, anti-Cuban film produced by Cuban exiles, Néstor Almendros and Orlando Jiménez-Leal. While it purports to be a documentary, it is full of outright lies and gross exaggerations, centering on the treatment of gays in Cuba by the government.

The film was produced with an eye toward eroding support for Cuba among those who are sympathetic to the revolution. This coincides with the intensified anti-Cuba propaganda campaign of the U.S. government and the crackdown on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens who want to see for themselves what the revolution is about.

One aspect of this anti-Cuba campaign is the charge that gays are singled out for vicious repression in Cuba.

An editorial in the June 17 *Granma Weekly Review*, in the course of answering a slanderous anti-Cuba show that had been aired on French television, took up this charge. "One of the lies now in vogue in the reactionary press is the incredible charge that the Cuban government represses homosexuals," said *Granma*. These charges, said *Granma*, are lies.

Improper Conduct has been the subject of much discussion and debate among both supporters and opponents of the Cuban revolution, as well as among gay rights activists. A review of the film by Harry Ring appeared in the September 7 *Militant*.

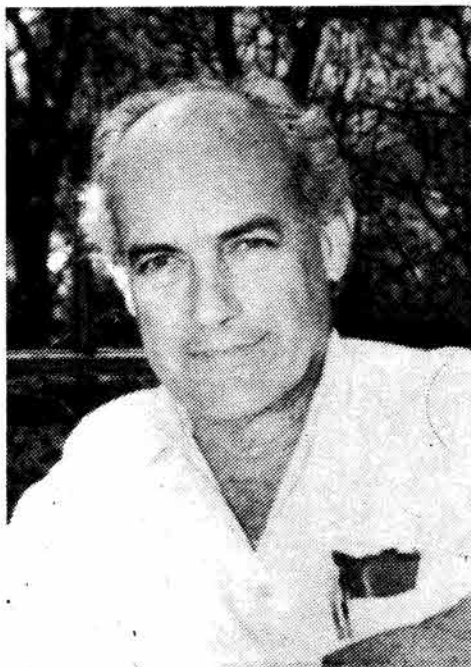
We are reprinting below the answer to *Improper Conduct* from *Granma* by prominent Cuban filmmaker Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, as well as *Granma's* brief introduction to his article.

A similar version of Gutiérrez's article appeared in the October 2 New York weekly the *Village Voice*.

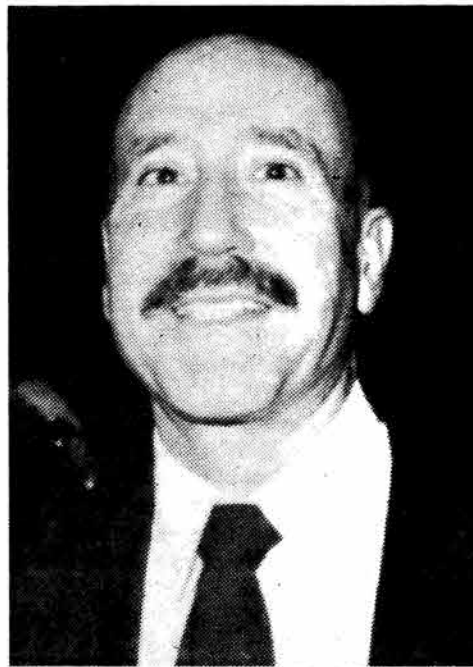
Cuban filmmaker Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, member of the jury of the recent San Sebastián Film Festival (Spain) and director of the film *Hasta cierto punto* (*Up to a Point*), prizewinner at the Biarritz Film Festival (France), replies in full to an article written by Néstor Almendros, an emigré from Cuba and director of the documentary *Improper Conduct*, in which Almendros launches an all-out attack on the Cuban Revolution in general and what he calls "repression of homosexuals in Cuba" in particular. Almendros' article was published in the New York City *Village Voice* on August 14, 1984, "In the readers" column. What follows is a reply by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea.

* * *

Several months ago, while in New York, I had the opportunity to see *Improper Conduct*, a documentary film by Néstor Almendros and Orlando Jiménez. Mr. Richard Goldstein asked me for my opinion of the film to be published in the *Village Voice*. And so we did an interview and some of my views were published in a lengthy article entitled "Cuba Sí, Macho No!" (*Village Voice*, July 24, 1984). Several days later the same paper published a



Ebet Roberts



Fred W. McDarragh

Noted Cuban filmmaker Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, left, debunks anti-Cuba slanders in Néstor Almendros' (right) film *Improper Conduct*. Gutiérrez explains film is part of U.S. government's propaganda campaign against Cuba.

reply by Néstor Almendros (*Village Voice*, August 14, 1984) which made me feel obliged to try to clarify certain things.

Almendros begins by saying that I felt obliged to "officially" attack his film which "must mean that repression of intellectuals and artists is even worse than I'd thought." Frankly, I don't understand the qualifier ("officially") nor the conclusion drawn from all this. It is true that I felt obliged to attack the film. But I was alone in New York. Under those circumstances, nobody could oblige me to say or not say anything. I simply felt obliged to express views according to the principles for which I have always been ready to give my life. This may be quite difficult to understand for people like Almendros and many others who long since cast off principles I remember once seemed to sustain their lives.

'Improper Conduct' follows official Washington policy

And yet the film does form part of an "official" current of U.S. policy on Cuba. The film nurtures that current of opinion against Cuba which is well orchestrated and well financed by official circles.

I learned through Almendros' response that "Comandante Castro did not approve of [my] last film *Hasta Cierta Punto* (*To a Certain Point*)." It seems as if Almendros is well informed as to what is going on at a high level in Cuba. However, he continues to say, "Following Castro's lead, the Cuban film critics had to attack Alea and this film, even though the film had won the first prize at the last Latin American Film Festival in Havana." That is not entirely true, because some critics attacked the film and others defended it. Maybe the latter didn't receive their lead in time. Who knows....

No less infantile and ill-intentioned is his claim that he can say without fear, "I very much admire two or three of Alea's films under Castro. On the other hand, Alea cannot say or write in Cuba that he liked the film *El Super*...." I have said publicly on more than one occasion and have in my possession a copy of an interview I did in

Puerto Rico in which I said, among other things; "I found *El Super* to be a very good film, I would say extraordinary, very revealing and very interesting, but was disappointed with *Crossover Dreams*, with Rubén Blades. It's a throwback" (*Viva, El Reportero*, September 21, 1983). I find the occasion appropriate to explain that *El Super* is interesting because it provides a revealing image of some aspects of Cuban exile in New York: one of those Cuban families that left their country after the triumph of the Revolution, taking advantage of the U.S. government's offer to welcome them "with open arms." The older members of the family never manage to learn English and their daughter has to act as interpreter. It is a pathetic process of a loss of identity in which the old people try to preserve something by traveling to Miami, the closest place with a climate similar to that of Cuba and most populated by Cubans like themselves. The destiny of the daughter is presumably to become a 5th class "American."

I met with León Ichaso in New York and saw his other still unfinished film, with Rubén Blades in the leading role. It destroyed all hopes that can be read into *El Super* for a cinema that reflects, with a certain degree of authenticity, the Latino world in the United States. *Crossover Dreams* is a melodrama that follows a beaten path, with the attraction of Blades' songs. León Ichaso told me that after they made *El Super*, they had been labeled pro-communist, which is why they had to be more careful in that direction. A lamentable but revealing story.

Film reveals spiritual poverty of makers

And what is there to say about Almendros' allusion to *The Last Supper*? *The Last Supper* has precisely all that is lacking in *Improper Conduct*: a historical approach to our reality. Moreover, *The Last Supper* throws light on the present because it is a parable on hypocrisy and the use of religion and the most noble of principles to exploit your neighbor. That is, the use of an ideology for its very negation. And that is a universal idea that cannot be confined to a given moment or place. *Improper Conduct* is an attempt to document what is an "authentic" image of our reality here and now, except that it has no sense of history, no social context, which makes it superficial, a film that revealingly documents the spiritual poverty of its makers.

Lastly, how can Almendros speak of "the military forces Cuba deploys around the world?" Can Cuba really carry out a warmongering policy of aggression against other countries, an imperialist policy? Isn't there a touch of exaggeration in all this? If Almendros is so deeply concerned over the problems implicit in "the deployment of military forces," why has he never protested the existence of U.S. military bases throughout the world, including one in our country? Has he ever said anything against U.S. military interventions in so many other countries? Did he ever protest the re-

cent invasion of Grenada? Did he ever protest the absolute lack of freedom of the press when even U.S. journalists were forbidden to obtain and release on-the-spot information on the development of operations in Grenada? Has he ever said a word about the threat to humanity implicit in the Reagan administration's arms buildup?

Cultural offensive against Cuba: a dirty game

Ever since I saw the film I've been torn by a question to which I haven't found a satisfactory answer: why does Almendros, after so many years (he emigrated in 1961), after being so successful in the professional field, play such a dirty game? What were his motivations? What were the circumstances that led him to fall into such a situation? It is significant that right now, coinciding with the U.S. administration's policy of aggression toward Cuba, a number of intellectuals (and others barely deserving the name) have launched a "cultural" offensive against Cuba that drew large economic resources from dubious sources. It is obvious that most of these persons have nothing better to do than sell out and try to make a career out of being anti-Cuban. This is not exactly the case of Almendros, who has made a career for himself and is legitimately well established in that world. And yet, almost all these characters appear together in his film, this time concentrating their attacks on Cuba largely around homosexuality. All very well engineered, and very opportune in satisfying the demands of a master who has welcomed them "with open arms" but at the same time demands loyalty in exchange for a good reward.

Almendros knows full well that the most infamous lies can be fabricated out of half-truths. He knows, for example, that UMAP, the work camps where a large number of homosexuals went to do their military service, were a mistake and led to a scandal that fortunately ended with their disappearance and a policy of rectification. UMAP lasted from 1965 to 1967 (not from 1964 to 1969 as Almendros says in his article). In other words, its disappearance dates back some 17 years. However, in the documentary this is dealt with as if it had happened only yesterday or is still in existence. In fact, I remember that one of those interviewed in the film feels the need to make it clear that "UMAP no longer exists but other forms of persecution remain." Almendros knows very well that this is not true. The image of Cuba he presents through a series of anecdotes that have to be believed per se, because of his prestige, is so ridiculously monstrous that we don't know whether to laugh or cry. Almendros knows and makes use of the most notorious clichés about Cuba, the biggest lies that out of sheer repetition aspire to become truth, as old Goebbels used to say. It should be said that Almendros shows little originality in this.

The emotional impact and credibility of some of these testimonies are disturbing enough for those outside Cuba for whom they are intended point-blank, with no prior notice, without the necessary information to be able to correctly evaluate certain situations. The lack of information about the historical and social context in which to situate the revolutionary process is what enables Almendros to deal what in boxing terms is known as a "low blow," and what makes us describe his documentary as basically dishonest.

Any North American who has been in Cuba can easily refute the former tourist guide who appears in the film, telling how he had to do his job in Cuba and making himself out to be a sort of "shepherd" leading his flock of tourists only along permitted paths. Unfortunately, it is the U.S. government that makes it increasingly difficult for the citizens of that country to travel to Cuba and see our reality with their own eyes. Why? What is it that the U.S. government fears its citizens will see in our country? It's a pity it won't let them come, for no one better than a visitor here can say whether their freedom of movement is restricted in Cuba. They could see for themselves whether it is true that men with long hair or a special way of walking are not allowed on the streets. They could, in short,

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find an answer to many of the concerns the film raises.

Supposed homophobia and the revolution

Is it perhaps that supposed homophobia is an invention of the Revolution?

Does it not exist to a greater or lesser degree in the rest of the world and especially among Latin Americans? Incidentally, a large part of the Cuban community in Miami, far removed from revolutionary Cuba, rejected the Almendros film on the grounds it suggested that most Cuban exiles are homosexual. They felt their "manliness" had been questioned. Yet how can one fight against such injustice? In Cuba, for instance, the Ministry of Culture published a book *El hombre y la mujer en la intimidad* (*Man and Woman in Intimacy*) some five years ago. The author, Siegfried Schnabl, is a scientist, sexologist, psychologist, clinician who heads the Center for Sexual and Marriage Consultations in Karl-Marx-Stadt (GDR) [German Democratic Republic]. The book has a chapter given over to homosexuality in which can be read:

"We have not included homosexuality as a perversion since it does not exclude a reciprocally rewarding communion and can physically and psychologically satisfy two persons. There can, moreover, be true love between homosexuals. Homosexual relations can be just as affectionate as relations between man and woman."

Further on, referring to the causes of homosexuality, it states:

"Completely erroneous opinions are still held by the lay person in this regard. To cite but a few, it is felt that homosexuality is invariably a vice. The result of an immoral transformation in the life of a person, a sexual oversight, a consequence of masturbation, the expression of a flawed character, a shameful act and even the outcome of sexual saturation with the opposite sex. All these 'theories' — that up until recently were supported by certain specialists — have not the slightest scientific foundation."

"Homosexuality cannot be classified as an illness but ought to be viewed as a variant of sexuality. Homosexuals do not suffer from homosexuality but rather from the difficulties stemming from their condition in social life."

"The conventional arguments put forward for a need to prosecute homosexuals have been wholly unsubstantiated and refuted by research. Neither is there any justification for sentences and the emotional prejudices of grandiloquent slogans like 'vice against nature' and 'against the healthy sensitivity of the people.' What adult persons do in private, in mutual agreement, does not violate the moral standards of society and there is, therefore, no need to take action against it."

"Homosexuals, like all other citizens, are entitled to consideration and recognition for their objective achievements and conduct."

I think the above sufficiently illustrates the point. It is important to emphasize here that the above quotes come from a book published by the state for educational purposes.

Of course, this does not mean that the publication of a single book, regardless of how "official" it is, will automatically mean that a social phenomenon deeply rooted in the centuries of our Catholic and Spanish past will automatically disappear. Yet such a book where, among other things, the latest scientific criteria on homosexuality appear, is unquestionably a valuable instrument of struggle that the Cuban state makes available to those willing to take up the cause of those who are discriminated against, marginalized and made to suffer prejudice and oppression of any kind.

Priority need to survive

When I was being interviewed by Richard Goldstein for the Voice, I said that "in the middle of a battle you can't discuss aesthetics, homosexuality or anything" — that is, anything that has nothing to do with the immediate need to defend oneself and attack the enemy. It is my contention that



One million Cubans joined in the March of the Fighting People in Havana, May 1, 1982. Sign on left is warning to Uncle Sam: "We will be a deadly thorn to you if you try to attack us." Gutiérrez acknowledges prejudice and injustice still exist in Cuba, and explains that fight against them is part of fight "against those bent on destroying us, wiping us off the map."

the need to survive comes first on the order of priorities. And for us, a small, poor country recently emerging from a secular backwardness; this means an evident need to arm and organize militarily to counter the constant threats of a powerful and rich country that is also one of our nearest neighbors. This obviously limits our ability to resolve other problems, which does not mean that they are not important or that we will not turn our attention to them when we can. We also discuss homosexuality, aesthetics, the problems of women and everything that affects and restricts the full realization of a human being. But none of these problems can be resolved overnight. An absolutely just society where human beings — men or women, homosexuals, blacks, whites or any color — can be fully

realized is not, alas, within our reach. A communist society, a paradise on earth, must be peopled by a better people than us in every sense of the word. Yet it is up to us, here and now, with all our shortcomings, to begin building that better society little by little. And I trust that in so doing we also better ourselves. But there are no shortcuts to history. We are aware that we still have a long way to go, a long period of struggle against a powerful enemy and the traitors it welcomes and nurtures.

It is easy to see that ours is no easy or comfortable situation. And yet, under the circumstances, any impartial, unbiased, unresentful observer, any honest and well-informed person can well define what we now have, what we have so far achieved, as nothing short of a miracle. This is no

time to recall all that has been achieved in these past 25 years of revolution, but there is one clear fact that reveals a true concern for the human being. In 1958, one year before the Revolution triumphed, the infant mortality rate in Cuba exceeded 70 per 1000 live births; by 1982 that figure had dropped to 17.3, Latin America's lowest. The child mortality rate (1-14 age bracket) is similar to that of developed countries. Life expectancy rose from 58 in 1958 to 73.5 in 1982. Bearing in mind that nearly half our doctors and a sizable number of many kinds of professionals and qualified technicians emigrated to the United States, leaving behind a truly critical situation, I think there can be no doubting the tremendous stride forward. This is certainly not the situation in other Latin American countries. I remember that the day I saw *Improper Conduct* one of the leads in the papers was on disturbances in the Dominican Republic, caused by starving people storming supermarkets and being violently repressed by the forces of order. Earlier, Brazil had been in the news with much the same occurrences. In that light, the Almendros film seemed to me particularly out of context, not to say ludicrous.

True, we've not reached communism yet. We do not live in a paradise on earth. We're not yet the people of the future we would like to picture in our minds. Prejudice, injustice and ineptitude are still with us, and we know our struggle against that to be part and parcel of the struggle against those bent on destroying us, wiping us off the map.

Anticommunism no moral alibi

But neither are we the same as 25 years ago. That's why, on reading Almendros' reply to my interview, I can't help feeling a certain sadness over how those who left; who gave up the struggle, lacking confidence in our own strengths to transform this country; who allowed themselves to be seduced by the wealth and comforts the old master offered "with open arms," today hold on to the same mentality of the past, in a desperate attempt not to lose all sense of identity. Perhaps they have not yet realized that the worn anticommunism rhetoric can never provide the moral alibi they need.

Gandhi's death, India's instability

Continued from Page 6

plane crash in 1980, she persuaded Rajiv, who had not been involved in politics before, to run for parliament. She saw to it that he rose quickly through the Congress Party ranks.

The selection of another Gandhi reflects the weakness of the Congress Party. It may have been the only way to hold the party together in the short term. Parliamentary elections are supposed to be held before Jan. 20, 1985. Some doubts have been expressed in the Congress Party whether the new prime minister can hold the party together until then.

The Congress Party and the Indian capitalists it represents are not the only ones who are nervous about this dilemma. The loss of Indira Gandhi, the strongest centralizing political force on the scene, is a major concern of imperialism. There were frequent clashes between Washington and Gandhi over her leading role in the Nonaligned Movement and her friendly relations with Moscow. But more important to the imperialists than these differences was Gandhi's role in maintaining a strong capitalist state in India.

As the *Wall Street Journal* put it in an editorial November 1, "This newspaper had its differences with Mrs. Gandhi. In particular, we thought her support for left-wing liberation movements and her close ties with the Soviet Union were naive. But there's no denying that Mrs. Gandhi was a skillful politician who somehow managed to keep fractious India united over two turbulent decades."

Unidentified members of the Reagan administration told the press of their concern that Rajiv Gandhi may not have the strength to lead India. "The Congress-I party has a very weak political base," the

New York Times quoted one administration specialist, "because Mrs. Gandhi so dominated the party. She did not put strong people into leadership positions. And Rajiv has no personal political base of his own."

The Paris daily *Le Monde* commented, "One can believe that the elimination of the strong personality will open up an era of dangerous instability, not only in India itself, but also in the entire Indian subcontinent."

The regional impact of a significant weakening of the New Delhi government, pointed to by *Le Monde*, is especially worrisome for the imperialists. Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka all face similar problems and growing struggles by the oppressed and exploited masses.

Waning political authority

In India there have been many challenges to the authority of New Delhi. In 1982 a massive strike wave of hundreds of thousands of textile workers hit the most important industrial area of the country, in and around Bombay. Since then, the Congress Party has encouraged Hindu-chauvinist organizations to step up their attacks on Muslim workers, culminating in the bloody attacks around Bombay last spring. Whipping up reactionary actions like these was necessary for the rulers to break up the solidarity of workers who were coming together in their class interests through the textile strikes.

There have been other indications of the waning political authority of the New Delhi government in recent months. In the past year Gandhi attempted to intervene in several state governments to depose elected governments and install people more willing to follow her dictates. In one case the

deposed official mobilized so much support that Gandhi was forced to back down.

Indira Gandhi attempted to build a strong capitalist state to serve the needs of the Indian capitalist class. But the heritage of colonialism and the continuing exploitation of the country by imperialism make it impossible to solve the real problems of India without a social revolution.

In the framework of being a semicolon, India cannot develop economically. Nor can it resolve the conflicts among regions and religions. Only by breaking out of imperialism's grip and establishing a government of the workers and peasants can India or any other semicolonial country advance toward meeting the needs of its people.

The Indian capitalists and their Congress Party could not challenge imperialist domination without calling into question their own role in exploiting Indian workers and peasants. Instead they often had to rely on repression and the divide-and-rule approach they learned from the British colonial administration to keep the masses in check. This earned Gandhi the hatred of many segments of the country's people.

But as Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party 1984 candidate for U.S. president, explained in a statement he issued soon after Gandhi's assassination, "as much as she was hated, her removal from office — whether by assassination or the election of a rival capitalist politician — does not advance the interests of the working people or the oppressed nationalities of India. The leadership necessary for a revolution that would end India's oppression does not yet exist. But what has the imperialists worried is that the weakening of capitalist rule in India will provide more of an opening for such leadership by the working people to emerge."

Internat'l rally supports British miners

BY STEVE ROBERTS

LANCASHIRE, England — Miners and miners' wives from all over the British coalfields gathered for an international solidarity meeting here in northwest England on October 20.

Among the 300 people who attended the meeting, organized by *Socialist Action* newspaper, were trade unionists and socialists from Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Ireland, France, and the United States.

Eighty miners and 30 members of miners' wives' support committees registered for the meeting. They came from all the major coalfields including Scotland, South Wales, Lancashire, Kent, South Nottingham, South Yorkshire, South Staffordshire, and Leicester.

In addition there was a contingent of miners and wives from Bold colliery who were hosting the meeting in their miners' institute. Colin Lenton, a member of the Bold National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) committee explained in his welcoming speech why the branch had extended its facilities for the meeting.

"We feel that it's the least we can do. Without *Socialist Action* and the organizations in France, Belgium, Holland, and other countries we wouldn't have come through the strike in the way we have."

Miners' wives movement

The meeting opened with a discussion on the development of the miners' wives movement. Valerie Coultas, chairing the session for *Socialist Action*, said that the British labor movement was witnessing the rise of a new women's movement centered on the miners' wives and the fight of the Greenham Common women against the placing of cruise missiles. The action of the miners' wives was not only changing the consciousness of men in the miners union but throughout the whole labor movement.

Sue Bence from the Kent Miners Wives Action Committee of Aylesham explained how her group had been formed.

"We formed a group before in the 1972 and 1974 miners strikes. But at that time it was mainly to collect and distribute food."

"But this time, on day two of the strike, 80 women met and decided we would organize a peaceful demonstration in Nottingham because of police roadblocks, but this made us all the more determined and eventually we succeeded in holding our demonstration in Coalville in Leicester, another area where the 'back to work' campaign being organized by the so-called petticoat pickets."

"We were stopped from getting to Nottingham because of police roadblocks, but this made us all the more determined and eventually we succeeded in holding our demonstration in Coalville in Leicester, another area where the 'back to work' movement was strong."

Bence's account was backed up by Ann Jones from South Wales Women Against Pit Closures, and by Lorraine Johnson from Bold.

Johnson said that the miners' wives had proved more effective in gaining support than the male members of the NUM. Jones said the miners' wives movement had

shown that "there was more than one determined woman in this country," referring to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Judith Woodward, of the Women's Action Committee in the Labor Party, spoke of the way in which miners' wives were joining the Labor Party and the role of the NUM in backing increased women's representation in the Labor Party.

There was loud applause for the speech by Anita Grey, a supporter of the Greenham Common peace women. She said that the Greenham women were fully behind the women and the men in the dispute. In particular she saw the fight against nuclear power as a strong link between the peace movement and the miners.

U.S. woman miner

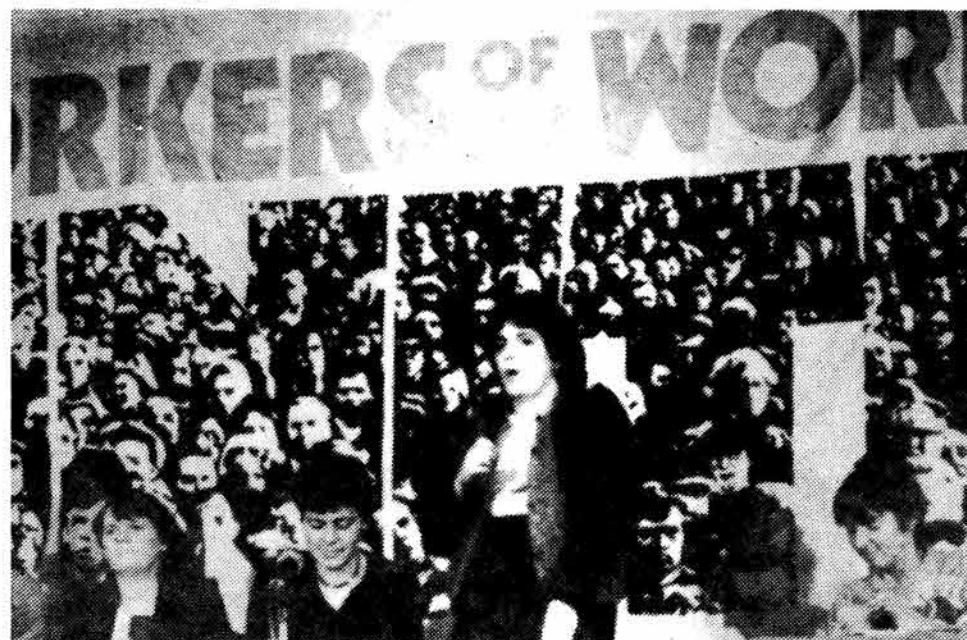
The final speech was that of Kipp Dawson, a woman member of the United Mine Workers of America and of the Socialist Workers Party.

She said that militant workers in the United States were increasingly looking to two places for inspiration. The first was to the miners strike in Britain. The second was the struggle of the Nicaraguan people.

"If and when intervention in Nicaragua comes we will not stand idly by. Like the sisters of Greenham Common we will fight to oppose our government."

The session ended with Jones explaining that the miners' wives were now organized nationally.

The second session of the meeting was on perspectives for winning the strike. Pat Hickey, the industrial correspondent of



Socialist Action/Mike Wongsam

Ann Jones of South Wales Women Against Pit Closures speaking at *Socialist Action's* Miners' International Solidarity Meeting held near Manchester, England.

Socialist Action opened the discussion by drawing attention to the desperate measures that the Thatcher Conservative Party government were preparing against the miners through the courts.

Phillip Sutcliffe, a member of the Kent miners executive, received laughter and applause when he introduced himself as "Kay Sutcliffe's husband." (She is a leading member of the miners' wives movement.)

He explained the £200,000 (approximately \$240,000) fine against the union and the threatened sequestration of the NUM's assets was part of a move by the state to crush working people, "which in the first place means miners."

He explained too the process of politicization among the miners. Like him most had not read Marx, Engels, or Lenin. "We are not philosophers. We are miners proud of our class, fighting to understand the role

On picket duty with Lancashire miners: facing cops, scabs — with a will to win

Kipp Dawson is a laid-off coal miner from Pennsylvania and a member of the United Mine Workers of America. She's been in Britain's coalfields for the past two weeks.

BY KIPP DAWSON

MANCHESTER, England — It's Thursday, October 25. The mine supervisors' union was to begin striking today. Many miners expected that the supervisors would back down before joining the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) on the picket line, and they were right. The supervisors-union leaders made a last-minute deal with the government and continued working. Undeterred, the NUM miners continue their strike, now entering its eighth month. The strike is against government plans to close 20 mines and eliminate 20,000 jobs.

The day begins here with the usual picketing. We're up just after 5 a.m. It's pouring down rain, but that makes no difference. By 6 a.m. the first six of us on the flying picket are at the first site for this morning's picketing, the Agecroft mine. Here the national strike rate of 80 percent of the miners being out is reversed — 600 Agecroft NUM members are still working, with 120 on strike.

Stephen Howells, a leader of the Agecroft strike committee, explains to the *Militant*: "The Lancashire coalfield is a relatively small production area, with only 6,100 men, with 5,000 out on strike and about 1,100 scabbing. So our area is practically shut down as far as production is concerned. Our main objective is to stop coal getting into the power stations."

"We have 120 men for pickets. What we have to do is picket the power stations. That's the main concern. So we split our men up at four power stations and we have to picket these 24 hours a day, four men on a shift, four hours a shift."

"What we have left over we send on a flying picket that goes throughout the area. The main purpose is to picket out the scabs in the pits [mines]. That's why it's taken so long; we have to spend a lot of money and petrol [gas] and resources on trying to picket out our own men. If we didn't have to do this then I'm sure we'd have the power stations shut off."

So we stand in the cold dark rain as the midnight shift of scabs leaves work and the daylight shift arrives. Our numbers grow constantly, to 30 or so. So, too, do the

numbers of cops, who continue to emerge from somewhere inside the mine complex.

The pickets are orderly and calm, but not pleased to see the headlights of the scabs' cars and motor bikes and buses stream by. Some of our ranks call out "morning, scab!" as they peer into the cars and buses for familiar faces. When we try to look into the mine canteen behind us, where the working miners drink their morning coffee, cops move in and forbid us to look. This angers the pickets, but we obey.

At 6:30 we all leave together and then split up into groups. Our van drives to a workshop where NUM members repair mining equipment. Our approach is stopped by two cops. They ask if we are workers, and when our driver says "no, pickets," they won't let us turn into the street.

Our driver protests that this is a public road, but the cops are insistent so we drive off to a back route one of the other miners knows. We arrive at the workshop gate to find a few of our brothers already there, all of us wet through from the rain, shivering in the cold. There are about 20 of us pickets as the daylight shift comes in for work. A handful of cops guard the entrance, but at a certain point their numbers swell to equal ours and they become quite belligerent, shoving us into a small, prescribed area. It's soon apparent why: two busloads of scabs are driven into the workshop. My buddies shout out appropriate welcomes and the cops give us menacing looks.

We leave at about 7, redividing ourselves. Our van goes on to the Agecroft power plant, run by coal from the Agecroft mine, where we join the four men who are doing their four-hour picket shift. Here the brothers have built a shelter and have a heater and a teapot, so we can take turns drying off a bit and we defrost with tea and coffee. We are here to picket the scab trucks who are bringing in the scab coal.

The pickets here are good-natured and welcoming to us as we join them, as all of the brothers have been. But there is bitterness in their voices as they gesture and call out to the truck drivers who stream in and out of the gate with their deliveries of scab coal.

Howells explains later, "The main problem in the strike is what we call the scab drivers. That's the lorry [truck] drivers who transport the coal. We found a document about six or eight weeks ago of a Tory [Conservative Party] plan which was

printed in the *Economist* in 1978 before the Tories came to power. It was advising the Tories when they came to power to get private hauling firms to hire as much scab labor as possible so that when it came to the crunch for the miners they could do what they're doing now. And it wasn't just the Tories; the Labor government, too. If we could stop these scab drivers we could virtually win this strike overnight."

Howells explains the impressive solidarity most of the rail workers have shown, virtually stopping the movement of coal in some critical areas. Many rail workers know, he explains, that their jobs and their unions are on the line too.

"I think what we've seen over the last few years is a systematic attack on the unions. The steel unions, the miners now, and the next big one is rail. They've already had Conservative attacks on rail. It's going to come to the privatization of rail, same as they want the privatization of coal in this country. [The rail and coal industries are government owned — K.D.] And I'm sure our comrades in America are well aware of the drawbacks of the private coal industry. I'm sure they'd want it publicly owned, for the benefit of the people. And that's what our industry is."

At about 7:30 our group of flying pickets leaves the power plant for Agecroft strike headquarters. Here one of the brothers makes us hot sardine sandwiches and coffee and tea for breakfast, and we join in the growing number of strikers who've come to the headquarters to sort out contributions from support collections, to prepare food parcels, organize the day's activities, read the morning papers, and share news and the comradeship that makes this strike work.

Soon Howells comes in with a videotape player and sets up a video called *The Patriot Game* for those strikers who want to see it. I join a group of strikers in the auditorium and we watch this story of the nationalist Republican movement in Northern Ireland — a target of the same British government and cops that strikers here have faced daily.

The scenes of cop violence are all too familiar to these brothers. When the former prime minister of Northern Ireland, Chichester Clark, is shown making disparaging remarks about the Irish Republican Army (IRA), one of the brothers asks, "Does he work for Agecroft?" A cop is

Continued on next page



Militant/Nancy Cole

U.S. miner Kipp Dawson told rally of miners, their wives, and supporters that militant U.S. workers looked to British miners and the Nicaraguan people for inspiration.

of our class is the fight for socialism and peace."

Among the other trade unionists attending the meeting who spoke in the session was Roy Butlin of the National Union of Railwaymen from the Coalville Freight Depot in Leicestershire. He explained that in Coalville, the main mining town of the area, out of 2,500 miners only 30 were on strike. The rest were producing 135,000 tons of coal which was not being moved by the 150 members of his union branch to power stations.

As a result the British Rail management has sacked [fired] three NUR members on spurious charges.

He finished with an appeal to the miners present. "I know that 330 miners have been sacked in the dispute so far and that you will not go back until they have been reinstated. But I want you to add three railworkers to that number — sacked for solidarity with the miners."

Three striking miners from Leicestershire, South Staffordshire, and Nottingham then spoke to thunderous applause from the delegates. In all these areas striking miners are in a small minority. All spoke of the daily harassment and violence suffered by the strikers which goes unreported in the press.

The area strike coordinator from South Staffordshire NUM spoke bitterly of the failure of the trade union movement's leadership to deliver on the promises made at the 1984 Trades Union Congress. Other miners called for Neil Kinnock, the leader of the Labor Party, to get off the fence and start supporting the miners in the same way that Thatcher was supporting the employers.

Huw Edwardes, the chairperson of Tower Lodge in South Wales, promised active support to the embattled striking miners, particularly those in Leicester.

John Ross, the editor of *Socialist Action*, spoke of the political developments in the strike, particularly how the miners had moved to support other groups under attack from the Tories [Conservatives] — includ-



G.M. Cookson

Miners support march in London with Kent Miners Wives Support Group banner.

ing women, Blacks, and gay people — on the principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

He said that this was also the principle being used by the underground members of Solidarnosc in the mines in Poland, who had sent messages of support to the British miners and condemned the strike-breaking role played by the Polish regime of Wojciech Jaruzelski.

This growing internationalist consciousness was reflected in the final session on international solidarity. Dennis Pennington, from Bold NUM, spoke of the way in which his ideas had changed during the strike. He had toured raising support for the strike as the guest of the International Marxist Group (GIM) of West Germany and the Socialist Workers Party (POS/SAP) of Belgium. "Before I used to think of myself as a miner — and a Lancashire miner at that, not even a British miner. But now I see myself as a worker, part of the international working class."

International solidarity

Finn Jensen, a member of the miners solidarity movement in Denmark, spoke next, explaining that not only had they raised nearly £100,000 (approximately \$140,000) for the miners, but they had been able, through dockers action, to stop the shipment of Polish coal from the port of Aarhus.

Anneka Meijssan, an electro-mechanical worker and shop steward from the Rotterdam support committee, spoke of the work of her committee and of her party, the Socialist Workers Party (SAP). She saw the main job of her committee as countering the lies put out by the progovernment media in Holland. The miners strike was very important because of the way in which

the Ruud Lubbers government identified with the Thatcher project.

They were also exploring all possible ways of preventing the shipment of coal from Rotterdam to Britain and said that she would be discussing with the miners present the best way of going about it.

A pledge to stop the coal from Antwerp in Belgium came from a carworker active in the miners solidarity campaign and a member of the POS/SAP, even if we have to shovel it into the water, he said. He was one of the three Belgian trade unionists present at the meeting.

Brian Phelan of the Irish organization People's Democracy spoke from the platform to describe the solidarity activities and sentiments for the NUM strike that existed throughout Ireland. He finished his speech by telling miners that the only thing Irish workers wanted in return was for the NUM to demand British withdrawal from Ireland.

One miner who already supported the "troops-out" position was Wayne Frost, a miner from Armthorpe colliery, who had been present at the Belfast Irish Republican demonstration where Sean Downes was killed as a result of being hit with a plastic bullet. Wayne said the way in which police were being used in the miners strike was more and more similar to the way they were used in the north of Ireland.

Nigel Bevan, a young South Wales miner, said that he had joined *Socialist Action's* fight in the Labor Party because through the strike he saw the need for internationalism in practice.

Representative of LCR

The international session finished with a rousing speech from Alain Krivine of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) of France. Krivine said that the miners strike was of central importance to all European workers. It was the highest point so far of the new wave of workers struggle that had developed against the austerity and militarist policies of the Western European governments in 1980-81. The miners' victory would be a victory for all workers, like those in West Germany who had fought for the 35-hour week and the Italian workers who had fought for defense of the sliding scale of wages.

In France too, it would be considered as a victory by workers who are fighting against betrayal of the left parties in 1981. The LCR had already organized one tour for British miners and had supported the solidarity campaign of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) in France. Now they were organizing a second tour.

Amid laughter he described how many French people have regarded British police as wonderful. However, he said, when the stakes are high "every policeman is revealed as the guard dog of the bosses."

The meeting finished with the singing of the "Internationale." All the participants were then invited to a special social organized by the miners of Bold. Over 900 people attended the social and £1,000 was raised through collection and auctions.

With the Lancashire miners

Continued from preceding page

shown proclaiming that the cop terror we've just seen was police acting in self defense, and the brothers here laugh, one saying, "Yeah, we've heard that before."

These particular NUM strikers now see as brothers the Republican leaders who organized against these cops and this British government. This is new.

Howells explains to the *Militant* why he shows this video. "What we've done through the strike, and it's true of every strike center, there's a new awareness of things not just happening in Britain or in the coal industry, but to things happening all over the world. And not just Northern Ireland, but Nicaragua, El Salvador.

"We had the chance during the strike, and it was great, to go to Northern Ireland. And what we saw in Northern Ireland shocked us. Obviously we should have realized with the sticks we've had in the press and in the media over the eight months of the strike, we've had it for 15 years with Ireland. And we know now not to believe what we read in the press.

"The best thing to do if you don't agree with Northern Ireland, and I didn't agree with Sinn Féin [a party associated with the IRA] and the Republican movement or anything before I went, is to go and see it for yourself, and make your own conclusions. I came back with a different opinion, totally committed to the Republican movement in Northern Ireland.

"And what we say to anybody who disagrees with us is to go over and find out for yourself; you might come back with a different opinion. You might come back with the same opinion you went with, but you've got to go and see it."

Howells answers my question about how he became a leader of the strike: "I've always attended union meetings. I've never missed them. I've always been active in the union, but not as any kind of leader or anything like that. I've been in the pits since I was 15, for 12 years. As soon as I started in the pits my father dragged me to a union meeting, because he worked in the pit I was in.

"When the strike started none of the officials came out with us. So we had to organize, and you just get thrown into it. You get lads who are committed, but not as committed as others. There's a few lads you've seen who are totally committed. They've put in a hell of a lot of time. And there is that at every pit.

"I think you get them in every strike. In the '72 and '74 strikes we got rank and file coming into the leadership, and you'll get it even more with this one going on eight months now.

"It's not just leadership. The lads are getting more politically alert, and politically aware. We've got so used now to attending meetings and talking to people of all different political views that when this is over, you won't be able to sit at home. A lot of our lads have become involved now, and a lot of our lads have said that when this strike's over they're not just going to sit back when such and such is out on strike, they're going to do something for it physically and financially. So that's one good thing coming out of this. We'll show a lot of solidarity."

It's noon now, and the strike leaders here have just begun their day. I leave them, taking the buttons and T-shirts they've given me to bring back home, their good wishes, and their advice to the brothers and sisters in the United States: "Keep fighting, because we can win, we will win."

British miners strike: 12.5 million days lost

Government figures reveal that 15.8 million working days have been lost through strikes in the first nine months of this year. Of those, 12.5 million are a result of the miners strike. This is the highest number of days lost through strikes since 1979, the so-called "winter of discontent," when 29.4 million days were lost through stoppages.

Lessons of Comintern relevant today

Continued from Page 7

On this question, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* is especially relevant for communists in imperialist countries. The book concentrates on the challenges posed for workers parties in that part of the world, since only the initial nuclei of revolutionary parties existed at the time in the colonial world. Readers will be struck by the important similarities in the pressures and opportunities workers parties face in imperialist countries today and those faced by revolutionists at the beginning of the twentieth century.

These are some of the themes that will be the subject of this *Militant* series, beginning with an article next week on the war question, the central issue for the world working class today, as it was in the period the book covers.

The study guide for the book recommends as an introduction to the book as a whole that readers first study *Socialism and War. Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* contains only brief excerpts from this pamphlet. Its full text appears in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Volume 21, and

in an inexpensive pamphlet that can be purchased from Pathfinder Press. (See ad on page 7.)

In the pamphlet, Lenin and Zinoviev take up the working-class perspective on World War I, which was different both from that of the proimperialist opportunists and from that of petty-bourgeois pacifists who wrung their hands in despair. Lenin and Zinoviev recognized that a revolutionary situation was developing out of this imperialist conflict. They charted a course of educating and mobilizing workers in action against the war and against the capitalist governments of their own countries who were prosecuting the war. In contrast to those who called for "defense of the fatherland" or made abstract appeals for "peace," Lenin and Zinoviev put forward the perspective of turning the imperialist war into a war by the workers and peasants to overturn capitalist rule.

In next week's article, we'll look more closely at the strategy pursued by the Bolsheviks and how it differed from that of other currents in the Second International.

(To be continued)

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Spirits dig coal? — British Police Inspector Malcolm Biggin, of the Christian Police Assn., sees the miners strike there not as a bat-



Harry Ring

tle between capital and labor, but a spiritual conflict. He says that "God raised up Billy Graham to try and save Britain," and mine union Pres. Arthur Scargill "to

wreak havoc." He reports that at one particularly bloody battle between cops and strikers, "I had seen several pickets who were acting in a way that indicated they were demons possessed. But after prayers went up, the mood changed."

Besides, it's only Nicaraguans — "They [the CIA] have always said there is a little problem here and a little problem there, but nothing serious." — A Washington official on the torture and murder of Nicaraguan civilians by U.S.-sponsored *contras*.

Like ditching the bomb — Despite opposition from regents,

Texas officials plan to permit women to join the Texas A&M band. The band is part of the Corps of Cadets, a campus military unit that now accepts women. The move to desex the band was assailed by a group of alumni. According to the Dallas *Times Herald*, they predicted it would "weaken the nation's defense."

One picture and how many words? — An exhibit of Nicaragua photos at New York's New Museum includes samples of how the media can use pictures for falsification. One item, cited by the *Village Voice*: A shot captioned by the photographer, "Distribution of free milk and meat. Matagalpa,

August 1979," appeared in a 1983 issue of *Business Week* as, "Nicaraguan citizens form lines outside government supermarket awaiting food rations."

Now here's an offer — Only the price has inhibited our developing a taste for Courvoisier VSOP brandy (in New York, \$22.50 a fifth). But now they have a special offer. Send in a proof of purchase and \$5 will be contributed in your name for the restoration of the Statue of Liberty.

Business as usual — A federal judge dismissed felony charges against General Dynamics. Michi-

gan officials brought the charges under pressure from the United Auto Workers after a Detroit worker died from exposure to freon, an industrial detergent used in cleaning army tanks. The judge ruled the worker was simply unusually sensitive to freon. Since his death, soap and water has been substituted. The company was pleased by the judge's decision and said it hadn't yet decided if it will go back to freon.

How to beat B.O. — Bijan's of Beverly Hills and New York is offering a men's fragrance in a 6-oz. hand cut crystal bottle. \$1,500 for the fragrance and the bottle is thrown in for free.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

U.S. Concentration Camps: Japanese-Americans Fight Against Racism. Speakers: Don Tamaki, National Coalition for Redress and Reparations; Ernie Iiyama, executive board member, Northern California-Nevada-Western Pacific District Council, Japanese-American Citizens League. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Francisco

Report-back on the Nicaraguan Elections. Speakers: recent visitors to revolutionary Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. 3234 23 St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

San Jose

Defend a Woman's Right to Abortion. Speakers: Terry Applegate, member International Association of Machinists Local 562; others. Sat., Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

Workers and Unions in the New Nicaragua. Speakers: Meta Mendel Reyes, member Service Employees International Union Local 715; Ray Baeza, SEIU Local 715; Sandra Cooper-Morgan, California president, SEIU Local 535. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 16, 7 p.m. Trinity Episcopal Church, 81 N 2 St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Labor Committee on El Salvador and Central America. For more information call (408) 258-1764.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Who Killed Karen Silkwood? Representative of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 4-447; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more

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information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Report Back from National Conference of the National Black Independent Political Party. Speaker: Nan Bailey, member, New York City chapter, NBIPP. Sun., Nov. 11, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

El-Haji Malik El Shabazz. Film about Malcolm X followed by discussion led by Mahmoud El Kati. Sun., Nov. 11, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

U.S. Out of the Philippines. Speakers: Michael Maggi and a representative of the Philippine Study Group. Sun., Nov. 18, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Do Import Controls Help Working People? Speaker: Caroline Lund, representative of Socialist Workers Party, member, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 16. Dinner 6:30; forum, 7:30. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

New York City

The Philippines Today. The present stage of the Anti-Marcos movement. Panel: Ninotchka Rosca, Philippine Workers Support Committee; Armin Alforque, New York Coordinator, Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and KDP; Fred Murphy, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 16, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Manhattan. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OREGON

Portland

The Freedom Struggle in South Africa. *South Africa Belongs to Us*, film produced by African

National Congress. Speaker: Connie Allen, representative of Socialist Workers Party, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 128. Sat., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

TEXAS

Dallas

Democratic Elections in Nicaragua. Sham Elections at Home. Speakers: Jon Rubinstein, representative of Socialist Workers Party, member, United Auto Workers Local 276; Alex Johnson, Dallas Young Socialist Alliance. Both eyewitnesses of recent Nicaraguan elections; and Steve Iverson, recent SWP candidate for Congress, 24th C.D. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The 10th Anniversary of Karen Silkwood's Murder: Workers and Farmers Speak Out

'Contras' honor Kirkpatrick

The following story, "FDN: Honoring a heroine," appeared in the October 1 issue of *Barricada International*, international weekly of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Following the tradition of naming military units after figures they consider to be exemplary of the cause, in September, the counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) announced it had christened a task force "Jeane Kirkpatrick," in honor of the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

Frank Arana, an FDN spokesperson in Tegucigalpa, expressed the mercenary army's appreciation for the U.S. diplomat's continual support. Although he had not spoken directly with Kirkpatrick "to let her know of our homage," Arana said that he assumed she already knew about it. He added that the FDN did not think that singling out Kirkpatrick would

hurt the feelings of other U.S. officials.

The "Kirkpatrick" task force, Arana reported, is currently in Honduras preparing to infiltrate Nicaragua's northern department of Jinotega.

On another note, leaders from the FDN and the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), whose forces merged last June, recently confirmed that they receive funds from the Central Intelligence Agency. "It's not dirty money," said Alfonso Robelo of ARDE, "because the CIA is a legal branch of the U.S. administration."

This statement was made at a meeting with journalists in Paris, also attended by FDN representative Adolfo Calero. Asked about violent methods employed by the *contras* such as kidnapping, torture and civilian massacres, Calero responded that war is "hard" and sometimes "abuses" are committed.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. 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. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: 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, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 767 S. State. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. 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.

Sandinistas declare military alert

Continued from front page
duras border.

Speaking to a crowd of 300,000 people November 1 at the closing campaign rally of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Ortega said that all Nicaraguans "must prepare to confront a direct intervention by the United States."

Ortega, the FSLN presidential candidate, appealed to Nicaraguans "to hurry, in the full sense of the word, to prepare the defense of Managua, to prepare the defense of all our cities."

Speaking to reporters November 5, Ortega gave a detailed explanation of the danger of a direct U.S. intervention.

'Failed on military terrain'

He said that Washington's strategy of overthrowing the revolution through CIA-led counterrevolutionary forces has failed. "Their military instrument, which is the counterrevolution, is tending to disintegrate," he said. Washington has "failed on the military terrain."

In recent weeks, Sandinista forces smashed attempts by the mercenary forces, called *contras*, to disrupt the November 4 elections here. Several large contra units were broken up. On November 5, an entire mercenary unit of 76 men was wiped out, with 73 killed and 3 wounded.

Desertions from the mercenary bands are increasing, as are conflicts among their top leaders.

Ortega pointed out that the elections in Nicaragua showed that the U.S. imperialists "have also been defeated in the ideological and political aspects." A U.S.-inspired election boycott failed miserably. Moreover, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants handed a humiliating defeat to the bourgeois parties running against the FSLN — all of which echoed to a large degree CIA propaganda lines.

Ortega also pointed to the status of the Contadora accord among the five Central American nations, which has been sabotaged by the United States. He reported that the U.S.-Nicaragua talks in Manzanillo, Mexico, "are stalemated. The attitude of the U.S. government of refusing to negotiate with Nicaragua is worrisome."

Ortega also reiterated his appeal to resi-

dents of Managua to immediately prepare to repel a U.S. attack, emphasizing the danger that the U.S. government might attempt to carry out "saturation bombing" of the capital.

Results of November 4 elections

The military alert came three days after the November 4 elections here. Initial results announced November 5 by the Supreme Election Council indicated 82 percent of the population voted.

The FSLN scored an overwhelming victory against the other six parties in the race. With 30 percent of the votes counted, the FSLN candidates were getting about 68 percent of the vote, more than twice as much as all six other parties put together.

The Independent Liberal Party (PLI) and the Conservative Democratic Party (PCD) were in a close race for a very distant second, with 11 and 12 percent of the vote respectively. These two parties are the principal remnants of the traditional main two parties of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

The People's Social Christian Party was running fourth, with 5.5 percent. The People's Action Movement, Marxist-Leninist; Nicaraguan Socialist Party; and Communist Party of Nicaragua were each getting about 1 percent of the vote.

In addition to president and vice-president, Nicaraguans were electing a 90-member constituent assembly which will write the country's new constitution. Given Nicaragua's proportional representation system, it appears that the PCD, PLI, and PPSC will definitely have seats in the new assembly, in addition to the FSLN.

Statistics thus far available on the voting were broken down by the nine regions into which the country is divided. In Region III, which includes Managua, the turnout reached 94 percent of registered voters. In Region VI — a mountainous area bordering Honduras where CIA bands have been active — the turnout was lower, 65 percent.

Hundreds of international reporters and observers witnessed the voting and counting. "What amazes me," said Vernon Belcourt, of the observer delegation from the International Indian Treaty Council, "is that the Reagan administration promotes as



Barricada Internacional

U.S.-backed 'contras' frequently attack and destroy agricultural enterprises like this one.

democratic the elections in El Salvador and Guatemala, and almost in the same breath tries to discredit these elections in Nicaragua."

'We go with the Front'

The mood among those waiting in line to vote was enthusiastic.

"I gave my legs for the revolution. I would give my life. Of course I will give it my vote," said Alejandro García, a young army veteran, as he wheeled himself into Precinct 272 at the Pedro Betancur Catholic School. He had lost both his legs in an ambush by CIA mercenaries more than a year ago.

"We go with the Front," said a 16-year-old woman as she was walking with two friends toward the precinct. After voting, she said, she would go home to pack and then leave for Las Segovias, the mountainous north of the country where the CIA-or-

ganized contras have carried out terrorist attacks. Thousands of student volunteers are going there to help get out the coffee crop. Danilo Estrada, who works for the government bus company, said "The elections were clean, not like before, when you had to vote with someone watching and saying, 'Vote for that one.'" Estrada said he voted for the PCD.

During the election campaign, all opposition parties focused their activities on attacking the FSLN.

"For all our enemies it has been easy to give demagogic speeches against the revolution and the Sandinista Front, blaming it for all the problems of the nation," said Ortega at the November 5 news conference. "This has been the constant theme of both the parties running and those not running, both of registered parties with rightist positions and ultraleft positions."

"The Sandinista Front, on the other hand, has been clear with the people: these problems can't be solved quickly, because the economic crisis has external causes: unjust international economic relations and the U.S. aggression."

The main axis of the FSLN campaign was defense of the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government and revolution against U.S. aggression. The FSLN campaigned on the record of social and economic transformations carried out since it led the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship five years ago.

A vote against exploitation

Ortega asked the crowd at the FSLN's wind-up campaign rally, "Will the people of Nicaragua vote for the exploiters? [shouts of "No!"] Will the people vote for the agrarian reform? [shouts of "Yes!"] Will the people vote to ratify the nationalization of the banks? [shouts of "Yes!"] Will the people of Nicaragua vote for more education?" he continued. "For more health? For the defense of workers' organizations? [shouts of "Yes!"]"

"Will the people of Nicaragua vote for song, for art, for painting, for poetry, for love? [shouts of "Yes!"] Then will this people vote for the Sandinista National Liberation Front? [shouts of "Yes!" and applause.]"

The main opponent of the FSLN in the elections was, in fact, the U.S. government, which carried out a very active military and political campaign to destroy — and if that proved impossible at least discredit — the balloting.

Working closely with the CIA, parties in the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinating Committee boycotted the election.

Following meetings with the U.S. ambassador, PLI presidential candidate Virgilio Godoy rammed through a convention of his party a resolution calling for the PLI to withdraw from the elections. Following many protests by PLI members, however, no candidates withdrew.

U.S. embassy personnel also tried to pressure other parties to withdraw, reportedly offering them up to \$300,000.

Texas cops attack Machinists' pickets

Continued from front page

Fort Worth Police Department Tactical Squad arrived on the scene dressed in riot gear with helmets and clubs.

District Lodge 776 Pres. Pat Lane put the blame for the incident squarely on the police. "The police incited it," he said. "They were standing there intimidating our members. I can't believe it."

District 776's strike against General Dynamics, which makes the F-16 fighter jet, is the latest of several strikes against the largest military contractor in the country.

At 2 p.m. on November 4 just hours before the midnight deadline — 98 percent of the workers in the 6,600-member district lodge voted to reject the concession contract pushed by General Dynamics. Right before the strike deadline hundreds of workers gathered outside the plant, many dressed in military fatigues. One worker explained they were dressed in uniform to show unity. Another said they were wearing fatigues, "because we are going to war against General Dynamics."

The workers shouted together, "Ain't no way!" and "We ain't gonna take it!" They jeered at police cars that drove by.

At midnight several dozen began picket lines in front of the gates, preventing almost all the salaried personnel from entering the plant.

Early in the morning on November 5, District Court Judge William Hughes issued a temporary restraining order against the union that limits the number of pickets and prevents strikers from impeding the flow of traffic to and from the plant.

Once they had the injunction in hand, police promptly arrested several strikers. Prior to this, vehicles attempting to enter the plant had been backed up for three miles.

A flyer from the union negotiating committee of District 776, which organizes the

production and maintenance workers and nurses and firemen at the plant of more than 10,000 employees, called the company's contract proposal "an insult."

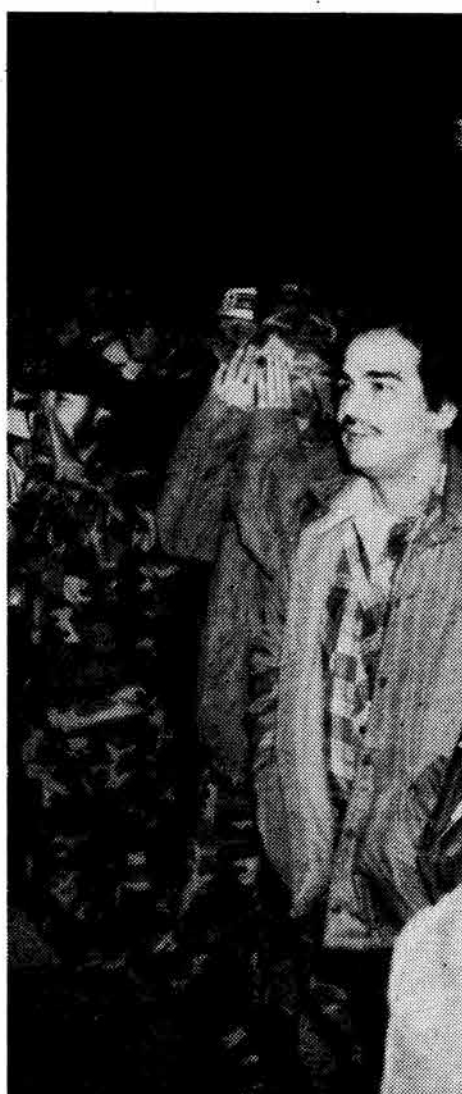
The company's proposal would seriously weaken the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA), only folding the current 98 cents an hour COLA into the pay of those workers in the top labor grades. This would create a dual wage scale. Those workers who start at the bottom of the labor grade would have to work 13 years to reach top wage scale. Instead of full COLA to all workers, General Dynamics is proposing a lump-sum payment each year — in reality, a pay cut.

The proposed contract also cuts the number of holidays and weakens health benefits.

One worker said that General Dynamics' attempts to divide the workers along seniority lines hadn't worked. "The older workers are with us," he said.

Citing the trend of takeover contracts in the aerospace industry, one union official said that District 776 had decided that the concessions had to be stopped. "General Dynamics wants to take away everything that we've worked 44 years to get," he said. "Every country in the world where there is a weak labor movement, all you have is the super rich and the filthy poor. If the corporations keep this up, who's going to be left to buy their products?" One worker pointed to the fact that General Dynamics' owners had made a bundle by selling parts to the Pentagon for thousands of dollars that really cost only a few cents to make.

On the second day of the strike, despite the court order restricting the number of pickets, more than 200 workers were outside the plant to back up the pickets and show their determination to fight General Dynamics.



Militant/Kathy Rettig

Striking members of Machinists union on picket line at General Dynamics Fort Worth Division. Of 6,600 workers in IAM District 776, all but 2 percent voted against accepting concessions contract.

No mandate for war

Continued from front page

The use of U.S. combat forces will lead to the expansion of the war throughout Central America and to many U.S. casualties. As opposition mounts in the United States, Reagan will learn that his "mandate" is a figment of his imagination.

The principal reason for Reagan's big victory was that the election coincided with an upturn in the economy. Although Reagan's policies were not responsible for the upturn, he took credit for it.

Reagan has had good luck with the ups and downs of the capitalist business cycle. In 1980, he was swept into

Help tally socialist votes

Future issues of the *Militant* will carry more news and analysis of the elections, including vote totals for the Socialist Workers Party candidates. We urge readers to help out by sending us any news clippings that report the SWP's votes.

office when U.S. workers repudiated the Carter-Mondale administration and the wringer of inflation and unemployment working people were put through in those years. The recession that led to a decrease in Republican representation in Congress after the 1982 elections was over by the time the 1984 election campaign began.

The one sector of the working class which did not vote for Reagan in significant numbers was Blacks. Least affected by the recent upturn, and worst hit by cuts in social programs and Reagan's racist attacks on affirmative action and school desegregation, Blacks voted more than 90 percent for Mondale.

Mondale had nothing attractive to offer working people to counter Reagan's assertion that he had brought the country better times.

To the contrary, Mondale was marked by the unpopular record of the Carter-Mondale administration and by his promise to raise taxes in order to decrease the federal budget deficit. Mondale's tax increase proposal was his main campaign issue. He claimed that by being "honest" about the austerity measures that are needed he would win respect and votes.

Most workers had no trouble believing that "honest Mondale" would raise taxes; but they aren't interested in having money taken out of their pockets to bail out the government's deficit.

Mondale's highly-publicized austerity proposals were a departure from the promises of increasing federal programs through deficit financing that has been the traditional stance of Democratic politicians since the New Deal inaugurated by President Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930s. In fact, Mondale's campaign rhetoric sounded more like what Republicans often advocate.

This reflected the growing *bipartisan* character of domestic social and economic policies — a bipartisanship that has been the hallmark of U.S. foreign policy since World War II.

This bipartisanship results from the needs of the capitalist ruling families. Faced with stiffening competi-

tion from imperialist rivals, they are trying to squeeze more profits out of working people. They have launched a major offensive to drive down wages, intensify speedup on the job, relax safety standards, and weaken and bust unions.

In order to maintain the level of profits they want, the employers must qualitatively alter — in their favor — the relationship of forces between them and the workers. Both the capitalist parties are instruments for driving through this attack. The ruling-class offensive will continue in President Reagan's second term with the aid of Democrats in Congress, just as it would have under a Mondale administration.

The AFL-CIO officials, civil rights figures, women's liberation leaders, and virtually all left organizations asserted that working people could impose *our* will on the issues of peace, jobs, equal rights, etc., by voting. And most particularly by voting Reagan out of office and placing Mondale in the White House.

But working people have never made advances through voting. Street demonstrations, like those of the civil rights and antiwar movements, powerful strikes like those that built the unions in the 1930s — these are the methods that have brought us social progress regardless of which Democrat or Republican is in office.

Urging workers to count on elections and continue operating in the framework of the two capitalist parties is a dead end. This was most clearly illustrated by the debacle of Rev. Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition." Jackson claimed that his Democratic Party election campaign would lead to an ongoing movement that would give Blacks some political clout. But the "Rainbow Coalition," totally subordinated to the Democratic Party, faded into the Mondale campaign and disappeared.

The Socialist Workers Party campaign stood alone in putting forward the idea that working people need to chart their own independent course. The SWP candidates explained that massive struggles will emerge as a result of the hammer blows the capitalist rulers are dealing to working people at home and the wars of aggression they are preparing abroad.

Out of these battles workers will forge their own mass independent political party — a labor party based on the unions. Such a party will advance the interests of working people by helping to lead the struggles of the exploited and oppressed on all fronts.

Blacks, whose militancy and radicalization is greater than the working class as a whole, may take the step of forming an independent Black party before a labor party is formed. Such a development would give a tremendous boost to the formation of a labor party.

The SWP's presidential ticket and 56 state and congressional candidates reached hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers with these proposals. On the ballot in 23 states and Washington, D.C., they campaigned in mines, factories, fields, high schools, and college campuses throughout the country. They won new adherents to revolutionary socialism and pointed the way forward for the working class and its allies as the attacks by the government and the employers bear down ever harder on them.

Death penalty: rulers' weapon

On November 2, the state of North Carolina executed Margie Velma Barfield by lethal injection.

Barfield became the 29th victim to be legally murdered since the Supreme Court lifted the ban on the death penalty in 1976. She was the first woman to be executed in 22 years.

The killing of Barfield marks another victory for the capitalist class in its campaign to expand use of the barbaric death penalty as a weapon against the exploited and oppressed.

The first person executed after the Supreme Court ban was lifted was Gary Gilmore, a white worker who "wanted to die," it was claimed. After murdering several more white victims, attempting to show the death penalty is "even-handed," U.S. officials successfully executed their first Black. Now they have killed Barfield in cold blood, the first of 17 women on death row.

And the pace of executions is being stepped up.

In the same week as Barfield's execution, Earnest Knighton, Jr., died in the electric chair in Louisiana, and Thomas Andy Barefoot was murdered by the state of Texas by lethal injection.

Barefoot, a Louisiana oilworker, maintained his innocence on the charge of killing a policeman. He said before he died, "I hope one day we can look back on this evil like we do the witches burned at the stake."

The Congressional Black Caucus has strongly protested the execution of Knighton, who is Black. Knighton, accused of murdering a white man, was sentenced by an all-white jury.

When Linwood Briley, a 30-year-old Black man, was electrocuted last month in Virginia, right-wing scum gathered outside the prison, shouting and carrying signs that read, "Fry 'em," and "Kill the Negro." One waved a

Confederate flag and shouted, "We want to return to the days in Richmond when this flag flew proudly."

This underscores the fact that capital punishment has always been used against Blacks especially, and workers as a whole. It is used to whip up racism as a prop of the "law and order" campaign that is used against all working people.

Capital punishment is a weapon of class and race oppression, not justice.

With the noose, the firing squad, the electric chair, the gas chamber, and the lethal needle as its grisly symbols, the ruling rich use the death penalty to terrorize the oppressed and downtrodden.

There are some 1,200 prisoners currently awaiting execution in jails across the country. As more and more appeals are exhausted, and the capitalist rulers are emboldened, the executions will accelerate. A huge proportion, 42 percent, of those on death row are Black.

The ruling class got away with the murder of Barfield. A little over 20 years ago, on June 19, 1953, another woman — Ethel Rosenberg — was legally murdered along with her husband Julius Rosenberg. Framed up as "atom spies," their execution was designed to terrorize radicals, labor militants, and all opponents of the U.S. imperialist war against Korea.

Today, as Washington deepens its war against the people of Central America and steps up its attacks on workers and farmers here at home, it is also strengthening its repressive apparatus of cops and courts, stripping away more democratic rights, and brandishing the death penalty more boldly as a weapon against working-class militants.

All working people and supporters of democratic rights should rally to stop the executions and take this weapon out of the hands of the ruling class.

Bolsheviks on socialism and war

The following are excerpts from the 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*. It was drafted by Russian Bolshevik leaders V.I. Lenin and Gregory Zinoviev as part of the debate among revolutionaries in the Second International over how to struggle against the imperialist World War I and against the opportunist leaders of the Second International, who supported their bourgeois governments in the war. (For more on this debate, see the article in this issue on page 7.)

The full text of *Socialism and War* appears in Lenin's *Collected Works*, Volume 21, and is also available as a pamphlet, which can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The cost is \$.75 plus \$.75 for postage and handling.

Socialists have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal. Our attitude towards war, however, is fundamentally different from that of the bourgeois pacifists (supporters and advocates of peace) and of the anarchists. We differ from the former in that we understand the inevitable connection between wars and the class struggle within a country; we understand that wars cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created; we also differ in that we regard

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

civil wars, i.e., wars waged by an oppressed class against the oppressor class, by slaves against slaveholders, by serfs against landowners, and by wage-workers against the bourgeoisie, as fully legitimate, progressive and necessary.

We Marxists differ from both pacifists and anarchists in that we deem it necessary to study each war historically (from the standpoint of Marx's dialectical materialism) and separately. There have been in the past numerous wars which, despite all the horrors, atrocities, distress and suffering that inevitably accompany all wars, were progressive, i.e., benefited the development of mankind by helping to destroy most harmful and reactionary institutions (e.g., an autocracy or serfdom) and the most barbarous despotisms in Europe (the Turkish and the Russian). That is why the features historically specific to the present war must come up for examination.

It is almost universally admitted that this war is an imperialist war. In most cases, however, this term is distorted, or applied to one side, or else a loophole is left for the assertion that this war may, after all, be bourgeois-progressive, and of significance to the national-liberation movement.

Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary; it has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or of experiencing years and even decades of armed struggle between the "Great" Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind.

Socialists of all the world solemnly declared in Basle [Switzerland], in 1912, that they regarded the impending war in Europe as the "criminal" and most reactionary deed of *all* the governments, which must hasten the downfall of capitalism by inevitably engendering a revolution against it. The war came, the crisis was there. Instead of revolutionary tactics, most of the Social-Democratic parties launched reactionary tactics, and went over to the side of their respective governments and bourgeoisie. This betrayal of socialism signifies the collapse of the Second (1889-1914) International, and we must realise what caused this collapse, what brought social-chauvinism into being and gave it strength.

Throughout the existence of the Second International, a struggle was raging within all the Social-Democratic parties, between their revolutionary and the opportunist wings. The objective conditions at the close of the nineteenth century greatly intensified opportunism, converted the utilisation of bourgeois legality into subservience to the latter, created a thin crust of a working-class officialdom and aristocracy and attracted numerous petty-bourgeois "fellow travellers" to the Social-Democratic parties.

The war has speeded up this development.

Opportunism and social-chauvinism stand on a common economic basis — the interests of a thin crust of privileged workers and of the petty bourgeoisie, who are defending their privileged position, their "right" to some modicum of the profits that their "own" national bourgeoisie obtain from robbing other nations, from the advantages of their Great-Power status, etc.

Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content — class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's "own" government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution.

N.Y. cops kill woman 'guilty' of not paying rent

Eleanor Bumpurs didn't want to wind up like tens of thousands of homeless people in New York City — hungry, hounded, and helpless in the city's streets. Bumpurs, a 67-year-old Black woman, owed five months' rent on her Bronx apartment in a city housing project, but



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Mohammed Oliver

she was damned if the city's Housing Authority was going to throw her out.

For trying to resist eviction, Bumpurs was shotgunned to death by cops.

On October 29, Housing Authority officials called in city cops to help them evict Bumpurs. Six cops broke through Bumpurs' apartment door. Two held a restraining bar, which they used to prod the elderly sister. Two

more were protected by plastic shields, and another, Stephen Sullivan, stood off to the side, armed with a 12-gauge shotgun. The cops were also armed with chemical Mace, but didn't use it.

The cops claim Bumpurs attacked them with a kitchen butcher knife. But Bumpurs, who weighed 300 pounds and had arthritis and high blood pressure, posed no real threat to the cops. "She had trouble moving quickly," said Mary Bumpurs, the slain sister's daughter.

"When they busted the door open," explained the daughter, "of course she got terrified and picked up a butcher knife. What would any old woman have done?"

Sullivan pumped two shotgun blasts into Bumpurs, and the cops evicted her — dead. "It was well within department guidelines," said Deputy Police Commissioner Alice McGillion, underscoring the cops' role as an organized terror unit against Blacks and other working people.

Bumpurs' neighbors in the Morris Heights community were outraged at the killing. "Why such heavy artillery for an eviction?" asked James Murphy, a tenant in the housing project. At a community meeting after the shooting, cops tried to whitewash the slaying. They were drowned out by shouts of "Murder! Murder! Murder!"

Cops have a callous disregard for Black lives. Dogs often fare better, like the pit bull terrier that recently killed a New York City infant lying in its crib. When cops arrived to take the dog away, they shot it with a tranquilizer gun rather than a shotgun.

The brutal killing of Bumpurs is a terrible reminder of what role the cops play in the Black community and among workers in general. Police departments are designed to intimidate, harass, and repress working people. Cops are there to keep us in line, to make sure the employers and other parasites continue to live happily off our sweat and blood. If any of us objects and rises up to protest, the cops crack down. Bumpurs' killing wasn't a case of "excessive use of deadly force," but standard operating procedure for cops, who are trained to serve and protect property owners.

Bumpurs was behind in her rent, and throwing her out of her apartment was more important to the cops than her life.

Nothing we do can bring Bumpurs back. But Blacks and other workers can protest this racist killing and other acts of cop terror. By mobilizing the power of the entire labor movement, we can begin to win justice for Bumpurs and other victims of cop brutality.

'The Burning Bed' spotlights antiwoman violence

BY TOBA SINGER

The Burning Bed, directed by Robert Greenwald, starring Farah Fawcett and Paul LeMat. Made for TV, NBC.

On the night of March 9, 1977, Francine Hughes doused her drunken husband with gasoline and ignited the bed where he had fallen asleep. Earlier that night, he had beaten her, raped her, and threatened to kill her if she tried to run away. A decade of brutal beatings by her husband left her believing that if Mickey Hughes were to remain alive, she would eventually be killed by him. The desperate measures Francine Hughes took to defend herself against a lethal marriage drew national attention. *The Burning Bed* is based on her true story.

Perhaps the most important thing about this film is that

TELEVISION REVIEW

it helps to put a spotlight on the pervasive problem of violence against women.

In capitalist society, the homefront is a battle station. Domestic violence in the United States is rampant. Approximately 6 million women are beaten by their husbands or companions each year. *Two thousand to 4,000 women are beaten to death each year.*

Wife-beating is not a personal problem between husband and wife. It is a social problem rooted in the oppression of women.

Women's rights fighters have worked to get the question of wife-beating — like rape — out of the closet and into the light of day. This film, seen by hundreds of thousands of people, helps do that.

It also helps to break down the reactionary myth that women "bring it on themselves," or "ask for it."

The story is told through flashbacks. Francine Hughes is a spirited 17-year-old when she meets Mickey Hughes.

She looks forward to more schooling and a job. Francine resists Mickey's pressure to marry, but as their sexual encounters increase, Francine, frightened by the prospect of pregnancy, finally agrees to get married.

Like many working-class couples just starting out, Francine and Mickey live with his family because he cannot find work.

Francine attempts to escape from Mickey as he becomes increasingly brutal. She is shown asking her mother to take her in. Her mother, who cannot afford to support Francine, counsels her to "put up" with Mickey. Francine runs away a second time, taking her three children with her. This time, her mother urges her to give the children to Mickey, fearing retribution from him.

She appeals to Mickey's family to help him get psychiatric treatment. They refuse. When she goes to a social welfare agency, hand-wringing social workers refer her to other offices in a massive bureaucracy.

Mickey's beatings finally draw the police. Francine emerges from a closet where she is hiding and begs the cops to arrest her husband. But they refuse because they didn't actually witness the beating.

Francine divorces Mickey. But his promises to reform, her longing for the children who are in his custody, and her own lack of economic independence and self-confidence convince her to return.

She takes a big step when she manages to squeeze some money out of a social welfare agency to take some business courses. This attempt to improve the economic position of her family and to gain some measure of independence sparks a vicious outburst from Mickey, who tears up her books and class notes, and brutally beats her. It is this episode that finally leads to her desperate act of self-defense, after all attempts to get help have failed.

A jury acquitted Francine Hughes of the charge of murder. Like the victory of Joann Little, the Black woman prisoner in North Carolina who in 1974 killed her white jailer in self-defense, Hughes' acquittal was a victory for women's rights. These acquittals were possible

because of the development of the women's liberation movement, which challenged all aspects of the oppression of women. The film only hints at this.

Hughes' lawyer is shown pleading with her to help prepare a defense by telling her story to the jury. But she is silent. She appears to be too overcome by remorse to try to defend herself. It is only when she receives a letter from a battered woman, who found the courage to leave her own husband after hearing of Hughes' story, that she is able to help defend herself.

The Burning Bed tells the story of one woman's ordeal. It does so effectively and sympathetically, making clear that Francine Hughes is the victim, not the criminal.

In recent years women's liberation forces have taken up the question of violence against women as part of the political fight for women's equality. They point out that while there is much violence in general in society, there is specific violence directed against women *because they are women*. It is sexist violence rooted in the oppression of women.

Francine Hughes is an impoverished, working-class woman. Contrary to class and race prejudice, however, wife-beating is common throughout class-divided society. It is sexist violence in a sexist society.

The days are drawing to a close when women will accept violent attacks as "part of the natural order of things." Women are beginning to demand that these attacks be treated as the crimes they are, and that laws against wife-beating and rape be enforced.

Rape-crisis and battered women's centers that have been set up largely because of the efforts of women's rights fighters are desperately needed by the millions of women who are victimized each year. As with other vital social services — such as child care — funding for these centers has been on the government's chopping block.

The Burning Bed will help win support for this aspect of the fight for women's equality.

LETTERS

Colorado campaign

At a recent Socialist Workers Party campaign rally one of the speakers was Francisco "Kiko" Martínez, a Chicano activist who has been persecuted by the state and federal governments on phony bombing charges.

Stating his support for the SWP candidates on a national and state level, Martínez said, "The Democrats and Republicans have both failed us — and not by accident. It's intentional. These parties represent a small group of people — the wealthy, the landowners, and the factory owners."

There were about 45 people at the rally, including some high school students who heard a campaign speaker at their school the previous day.

Earlier this fall, David Martin, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, went with a team of campaigners to the San Luis Valley to talk with Chicanos and farmers about employment and interest rates. The team learned that the San Luis Valley has the highest unemployment rate in the state of Colorado. The team also went to a meeting of

United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 766 at Martin Marietta.

Martin was invited to a senatorial debate in Greeley, Colorado, a small university town, where he debated the Democratic incumbent, Nancy Dick.

While Democrat Nancy Dick spoke vaguely of "peace" as the main issue, Martin condemned the real war that is being carried out by the U.S. government in Central America — a war that is being supported and will be escalated by both the Democrats and Republicans. This will happen, he said, regardless of the outcome of the elections.

Michael Brown
Denver, Colorado

Abortion rights

In recent months, attacks on abortion clinics have occurred in several Alabama cities. Clinics in Birmingham, Huntsville, and Mobile have been threatened, vandalized, and attacked by armed thugs.

On October 20, more than 40 people in Birmingham participated in a counterpicket to an anti-abortion rights march. The picket

was organized by Greater Birmingham National Organization for Women (NOW).

The pickets covered cars with placards calling for an end to terrorist attacks on abortion clinics, and for the right to safe, legal abortions for women.

A Catholic priest, Edward Markley, has been arrested for pouring red paint on equipment in a Huntsville clinic, and for attacking a Birmingham clinic with a sledgehammer and destroying thousands of dollars worth of equipment.

Markley has been convicted on charges of assaulting two clinic staff members during the Huntsville attack. He was ordered to pay the victims \$1,400 restitution and given a suspended 60-day jail sentence.

A trial date for the attack in Birmingham has not yet been set.

The wave of clinic terrorism was discussed at a Militant Forum here in September. Participants included the chairperson of the Reproductive Rights Committee of Greater Birmingham NOW; Stell Simonton, a feminist activist from nearby Tuscaloosa; and a repre-

sentative of the Socialist Workers Party.

A lively discussion took place on the significance of the attacks on abortion rights and the need to defend those rights.

Andrea Baron
Birmingham, Alabama

Debate on elections

On October 26, a meeting took place here in Miami denouncing the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada. The meeting was sponsored by the Latin American/Caribbean Solidarity Association, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Friends of Haitian Refugees, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Dade County chapter of the National Organization for Women. More than 100 attended.

The meeting became a real discussion and debate over how to fight the U.S. war drive. Stu Singer of the Socialist Workers Party said that both Mondale and Reagan supported and would escalate the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. Jack Lieberman of the Latin American/Caribbean Solidarity Association

urged people to vote for Mondale.

The meeting was sharply divided, with the majority supporting the position that a vote for Mondale was better than reelecting Ronald Reagan. This was true even though most people understood that Mondale is dead-set against the Nicaraguan revolution and willing to take whatever steps will be necessary to stop the revolutions in Central America.

Matt Munro
Miami, Florida

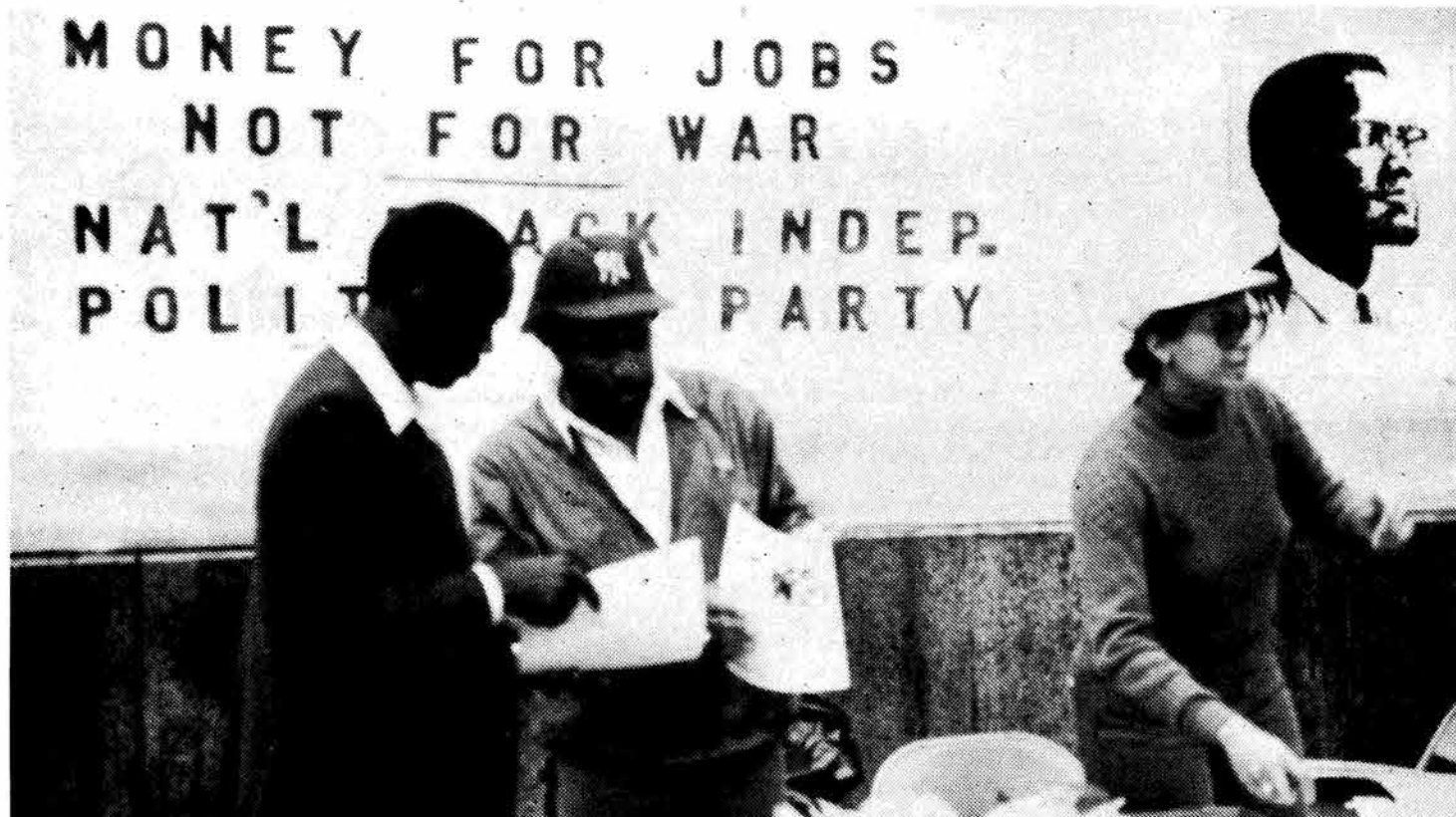
Correction

In last week's article on the campaign in New Zealand to promote *Maurice Bishop Speaks* the producers of the film *The Future Coming Toward Us* were misidentified. The film was produced by Carmen Ashurst, John Douglas, and Samori Marksman for the Caribbean Research Institute.

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.

Black activists discuss strategy

Baltimore Black Party chapter hosts meeting



National Black Independent Political Party literature table at October 27 rally in New York City. Rally protested U.S. occupation of Grenada and Washington's war in Central America. Party activists discussed how to advance fight against employers' war.

BY BAXTER SMITH

BALTIMORE — "Election Year 1984: Where Do We Go From Here?" was the theme of a national conference of activists of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) held here November 3.

Held at the majority-Black Morgan State University, and cosponsored by the Student Government Association, the 115 conference participants re-examined and reaffirmed their commitment to the building of an independent Black political party in the United States.

"Our party is an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties and a step towards self-determination," said Ken Morgan, cochairperson of the local NBIPP. "And our fight is for a new society."

Conference participants, who had come from as far away as Seattle and Atlanta,

agreed that the meeting helped their efforts to build NBIPP in their areas. Conference participants came from 15 states and represented some 26 chapters and local Organizing Committees.

"We were able to have a different kind of discussion," a member from California said. "We were able to listen to each other's ideas, present our own, and hear about our progress. And that is a big step forward for our party."

Indeed, the conference gathered members and local chapters of NBIPP who were pressing to move the four-year-old organization forward. They steered clear of procedural debates and focused on the real issues affecting Blacks.

"We see a crisis in NBIPP," remarked Baltimore's Makiel Alimu, who chaired the conference. "But this crisis reflects the one in the Black liberation struggle."

Black people, according to Alimu, need a party "that can lead us forward. We need a party that deals with our problems on a day-to-day basis."

Many of those present were workers, which was reflected in the discussion. NBIPP members who are also members of the United Auto Workers union passed out a position paper on their union's recent contract fight with General Motors. Unionists from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the International Association of Machinists spoke about the current employer offensive against the labor movement and Black workers in particular.

NBIPP activists also brought and distributed other resolutions and position papers that had been discussed in their chapters. Resolutions took up the fight against apartheid in southern Africa, U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada, U.S. war in Cen-

tral America, unemployment, police brutality, and other issues facing Blacks.

Of special interest to some participants were the campaigns of Jesse Jackson and Walter Mondale in the Democratic Party. Two or three speakers urged participants to help turn out a Democratic vote on election day. This orientation was discussed and opposed by nearly all present.

Mondale, according to panelist Janice Paine of Minneapolis NBIPP, "represents Cold War liberalism, and that doesn't look much different from Reaganism."

Paine, who comes from Mondale's home state, blasted his inaction on behalf of Blacks in Minnesota. "In fact," she said, "both Mondale and Reagan agreed on the need to invade Grenada. There was no difference between them on that."

Also speaking on the panel on electoral perspectives were Kwasi Mfume and Mary Benz of the Baltimore NBIPP chapter and Leonard Hogg of the Washington, D.C., Black United Front. Hogg underscored the need for independent political action and opposed the "Jackson sell-out" campaign.

A feature of the gathering was a discussion of the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution, the U.S. invasion of that Black Caribbean island, and the implication of the revolution for southern Africa. The speakers included representatives from the South West Africa National Union, Black Consciousness Movement, and Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa.

Mac Warren, from the Manhattan chapter of NBIPP, also spoke on the panel.

Warren described the important example the Grenada revolution provided for Blacks and others struggling for freedom. He said this example was what the U.S. government sought to snuff out with its October 1983 invasion. By the time the invaders arrived, he said, "the revolution had been overthrown from within."

Warren condemned the revolution's overthrow by former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. He also blasted the continued U.S. occupation of the island as a "slap in the face of the Black community." He urged NBIPP to campaign for the withdrawal of occupying forces from Grenada and for support to the prorevolution forces on the island.

U.S. customs cops bar entry to British coal miner

BY THABO NTWENG

Steve Shukla, a striking British coal miner who had just completed a successful speaking tour in Canada, was stopped in Montreal November 5 by U.S. customs agents and denied the right to enter the United States.

A member of the British National Union of Mineworkers from Yorkshire, Shukla had been on tour in the United States prior to traveling to Canada. Between the two countries he addressed coal miners and other unionists in more than 20 cities about the stakes in the British coal strike. During his tour he was able to get out the truth about the strike and win wide support for the embattled British miners.

Shukla was stopped by three U.S. customs agents in the Montreal airport as he was returning to the United States. After learning that he was a British miner, they subjected him to nearly an hour of political interrogation and harassment. They demanded to know his views on the strike, who he spoke to while on tour, who financed his tour, and whether he had a police record in Britain.

The cops seized Shukla's notebook and interrogated him about it. They finally returned the notebook and denied him the

right to enter the United States, despite the fact that Shukla has a valid U.S. visa. They stamped his passport "Not admitted #20."

The customs agents claimed that the grounds for excluding him were that he did not have a sufficient amount of money on him to establish that he would be able to leave the United States. But the customs action was clearly political, another example of the U.S. government trying to block international solidarity among trade unionists.

The attack on Shukla is not only an attack against British miners, but against U.S. and Canadian unionists as well. It is aimed at preventing workers in this country from hearing the truth about the struggles of their sisters and brothers abroad and extending solidarity to them.

It is important for miners, other unionists, and all supporters of democratic rights to rapidly protest this attack and demand that the U.S. government immediately allow Shukla to enter the United States. Protest telegrams denouncing the interrogation and exclusion of Shukla and demanding his right to enter the United States free of harassment should be sent to Secretary of State George Shultz, U.S. State Dept., Washington, D.C.



Steve Shukla, with translator Sylvie Charbin, speaking before wives of striking maritime workers in Quebec, Canada. Shukla, touring U.S. and Canada to win support for striking British coal miners, was not allowed to return to U.S.