

Grenada: elections under U.S. occupation

BY LARRY JOHNSTON

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — The New National Party (NNP) was swept to power here on December 3 amid charges of electoral fraud. Immediately upon being sworn in as prime minister, NNP leader Herbert Blaize called on the United States to maintain its military presence "until such time as we have a fully equipped and trained Grenada force."

The NNP claimed 58 percent of the vote, winning 14 of the 15 seats up for election. The remaining seat was won by Marcel Peters of former dictator Eric Gairy's Grenada United Labour Party (GULP), which received 36 percent of all votes cast. Peters and the GULP, however, denounced the elections as rigged, and Peters vowed to resign the seat in protest.

The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), formed by leaders of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government that was overthrown last year, has also protested the results. The MBPM received 2,022 votes (4.9 percent) in the preliminary count. Party leader Kendrick Radix declared that in many polling places they know the MBPM received two to three times more votes than were reported.

The election itself was conducted while the country is occupied by several hundred U.S. and Caribbean troops and police. In fact, an extra 250 Caribbean police were brought in for the election and stationed in front of each polling place.

Several thousand Grenadians were not registered to vote in this election. The MBPM pointed out in a December 6 news release that only 48,000 Grenadians were registered in 1984, down from 63,000 registered in 1976.

The policy of issuing photo identification cards with registration for voting was instituted for the first time with this election. Thousands of Grenadians were suspicious of the motives behind this move and therefore did not register. In addition, more than 3,000 people arrested in October 1983 by invading U.S. forces had been released on the condition that they not engage "in politics and antigovernment activities."

When the MBPM decided to contest the election, many Grenadians who had not registered tried to sign up but found that the registration period had passed.

In response to an appeal from the MBPM, supervisor of elections Roy Chasteau agreed to consider reopening registration. However, the U.S.-appointed interim administration intervened, firing Chasteau. When 25 of his staff protested, they too were fired.

U.S.-backed party

The NNP was clearly the choice of the U.S. administration. In fact, along with several eastern Caribbean governments that had supported the October 1983 U.S. invasion, Washington was instrumental in forming the NNP through a merger of the Grenada National Party, the New Democratic Party, and the Grenada Democratic Movement. Moreover, the U.S.-installed interim administration delayed organizing the elections until the NNP was in place.

The NNP ran by far the best-financed campaign in Grenadian history. Estimates place the NNP's campaign expenditures at EC\$3 million [US\$1.14 million], much of which is thought to have come directly from the CIA and other U.S. sources.

With that money, the NNP was able to hire 500 campaign workers. It had dozens of sound vans at its disposal and tons of

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India disaster: making victims the criminals

What caused the catastrophe at the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India? The drive by Union Carbide for superprofits. It was a criminal sacrifice of human life stemming from the domination of India by imperialism.

One Indian official from the Bhopal area charged Union Carbide and other corporations with "declaring war on the Third World."

The gas leak in Bhopal was the worst industrial disaster in history.

Incomplete estimates of the toll range as high as 2,250 dead and 200,000 injured.

EDITORIAL

Many of the injured will also die. Others, doctors say, will suffer blindness, sterility, mental retardation, and kidney and liver damage.

The casualties were not limited to the immediate area of the shantytowns surrounding the plant.

Misleading media accounts have suggested the dangerous plant was built in what was originally an isolated area. Subsequently, they say, shantytowns sprung up around it.

Actually, the plant is located on the outskirts of Bhopal, a city of 900,000.

When the gas erupted, a church worker said, "The whole city became a big gas chamber."

The city became a human river of blinded and suffocating people trying to escape the deadly fumes. Many died in their tracks. Others were crushed in the stampede. Animal carcasses were strewn over an area 25 miles square. People have since died from eating fish caught in contaminated lakes in the area.

In the face of this stunning tragedy, Union Carbide and its apologists are working hard to try to make the victims into the criminals.

Commentators pontificate that it's a problem of Indian "management culture." With racist arrogance they speak of a low level of technical competence on the part of the Indian workers. To bolster this notion, Union Carbide asserts that its plant in Insti-



Victims of Union Carbide holocaust, Bhopal, India. Company is trying to blame workers at plant for disaster.

tute, West Virginia, is of the same design as the Bhopal plant and has never had a major accident.

That's false. In 1954, the entire town of Institute had to be evacuated because a gas tanker blew up at Union Carbide's plant. In 1978 more than 100 Union Carbide workers were sent to the hospital when they were exposed to a chemical leak at the plant.

Union leaders at the Bhopal plant point out that it was the "total apathy and negligence" of Union Carbide and the Indian government that resulted in the leak. The workers had warned management many times of the need to improve health and

safety conditions on the job.

The employers *always* blame the workers when corporate greed results in tragedies that cause public outrage. Any time a train derails, an airplane crashes, a mine explodes, or a refinery catches fire, it's invariably blamed on the workers — even though the real culprit is management violation of health and safety standards.

Union Carbide's concern about the lack of "American know-how" at its installations comes after the fact. Union Carbide's plant distribution makes that clear. It has plants in 30 countries. In India, it has 13, besides the one in Bhopal. Obviously the

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Why U.S. government backs apartheid



Anti-apartheid protest on "AFL-CIO Day" at South African embassy, Washington, D.C.

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Over the past several weeks, there have been regular pickets involving thousands of civil rights activists, trade unionists, and others in major cities across the United States against the apartheid regime in South Africa. These demonstrations were sparked by the South African government's stepped-up repression in the face of a wave of protests and strikes by the Black majority.

The U.S. actions have focused on demands to release trade union leaders detained without charges, opposition to the U.S. government's support to the South African regime, and opposition to apartheid.

Apartheid is a system of segregation and oppression imposed on the 27 million Blacks who make up the overwhelming majority in South Africa. Whites constitute only 5 million of the population.

The U.S. government calls its policy toward South Africa "constructive engagement." The claim is that by dealing with South Africa through diplomatic channels, without public criticism and without eco-

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

HOUSTON — The petrochemical industry dominates the industrial scene here in oil-rich Texas. For some time members of the Socialist Workers Party have been organizing to sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to oil workers and to unionists in related industries. Recently we stepped up these efforts.

Having completed our 5-week sales drive by exceeding our 1,000-paper goal, we decided to look at how we could improve our plant-gate sales. It poses no easy task here in Houston, where the majority of socialists work in the petrochemical industry and have to contend with rotating shifts. Many of these aren't even permanent rotations, meaning that many times a worker doesn't know what his or her work schedule will be for the next week. It makes advanced planning — not to speak of regular sales teams — difficult to organize.

Socialist workers here discussed this problem and decided that it would take more work, but with organization and persistence we could involve everyone in a team to visit the plants we want to reach. The sales committee is approaching the task by comparing

the known work schedules of socialist workers with the plants we want to sell at during a particular week.

These team proposals are then refined as schedules change and things like bad weather come into play.

We decided to focus primarily at plants organized by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union. Before the November elections, we had combined our sales at these plants with campaigning for John Cannon, an operator at the Shell oil refinery who ran for U.S. Congress as the SWP candidate. Now we aim to regularize these contacts with OCAW members.

We also plan regular, but not weekly, teams to some regional plants. One of the more important of these is the Texaco refinery in Port Arthur. Texaco recently announced layoffs of 1,400, and the several sales teams we have sent there in the recent past found workers interested in discussing this new round in the nationwide assault on oil workers.

We are also prioritizing sales to members of the United Steelworkers (USWA), who more or less equal OCAW workers in size in this area. One of these sales is at

U.S. Steel in Baytown, where workers have been cut back to a 32-hour week. *Militant* sales there have been happening with some regularity since last spring. Team member Jason Redrup reports that an average of 2-3 papers have been sold at each sale.

"There are a few right-wingers who try to make things uncomfortable.

"One time, two guys stopped their car and started verbally threatening us," says Redrup, "telling us it was *their* company and we should get out. But that same day we sold five *Militants* to other interested workers. Now it's gotten to the point where a couple of people from management come out and stand around to try to intimidate workers from talking, but the sales continue."

As part of our plant gate effort, we prepared a special leaflet explaining that the *Militant* stands on the side of working people. We're stapling these to back issues of the paper and distributing them to workers who stop but are not ready yet to buy the *Militant*. This way the paper will become known faster inside the plants we are selling at.

At the end of the first week of



Sample leaflet socialists in Houston distributed at plant gates.

our renewed plant gate sales, substantial progress was registered. Despite two mornings of cancelled sales due to rain storms, teams hit eight plants and sold 23 *Militants*. At Hughes Tool, a plant organized by the USWA, a socialist worker inside the plant reported that a co-worker came up to him, having received a leaflet from sales people

outside publicizing a *Militant* Labor Forum on El Salvador, and expressed interest in getting involved in things.

The first plant gate sale of this week bodes well. We sold two *Militants* last week at a refinery where we had never sold before. The same team sold eight this week.

Anti-apartheid pressure kept up at S. African embassy

BY NANCY BROWN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Despite bitter cold and freezing rain, anti-apartheid protests continue at the South African embassy here. Thousands of people have picketed the embassy since the protests began



Militant/Steven Fuchs
Postal workers had big contingent at "AFL-CIO Day."

November 21. The protests, organized by the Free South Africa Movement, are demanding the release of Black South African trade union leaders arrested in early November, a release of all political prisoners, and an end to the apartheid system.

On December 6 more than 600 students from nearby campuses joined the picket line in what had been proclaimed "Student Day." Nearly 20 campuses were represented. Large contingents came from Howard, American, Catholic, and George Washington universities, as well as the University of the District of Columbia, University of Maryland, and Bowie State College in Bowie, Maryland.

A busload of chanting, cheering students from the University of Maryland in Baltimore County came down early. Scores of students from Howard were shuttled across town in buses organized by the Howard University Student Association. Howard students marched with signs saying "Freedom yes, apartheid no!" They chanted "Must have freedom! Must have freedom!"

Students from George Washington University carried a sign that read: "None of us are free till all of us are free — in South Africa, in El Salvador, in the U.S."

Harold Hunter, a student at the University of the District of Columbia told the *Militant* that UDC students are organizing the Political Action Group, which will plan out anti-apartheid and antiracist actions beginning in January. The group's cosponsor

is Josh Williams, president of the D.C. Metropolitan Central Labor Council.

"We are organizing because unions and students are affected by apartheid," Hunter said. "We want to deal with racism here as well. South Africa is taking the U.S. government's money and doing wrong with it. We're organizing people to use that money for us."

In the past week, high school and elementary school students have joined in protest against the racist South African government. On November 30 a group of nearly 15 from Watoto Shule, a D.C. academy focusing on African heritage, came after class. Yao Fante, 12, became the spokesperson for the students. "I think it's cruel the way the whites are treating the Blacks. ... We are African, that is why we came."

On the morning of December 4, more than 40 seventh-graders from Sidwell Friends School held their own protest at the embassy.

Participation continues to grow. The Gray Panthers had a contingent on December 6. Although 600 union members came on the official "AFL-CIO Day" on December 4, unionists are participating regularly. Members of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689 are there after work every day. At the ATU local union meeting on December 4, the local voted to donate \$500 to the Free South Africa Movement. The local's president, James

Thomas, encouraged everyone to go down to the protest.

On December 7 four chartered buses brought members of the National Education Association to the embassy. The NEA executive board and staff members recessed their meeting at a local hotel to march. Their signs demanded: "Free education for all children. Stop apartheid;" "Apartheid must go!;" and "NEA supports justice in South Africa."

NEA members marched alongside unionists from Teamsters Local 639, Amalgamated Transit Workers 689, and members of the steelworkers, machinists, and public employees unions.

As NEA members boarded their buses, Randall Robinson, the director of TransAfrica and a leader of the Free South Africa Movement, called the picketers together to thank the NEA for having their day on the picket line. Robinson also reported that the South African government had announced the release of 11 political prisoners.

"They told us today that 11 of the political prisoners have been released," Robinson said. "Reagan is claiming credit for this. But we say to him that we are responsible. We are responsible for their being released. Hundreds and hundreds are left in prison. We will be here until all of them are released."

The picket lines at the South African embassy in D.C. will continue indefinitely. They begin every weekday at 3:30 p.m.

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'Union Carbide won't tell the truth'

BY EARL CHRISTY

INSTITUTE, W. Va. — One week after the December 3 poison gas disaster in Bhopal, India, workers and residents in the Kanawha Valley here continue to express fear, disgust, and outrage directed at Union Carbide and state and federal government agencies connected with the chemical industry.

That was the response we got when on December 8 members of the Socialist Workers Party discussed the disaster with people living in the neighborhood of the Union Carbide plant here in Institute. A retired Black worker told us, "No one will tell us the truth. No federal agency will tell the truth and Union Carbide certainly won't tell the truth."

A woman who had just returned from Washington, D.C., where she had participated in anti-apartheid picketlines, complained about the lack of safety. "In Institute there are lots of handicapped, elderly, and deaf people who can't hear warning whistles. We were here before Union Carbide came and it is they who have a responsibility to the community."

Another worker told us, "It's another case of what is it going to take for the working people of all countries and color — red, Black, white, yellow and brown — to organize to get together to change the system of profits for the rich, no matter what the cost."

During our door-to-door discussions, it didn't take very long to sell out the 40 *Militants* we brought with us.

The next night, December 9, we went to a meeting at the Shawnee Community Center near what Union Carbide calls the sister plant to its Bhopal, India, operation. Many of the 200 people attending lived within sight of this chemical powder keg and the others in attendance lived within a few miles of other chemical plants. The audience included a dozen members of the International Association of Machinists union wearing their union jackets and hats.

The meeting had been called by U.S. Rep. Robert Wise, a Democrat from West Virginia, to "discuss the safety of the Union Carbide plant in Institute." He brought two so-called experts with him. One was John Miles, national field coordinator of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA), and the other was Dr. Clark Hansbarger, director of the West Virginia Department of Health. None of the three could effectively respond to the questions and proposals raised by the

audience.

Hansbarger's idea for an evacuation plan, for example, did not wash too well with the audience. "In case of an emergency," he said, "note the wind direction, cover your mouth with a wet cloth and flee — walk, don't run."

Veterans of the 1954 evacuation of Institute and West Dunbar, which occurred when a section of the plant blew up, thought little of this proposal. "If they go west," one pointed out "they are inside the plant, if they go south, they are in the river, north is Goff Mountain, and east is Route 25 which has the worse traffic jams you've ever seen."

There was also no answer on how some 300 handicapped children at the West Virginia Rehabilitation Center, which is next to the plant, would be evacuated.

For over two years, West Virginia has had one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. During the question-and-answer period the issue of sacrificing safety for jobs was addressed by a number of speakers in the audience. They included members of the IAM who work at Union Carbide, and workers from other chemical plants in the Kanawha Valley.

All of them expressed their concern about not allowing these companies to blackmail their employees and the surrounding communities, forcing them to choose between a healthy environment and safety — or be thrown out of work by these companies moving to countries where unions and safety laws are weaker.

It became ever more clear as speaker after speaker related past experiences with Union Carbide, Dupont, Monsanto, and FMC, that corporate profits certainly come before the lives of working people in poor countries such as India as well as working people in the United States.

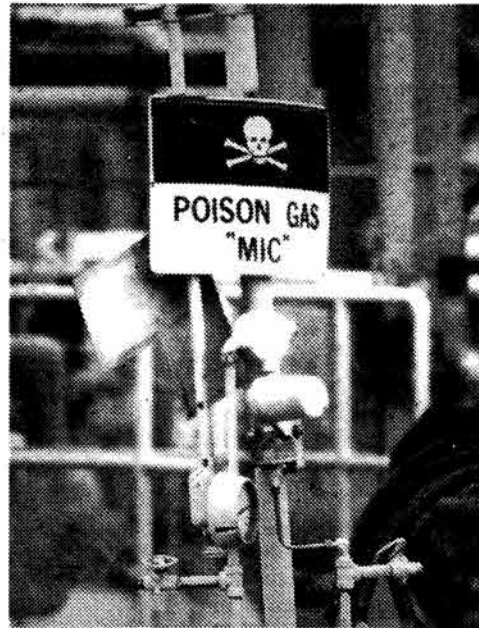
The high rate of cancer in the area was also discussed. One woman from North Charleston said she had been trying to find out from the Environmental Protection Agency for two years: "What is it in the air that causes cancer?"

The only response this got was from Hansbarger, who could only reply that it will be at least another year before they will know.

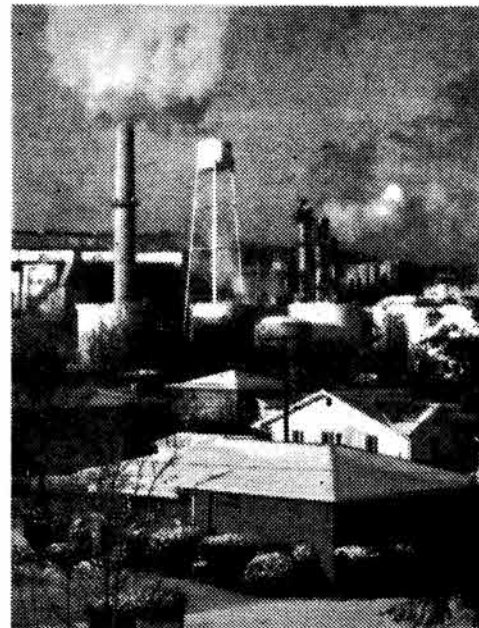
A woman who works for West Virginia State College, which is predominantly Black, said she had complained to the EPA last spring when she and others were stricken with headaches from a "rotten cabbage" smell. EPA was quick to tell her that "Union Carbide was a good company" and they would check out her complaint. They never did and she found out later that the foul odor was released at about the same time the company had begun operating a new pesticide unit.

A laid-off chemical worker from FMC reported that layoffs had hit the maintenance department in her plant. She reported witnessing some near-disasters and said that maintenance crews are barely able to keep machines that break down running and have little time for preventive maintenance.

She, like others in the audience, said the community had the right to know about the chemicals in the plant and what they are made of. Another speaker added: "Trade



Left, poison control valve inside Union Carbide's Institute, West Virginia, plant. At right, workers' homes next to plant. Area residents are protesting company's lack of safety and evacuation plans.



secrets of companies are considered sacred — no matter what the danger to nearby residents."

Another topic discussed was raised by a chemical worker who said, "Chemical companies have the responsibility to instruct families in the Kanawha Valley in safety procedures, just as they must do for employees."

This raised a lot of comments: "Siren signals go off all the time and they are confusing to many people."

"If the wind is blowing in a certain direction, you can't hear the sirens."

"Do we need chemicals this deadly to kill a roach?"

The "experts" on the platform gave no answers.

U.S. farmers and farm workers to tour Nicaragua in January

BY CHARLIE SMITH

MINNEAPOLIS — Oxfam America and the North America Farm Alliance (NAFA) are sponsoring a tour of farmers and farm workers to Nicaragua January 5-20, 1985. The tour is open to farmers and farm workers who have an interest in viewing firsthand the gains that the Sandinista revolution has brought to the workers and farmers in Nicaragua.

Oxfam America is an international aid agency that helped organize the "Tools for Peace" campaign which collected about \$600,000 worth of supplies for Nicaragua.

NAFA is a coalition of farmers organizations, community groups, and unionists. Some of its members have previously visited Nicaragua.

The tour will visit privately owned farms, cooperatives, and state farms in Nicaragua. Discussions will be held with farmers and farm workers on the impact of local, national, and international policies on their daily lives. Also, the tour will meet with government officials to discuss not only agricultural policy but the gains and challenges facing the Nicaraguan people in all areas.

The tour comes at a very important time for U.S. family farmers and farm workers. Family farmers continue to confront a deep crisis of low prices, high interest, huge debt, and devalued land and machinery, which is forcing them out of farming. Following this year's harvest, thousands of working farmers will be driven off the land.

While the U.S. food monopolies will rake in billions in profits this year, farm workers throughout the country continue to work and live in extremely harsh conditions, struggling to survive on low wages. Millions of farm workers are unorganized and largely unprotected from unsafe and unhealthy working conditions. Unionized farm workers face continued pressure and attack on their unions from corporate growers.

Tour participants will be able to look at the Nicaraguans' approach to these problems. The Nicaraguan revolution has provided small farmers a fair price for their products, technological assistance, and credit at reasonable rates. Tour participants will be able to witness the development of union organization among farm workers and their efforts to improve wages and working conditions. The tour will be able to learn about the gains in health care and education that have been part of the revolu-

tion since 1979.

Farmers and farm workers interested in joining this tour should contact NAFA, 3255 Hennepin Ave. South, #252, Minneapolis, Minn. 55408, telephone (612) 827-6056; or Oxfam, 115 Broadway, Boston, Mass. 02116, telephone (617) 482-1211. The cost of the tour is \$1,350, which includes airfare from Miami, and meals, lodging, and transportation while in Nicaragua. People interested in donating money to supplement the partial scholarships available should contact NAFA or Oxfam.

Charlie Smith is a farmer in Minnesota.

Nicaraguan official addresses meeting at U. of Missouri

BY LARRY RUHL

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Dr. Carlos Tünnerman, recently appointed Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States, received a standing ovation after addressing more than 500 persons at the University of Missouri here on November 30. Dr. Tünnerman, a former rector of the National University of Nicaragua, was director of Nicaragua's 1980 literacy campaign.

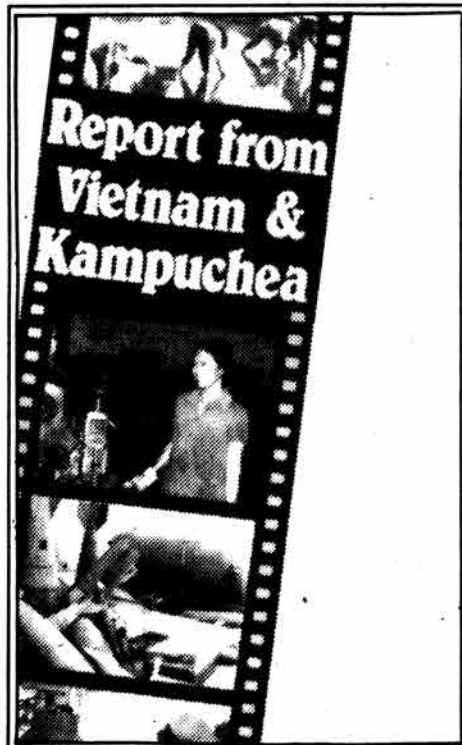
Nicaragua's vice-president-elect, Sergio Ramírez, had been scheduled to give the keynote address at the conference, which was sponsored by the University Program Board, the Newman Center, and the Committee Against Intervention. But the U.S. State Department, after delaying Ramírez' visa, finally granted him only a tourist visa without Secret Service protection. Tünnerman said that the tourist visa was "an insult." He added, "We felt it was a rebuff, not a friendly gesture."

In his speech, Tünnerman charged that the current U.S. administration "seeks to create conditions that it will use as a pretext to intervene militarily in Central America and will cause a regional war, a Vietnam in the heart of the Americas."

Tünnerman also participated the following day in a symposium on the Contadora process at the University of Kansas at Lawrence. Dr. Mariano Fiallos, president of the Nicaraguan Supreme Electoral Council, and Tünnerman addressed over 300 people at the conference. It was announced that Fiallos would be a visiting professor at the university during the spring of 1985.

Socialist vote in West Virginia

Final, but as yet unofficial, state-wide election returns from West Virginia report that Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, received 517 votes in the November elections. Joan Radin, an unemployed coal miner and SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, polled 2,897 votes. Both candidates received their highest vote in Kanawha County which includes Charleston. There Mason got 76, and Radin 396 votes.



New from Pathfinder Press —

Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea

By Diane Wang and Steve Clark.

The authors spent three weeks in Vietnam and Kampuchea and wrote this compilation of articles that originally appeared in the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*. This pamphlet covers the advances made in the post-war reconstruction of these two countries, and Kampuchea's recovery from the devastation brought by the Pol Pot regime.

It contains valuable lessons for the fight against Washington's new Vietnam-style war in Central America and the Caribbean.

Price: \$2.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. LOUIS — In one week, the Young Socialist Alliance chapter here has sold over half its bundle of 100 copies of the December/January issue of the *Young Socialist* newspaper. This was done while petitioning to get Bruce Kimball, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Louis, on the ballot.

One YSA member who petitioned in front of a grocery store in the Black community reports that she approached people by explaining that she was petitioning to get a socialist coal miner on the ballot and that Kimball thought that "working people should run this city instead of rich people." The last statement almost always brought a surprised smile to people's faces and responses like "you got that right" and "let me sign that."

Over a third of the people who signed this YSA member's petition also bought copies of the *Young Socialist* or the *Militant*. Several took extra copies of the campaign platform to give to their coworkers.

One man explained that he and his coworkers had been discussing for a long time why layoffs happen and how bankruptcy laws are used to break unions. He thought that the copy of the *Young Socialist* he bought and the extra copies of Kimball's campaign platform he took would be a good contribution to their discussion.

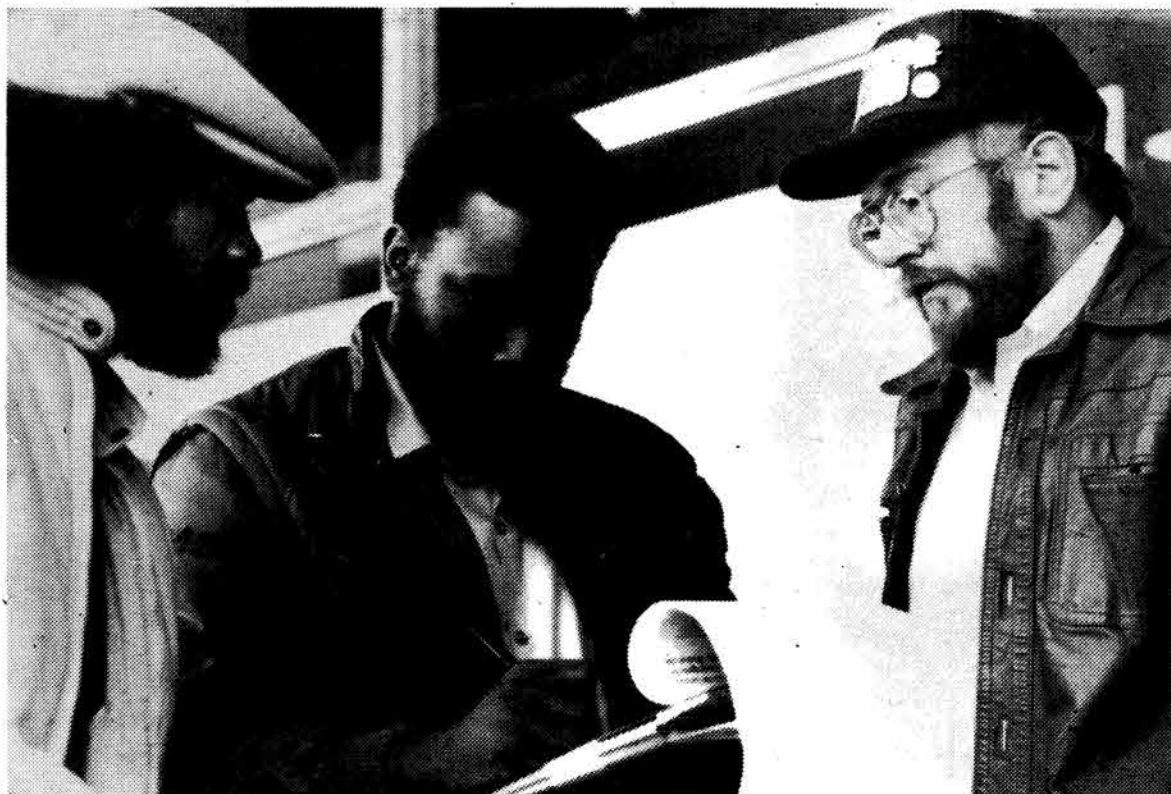
One young Black woman, after hearing about the advances that women are making in Nicaragua, decided that she wanted to go see the Sandinista revolution herself and bought a copy of the *Militant* that had an ad for tours to Nicaragua.

Another YSA member petitioning in downtown St. Louis ran into a Vietnam veteran who was interested in a campaign that supported his right to a job. The only time that he had been employed was as a GI in Vietnam. He said, "I was unemployed before the war, I got shot up in Vietnam, and I've been unemployed ever since."

Members of the YSA have been petitioning among coworkers at the Chrysler Complex in Fenton, Missouri, and at the Ford Motor Company, as well as at activities in solidarity with the struggles in Central America, Ireland, and South Africa. Everywhere they've gone, the *Young Socialist* newspaper has almost sold itself on the basis of headlines like, "Stop U.S. War against Nicaragua," "Black Protests Hit South Africa Regime," and "Right to Abortion under Attack."

Young people are hungry to find out the facts about Nicaragua, South Africa, and abortion rights. The *Young Socialist* newspaper lays these facts out and also provides a perspective on how to fight for a better future.

Some of the hardest signatures



Coal miner Bruce Kimball, right, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Louis, gathers signatures as part of drive launched by Missouri socialists to get 4,000 people to sign for his right to be on ballot.

to get have been from people who are so fed up with the election process in the United States that they don't want to hear anything about another candidate. When petitioners have explained that the YSA thinks elections aren't the way to change society, they've signed our petitions.

The St. Louis chapter plans to sell the rest of its bundle quickly while petitioning and at plant gates, and plans to reorder soon.

Marea Himelgrin is a member of the St. Louis chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance and a laid-off auto worker and member of UAW

Local 136.

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.

Why U.S. government backs apartheid in South Africa

Continued from front page

conomic sanctions, progress can be made. According to Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, Washington is quietly pressuring the white minority regime to slowly change the apartheid system.

Although the Reagan administration has been especially blatant in its policies, the U.S. government has always, with varying degrees of lip service to international outrage against apartheid, supported the South African regime. The U.S. government has never supported economic sanctions. Democratic and Republican administrations alike have given military aid to South Africa for decades. In the past three years the State Department has approved a major increase in that aid.

In reality, "constructive engagement," like all past U.S. policy, means the continuing and strengthening of U.S. ties — economic, political and military — with South Africa.

In a press briefing on December 3, Crocker defended the administration's pol-

icy toward South Africa, claiming that progress has resulted from it, such as the opening of trade unions to Blacks and recent constitutional reforms.

But while Blacks in South Africa have been organizing into trade unions, this activity has met with sharp repression. Union leaders are jailed and banned, strikes are met with tear gas and bullets, and workers are fired for union activity. Most recently, 6,500 workers were fired at the state controlled coal conversion plant during the negotiations for their first contract.

The constitutional reforms initiated by the white minority regime were a sham. All decision-making power remained in the all-white parliament. The African majority continued without any political voice whatsoever. They weren't even allowed to vote! The "reforms" changed so little in South Africa that Indians and Coloreds, people of mixed racial background who are also part of the Black population, boycotted the elections in solidarity with the Africans.

The Reagan administration was quick to

try to take credit for the recent release of 12 political prisoners in South Africa. In reality their release was a result of a combination of protests both internationally and inside South Africa. Moreover, six of these prisoners were immediately re-arrested and charged with treason and violation of the security laws. There remain, according to an unofficial count, at least 1,000 others being detained without charges. Police have killed more than 160 people this year alone.

Spotlight on apartheid

The recent crackdown has put the spotlight on the oppression of Blacks under apartheid. Under this system Blacks are excluded from political representation. They are barred from voting and have no say over laws adopted by the white parliament. By law, Blacks must live in separate townships and go to separate and inferior schools. Where they can travel, who they can marry, what job they can hold, and how long they can stay in a place are strictly controlled. The Black majority own only a small percentage of the land. All Blacks over the age of 16 must carry a pass at all times. Failure to do so results in fines or imprisonment.

This systematic denial of rights is needed to maintain the superexploitation of Blacks. Black labor is the backbone of the South African economy. Apartheid is the all-pervasive policy to keep Blacks down to serve only as cheap laborers without rights. It exists for the simple reason that it is very profitable and benefits the white employers, factory owners, and landlords who use the system of racial oppression to keep Black wages down and thereby increase profits.

U.S. corporations share in these profits. An estimated 340 U.S. corporations have operations in South Africa, including Ford, General Motors, Mobil, Goodyear, IBM, Chrysler, Firestone, ITT, General Electric, Caltex (jointly owned by Texaco and Standard Oil of California), and Union Carbide. In 1983 U.S. private investment in South Africa was \$2.3 billion.

Many U.S. corporations claim that they play a progressive role in South Africa — "chipping away" at the racist underpinnings of apartheid. As part of their cover they point to a pledge they signed to eliminate segregation in their plants. This is a fraud. Black workers have had to strike to try and force these corporations to comply

with this pledge.

Liberal capitalist politicians like Sen. Edward Kennedy go along with the claim that U.S. capitalism has a progressive role to play in South Africa. He recently called on U.S. corporations to "actively work to end apartheid." This is like asking a fox to guard the chicken coop. Not only are these corporations raking in big profits from apartheid, but many corporations' operations in South Africa involve supplying the regime with the tools to maintain apartheid. General Motors, for example, supplies the cars and trucks for the police. Control Data Corporation supplies the computers for internal security.

Military role

U.S. ties to South Africa are not limited to investments. South Africa, an imperialist country in its own right, serves to protect world imperialism's interests against the liberation movements throughout southern Africa.

With the full support of the U.S. government, South Africa has been carrying out direct military actions against neighboring countries in the region.

It has carried out military invasions of Angola and has funded terrorist bands in that country since it won its independence from Portugal in 1975.

It has militarily raided Mozambique and supplies and organizes right-wing forces in that country as well.

South Africa has sent 60,000 troops against the people of Namibia who, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), have been waging a war of national liberation.

The apartheid regime's policy toward the rest of southern Africa is an extension of its domestic policy. It uses its considerable military and economic power to exploit the resources of the whole region.

The U.S. provides cover for South African aggression by blaming the violence in the region on the liberation movements and the governments that support them, accusing them of engaging in "Cuban-backed terrorism." It was Washington that demanded the withdrawal of Cuban troops, which helped to push back South African forces in Angola, as a condition for Namibia's independence. South Africa eagerly seized upon this demand and is working jointly with Washington to try to keep southern Africa safe for imperialism.

Socialist runs for mayor of St. Louis

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. LOUIS — Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of this city, Bruce Kimball, have been petitioning to place his name on the ballot.

Kimball, a coal miner and member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2295, has traveled to Nicaragua to see for himself the gains that workers and peasants have made in that country through the Sandinista revolution. He has also traveled to Britain to express his solidarity with the British coal miners' strike.

Because of undemocratic election laws, 2,236 signatures on petitions are required for any candidate other than the Democratic and Republican nominees to be placed on the ballot. The socialists aim to collect about 4,000 signatures. A lawyer has already been retained, and supporters of democratic rights are being contacted by the Kimball campaign to prepare to defend his right to ballot status against any possible attacks.

Supporters of the socialist campaign have found that while petitioning, they have a good opportunity to talk with thousands of people in working-class and

Black communities in St. Louis about the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the employers' war against working people in the United States.

Thirty copies of the *Militant* and 19 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold during petitioning one Saturday. Several people who were given leaflets by petitioners came to a Militant Forum the next day on Nicaragua, including two Nicaraguans.

Three thousand people have already signed the ballot petition. The petitioning effort will culminate with a campaign weekend on December 15-16. Supporters of the campaign will all go out petitioning on Saturday and have a campaign celebration on Sunday. A videotape of the British coal miners' strike will be part of the program on Sunday.

Kimball's campaign demands an end to the U.S. war against the people of Central America and the Caribbean. In an interview Kimball explained, "The need to end Washington's war abroad is directly connected to the struggles here in St. Louis for decent housing, free public health care, an end to racist police brutality, desegregation of the schools, stronger unions, and the protection of democratic rights."

Independence fight in New Caledonia

BY WILL REISSNER

Since mid-November, the nickel-rich French colony of New Caledonia, in the Pacific Ocean, has been gripped by struggle between the island's 64,000 native Kanak people, who want independence from France, and right-wing French settlers who want the island to remain a colony.

On December 5, 10 Kanaks returning from a proindependence rally were murdered in a cold-blooded ambush by pro-French elements. Among the dead were two brothers of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, leader of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). The FLNKS, a coalition of 10 organizations, wants New Caledonia to become an independent state called Kanaky.

The conflict between native Kanaks and French colonial settlers has heated up since the FLNKS led a successful Kanak boycott of elections to the island's local colonial assembly on November 18.

The proindependence forces were protesting the French government's plan to delay any action on independence until 1989.

After the election of a procolonial assembly, the French government rushed in 750 additional troops to reinforce the 700 police and 3,000 French soldiers permanently stationed on the island, 12,000 miles from France.

On December 1, the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front established its own provisional government to negotiate independence from Paris. But the French rulers refuse to recognize the provisional government as a legitimate body.

Seized in 1853

New Caledonia was seized by the French in 1853. A series of uprisings of the Melanesian Kanak natives of the island took place throughout the 19th century as French settlers took over most of the land on the fertile west coast and drove out the Kanak inhabitants.

In 1917 a revolt led by Chief Noel was put down when Noel was captured by the French and beheaded.



Kanak liberation fighters are struggling for New Caledonia's independence from France.

Today most Kanaks live on reservations or in traditional villages on the narrow east coast. They survive through subsistence farming and fishing.

Until the end of World War II, Kanaks were obliged by law to remain on their reservations. Until 1946 they were denied the right to vote.

Even today there are only six Kanak secondary-school teachers, and there is not a single high school outside Nouméa, the island's capital, which is overwhelmingly French in population.

In early December, a group of 78 French researchers and teachers, most of whom are anthropologists by training, issued a statement condemning the impact of French rule on the Kanak people. "Driven from their lands, relegated to reservations, victims of terrible schooling and a manifest segregation, the Kanaks today, whether rural or urban, workers or functionaries, have had their creative potential totally denied," the statement noted.

While the Kanaks are concentrated on the east coast and the European population on the west coast, the island's mountainous interior is scarred by huge French-owned

open-pit nickel mines, making New Caledonia the world's second largest nickel producer, with one-third of the world's nickel reserves. Nickel accounts for 92 percent of the value of New Caledonia's exports.

For more than a century, successive French governments have fostered the settlement of colonists on New Caledonia to offset the Kanak population.

During the 19th century, Paris used the island as a dumping ground for prisoners. After the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871, thousands of Communards were shipped to New Caledonia. Opponents of French rule in Algeria were also exiled there.

A large segment of the local French population, however, is transient and consists of government functionaries, soldiers, and technicians on short-term contracts.

As a result of this settlement policy, the percentage of Kanaks in the population has steadily declined. Today, the 64,000 Kanaks make up only 44 percent of the island's 145,000 residents.

About 35 percent of the population is French. Three-quarters of the 50,000 French residents are concentrated in the capital.

The remainder of the population is composed of some 16,000 natives of other French colonial possessions such as the Pacific islands of Fiji, Wallis, and Futuna, and the Indian Ocean island of Réunion; and by 10,000 Indochinese, mostly Vietnamese, who were brought to New Caledonia while their countries were still under French rule.

French refuse independence

Kanak activists had placed great hopes in the election of François Mitterrand as president of France in 1981 because Mitterrand's Socialist Party (SP) was on record in favor of New Caledonia's independence. Mitterrand himself had spoken favorably of that prospect before his election.

But the Kanak hopes have been betrayed. Once in office, the Mitterrand government backtracked on its support for independence.

On May 29, 1984, the National Assembly in Paris passed a bill introduced by Georges Lemoine, the Socialist Party minister of overseas departments and territories, under which New Caledonia's status would be determined by a 1989 referendum in which every French citizen on the island would be allowed to vote.

The Assembly rejected the Kanak demand that voting be restricted to those with at least one parent born on New Caledonia.

Since the successful Kanak boycott of the November 18 territorial assembly election and the December 1 establishment of the provisional government, French authorities have had to admit that the Lemoine bill's schedule is impossible to stick to.

On December 4, the right-wing territorial assembly elected in New Caledonia appealed to the Reagan administration to heed "the potential danger of a new Cuba" in the South Pacific and warned that the French Socialist Party government was preparing to "abandon" the island.

The statement charged that the FLNKS is getting aid from Libya. This charge has been echoed by Lemoine of the SP, who sternly lectured proindependence Kanaks in mid-October, saying: "I feel the choice has become very simple, even for those who want independence: there are those who want independence with France and those who want independence with Libya."

In fact, the main Libyan contribution has been to accept 17 young people from the FLNKS for training as security guards to protect the FLNKS leaders against attacks by colonialist assassins.

The need for such training was highlighted by the December 5 massacre, and by the December 2 bombing of Jean-Marie Tjibaou's home.

K.C. forum on South Africa

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — A forum was held here on November 18 on the racist apartheid system in South Africa. Thirty-four people came to hear the speakers panel, which included Michelle Paynter from the Kansas City chapter of the Black United Front; Boog Highberger, vice-president of the student government at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, Kansas, and a representative of the Socialist Workers Party. The forum was sponsored by the Kansas City chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

A statement by the Local Organizing Committee of the Kansas City chapter of

the National Black Independent Political Party was read at the meeting. It said in part, "The benefits from the abolishment of apartheid would not only be for Black South Africans, although them first and foremost, but for all African people everywhere, because it would place us one step closer in our fight to end capitalism and imperialism, the system which created and currently sustains apartheid and moves every second to oppress African people everywhere."

Paynter of the Black United Front spoke specifically about the role of African women in the struggle against apartheid. She explained that, in her view, "the brutality of the apartheid system can be measured by the extent of the oppression of Black women."

Highberger of the University of Kansas reported on the success of a recent week of education and activity at the campus around apartheid in South Africa. He explained that in a recent vote taken of the student body on whether or not the university should have investments in South Africa, the students voted overwhelmingly for divestment.

The representative from the Socialist Workers Party spoke about the U.S. government's support to apartheid and explained the current situation in South Africa today.

A lively discussion took place after the panel presentations. One person in the audience talked about the Israeli government's support to South Africa by way of comparing Zionism to apartheid. He explained that Judaism is a religion, not a nationality, and that the Palestinian people, whose homeland was taken from them by the Zionists, have suffered in a way similar to the South African people at the hands of European settlers. Another person in the audience took exception to these views and stated that the Jews were oppressed for centuries, as written in the Bible. Virtually everyone in attendance at the forum participated in discussing these and other issues.

300 at tribute to church women slain in El Salvador

BY DUANE STILWELL

SOUTH ORANGE, N. J. — Some 300 people gathered here at the First Presbyterian and Trinity Church on the evening of December 4 to commemorate the deaths four years ago of four U.S. church women murdered by members of El Salvador's security forces.

The meeting was sponsored by the North Jersey Inter-Religious Task Force on El Salvador and Central America. The speakers included Rev. William Sloane Coffin of the Riverside Church in Manhattan; Rev. Henry Atkins of St. Michael's Episcopal Chapel at Rutgers University in Piscataway, New Jersey; and William Ford, brother of Ita Ford, one of the four murdered women.

Ford gave a moving account of his experiences in El Salvador trying to win justice for his slain sister, and spoke about the indifference of the personnel at the U.S. embassy there not only toward the four murdered women, but also toward the suffering of the people of El Salvador at the hands of the Salvadoran army.

N.Y. bookstore holds open house



On December 1, Socialist Books in New York City sponsored an open house in solidarity with Nicaraguan revolution. Bookstore features one of New York's largest selections of political books and pamphlets. It is located at 79 Leonard St. in Manhattan. Telephone is (212) 226-8445.

Interest high in 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

There is an ongoing U.S. press campaign to portray the island of Grenada as "democratic" now that it is occupied by U.S. troops and U.S.-imposed elections have taken place. This underscores the importance of getting out the truth to U.S. working people about the Grenada revolution and the U.S. invasion a year ago.

One important way to answer the media lies is to get out the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, published by Pathfinder Press. The book can be ordered by sending \$6.95 to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Enclose \$.75 for postage and handling.

This book is a collection of the major speeches of Bishop, who was the central leader of the Grenada revolution and who was murdered in October 1983 in a counterrevolutionary coup led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard.

The book also includes the statements issued by the Cuban government and the Cuban Communist Party on the 1983 events in Grenada as they unfolded. It contains the November 14, 1983, speech by Fidel Castro on the execution of Bishop and the U.S. invasion.

The book's introduction by Steve Clark explains the importance of this revolution and the lessons of its overthrow for all working people.

The book has attracted wide interest. It was reviewed in the October 29 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, a major daily, by Albert Cassorla. In his review, Cassorla writes that "what comes through most clearly is the voice of Bishop himself."

"Even Americans unattuned to foreign developments will appreciate a few of the Bishop government's achievements: the reduction of unemployment... the institution of free medical care and the founding of many agriculturally based industries."

Cassorla writes that "readers of the book are likely to come away from it with a feeling that Bishop and his followers earnestly sought to build up their country."

"For those who seek to understand the other side of the Grenada issue, *Maurice Bishop Speaks* provides an excellent beginning."

In May of this year, the Cuban magazine *Casa de Las Américas*, published in Havana, wrote an important review of the book. Socialist Books in New York City reprinted this review as a leaflet to help promote the book. Michael Baumann, manager of the bookstore, reports that 2 or 3 copies of the book are sold each time a literature table is set up in the Black and Caribbean communities. The bookstore, Baumann reports, sold 43 copies of the book at the New York October 27 demonstration against the U.S. occupation of Grenada. In total Socialist Books has sold 150 copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* since the beginning of September.

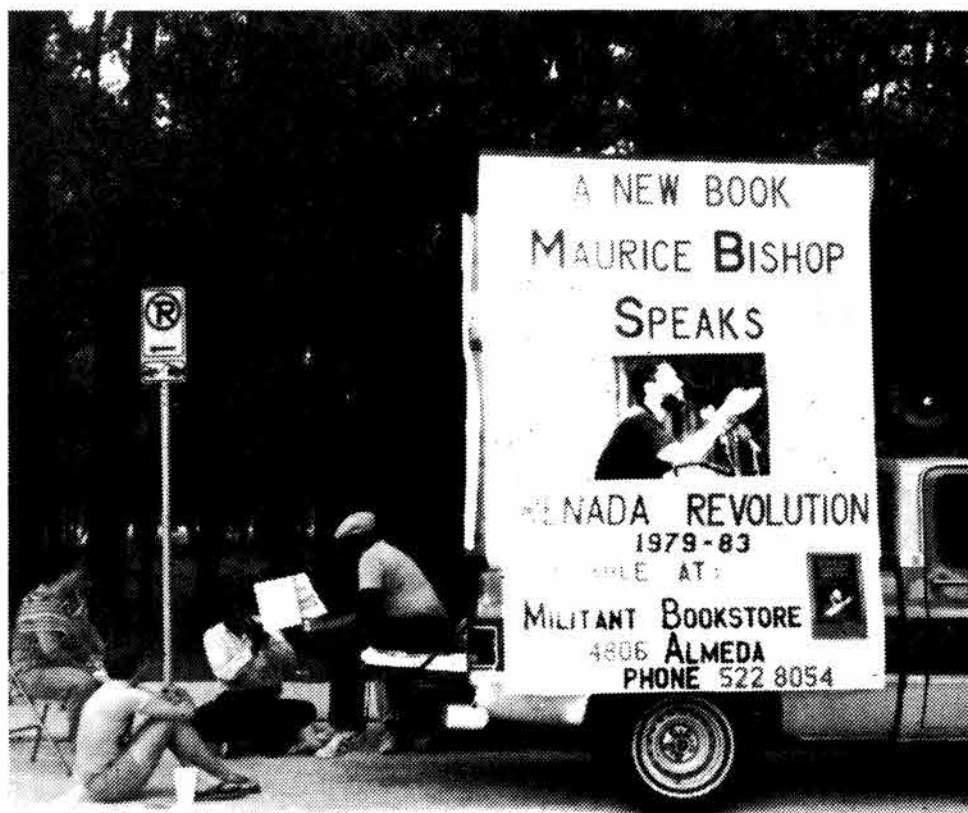
The lessons of the Grenadian revolution are important for working people around the world. In New Zealand, the Latin America Solidarity Committee and Pilot Books began a promotional campaign for *Maurice Bishop Speaks* with a meeting of 90 people on October 25 in Auckland.

Tony Gibson welcomed the participants on behalf of the Latin America Solidarity Committee. He described the many marches and other protest activities organized in New Zealand last year in opposition to the U.S. invasion. "Now, a year later," he said, "we are pleased to promote, in conjunction with Pilot Books, this book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*."

Frank Clarke, secretary of the Auckland Trades Council, also spoke.

Another speaker at the meeting, Etuale Sau-Filo of Pilot Books explained, "These meetings are part of a campaign to build solidarity with Central America by getting out the truth about the revolutions in Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador, as well as Grenada..." Sau-Filo explained that it is important to understand what is developing in Central America and the Caribbean and why working people in New Zealand should support the struggles there.

"In my opinion," Sau-Filo said, "one of the best ways to do this is to get hold of a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*."



Float in Houston parade last June helped advertise 'Maurice Bishop Speaks' book.

Grenada: U.S.-organized elections

Continued from front page

glossy literature to carry its message across the country. It also gave away tens of thousands of jerseys, caps, badges, and the like. In the final days of the campaign, the NNP hired airplanes to fly around the island advertising NNP candidates.

Several weeks before the election, a comic book entitled *Grenada Rescued from Rape and Slavery* appeared. The book aimed to discredit the March 13, 1979, revolution and the campaign of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement.

The NNP tried to take advantage of the confusion that has existed among the masses since the overthrow of the revolutionary government and the murder of Prime Minister Bishop by a clique led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. The NNP, along with the *Grenadian Voice* and other news media, claimed that leaders of the MBPM such as Kendrick Radix and George and Einstein Louison were implicated in the detention and murder of Maurice Bishop.

MBPM campaign

One of the main tasks of the MBPM was to refute this slander and show that they had remained loyal to Bishop and continue his political work.

Despite the small resources at its disposal, the MBPM waged a vigorous campaign. A successful rally of 2,000 was held in Market Square in St. George's, and rallies of 500 were organized in Carriacou and Gouyave.

In addition, scores of neighborhood and street meetings were organized by MBPM candidates throughout the three-island state. A public office of the party was opened and dozens of people came in daily for information, campaign badges, and jerseys.

In their campaigning, MBPM candidates explained that the aim of the U.S. invasion of Oct. 25, 1983, was to turn back the gains of the revolution, that it was not a rescue mission as has been claimed.

They pointed out that unemployment is approaching the pre-1979 level of 49 percent, that free health care and dental care are no more.

At a campaign meeting in Gouyave, Einstein Louison pointed out that "they talk about rescue mission and they talk about invasion. For them who get back their estates and are working them, they are rescued. But for the workers who are out of work, they get invaded. They invade the workers and they rescue the owners."

Another theme of the MBPM campaign

was to point out the gains of the revolution — free education, free health care, trade union rights, agroindustries, reduction of unemployment from 49 percent to 14 percent, and the housing repair program.

These gains have been turned back by the interim administration. The MBPM emphasized that it was the only party with a program to defend the gains of the revolution.

At a meeting in Spring Street, St. George's, Kendrick Radix stated, "We used to give out housing repair. Over 17,500 people got housing repair in Grenada. As soon as 'democracy' came back, those handful of men in town say 'the government must not import boards to give to the poor people. You must have democratic money in your pocket and buy from us.' They closed down the program."

The MBPM also used its campaign to demand that the international airport, which the interim government had opened and named the Point Salines International Airport, be renamed the Maurice Bishop International Airport. MBPM campaigners pointed out that although many had talked of building the airport, the Bishop government had launched its construction.

They also called on the Grenadian government to honor Cuba and other countries that had helped build the airport, noting that at the opening ceremony Governor General Paul Scoon had thanked only the United States and Canada.

Although the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement received a modest vote in the preliminary count, it established itself as a serious party through the election campaign.

The MBPM made a strong showing in St. John constituency, where Einstein Louison polled 509 votes (nearly 14 percent).

Access to the media was used to its fullest, with both free-time and paid ads on Radio Grenada.

Many people were rallied to the party, especially among the youth who were often too young to vote or were unregistered. But they showed commitment to continue the struggle and took up the MBPM's campaign slogan — "Forward on our feet, never on our knees."

'IP' reports on Australian election

On December 3 the Labor Party was reelected to another term as the governing party in Australia. The December 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries an article by David Deutschmann and Ron Poulsen from Australia on the background to the elections. They describe the Labor Party government's record in implementing a series of attacks against the working class.

Their coverage especially focuses on the development of a new party, the Nuclear Disarmament Party, which fielded a number of candidates against the union-based Labor Party.

Poulsen and Deutschmann describe the pacifist views of the NDP and explain that this petty-bourgeois formation is an obstacle to, not a step forward for, independent working-class political action. They note that many left groups, however, gave first preference to NDP candidates in the elections.

The December 24 issue also includes a recent speech by Nicaragua

Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrion. The speech, delivered to the FSLN's Regional III Committee, takes up the mounting threats from U.S. imperialism and outlines steps taken to mobilize Managua against them.

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Bolsheviks on role of labor aristocracy

Social roots of opportunism in the Second International

(Last in a series)

BY CINDY JAQUITH

When the leaderships of most of the socialist parties in the Second International capitulated in 1914, supporting "their" imperialist governments in World War I, many revolutionaries in the International were stunned. While sharply dissociating themselves from the prowar stand of the majority of the International, most revolutionaries did not yet see the depth of the problem that had led to the collapse of the socialist movement.

It would take several years, and the deepening of the class struggle as the war intensified, before many saw the correct-

title by Polish revolutionary Karl Radek on the labor aristocracy and its impact on the degeneration of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD).

Earlier, Lenin had noted the influence of this privileged layer of the working class on deliberations at the 1907 congress of the Second International in Stuttgart, Germany. At that meeting, as we have described in earlier articles in this series, there was a sharp debate over what stand to take on colonialism and immigrant rights. Right-wing delegates at that gathering had sought to overturn the International's position and adopt resolutions favoring imperialist colonial policy and restrictions of the rights of immigrant workers.

Assessing the congress later, Lenin commented that these political views stemmed from imperialism's capacity to offer a thin layer of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries some privileges that would help win them to support for colonial policy. "... [T]his provides the material and economic basis for infecting the proletariat with colonial chauvinism," he wrote in his article "The International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart."

"Of course, this may be only a temporary phenomenon, but the evil must nonetheless be clearly realized and its causes understood in order to be able to rally the proletariat of all countries for the struggle against such opportunism," he explained.

Later, in a 1915 article titled "The Collapse of the Second International," Lenin developed this idea more thoroughly, based on the experience of the war.

Social chauvinism and opportunism

He explained that the war had made "particularly conspicuous and inescapable" the fact that imperialism had succeeded in "bourgeoisifying" a layer of the working class — the labor aristocracy. Imperialism "gave them crumbs from the table of their national capitalists, and isolated them from the suffering, misery, and revolutionary temper of the impoverished and ruined masses," Lenin wrote. This fostered opportunism in this section of the working class which, he said, "means sacrificing the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers or, in other words, an alliance between a section of the workers and the bourgeoisie, directed against the mass of the proletariat."

This opportunism was then put to good use by the imperialists, he explained. The labor aristocracy saw its interests lying with its own ruling class in World War I, and supported the war as a way of defending its own privileged position.

This opportunism led to social chauvinism, Lenin explained, the "acceptance of the idea of the defense of the fatherland in the present imperialist war, justification of an alliance between socialists and the bourgeoisie and the governments of their 'own' countries in this war, a refusal to propagate and support proletarian-revolutionary action against one's 'own' bourgeoisie, etc."

Zinoviev on opportunism

Zinoviev wrote a major article in 1916 about the role of the labor aristocracy and other social layers in the decline of the Ger-



German soldiers in World War I. Imperialist slaughter brought misery for masses of workers, but privileged layer of working class saw war as in its own interests.

man SPD, titled "The Social Roots of Opportunism."

First, he noted the impact of the adherence to the SPD of a large layer of petty-bourgeois forces as the party grew in influence. These petty-bourgeois "camp followers," as Zinoviev called them, "brought with them into the workers' party the political spinelessness, the indecision, the bourgeois mode of thinking, and all those other characteristics inherent in the strata that stand between the classes. Socialism became infected with opportunism."

The petty-bourgeois SPD supporters were in particular vulnerable to bourgeois "patriotic" propaganda, he noted.

The second influence on the SPD, he continued, was that of the labor bureaucracy. Trade union functionaries, he explained, are not part of the working class, but are a petty-bourgeois caste separate from that class. Because their class interests are different from those of the workers, the labor bureaucrats become, in Zinoviev's words, "an agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie."

"The labor bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy are blood brothers," Zinoviev continued. Union functionaries usually come from the ranks of the labor aristocracy. Moreover, the interests of the two social layers often coincide.

Studying the membership of the Berlin SPD, Zinoviev noted that a high proportion came from the better-paid section of the working class. Unskilled workers were only 15 percent of the organization, only a little more than the number of self-employed innkeepers, barbers, and small shopkeepers. This percent coincided roughly with the level of union organization in industry, which was high among printers and metalworkers, and relatively low among garment workers, tobacco workers, transport workers, and others.

The capitalists cultivate the labor aristocracy as a base of support for its policies, particularly its war policies against the workers of other countries, Zinoviev explained.

In reality, however, the labor aristocracy

does not have long-term interests in common with the bourgeoisie. What crumbs the aristocracy gains from the advances of its bourgeoisie are a "transitory material advantage," Zinoviev explained. In fact, only a dwindling minority of the working class enjoys these immediate privileges. And over the long term, the labor aristocracy is actually committing "treason against itself" by not seeing that its real class interests lie with the rest of the working class and oppressed.

Political ramifications

In his article "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Lenin drew out the political ramifications of the objective problem posed by the labor aristocracy. Returning to the writings of Marx and Engels, he explained how the dominance of the labor aristocracy in the British trade union movement meant that the workers there were saddled with a "bourgeois labor party" with liberal policies. Lenin recommended that revolutionaries study Marx and Engels' writings seriously on this question, "for they are the pivot of the tactics in the labor movement that are dictated by the objective conditions of the imperialist era...."

"On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into 'eternal' parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to 'rest on the laurels' of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc.... On the other hand, there is the tendency of the masses, who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labor movement will now inevitably develop."

While recognizing this, he continued, revolutionaries must also realize that the labor aristocracy is a minority of the working class. To what degree it follows the lead of opportunists "will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution."

The task of revolutionary socialists, he continued, was to appeal to the mass of workers "who are not infected by 'bourgeois respectability.' ... [T]o go down lower and deeper, to the real masses." This included explaining to the workers what the labor aristocracy was and how the opportunist leaders of the Second International had betrayed the interests of the working class, and were in fact agents of the employers.

This was the course followed by the founders of the Third, or Communist International, which sought for the first time to build Marxist parties in the colonial and semicolonial world as well as to reach out to the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working class in the imperialist countries. The documents and debates of the Communist International will be the subject of future volumes in the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*.

LENIN'S STRUGGLE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

ness of the perspective of the Russian Bolshevik Party, led by V.I. Lenin, of breaking with the Second International and building a new, communist international. The record of the debates, conferences, and articles on this question are contained in the book *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, the first in a series of books on the Communist International in Lenin's time.

Many of the socialists who were eventually won over to the new international initially believed the Second International could be reunited after the war. They attributed the proimperialist line of many leaders of the International to individual weaknesses or the pressures of the war and assumed many of these leaders would return to Marxism once the war ended.

From the beginning, Lenin argued that it was insufficient to explain the crisis of the International by simply denouncing its most outspokenly right-wing leaders. It was necessary, he said, to recognize that their proimperialist policy flowed from the opportunist current that had been in the movement before the war, and to recognize that this current had a material base inside the working class itself.

Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders, principally Gregory Zinoviev, sought to educate other revolutionaries on the Marxist view of the labor aristocracy, that relatively privileged layer of the working class which has a temporary interest in allying with its employers at the expense of other workers.

First raised by Marx and Engels

The concept of the labor aristocracy was not a new idea. It had first been raised by the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. They had written about the rise of this layer in the British working class and its negative influence on the political evolution of the working-class movement in that country.

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International contains a number of selections about the labor aristocracy. In this week's "Learning About Socialism" column on page 14 we reprint excerpts from a 1916 ar-

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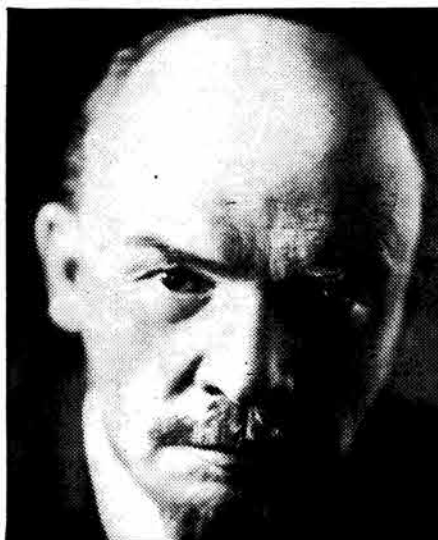
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How Nicaraguan city rallied to beat b

BY PATTI HIYAMA

OCOTAL, Nicaragua — A group of North American workers was able to see firsthand the effects of the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua when we toured this northern city in early November.

Only 12 miles from Nicaragua's border with Honduras, Ocotal is one of a handful of cities to be directly attacked by CIA-paid counterrevolutionaries, called *contras*. Ocotal is the main city in the department of Nueva Segovia. It is the most important city in the border area.

Last June 1, Ocotal was attacked by about 600 *contras*. We talked with eyewitnesses of the attack here and viewed the damage inflicted by these mercenaries, as well as seeing what the residents and government have been able to accomplish in the five months since then. Both the regional and municipal governments opened their doors to the tour group.

The majority of North Americans on the tour were members of such unions as the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, International Association of Machinists, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The trip was sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc.

Ocotal, with a population of 22,000, is one of the poorest cities in Nicaragua. Many of the peasants utilize what Mayor Felipe Barreda has called "preindustrial methods of agricultural production." For instance, before the revolution many peasants did not have even steel-tipped plows.

According to Barreda, one of the most difficult legacies from the U.S.-backed regime of Anastasio Somoza is the lack of available work. While employment has greatly improved, joblessness continues today and has been exacerbated by the war.

Attack on Ocotal

Two task forces of about 600 mercenaries attacked Ocotal June 1 at 4:30 in the morning. By 7:00 a.m. they were forced to beat a hasty retreat by the local defense squads, backed up by reinforcements from the Sandinista army. By the end of the day, the *contras* had left behind 22 of their dead, including one of their chiefs known as "The Greek." The mercenaries acknowledged that they lost at least 95 dead and over 100 wounded or captured in the course of their retreat back to Honduras over the next few days. The defending forces lost six soldiers, two members of the Ocotal Physical Defense Corps, a volunteer policeman, and two civilians.

We found that, contrary to U.S. government propaganda, there is no civil war raging in Nicaragua. The mercenaries are

quite isolated politically. They are totally dependent militarily on the massive aid they get from their CIA backers. If that were to dry up, the *contra* forces would collapse.

They have been able to inflict great losses, however, on Nicaragua's people and economy.

The *contras* rarely attack military targets. Rather, they assault civilians, focusing on agricultural cooperatives, factories and other production centers, child-care centers and schools, and health-care centers. Frequent targets are children, women, and old people, who have a harder time defending themselves.

Mayor Barreda explained that the *contras* focus on terrorist attacks because "they need to destroy everything we need in order to advance. They have no hope of winning people over, so they just want to destroy what we have to discourage people."

We were taken to all the sites that were seriously damaged by the mercenaries in their attempt to take over the city: the Yodeco sawmill, where sheds were burned down and buses, trucks, and tractors destroyed by mortar and rifle fire; the Nicaraguan Institute of Basic Foodstuffs (ENABAS) grain silos, which were burned down; and the electrical power installations and coffee-processing plant that were destroyed.

Proud of city's defense

People we talked with here in Ocotal were proud of their defense of the city and the fact that it only took them two and one half hours to repel the attack.

Most of the *contras* got bogged down at the outskirts of the city, where they inflicted damage but did not reach most of their targets. Only a commando squad of about 20 terrorists made it into the city's center with the aim of destroying the Radio Segovia station, which serves the province. They succeeded in destroying the physical facilities of the station, but only one of this group managed to get away alive.

An eyewitness, Luisa Amalia Sierra, the head of INSSBI, Nicaragua's social welfare agency in this area, accompanied us on the tour here. She pointed out that "the only reason why they were able to penetrate was because some of them were dressed as the [Sandinista] army in olive drab, rather than in the FDN dark blue." (FDN are the initials of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, as the mercenary army calls itself.)

Sierra was on the streets when she heard gunshots and screams from the building where the radio station, as well as the head-

quarters of the JS-19 (the Sandinista youth organization) and the CDS (neighborhood defense committee), was located. She saw what appeared to be Sandinista People's Army men painting revolutionary slogans on the walls.

"But they were rapidly exposed when they shifted to slogans like 'Viva el FDN' and tried to terrify the people by shooting everywhere and shouting.

"Unfortunately, the *compañeros* who were in the CDS and JS-19 offices were caught off guard by the *contras'* olive drab uniforms and opened the door to them. They burned to death when the *contras* set the building on fire." The coordinator of the Ocotal CDSs and a leader of the JS-19 were killed in the action.

Another eyewitness who lived across the street from this building was caught outside his home by the *contras*. He was going to the building to pick something up, heard rifle fire, and turned to go back to his house to call the radio station and prepare defense.

The *contras* shot him in the back and left him for dead. It wasn't until 6:30 a.m. that he was found by the civil-defense squads and his wounds treated.

"We don't have very many guns in Ocotal and I had one at my house," he told us. "So when the fighting started, some of the neighborhood kids tried to get in my house to get the gun. They tried to get the keys from my pocket while I was lying there but the *contras* were firing at them. Finally they just kicked down the door and got the gun to join the fight."

Demoralization among contras

Sierra said she saw demoralization among the *contras*. She heard a *contra* commander screaming at one of his troops. "The man was refusing to fight. He was scared. They thought the people would welcome them and felt cheated by their commanders when they met such stiff resistance. Instead of cheers, they received the uprising of the people to repel them and they were chased out of town by 7 a.m."

While the mercenaries were able to inflict serious damage (70 million córdobas or \$7 million in losses were registered according to the Nicaraguan daily *Barricada*), much of it was not longlasting.

The radio station that had been the *contras'* major target was broadcasting again less than 24 hours after its facilities had been totally gutted. Within 24 hours, the *compañeros* from the National Energy Institute (INE) were able to restore most electricity and the electrical power station has since been rebuilt closer to the city. The sawmill sheds are being rebuilt and the sawmill is back in production, although not

all the destroyed machinery has been replaced. There are still some people unemployed because the sawmill is not running at full capacity.

People at all the places we visited here were well-prepared for another attack. They are organized into vigilance committees. Volunteers stand guard every night over facilities that are typical strategic objectives for the *contras* — production centers, schools and daycare centers, agricultural cooperatives, health-care centers.

Rebuilding Ocotal

The workers at the state-owned tobacco-processing plant here, which employs 230 and is the largest plant in the area, found out after the attack that the *contras* had planned to burn their factory to the ground. "They never got this far," stated José María Rodríguez, head of the Agricultural Workers Union (ATC) that organizes this plant.

"But we were ready for them. All of us are *milicianos* [militia members] and organized in AMNLAE [the women's organization — most of the workers are now women] and in the *barrio* CDSs. We've also organized special fire brigades to make sure that the *contras* can't burn us down."

At Ocotal's new, spacious child-care center, where 175 children receive day-care, we were shown the trenches that have been dug for shelter in case of attack.

"The *contras* wanted to attack the center on June 1 when the children came in at 6 a.m. They never got this far. We don't discount the possibility, though, that they will attack us again, so that's why we are building these shelters," explained the director.

"Since the *contras* burned down the sawmill, we haven't been able to get enough lumber to finish the shelter. We want to build it with enough room so the children can have places to play and not get so traumatized. But for now we're looking for a house in the *barrio* to serve as a 'safe house' to take the children when we are attacked."

"The impact of the continuing war with the *contras* has been felt deeply in the region as a whole," explained Carlos Manuel Morales, head of the regional government.

Because it is the only region with important cities close to the border (Estelí and Ocotal), the mercenaries have been particularly active in Region I. There are 300,000 residents of the region, the vast majority of them peasants who are widely dispersed over the mountainous countryside.

"From January through August of 1984," Morales pointed out, "the region has sustained damages of 20 million córdobas."



Militant/Michael Baumann



Barricada/Leonardo Barreto

Ocotal is only 12 miles from Honduras, where the *contras* have their base camps. At left, children play in Ocotal street. Attack from across border destroyed coffee processing plant at right.

ick 'contra' attack

dobas (\$2 million), not counting the attack on Ocotal. Half of the damage has been to farms and *campesinos* [peasants] and half to the state, mainly state-owned machinery that the contras have destroyed.

Progress despite war

"In human terms, the cost of this continuing war here has also been incalculable in 1984: 150 people kidnapped by the contras and 15 civilians killed." The day before we arrived in Estelí, a peasant cooperative of 30 families further north in the region had been attacked by mortar fire. Six children had been killed.

"In spite of the war, however, people in the region have made great progress," said Morales. Over 800,000 hectares [nearly 2 million acres] of land have been distributed to the peasants since 1979. The government is trying to diversify the economy of the region — which has been based on coffee, cattle, and basic grain production — as well as to modernize the traditional methods of production.

"Before the revolution, coffee, an important export crop, was our major product. But coffee production only provides temporary work for three months out of the year, so many people worked very hard three months and then were unemployed and starving for the other nine. So now we are planting tobacco, which is equally important as an export but which provides year-round employment," explained Morales.

Medical and dental care and education in the region are free. Morales told us that 20,000 adults benefited from the literacy campaign of 1980 and are pursuing further education when it is possible, given the war. In addition, four special schools for campesino youth have been built so they can receive education at an accelerated pace. For example, they can cover the first four years of elementary school in three semesters. Two nursing schools and a teachers' school have also been constructed.

Women building new Nicaragua

"The whole population is being constantly mobilized to fight against the contras, so we must take measures to free people up and still maintain production and provide the services we need," Morales explained. "Jobs that used to be done exclusively by men now have had to be taken over by women so men can be freed for the mobilizations — jobs like driving tractors, preading insecticide, fumigating, processing tobacco. While this has been a necessity forced on us by the war, it has the good effect too of integrating women directly into the process of building a new Nicaragua."

In response to a question about peasant support for the contras, Morales acknowledged that not everyone in the region supports the revolution. There are still peasants living in extreme backwardness in isolated areas. They have never learned about the revolution. They are susceptible to propaganda from the contras.

"But we are trying to reach these compañeros to show them that they can benefit from the revolution and we are confident that we can win them over. That is why, for instance, we have a policy of not punishing people who were kidnapped by the contras and served with them. One thousand peasant men from this region who originally joined or were kidnapped and fought with the contras have returned to us when they learned the truth about the revolution."

Morales pointed out that there have been no cases of internal sabotage, a further indication that the contras lack a base of support in the region.

Everywhere we went the physical damage inflicted by the mercenaries and the limitations on development imposed by the continuing U.S. war and economic aggression were apparent.

Yet, we also saw concretely in Ocotal how much the people of Nicaragua have been able to accomplish in spite of the war and how much this improvement in their lives has strengthened their commitment to the revolutionary process.

Before the revolution there was no potable water in Ocotal. The government is in the process of building a facility to provide drinkable water to the population, a project which will also provide some jobs.

At the tobacco processing plant, working conditions have improved greatly since Somoza's time. The union is able to organize and the workers play a central role in determining production. The company store has been converted to a commissary run by the workers. It sells basic food at discounted and subsidized prices.

At the child-care center, a mother with four children who is single and earns a low salary only has to pay \$1 a month. The staff is constantly updated on new teaching techniques so that the children receive high-quality care. Children aged 45 days to three years old are clothed entirely by the center to save the family the costs of clothing.

At the senior citizens' home, people who had been forced to live on the streets before 1979 now live in clean, comfortable quarters (see accompanying article).

As one old woman who had been a farm worker told us, "before the revolution, we had nothing. Now life is beautiful because we did it ourselves."

The Nicaraguan people are determined to defend these gains.



Barricada/Leonardo Barreto
Militia members of Ocotal, Nicaragua, after they had defeated June 1 attack by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries.

A visit to new home for Ocotal's elderly

BY GARY COHEN

I recently returned from a tour to Nicaragua sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc. I was struck by the enormity of the problems of backwardness and underdevelopment there, which are the legacy of Somozaism and decades of domination by U.S. imperialism. These difficulties are exacerbated by the continuing U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua. I was awed, however, that despite all these obstacles, gains have been made in areas such as health, education, and housing since I was last in Nicaragua in 1979, shortly after the triumph of the revolution.

One particularly moving experience during my latest visit occurred in Ocotal, a city near the Honduran border, which as recently as June was directly attacked by armed counterrevolutionaries (see story elsewhere on page). It was a visit to a home for the elderly who were homeless before the revolution.

The first thing I noticed upon entering it was a beautiful garden, which I learned was the product of the labor of the 20 residents who were waiting to meet us. The place was pleasant and spotless, a far cry from its condition prior to the revolution. It had been a flop house where some of the present residents had previously lived, sleeping on floors amidst filth and vermin. Others had been sleeping in the streets.

Under the auspices of INSSBI, the government's social welfare ministry, the place had been refurbished and staffed with trained personnel to care for the formerly homeless residents, free of charge.

The residents included some who were physically and mentally ill as well as those who had no place to go. They were happy to see us, though understandably shy at first. They told us about their daily routines. They were responsible for the garden. They made arts and crafts, which were sold, and organized recreation was provided. They received wages for their labor.

Their major spokesperson was an elderly former peasant. He had worked hard all his life as a transient farm worker and then was left to live on the streets with nothing until the revolution triumphed. He was content with his lot now, he stated, as others nodded in agreement. He asked if we would like to hear a poem and proceeded to recite from the writings of Rubén Darío, a well-known Nicaraguan poet, without skipping a beat despite his lack of formal education.

One man said he had fought with Nicaraguan hero Augusto Sandino in the 1930s against the U.S. Marines. "So did I," said

another sitting to his right. "He was a wonderful man as well as a great leader."

The women, who at first were quiet, started to speak up. "We are happy here, we don't want to leave," said one. Another asked us to take a message back to the United States. Tell the U.S. people, "We want peace. Stop the U.S. government from making war on the Nicaraguan people." All nodded in agreement.

The contrast between the situation of these elderly people and what confronts those in the United States was striking. One did not sense the mood of alienation, hopelessness, and worthlessness that pervades homeless shelters and old age and nursing homes in our country. Nicaragua, today is a society that treasures its very old and very young. Old people are not tossed on the scrap heap of society because of their age and infirmities. They are allowed to be useful citizens and have developed a sense of respect for themselves — perhaps

for the first time.

The Coalition for the Homeless estimates that there are 3,000,000 homeless in the United States, many of whom are elderly and infirm. The State of Massachusetts is embarking on a program of expanded facilities for the homeless, which will increase the number of beds in state shelters by 225 to bring the total number to 1,200. Yet the report issued in June by the U.S. Conference of Mayors estimated the number of homeless in Boston alone at 10,000-14,000.

As we left the home, there wasn't a dry eye in the house. We promised to bring their message to the people of the United States — "We want peace."

Gary Cohen is currently working in a psychiatric unit in a Boston-area hospital as a counselor where he has become familiar with the problems of the elderly and homeless.



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'Heroic Estelí' defends Nicaragua's gains

BY AUGUST NIMTZ

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — Early one evening recently, the García Blandón family learned from a friend here in the Oscar Gamez barrio that a military truck had just arrived with the body of another neighbor. When asked what happened, the reply was simply, "la Cia," the way Nicaraguans refer to the U.S. CIA.

The victim, a 24-year-old lieutenant in the Sandinista People's Army and well-known resident of the barrio, had been ambushed and killed early that morning — along with nine others — by the U.S.-backed mercenaries or *contras*. His burned remains were viewed by hundreds at an all-night wake.

Daily reality

Like their neighbors, everyone in the García Blandón household was visibly shaken by this death. A five-week stay with the family made clear that such tragedies are part of the daily reality for an increasing number of Nicaraguans.

Three weeks earlier another neighbor, Alberto José Hernández Moreno, a close friend and leader of the military unit that the family's youngest son belonged to, fell victim to Washington's undeclared war. Both had been involved in a three-hour battle with the *contras* in the mountains to the north that claimed Alberto's life.

Azahell García Blandón, 15 years old, has been a member of the Sandinista People's Militias for three years. This combat was one of many he has participated in over the last year and one of many in which he has lost friends. Joining the militia, Azahell says, was simply necessary in order to protect the gains of the revolution from the attacks by Washington's hired thugs.

Two years ago Azahell's older brother Nevér, who was a lieutenant in the army, was killed while carrying out a military assignment. Two other brothers, one a lieutenant and the other a captain in the army, are presently on active duty.

One of the uglier aspects of the contra war is that it is directed mostly at Nicaraguans who are least able to defend themselves. Anabell, Azahell's sister, teaches in Susucayan, near the Honduran border. She was almost killed two months ago when a band of *contras* attacked her primary school. Only the courage and quick thinking of the teachers and students prevented what would have been a massacre.

Other unarmed Nicaraguans have not been so lucky. The most infamous attack in recent weeks occurred on October 29 when 6 children between the ages of 5 and 8 were assassinated by the *bestias* — the beasts, as most people refer to the *contras* — in an assault on a cooperative in Northern Nueva Segovia.

The García Blandón family is not unique in the sacrifices it makes in the defense of the revolution. Aside from those in the regular army, most members of the militia here have been mobilized for varying periods to fight the *contras* in the most war-torn areas. One result is that large numbers of people are away from home.

Sixty funerals

Another result of course is the number of Estelians who, like Azahell's neighbors, return in caskets. The Catholic bishop here says that so far this year there have been about 60 funerals at the cathedral alone for the victims of the war. In the last five weeks there have been at least 20 war-related deaths.

The town itself became the focus of contra activity in mid-October. As part of their unsuccessful attempt to disrupt the November 4 elections, the *contras* were urged by Washington to send a large force from Honduras to try and take Estelí. This so-called Estelí plan would thus be the way to legitimize Reagan's "rebels" as a real force with a base in the country. This effort came to an ignominious end on October 21 when some 50 *contras* were killed by the army and the militia about one mile west of the García Blandón home.

One reason the mercenaries want the town is because of its revolutionary heritage. "Heroic Estelí," as it is frequently referred to, experienced three insurrections in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship — September 1978, April 1979, and June-July 1979. Hundreds lost their lives in

these uprisings. There is virtually no family here that did not lose a member in fighting against Somoza's murderous army. Rosa Delgadillo, who lives with the García Blandóns, lost both parents and a brother.

To the list of names who gave their lives to win the revolution must now be added those who have died in defending it. The local chapter of the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs Organization — mothers whose sons and daughters have died for the revolution, which includes many who have lost more than one child — says there are 600 such mothers in the area. The newly opened gallery of the organization has on display pictures of many of these fallen fighters.

Vigilance stepped up

Although the "Estelí plan" came to nought, people did not lower their guard in the aftermath of October 21. Security was increased in the expectation that the *contras* would resort to their more cowardly hit and run tactics against the unarmed. For Benjamín García and his wife Julia Blandón, this meant more sleepless nights in order to do vigilance with others in the barrio to ensure against a surprise attack.

Thus, up to and through the elections the town was very tense. On the weekend of the election, a number of people were brutally tortured and murdered by *contras* in an attack on a nearby cooperative.

In spite of the toll that Washington's war has taken, economically and psychologically as well as in lives, the García Blandón household and the overwhelming majority of others are as strongly committed to the revolution as ever. This was particularly clear during the weekend of the election. Benjamín, who is sixty years old, together with others formed a team and traveled throughout the region for four days to provide armed protection for the polling places.

Following the elections tensions did not subside, as the U.S. government stepped up its war propaganda around the phony MIG-21 charges. Although tired and overstretched, Nicaraguans responded with characteristic resolve to defend their revolution.

On November 13 the national executive committee of the Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) — the mass neighborhood defense organization — issued a directive to all local committees to strengthen civil defense in the barrios, step up vigilance, direct militia members to their respective



Barricada

Residents of Estelí pour into streets in response to call issued by local defense committees to mobilize against U.S.-backed aggression. Local committees have set task of strengthening civil defense and revolutionary vigilance, directing militia members to their respective units, and assuring proper functioning of the *expendedos populares* (the local stores that distribute rationed foodstuffs).

units, and assure proper functioning of the *expendedos populares* (the local stores that distribute rationed foodstuffs).

Bomb shelters built

The CDS of the Oscar Gamez barrio met that same night to consider the directive. The membership agreed to build three bomb shelters for the barrio. The CDS coordinator explained that Estelí was being called upon to send 600 persons to help pick coffee and other crops in the north. The 20,000 students from Managua who were originally mobilized to harvest the crops in the Student Production Brigade had been reassigned to defend the capital as part of the government's plan to fortify defense as the best way to stop an invasion and defeat the U.S. mercenaries.

The CDS coordinator explained that this new task is as important as the armed defense of Nicaragua. It is only through the sales of its export crops that the government can purchase abroad many of the basic foods and medicines that the revolution guarantees to each citizen.

Members of the García Blandón household have already begun to make plans to

participate in this new campaign. Carla García, who is 12, has decided to spend her vacation from school picking tobacco. Benjamín and Julia are discussing the possibility of either one of them going on a coffee brigade to the San Juan del Río Coco area, the scene of a lot of contra activity.

Estelians are very proud of their legacy of revolutionary commitment. In the living room of their home the García Blandón family has hung a four-by-eight-foot yellow banner on which the following is written in large red letters: "For me there is nothing more beautiful than the defense of the revolution because this revolution is a proletarian one and it will defend the proletarian class." These inspiring words were written by their deceased son Nevér in a letter to his parents some months before his death.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

Rightists burn New Zealand abortion clinic

The article below is reprinted from the Nov. 23, 1984, edition of *Socialist Action*, a biweekly newspaper published in Auckland that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

BY EILEEN MORGAN

As *Socialist Action* goes to press, it appears that antiabortionists have once again violently attacked women's right to safe, legal abortion. A fire causing \$20,000-40,000 [U.S. \$10,000-20,000] damage broke out at the Auckland Medical Aid Trust Hospital early on Sunday, November 18. Police are treating the fire as arson.

The Auckland Medical Aid Trust is a privately run abortion clinic, and many of its women patients travel there from areas in New Zealand where abortions are difficult or impossible to obtain. This is the second time the clinic has been hit by arson since it first opened at its current premises in 1976. A similar fire-bomb attack took place in 1978 at the Auckland office of Sisters Overseas Service — an organisation assisting women travelling to Australia to obtain abortions.

Protest actions by antiabortionists have also led to the recent resignation of a certifying consultant. Under New Zealand's abortion law — the Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act (CS&A Act) — a woman seeking an abortion has to get the approval of two certifying consultants.

In a letter printed in the November 7 *Otago Daily Times*, Dr. Tom Sidey explained that he was resigning in protest against the continual harassment of his pa-

tients and himself by the antiabortion activists.

"It disgusts me that members of an anti-abortion group, whose views one could in the past respect, stoop to such low levels," he states in the letter.

Dr. Sidey's resignation means that there are now only two certifying consultants in Dunedin, making it even more difficult for women in that part of the South Island to gain access to safe, legal abortion. And the situation is no easier for women in many other parts of the country. According to the annual report of the Abortion Supervisory Committee, the body set up to oversee the CS&A Act, there were only 165 certifying consultants in the whole of New Zealand last year (out of 7,597 registered doctors).

Under New Zealand's abortion law, there are only a few, limited grounds for a legal abortion to be performed. It deprives women of the right to control their own reproductive lives. But the way in which the legislation is working — or not working — makes it difficult for even those women entitled to legal abortions to obtain them.

This is particularly true for women living outside Auckland or Wellington — the only cities with free-standing abortion clinics (that is, clinics which are separate from a general hospital). Last year, 79 percent of the 7,198 legal abortions in New Zealand were performed in these three clinics or at Christchurch Women's Hospital.

A survey of health groups throughout New Zealand conducted by an abortion rights group, the Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (Wonaac), showed that many women have to travel long dis-

tances to see certifying consultants or to obtain an abortion. The results of the survey were announced at the Wellington Women's Summit held in early October.

The survey revealed the many obstacles in front of a woman who wishes to terminate her pregnancy. Many areas do not have enough certifying consultants. Often, too, their applications are denied or delayed because of the antiabortion attitudes of doctors. Under the CS&A Act, a doctor cannot become a certifying consultant if he or she believes that abortion is a woman's right to choose.

The survey contained many complaints about unsympathetic GPs who would not refer women to the certifying consultants — particularly in Hawkes Bay, Wanganui, and Nelson. Certifying consultants also adopt delaying tactics, often for as long as four weeks, and there are frequently waiting lists of up to two weeks at the abortion clinics.

The three free-standing abortion clinics in Auckland and Wellington only perform abortions on women who are under three months pregnant. But the delays built into the certifying consultants system mean that some women are over this limit by the time they gain the necessary approval.

Unless these women can obtain an abortion in a public hospital, they are forced to either go through with their unwanted pregnancy or to travel to Australia for an abortion. The survey showed that New Zealand women are still travelling to Australia, and Wonaac has written to abortion clinics there to try to obtain statistics on their New Zealand patients.

Marroquín completes successful 3-month tour

Mexican-born socialist notes increasing support for his case

BY HOLBROOK MAHN

Héctor Marroquín spent the last three months on the road gaining support in his fight against deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Although he has crisscrossed the country a half dozen times throughout the last seven years, this time he found a lot more doors open and greater receptivity and support in his fight to live and work in this country.

A Mexican-born worker, Marroquín is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The INS has been trying to deport him for years. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear his appeal for political asylum. Marroquín is currently fighting for his right to a permanent resident visa — a green card.

During his recent tour he was able to visit nearly two dozen cities, attend three national union conventions, participate in several antiwar conferences, and meet with a number of Black and Latino leaders. He received substantial media coverage and made a lot of friends among fighters in the labor movement and Black and Latino communities.

"It was a very inspiring tour," Marroquín says. "I was able to discuss my plight with many people and received a lot of support. I found a growing willingness to discuss ways to fight against the escalating attacks on democratic rights in this country and the U.S. war in Central America."

Issue is political beliefs

The INS is persisting in its efforts to deport Marroquín simply because they do not approve of his ideas. They are trying to silence his outspoken opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean and his opposition to the U.S. government's attack on unions here at home. They want to deport him because he champions the rights of immigrant workers, and because he is a member of the SWP and YSA.

"The attack on Marroquín is part of the government's general assault on democratic rights as it drags this country into a Vietnam-style war in Central America."

Marroquín's case sharply poses the question of whether the U.S. government has the right to deport or deny visas to people solely because of their political beliefs. The government has singled out the rights of immigrant workers for attack as part of dividing and weakening the labor movement.

In the course of his fight Marroquín has reached millions of people through numerous public forums and media coverage,

Mexican woman deported to her death

The November 24 *Dallas Morning News* featured a front-page story about the death of a 30-year-old Mexican woman. What made this woman's death so noteworthy was the fact that she was literally deported to her death.

Fermina Vasquez, a Mexican worker, lived in the United States for 15 years. She had no residence papers and suffered from kidney disease. Vasquez was receiving treatment from the Southwestern Dialysis Center in Dallas when she was picked up by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), often called *la migra*.

At her deportation hearing, Vasquez pleaded with the immigration judge to allow her to stay in the United States to receive the necessary medical care. The INS, while assuring her that she would receive free medical care in Mexico, deported her.

But she did not receive free care. And when she could not pay, she received no medical treatment at all.

So Fermina Vasquez, deported on September 26, was dead by November 21.

Adelfa Callejo, head of the Coalition of Hispanic Organizations in Dallas, condemned Vasquez's deportation and subsequent death as representing the inhumanity of the U.S. government.

The fate of Vasquez was the logical product of the U.S. government's callous and racist anti-immigrant campaign.



Héctor Marroquín, left, talks with participants in the United Steelworkers union national convention held in Cleveland this fall. Militant

urging the labor movement to solidarize with the struggles of immigrant workers as well as with the people of Central America and the Caribbean, who face U.S. intervention.

Marroquín's fight has already won significant support from a broad layer of organizations and from labor officials; Black leaders; Chicano, Mexican and other Latino figures; and from women's rights fighters.

However, the government has made it clear that because of his political ideas and activities Marroquín will not get his residence visa without a fight.

Marroquín's plight and the outcome of his fight go far beyond his individual case. "A victory in this case will strike a blow for the rights of all immigrants and weaken the government's drive to roll back democratic rights. That's why I've taken on this fight very seriously," he explains.

Union conventions

This fall, Marroquín attended the national conventions of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) held in Seattle, Washington; the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in Cleveland, Ohio. He received a significant amount of support and expressions of solidarity from many delegates and workers at the conventions. Hundreds signed petitions addressed to the INS demanding a stop to Marroquín's deportation after learning about the facts on his case.

"Many delegates viewed this case as an attack on a fellow trade unionist and most disagreed that I should be deported because of my antiwar and socialist ideas," Marroquín says. "Not everyone agreed with everything I stand for, but people were willing to discuss it."

Marroquín's presence at the IUE convention became the source of a big discussion. Just as at the IAM and USWA conventions, a big campaign was promoted by top union officials that imports are responsible for the growing unemployment and economic crisis in this country. This was dramatized at the convention hall with a big map of the United States, covered with the colors of the flag, and portraying a massive "invasion" of the United States by imports coming from land, air and sea.

"I was very upset to see such a campaign designed to blame foreign-born workers for the problems facing U.S. working people, instead of pointing to the real enemy and root of the problem: the corporations, the government, and the capitalist system," Marroquín says. "And here I was, a foreign-born worker, present at the convention. But I didn't let it intimidate me. I went to the brothers and sisters, appealed for solidarity, and found it."

A group of Chicano and Black delegates expressed their firm support to Marroquín and toured him around the convention to seek more support.

Over 120 people of the 700 present

signed his petition, and several delegates invited him to address their locals.

As part of his tour, Marroquín was able to visit supporters of his case such as the Greater Kansas City, Missouri, Central Labor Council, a number of chapters of the National Education Association (NEA), UAW officials, and other labor groups and officials.

In St. Louis, Austin, Texas, and Boston he was able to address and participate in antiwar conferences where he had many discussions with activists. Most activists attending these events also signed petitions on the Marroquín case, which they viewed as an attack on all those who are opposed to the U.S. war in Central America.

Striking workers

"I received a particularly warm welcome from fighters in the copper miners' strike in Arizona, among auto workers on strike at AP Parts in Toledo, Ohio, and at a picket line of women strikers from Yale University. Most people readily identified with my case, which they viewed as another attack on working people fighting for our rights."

One of the highlights of Marroquín's tour was his visit to Racine, Wisconsin. He was invited by union activists, members of the UAW, who introduced him to the meeting of their union local and also organized a successful fundraising event attended by over 100 people.

"These brothers and sisters in the UAW in Racine have been involved in a serious fight against the INS harassment and threats of deportations of union members. A couple of UAW locals there have taken a stand against the INS. I was able to learn from them and discuss ways of bringing

their experiences to the rest of the labor movement," Marroquín says.

Marroquín has received significant media attention since he has been speaking out in strong terms against the reactionary anti-immigrant and prowar policies of the government. A number of newspapers and television and radio programs have interviewed him and sought interviews with the INS as well. However, most of the time the INS has simply refused to state its position publicly.

In Madison, Wisconsin, Marroquín was interviewed on a statewide radio program. The producers had tried to get either Alan Simpson or Romano Mazzoli — coauthors of a bipartisan anti-immigrant piece of legislation — to debate Marroquín, but they refused. So, Marroquín ended up debating a representative of the Heritage Foundation, a rightist group based in Washington.

"I feel very confident about the legal and political basis of my fight," Marroquín says, "and I look forward to opportunities to debate the INS and people like Simpson or Mazzoli, but they always run away. That attitude speaks volumes about their racist and antilabor policies."

"It is not that they are unwilling to 'degrade' themselves by debating someone they call an 'illegal alien' — as they refer to people like myself. No, it is that they are afraid of my ideas. That's why they want to deport me, after all."

At the fundraising event for Marroquín in Racine, Gilberto Delgado, a UAW member and one of the organizers of the event, declared:

"Marroquín is speaking for the rights of all of us. That's why we want to help him out and keep him on the road talking to as many people as possible."

Koreans hold rally in New York

BY CAPPY KIDD

NEW YORK — Three thousand people nearly filled Madison Square Garden's Felt Forum here December 2 to hear South Korean opposition leader Kim Dae Jung and to demand his safe return to South Korea.

The rally, composed overwhelmingly of Korean-Americans, cheered as Kim said he would return to South Korea to fight for freedom and democracy.

Kim has been threatened by the Seoul regime for calling the current South Korean government a military dictatorship. "But what else can you call a government that takes power by force and tramples on the rights of the people?" he asked.

By the South Korean government's own count, Kim won 46 percent of the vote in the 1971 election against military strongman Park Chung Hee. Since then Kim has spent most of his time in jail, under house arrest, or in forced exile.

The South Korean government has vowed that if Kim returns, he will be immediately rearrested and required to serve the remainder of a 20-year prison sentence. They have also hinted that he might be assassinated by "North Korean terrorists."

This scheme is strikingly similar to the now-discredited scenario advanced by the Marcos regime immediately following the assassination of Filipino opposition leader Benigno Aquino.

The memory of Aquino was on the minds of many at the rally. Agapito Aquino, brother of Benigno Aquino, denounced U.S. support to the dictatorships in both South Korea and the Philippines.

Speakers at the rally included a number of prominent church, academic, and civil rights figures, such as Aryeh Neier of Americas Watch and Donald Shriver, president of Union Theological Seminary.

All of the speakers supported Kim's right to return to Korea and participate in the politics there. Several, however, expressed the view that Kim would serve as a moderate alternative to both the military dictatorship and to "totalitarian communism." Messages of support were read from former president James Carter, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, the Social Democratic Party of West Germany, and the Socialist Party of Japan. Sixty-four U.S. senators and congressmen signed a statement demanding a safe return for Kim.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

The benefits of war — “A ‘Pork McCutlet’ sandwich at McDonald’s? A bucket of pork chops at Colonel Sanders? Or how about pork tartare at Antoine’s in



Harry Ring

New Orleans? Those pork specialties may be available sooner than you think, thanks to a pork irradiation research project sponsored by the U.S. Department of Energy’s Los Alamos National

Laboratory. . . .” — An Energy Dept. press release.

Warms his heart — Seagate Technologies, a California computer parts maker, is considering moving part of its operation to the Far East. Its VP in charge of “human resources” observes: “Over there for \$3 a day and a bowl of soup, people will work their butts off 12 hours a day.”

And add 10% surcharge — Johnny Carson’s definition of tax simplification: You send your money directly to the Pentagon.

Comparable worth — Postmaster Gen. William Bolger, who’s fighting postal union pay

demands, insists postal workers are overpaid. But not all of them. He feels that he personally is underpaid at \$82,900, plus a \$62,000 retirement bonus.

Must have needed two shopping bags — New York cops busted three fellows trying to remove a \$200,000 cache of shrimp and lobster from the freezer of a fish store.

Almost like a 3-martini lunch — According to a survey, workers spend 82.9 hours a year of company time getting ready to start and stop working. That breaks down, they say, to about nine minutes to start, three to stop for lunch, and almost seven minutes

to prepare to split.

Now here’s a riddle — Norman Ornstein, a thinker at the Heritage Foundation, the right-wing think tank, is grappling with “one of the great paradoxes of our time.” To wit: While polls confirm a strong public antipathy to corporations and an equally strong preference for corporate taxes rather than individual ones, Congress has steadily shifted the tax burden from corporations to individuals. “You have a totally different atmosphere in Congress,” the puzzled Mr. Ornstein notes.

Cheap and durable — The International Star Registry, whoever they are, will register a star in your name “in perpetuity,” with a list-

ing filed in its Swiss vault and the Library of Congress. Only \$30.

Think you’re bad off? — Four years ago, Texas tycoon W. Herbert Hunt suggested he and his two brothers were “worth” maybe \$8 billion. Now, a shaken *Wall Street Journal* reports that what with the billion and a half bath they took trying to corner the world silver market, plus oil and land speculation losses, the Hunts may be down to their last several billion.

Fitting reward — Teamster President Jackie Presser has received his payoff for the union’s endorsement of Reagan. He’s been appointed to the president’s Committee for Employer Support for Veteran Employment, an unpaid post.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA Birmingham

Agent Orange Settlement: No Justice for Veterans. Speakers: a panel of Vietnam veterans. Sat., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Weekend Socialist Educational Series.

1. “Nicaragua Is Not Alone — International Fighters Speak Out.” A panel of speakers from Quebec, Palestine, Dominican Republic, and South Africa. Sat., Dec. 15, 7 p.m.

2. “Nicaragua Today.” A slide-show presentation by people who recently returned from revolutionary Nicaragua. Sun., Dec. 16, 11 a.m.

3. “After the Elections: What Next in the Fight for a Socialist America?” Speaker: Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential candidate. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$6 for series or \$2 per session. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Celebration of South African Heroes Day. Program and film presentation. Sun., Dec. 16, 3 p.m. New Bethel Baptist Church, 8450 Linwood (cor. Philadelphia). Ausp: New Bethel Baptist Church, Midwest Coalition Against Apartheid, Pan-African Students Union, Wayne State University. For more information call (313) 894-5788.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Socialist Bookstore Special Holiday Sale! Open Mon.—Sat. Ten percent off all books. Northern California’s largest supply of books and pamphlets in Spanish and English on revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Malcolm X, and Lenin. 3284 23 St (at Mission). For more information call (415) 282-6255. Bring this ad in with you and receive an additional 10 percent off all purchases.

Famine in Africa. Speakers: Kibwe Diarra, member Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers; Margaret Weber, Bread for the World. Sun., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The British Miners Strike: An Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Lisa Ahlberg, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and Socialist Workers Party. Showing of National Union of Mineworkers video on strike. Sun., Dec. 16, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Eyewitness Report: Washington’s War Against Nicaragua. Speakers: Carla Hoag, member Socialist Workers Party and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, recently visited Nicaragua; Steve Schmuger, member SWP, participant in U.S. construction brigade in Managua. Translation to Spanish. Fri. Jan. 4, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner Raymond, 1 block from Broad St.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

New York City

Film Showing Benefit. Turn to the Gun, a film about CIA frame-up of Irish anti-imperialists; and *The Good Fight*, film about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. Fri., Jan. 4, 7:30 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Harrison-Falvey Defense Committee.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua! Eyewitness report with slide show and discussion. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 301 S Elm St., room #522. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

Repression in Chile: Workers Fight Back. Slide show and presentations by Willie Lopez, Chileans for Democracy Committee; and Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 15, 7 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Stop the Bombings!: Antiabortion Terrorists Attack Women’s Right to Choose. Speakers: Amy Shannon, Planned Parenthood; Ricki D. Grunberg, Coalition for the Protection of Women’s Health; Julie Steiner, American Civil Liberties Union; Reba Williams, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 1784 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Nicaraguan leader speaks on U.S. war

Continued from back page

sion, invasion. We have already suffered intervention, have suffered invasion” at the hands of U.S.-backed contras, Enriquez said. “If the marines come that will be a declaration of war.

“And let me remind you, we are not Grenada!”

As the crowd chanted and demanded that Enriquez continue, she concluded, “I hope you see beyond just Nicaragua, because the survival of the Nicaraguan revolution goes beyond, to the hopes of Latin America, to the hopes of the entire Third World.”

Romeo Posadas, speaking for El Salvador’s Revolutionary Democratic Front, described the U.S. role in the escalating war there. Since June there have been some 200 air strikes, Posadas said. The U.S. government is supplying sophisticated weapons, while U.S. advisors and spy flights help direct the Salvadoran government’s operations against rebel forces.

“These major escalations will lead to regionalization of the war. It will be prolonged at a high cost, not only for the Cen-

tral American people, but for the U.S. people,” Posadas warned.

Rigoberta Menchú, an Indian leader of the Guatemalan struggle, described the severe repression in her country. In the last two years there have been 220 massacres resulting in thousands of deaths in Guatemala. This terror is particularly fierce against the Indian population.

Also speaking were Rev. Antonio Ramos, and Tony Watkins of the Rainbow Coalition.

The Hunter College auditorium where the rally was held was renamed the Maurice Bishop Memorial Hall for the day and decorated with banners donated by the Artists Call for Peace. The musical group Tahuantinsuyo and jazz musician Thiago de Mello, as well as other entertainers and poets, performed throughout the day’s program.

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

'Killing Fields' obscures truth about Kampuchea

BY STEVE MARSHALL

The Killing Fields, directed by Roland Joffé, screenplay by Bruce Robinson. A Warner Bros. release.

Between 1975 and 1979, up to 3 million Kampuchians starved, died from disease, or were murdered by the Khmer Rouge government of that country — a government that called itself "communist."

Now Hollywood has brought this story to the U.S. screen in living color, in a film that graphically depicts the horror and suffering of that holocaust. And at the

FILM REVIEW

same time, under a shallow cover of liberalism, it adds fuel to the fire of Washington's escalating war drive against the workers and farmers of Kampuchea, Vietnam, and, most immediately, Central America.

The Killing Fields tells the story of Sydney Schanberg, a *New York Times* reporter who was in Phnom Penh in the early 1970s, and Dith Pran, his Kampuchean assistant. When Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge guerrilla fighters overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Lon Nol in 1975, Schanberg returned to New York. For the next four years, Dith Pran remained in Kampuchea.

The attitudes of the U.S. audiences who see *The Killing Fields* are influenced by the Vietnam War. Most people in the United States want no part of a new Vietnam-type war, so this film avoids crude flag-waving. There are no strapping Sergeant Rocks or Chuck Norrises blasting their way through "godless Asian hordes" in this movie; its anticommunist message is more subtle and more insidious.

'Target errors'

The action opens in Phnom Penh in 1973, as Schanberg and Dith pursue a story that U.S. forces have bombed a village near the capital. Schanberg's efforts to learn the facts are obstructed by U.S. embassy and military officials, but a diplomat passes him a confidential, supposedly truthful leak: a "target error" caused the bombing and hundreds of deaths.

Dith gets Schanberg into the devastated village, and his report on the carnage among civilians there makes the *Times*'s front page.

But even this bloody opening glosses over the real U.S. role in Kampuchea, as do Schanberg's predictions in the next scenes, 18 months later, that "a bloodbath will follow" U.S. and French withdrawal from the country.

The bloodbath had already been raging for five years, since the U.S. overthrew Kampuchea's government in 1970 and installed a murderous dictatorship. U.S. B-52s had already dropped 400,000 tons of bombs on Kampuchea, and destroyed hundreds of villages, before the attack depicted in the opening scene. It was Washington's policy of daily carpet bombing, not "target error," that killed over half a million Kampuchean workers and farmers during Lon Nol's rule.

Another bloodbath took place under the victorious Khmer Rouge. Within hours of their entrance into Phnom Penh, they began an evacuation of the city. An eerie Gregorian chant accents this brutal, wrenching scene: workers, soldiers, poor street children; middle-class shopkeepers and professionals; the old, the crippled and the blind — virtually all of Phnom Penh driven at gunpoint into a gigantic, fearful exodus into the Kampuchean countryside.

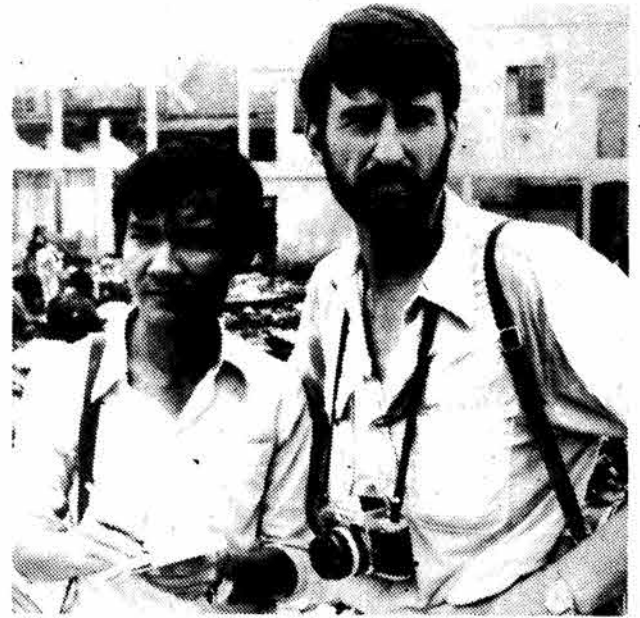
For the next four years, Dith Pran suffers under the barbarities of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge along with the rest of the Kampuchean population. Murder, torture, forced-labor camps, a starving, decimated population, and broad open fields of skeletons — all under the Khmer Rouge's supposed "socialism" — are dramatized with an awful realism.

Timeworn charge

Warner Brothers' talents for gore and violence, especially that committed by purported revolutionaries, are well displayed. And by leaving out any explanation of these events, and most importantly how they were halted, *The Killing Fields* can only confirm for many the timeworn charge of Washington and its capitalist rulers: this is what happens when the communists take over.

But Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, whatever words they used, were not communists.

Their "revolution" was one imposed on the workers and farmers of Kampuchea. It was the opposite of the course taken by workers and farmers governments that rely on the organization and mobilization of the exploited classes themselves to build a new society. The best representatives of such governments are in Cuba and Nicaragua today, and in Russia following the 1917 revolution and Grenada under Maurice Bishop.



Sam Waterson (right) as *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg, and Haing S. Ngor as Dith Pran, his assistant and translator in Kampuchea.

In Kampuchea, and on his return to the United States, Schanberg points to the U.S. government's responsibility for the holocaust in Kampuchea. "What we underestimated," he reflects, "was the insanity that came out of the bombing."

That's true. But in this context it expresses the liberal "opposition" to Washington's wars. If only there weren't "target errors" during carpet bombing runs; if only Washington could impose "better" governments on colonial peoples; if only the Reagan administration would take the *New York Times*'s advice in conducting its attacks on Nicaraguan workers and farmers — then these revolutions could be defeated.

It's important to see where this film came from.

Washington was defeated in Vietnam, but it never accepted its defeat as final. Democratic and Republican administrations have waged a 10-year campaign to starve and isolate the Vietnamese revolution. And when Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, so hostile to the workers and farmers of Kampuchea, began attacking those in Vietnam,

Continued on Page 15

Ruling class made gains through Ferraro campaign

Almost all women's liberation groups and the left hailed Geraldine Ferraro's campaign as vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. They said it was a historic gain and giant step forward for women's rights.

Among the most vocal supporters of the Ferraro candidacy was the Communist Party (CP). Although the CP ran its own candidates, it gave clear support to the Democratic Party slate.

Judith Eisenscher, a staff writer for the CP's newspaper the *Daily World*, wrote in an October 26 column, "The ruling class is terrified of the excitement that [Fer-

For example, the ruling class tried to use Ferraro to refurbish the myth of the "American dream." Ferraro and the capitalist media claimed that the fact that a woman from an immigrant background could rise so high is proof "that in America anything is possible if you work for it."

Ferraro, however, voted against the racist, anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill, explaining that it *wasn't* harsh enough in its treatment of immigrant workers.

Part of Ferraro's candidacy was a direct appeal to chauvinist flag-waving. And it had some impact. An article from *Ms. Magazine* on the Ferraro campaign begins: "For the first time in my life," said a Minnesota woman who grew up in the antiwar movement, "I felt proud to hold an American flag." This patriotic pitch to women was a central feature of the Ferraro campaign.

Ferraro's image as being "tough" on communism was also promoted. "If I were in a position of leadership in this country, they [the Soviet Union] would be assured that they would be met with swift, concise, and certain retaliation," she said.

Referring to the Nicaraguan government, she said, "No, I'm not willing to live with a force that could be a danger to our country." And she made clear that "I would advocate the use of force [against Nicaragua] to protect the security of our country."

Ferraro's "tough" line on communism was paired with her image of being a "tough" prosecutor. "I put my share of criminals behind bars," she boasted. That is, she put away her share of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other working-class victims of capitalist society who fill the prisons and the death rows of this country to overflowing.

Her appeal was especially designed to enlist women in the ruling-class law-and-order campaign.

Ferraro is notorious in Queens as an opponent of busing for school desegregation. She supported a constitutional amendment to ban busing completely throughout the country.

She also opposes quotas to enforce affirmative action programs.

Is this the image that Eisenscher claims has the ruling class shaking in its boots?

In fact, Ferraro's image is part of a reactionary appeal to women. It is aimed at identifying the needs of women with "law and order," racism, opposition to busing and abortion rights, and with patriotic flagwaving.

And part of Ferraro's campaign was to enlist more women themselves in the campaign against women's rights, such as the right to abortion.

But Eisenscher is not content with painting a racist slumlord as a model for women. She goes further.

She contrasts Ferraro to Margaret Thatcher of Britain. Thatcher is in office, Eisenscher says, because

"Women's leadership is acceptable to the ruling class as long as it represents their interests, rather than those of the masses of women."

Eisenscher points to Ferraro's position on abortion — "that of pro-choice" — as proof that Ferraro advances a program in the interests of the masses of women.

Throughout the campaign Ferraro stressed in strong terms her abhorrence of abortion and joined the "abortion is murder" campaign. "As a Catholic, I accept the premise that a fertilized ovum is a baby," she said. "I have been blessed with the gift of faith; but others have not. I have no right to impose my beliefs on them. I firmly believe, given my current situation, that I could never have an abortion."

Explaining her vote for some Medicaid funding of abortions, she said, "The cost of putting an unwanted child through the system far outweighs the cost of funding these procedures." This reeks of racist, population-control schemes that blame "overbreeding" among Blacks and Latinos for poverty caused by the capitalist system.

Ferraro's position has nothing in common with a "pro-choice" stance, which bases the right to abortion squarely on the right of a woman to control her own body as her most fundamental right.

Women's liberation fighters who backed Ferraro were disarmed ideologically and demobilized in the face of growing attacks. This is precisely what the Ferraro campaign was fashioned to do: to divert, demobilize and depoliticize women.

Andrea González, the vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, put forward a very different stand from the Communist Party. She told the truth about the Ferraro campaign.

In an interview with the *New York Times*, González said of Ferraro's nomination, "I don't believe this is a historic advance for women. The only place where women are advancing today in the Americas is in Nicaragua and Cuba."

González called on women to oppose imperialism's attempt to "drown in blood these shining examples of how to end oppression and exploitation."

González explained that the purpose of the Ferraro campaign was to try to link the struggle of women for our rights to the *wrong class*. It was aimed at obscuring the class line that puts working people, women, Blacks, Latinos and others among the oppressed — in this country and throughout the world — on one side, and the capitalist class on the other.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, helped to blur the class line and to mislead and disarm women's liberation fighters.



**WOMEN
IN REVOLT**
Pat Grogan

raro's] candidacy has generated ... and it will do anything to undermine her appeal."

This is false from start to finish. Far from being terrified by Ferraro's campaign, the ruling class made big gains through it.

Ferraro's campaign was designed to convince women and others among the oppressed that progress can be made through the "system" — and especially by supporting one of the two ruling capitalist parties — the Democratic Party.

The ruling class preferred it when the "whites only" and "women need not apply" signs were posted at the doors of the two-party system. But they are capable of making adjustments in order to maintain their rule. They are willing to let a woman — or a Black — sit in the White House if that's what it takes to head off independent political action by working people.

Ferraro's candidacy only reflected — in a distorted way — the long-term progress women have made against our second-class status. Her campaign, in fact, was aimed precisely at undercutting a genuine defense of those gains and at convincing women that our interests are tied to the interests of the employing class.

Eisenscher paints an image of Ferraro as an "independent woman" with "working-class roots," instead of the slumlord and capitalist politician she is. The implication is that Ferraro's program favors working people. But Eisenscher refuses to say much about what Ferraro's program actually was.

New attack on working farmers

President Reagan's administration has announced another major attack on working farmers. Agriculture Secretary John Block proposes that government price supports for farmers be drastically slashed. He calls for a provision in the 1985 farm bill that would offer price supports on commodities only when prices fall below 75 percent of the average open-market price of the last five years.

Since prices usually don't drop this low, farmers will be forced onto the roller coaster of marketplace price fluctuations over which they have no control. This will especially hurt debt-ridden working farmers whose costs are already running higher than what they are able to make selling their products. Reagan's proposal will guarantee more farm bankruptcies and foreclosures, driving thousands of producers off the land.

This proposed attack on farmers is part of the president's projected \$100 billion budget cuts, which are aimed at reducing housing subsidies, veterans' benefits, Medicare and Medicaid, and the few other programs that benefit working people.

Government officials say that these cuts are necessary in order to balance the federal budget. And as servants of the ruling rich, they naturally say the country's producers must sacrifice first.

Echoing this theme, a December 9 *New York Times* editorial smugly stated, "There is no good economic or social reason to keep America's enormously productive farm sector permanently on welfare."

The *Times* editors then demagogically argue that, "Most of the benefits go to the Big Farmers."

That's true. The lion's share of government price supports and other federally funded farm programs go to the big capitalist farmers and food monopolies, that is, those who profit off the labor of others. This, in fact, is the hallmark of all farm programs devised by Democratic and Republican party politicians.

But this is *not* a reason to virtually eliminate price supports altogether as the *New York Times* editors demand. It simply shows that an entirely new price-support system should be implemented that would guarantee exploited working farmers a living income. At the same time all

programs that fill the troughs of greedy capitalist farmers with profits should be ended.

The same approach should apply to all government-funded farm programs including loans and crop insurance. Credit should be extended to working farmers on the basis of need, not on the basis of whether or not they are a "good risk."

Block also says he wants a "get tough" policy to discourage European governments from subsidizing their farmers. The *Times* editors, chiming in on this note, urge Washington to "press for an end to the subsidies that Western European governments supply to their farmers, transforming a land-scarce region into a net exporter of food and depressing agricultural prices world-wide."

What Block and the *New York Times* want is for U.S. farmers to target as their enemy European farmers who have the audacity to produce enough to export, instead of blaming the U.S. government, food monopolies, and banks for the crisis working farmers face.

The proponents of this proposal naturally don't mention that the handful of food monopolies that buy and sell agricultural commodities throughout the world will keep reaping mammoth profits from the labor of farmers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Reagan says there's not enough money in the public treasury to pay for farm programs, just as there isn't for many social services. So cuts are necessary.

But this is false. There's plenty of money. It's just a matter of deciding what's important. Instead of spending hundreds of billions of dollars on nuclear-tipped missiles, aircraft carriers, and other weaponry, the tax money of working people — both wage workers and farmers — should be used for their benefit.

It is cruel and unjust to subject working farmers and their families to the ups and downs of the capitalist market. Just as workers should be guaranteed a living wage, with cost-of-living adjustments and full unemployment compensation for as long as they are laid off, working farmers should be guaranteed a price for their products that will make it possible for them to meet their cost of production and earn a decent living. This should be an elementary right.

The FBI and antiabortion bombs

Antiabortion terrorists will be gratified — and encouraged in their efforts — by FBI director William Webster's December 4 declaration that the FBI does not regard them as terrorists.

According to Webster, the present FBI definition of terrorist covers those who "try to shift the government" or "overthrow the government."

Countless Black rights fighters and supporters of Puerto Rican independence in this country, as well as those fighting for their liberation in Central America and the Middle East, fit the FBI's "terrorist" bill.

But those who bomb and torch abortion clinics, Webster asserted, do not meet that standard. Therefore the FBI will not involve itself in dealing with these crimes.

The Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) is supposedly in charge of investigating the clinic bombings.

An ATF spokesperson said, "We have taken the position that so far our investigation doesn't point to a nationwide organized conspiracy."

Therefore, the ATF has no special task force to deal with the problem.

So far this year at least 24 abortion clinics in seven states and the District of Columbia have been the targets of bomb and arson attacks. That's up from a reported four in 1983.

An outfit calling itself the Army of God has taken credit for many of these attacks.

This may not meet the FBI's standard for a nationwide conspiracy. But the criminal activity of the "right-to-life" terrorists surely is a product of the nationwide drive against abortion rights. That drive is being sparked by politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties with the demagogic smear charge that women who avail themselves of the legal right to abortion are guilty of "murder." Leading the pack, of course, has been the White House itself.

Webster's novel definition of the antiabortion terrorists as nonterrorists is simply an expression of sympathy for their goals.

India: victims made criminals

Continued from front page

workers have enough know-how to operate them profitably for the company.

The fact is that manufacturing chemical pesticides is a dangerous business under the best of circumstances. And far more so when safety is subordinated to profits.

Colonial and semicolonial peoples have suffered the brunt of the pesticide toll. According to the British relief agency, Oxfam, in 1982 alone there were 375,000 cases of pesticide poisoning in semicolonial and colonial countries. Ten thousand people died.

The chemical companies have two main reasons for locating so many of their plants in countries oppressed by imperialism.

The first is that these countries have a bountiful supply of labor that can be paid very low wages.

The other is that imperialist domination of these countries means that corporations can violate even the most elementary safety regulations with impunity.

Who was responsible for the "accident" at Bhopal?

On December 10 Union Carbide's corporate headquarters in Danbury, Connecticut, released a 1982 report detailing serious safety problems at the Bhopal plant. They assert that "most" of these have since been corrected.

The company's disclosure of the report came one day after an Indian paper reprinted an article by a Bhopal

journalist who had earlier obtained a copy of the report and had quoted extensively from it.

That report found 10 "major" safety problems in the plant. One of them, of which there is no record of repair, involved an inadequate safety valve on a tank used in the production of the highly toxic gas that caused the massive deaths.

Another tank was being used even though its pressure gauge wasn't working. Other tanks had leaking valves and other problems.

Perhaps the most damning confirmation of Union Carbide's guilt was its recent admission that methyl isocyanate, the deadly chemical that escaped from the plant, is not essential to the production of the plant's main product, a pesticide called Sevin.

Until 1978, Sevin was produced at the Bhopal plant without methyl isocyanate. But, a Union Carbide official explained, they then decided to include it because it made the production of Sevin more "efficient." That is, more profitable.

In sum, even though they don't need the deadly stuff, Union Carbide churns it out because it enhances the bottom line.

In light of such facts — and they tell only part of the story — it's obscene to refer to what happened at Bhopal as an accident. It was murder for profit.

Karl Radek on labor aristocracy in Germany

This week's column is an excerpt from the 1916 article "The SPD: Unity or Split?" by Karl Radek, a Polish revolutionary who later became a central leader of the Bolshevik Party. In the passage printed below, Radek takes up the significance of the rise in Germany of a privileged layer of workers, the labor aristocracy. He shows the impact of this layer on German politics and the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Finally, he explains why the SPD's class collaborationism could not be successfully fought without recognizing the fact that it had a social base inside the working class itself.

More extensive excerpts from the article appear in *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, a

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

604-page book available for \$10.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York 10014. For more on the question of the labor aristocracy see the article on page 7 of this issue.

Thanks to the rapid development of German industry, the top layer of the German working class received relatively high wages. The state and trade union social security systems offered them a certain measure of stability. They also took part to some extent in bourgeois culture. Through its trade union leaders and revisionist spokespersons in the party, this upper layer of the working class made known more and more frequently over the last 15 years that it had more to lose than its chains, and that its long struggle had already brought victories. While the petty-bourgeois elements from southern Germany played a significant role in the revisionist camp, revisionism's growing power in [SPD] life came from the support given by the trade union leaders to these same petty-bourgeois ideals.

In the last analysis, the labor aristocracy's politics are purely petty bourgeois. They do not challenge the foundations of capitalism, but rather attempt to secure as many of its advantages as possible. Naturally the German trade unionists and revisionists professed to be for socialism. In contrast to the British trade unionists, who grew up with liberal views, the Germans were educated with socialist ideas. And much more important, the broad masses of German workers were steeped in socialist ideology.

But for these leaders socialism became a far-off ideal or simply an empty slogan. Their daily work was limited to a struggle for minor gains. They judge politics on how it affects this struggle. They resist every attempt at constructing a mass movement that would enable the broad masses of the working class to secure political rights and improvements in living conditions. They protest against such "revolutionary romanticism," claiming that such actions are impossible. But in reality they are afraid of jeopardizing the previous gains of the labor aristocracy. The labor bureaucracy does not want to generalize these benefits through a mass movement, but only to increase them for the labor aristocracy, from which it is recruited and whose interests it represents.

For this reason the entire labor bureaucracy supported the revisionist policy of rapprochement with the bourgeoisie. They hoped the capitalists would make concessions to forces that acted in a "peaceful and business-like manner," and they feared that "radical phrases" would only frighten the bourgeoisie and drive them into the arms of reaction.

The trade union leaders and revisionists also had no objection to the bourgeoisie granting them concessions made at the expense of the masses in other countries. Without exception these trade union leaders and revisionists supported colonialist policy, which is nothing other than the exploitation of alien peoples for capitalist ends.

... [T]he labor aristocracy and bureaucracy try to reach their goals in alliance with the bourgeoisie. Before the war we already knew that this policy was incompatible with socialism. But we thought that it resulted merely from the illusions of the leaders and that it would fade away under pressure of heightening class contradictions. Experience has shown that we were wrong. First it was not just the policy of the leadership. It was backed by a body of workers who entirely shared their leaders' goals. And it would be a fatal illusion for us to think that today these leaders enjoy no mass support or that they enjoy it only where workers are not sufficiently enlightened. This split runs through the working masses themselves. Everywhere a sector of the workers stands by the social patriots, not because they lack education, but because they want nothing more than reforms. If we do not recognize this, we will be condemned to carry out a party policy founded on illusion, which underestimates the enemy's strength.

From our readers behind bars

The *Militant* receives many letters from our readers who are in prison. Unfortunately space permits us to print only a portion of these letters and some of them are abridged.

We receive letters from prisoners on a wide range of subjects, from letters of appreciation for receiving the *Militant*, which is made possible by our Prisoners Fund, to letters from prisoners engaged in struggles to defend their basic democratic rights and letters describing political discussions. This week we devote the entire letters column to the sisters and brothers behind bars.

The *Militant* special Prisoners Fund makes it possible to send subscriptions to prisoners who can't afford them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Grenada: a model

I would like to express, on behalf of Afro-American and Cuban prisoners here, our outrage against the criminal indignities to which Dessima Williams, the former Grenadian ambassador the Organization of American States, has been subjected at the hands of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

That this reactionary government seeks to dismantle the U.S. Constitution itself through a direct frontal assault upon the First Amendment in particular — and democracy in general — cannot be doubted.

Our slain brother, Maurice Bishop, with his inspired revolutionary leadership in the face of imperialist aggression, has at once made of Grenada under the People's Revolutionary Government a model for people everywhere struggling in the grip of domination — and a symbol.

The intensity of the flame lit in those short-lived days has not dimmed, but rather has flared up into a revolutionary torch burning fiercely in the hearts of tens of thousands worldwide. Tiny, far away Grenada has become a cause celebre even within the impenetrable stone and steel of U.S. prisons.

A prisoner
Soledad, California

Black inmates suit

In December of 1976, the

United States Department of Justice filed a class-action suit on behalf of prisoners incarcerated within the Illinois Department of Corrections.

The complaint alleged that the Illinois Department of Corrections systematically discriminated against Black inmates.

It seemed that Black inmates were discriminated against when it came to prison jobs, cellhouse assignments, educational opportunities, transfers, and discipline punishment "in which Black inmates receive more frequent, severe and disparate punishments than do their white counterparts."

On July 26, 1978, a Consent Decree was issued that ordered an Affirmative Action Plan. The Consent Decree said that a prison minority member would be assigned to all disciplinary and grievance committee hearings and it forbade any more racial prejudices towards Black inmates by prison officials.

I am a jailhouse lawyer at the Illinois Menard Correctional Center. On August 30, 1984, I filed papers demanding that the Illinois Department of Corrections show cause why they should not be found in contempt of court, since they have failed to obey the Consent Decree and Affirmative Action Plan.

On November 7, the U.S. Department of Justice asked the court for a continuance to allow the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate the charges I made against prison officials.

This motion was granted on November 19.

A prisoner
Menard, Illinois

'Justice'

My wife, my nine-year-old son, and I confronted the most unbelievable injustice and acts of brutality in a Department of Corrections visiting room.

I was in the visiting room with my loved ones. When I left to go to the bathroom, I was attacked by an officer. My wife heard the noise and came running into the bathroom with my son to see what was going on. They and the inmates were yelling at the officer to stop beating me.

A sergeant pushed and bruised my wife and son, and they were shoved back into the visiting room. As a result of the trauma, my son became ill and had an asthma attack. Another inmate's little daughter was pushed to the floor by officers.

The officer who assaulted me

claimed he suspected I had contraband material and he tried to get it from me physically. He found nothing.

In an example of the Department of Correction's outstanding, impartial justice, I was charged with attempting to possess contraband and assaulting the officer.

I got a year and a half in solitary confinement with the loss of phone calls, commissary, packages, loss of good time, loss of contact visits with my wife for six months, plus an outside criminal charge. My parole is in jeopardy.

My wife and son have filed a lawsuit and I hope it will do some good. I know there are very many stories of "justice" within the Department of Corrections.

A prisoner
Stormville, New York

Stop death penalty

In the October 19 issue of the *Militant*, there was a letter in the letters column concerning a man on death row. Alvin Culberson is the person mentioned who is under a sentence of death.

Please put me in touch with the person organizing his defense.

As a person in prison who is working on prison reform and the doing away with the death penalty, I can put them in touch with a couple of projects that can be of help in the quest for Alvin Culberson's search for justice and freedom.

Keep up the good work through your paper. As one of the oppressed, I do so enjoy reading it.

A prisoner
Westville, Indiana

Thanks contributors

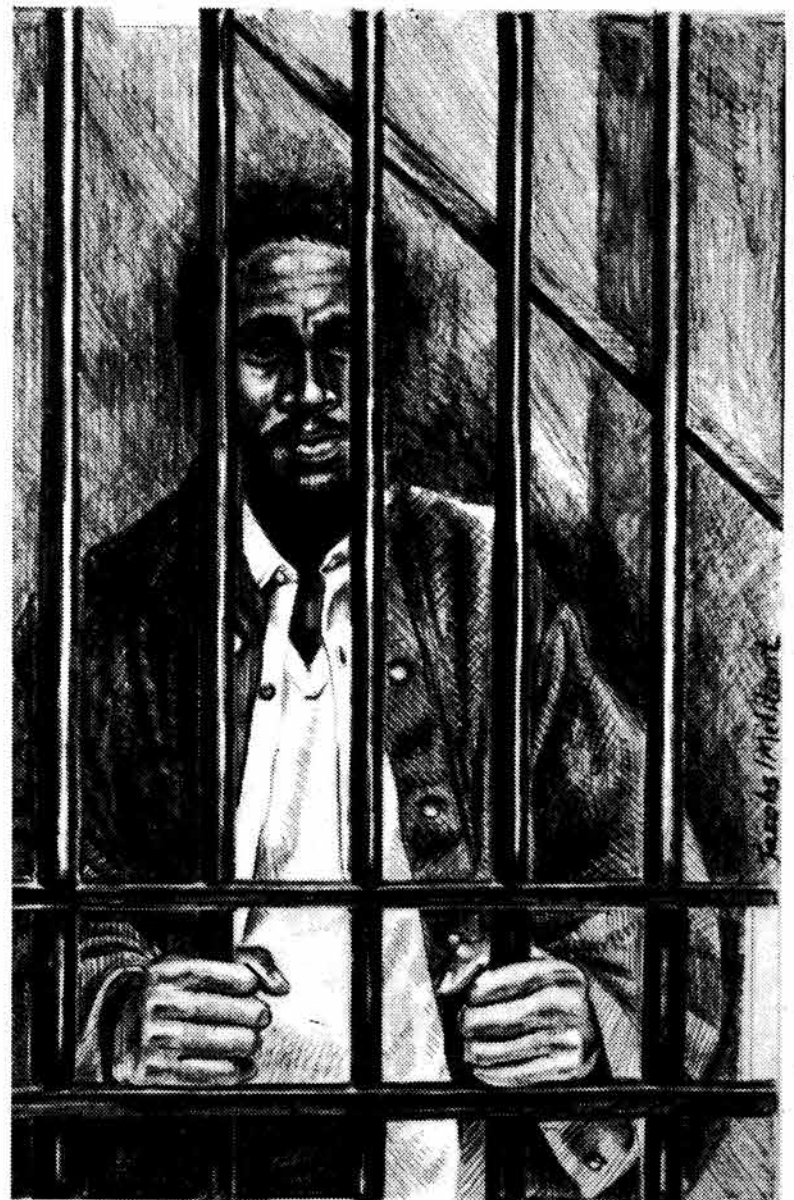
I hope this finds all comrades out there just fine, during these times of hard struggle against U.S. imperialism.

If it wasn't for the people out there with their generous donations to the Prisoner's Fund, it would not be possible for us brothers and sisters in here to be able to get a subscription to the *Militant* or a few other books, since we have no money to pay for them.

A prisoner

Capitalist warehouse

Me and some other comrades here presently find ourselves incarcerated within the capitalist "processing warehouse." We do not have any other source to acquire information about progressive movements around the world except the "Big Business" media.



Therefore, on behalf of the comrades here, I wish to receive your publication so that we may stay abreast of the class struggle.

Death to Yankee imperialism, enemy of humanity!

A prisoner
Auburn, New York

Revolutionary prisoner

I'm incarcerated at Fort Pillow prison. I am a revolutionary prisoner and I am trying to equip myself with enough reading materials so I can teach and elevate my mind and do the same for other brothers who are interested in the struggle to free the land. I know your paper has a lot of interesting articles about what is going on in the world and I would like to read it and share it with the other brothers.

A prisoner
Henning, Tennessee

Prisoner Fund

Thank you for your prompt answer to my letter.

I am most grateful to receive the news that I will be receiving the *Militant* newspaper through the

Militant Prisoner Fund.

I, too, shall soon be able to send along contributions to the Prisoner Fund.

Again, I thank you very much and will surely make good use of the *Militant* by studying it, lecturing to others on its contents and making sure that the paper will be passed along all through the prison.

A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Correction

One of the authors of last week's article "D.C. unionists protest apartheid" was inadvertently omitted. The article was written by Ike Nahem and Nancy Brown.

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.

'Killing Fields' obscures truth about Kampuchea

Continued from Page 13

Washington began to look more kindly on a new Pol Pot ally in Southeast Asia.

Khmer Rouge attacks across Vietnam's borders finally forced the Vietnamese government to intervene there, joining with Kampuchean rebels to drive the Khmer Rouge from power in January 1979.

In early 1980, Washington's campaign against Vietnam was given a big boost when a group of liberals denounced the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea and helped undermine famine relief to the new Kampuchean government. Among them were former opponents of the U.S. war against Vietnam, such as singer Joan Baez.

It was at the height of that campaign that Schanberg wrote a Jan. 20, 1980, article for the *Times*: "The Death and Life of Dith Pran."

Drawing sympathetic portraits of Lon Nol's murderous generals, and slandering the Vietnamese liberation forces in Kampuchea, it fit right in. It fit so well that Warner Brothers decided to make a movie out of it, and that's how *The Killing Fields* was born.

There's a scene in Schanberg's article, though, that's left out of the film. It's a telling omission.

On screen, Dith escapes from the Khmer Rouge by his wits alone. It's a confused sequence: snatches of radio broadcasts about Vietnamese-Kampuchean fighting, ex-

plosions, a long trek through the jungle and, finally, huts with Red Cross symbols.

But in actual fact, Dith Pran was delivered from the Khmer Rouge nightmare by the same means as the rest of the country: aided by Vietnamese armed forces, Kampuchean resistance fighters overthrew the Pol Pot dictatorship and established a new government.

For six months Dith lived in a Kampuchea where the forced labor camps were dismantled; where people, himself included, made their way back to their native villages; where, despite the utter ruin of the country, the beginnings of a new society were laid.

Dith Pran participated in this "Year One" of Kampuchea — he was the chief administrator, or mayor, of Siem Reap, a town of 10,000 people. Eventually, in July 1979, he left Siem Reap and headed for Thailand, and later came to the United States.

An honest account of this period, of course, would put the lie to Washington's central political premise: that "Vietnamese military aggression" simply replaced one brutal communist tyranny in Kampuchea with another.

To hold, as *The Killing Fields* does in closing, that "Kampuchea's torment has not ended," is to put an equal sign between the horror of the Pol Pot years and the liberation and reconstruction that followed. It trivializes the systematic murder and starvation of nearly half a nation

under both Washington's puppet regime and the Khmer Rouge, and it slanders the new government of Kampuchea, along with that of Vietnam, that have finally begun the reconstruction of those countries after decades of war.

Kampuchea's torment continues not because it was liberated, with Vietnamese aid, from the Khmer Rouge, but because it is still under attack from imperialism. *The Killing Fields* fails to mention that Pol Pot and his killers, so well portrayed on the screen, now enjoy diplomatic and military support from the United States. It is Washington that arms them in their bases in Thailand. And it is Washington that keeps them ensconced in Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations, one rightfully belonging to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

And yet, despite unrelenting attacks on its borders and diplomatic and economic pressures orchestrated by Washington, Kampuchea's workers and farmers have begun to revive education, health care, agriculture, and industry. The country is desperately poor, but its government today makes human needs its top priority.

As Wall Street, along with its newspapers, movie studios, and government in Washington, steps up its war against workers and farmers in Southeast Asia and Central America, it's worth learning the truth about Kampuchea — a truth *The Killing Fields* tries to obscure.

Nicaraguan woman speaks on U.S. war: 'We have already suffered invasion'

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — "For more than 50 months we have been suffering aggression at the hands of the U.S. government," Nicaraguan spokesperson Magda Enríquez told a crowd of some 800 people at a December 8 Town Meeting here sponsored by New Yorkers for Peace in Central America.

Enríquez is a representative of the Nicaraguan women's organization, AMNLAE. She told the crowd that Nicaragua's death toll from U.S. aggression already stands at 8,000 people, a third of a percent of the population. That would mean 700,000 deaths if the United States were to lose such a proportion of its people.

"We are rebuilding, trying to reconstruct, to continue education and health campaigns, to mobilize," Enríquez explained. "What takes us years to build is destroyed in an hour by *contras*," referring to the CIA-organized terrorist bands. She estimated the economic damage to Nicaragua at \$300 million.

"But for more than 50 months we have also been defeating the aggression," Enríquez continued, "and we will continue."

Enríquez explained the significance of international solidarity. "It has been the people of the United States who have made

us change our idea of 'Yankees' and 'gringos,' who taught us to distinguish between the U.S. people and their government.

"When a Black woman, a Chicana, a Puerto Rican, or an Indian woman has no child care, it is because their tax money is being converted into bullets to kill the men and women who are building child-care centers in Nicaragua.

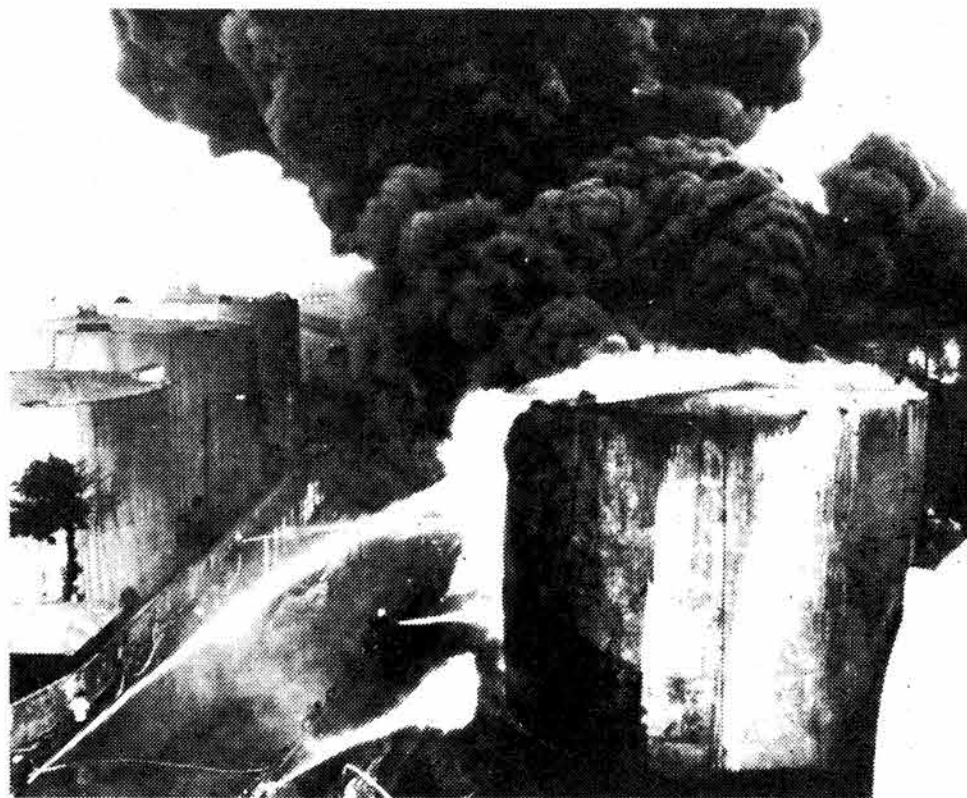
"Your social security and medical benefits are being cut because your tax money is being converted into bombs and spy planes to destroy those who are making health care and social services available for everyone in Nicaragua, including the farm workers who never had anything before."

Enríquez continued, "Most painful for us is that when the U.S. Marines come, the youth in the front line will be our Black and Latino brothers. At least our children will have a purpose in dying. But the young men from the United States who are sent against us will not even know why they die, will not know they are instruments of a manic policy.

"That is why for more than 50 months we have struggled for a peaceful solution and come to every world forum," Enríquez said. But the U.S. government has rejected every Nicaraguan effort.

"So let's not talk of intervention, aggression change our idea of 'Yankees' and 'gringos,' who taught us to distinguish between the U.S. people and their government."

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Damage to oil tanks in port of Corinto, Nicaragua, last year is example of how U.S. government-supplied arms are used against Nicaragua by counterrevolutionaries. Schools and hospitals are also targets for destruction.

Labor rally draws broad support for Yale workers

BY JOHN STUDER

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — Glennie Burch, a Black woman leader of Yale clerical unionists, captured the spirit of their strike against this wealthy Ivy League university when she told a rally here December 8, "Even if I had had the money to go to Yale, I wouldn't have gotten the education I've received in the last 10 weeks on strike."

This reflected the determination to fight until victory shown by 1,000 strikers and their supporters from throughout New England who rallied and marched here in support of their continuing effort to win a contract with Yale University. Sponsored by

Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, the Yale affiliate of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, which has been on strike, the rally turned out union supporters and others who share the conviction that this fight is of national significance.

Last year the union won a hard-fought battle to represent the clerical employees at Yale and has since been locked in a struggle to win a contract. The key issue in the strike is the question of "comparable worth" — that is, equal pay for clerical workers, overwhelmingly women, to that received by workers in other jobs and in-

dustries requiring comparable skills.

The bulk of rally participants were members of Local 34, their sister union Local 35, which organizes the maintenance and cafeteria employees at Yale, and student supporters from the campus.

Busloads of supporters came from Boston and New York, including contingents from the United Auto Workers (UAW) local that is fighting to win a contract for clerical employees at Harvard University, and District 65 of the UAW in New York, which organizes similar workers at Columbia University and other facilities.

New Haven supporters came from Teamsters Joint Council 64, Carpenters Local 270, and locals of the Communications Workers of America and the American Postal Workers Union. Women came from the New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women and two New Jersey chapters of the National Organization for Women. Also present were members of American Federation of Teachers locals in New York and Philadelphia, Connecticut locals of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, International Association of Machinists, and the Connecticut Building Trades. Students from numerous campuses in New England attended.

The spirited rally was chaired by John Wilhelm, president of Local 34. It was the first rally held by the local since it decided to return to work over the Christmas holiday period. By returning to work, the strikers hope to strengthen and solidify the union in preparation for renewing the strike in January, when the next school semester opens, if they are unable to reach an acceptable contract with the university over the holiday break.

In an interview after the rally, Wilhelm told the *Militant* that the strikers expected that the university would be tough on them when they went back to work, but that the workers had so far been able to fight off any university attempts to victimize strikers and their supporters. For example, he pointed to one incident in which the college tried to fire a temporary worker who had been honoring the picket lines, but were

forced to back off when returning strikers protested.

George Conte, an electrician for Yale and president of Local 35, also spoke to the rally. He reported that Local 35's contract expires on January 19, the same day that school reopens next semester. Thus, both Local 34 and Local 35 have the same deadline to reach agreement with Yale or be forced on strike.

The members of Local 35 have honored the Local 34 picket lines for the 10 weeks of the strike, and it was clear that the members of both locals are prepared to support each other in whatever steps they are forced to take next month.

Other speakers at the rally included the president of the New Haven Teachers Union; a representative from the UAW whose father is a striking Local 34 member; David Livingston, the president of District 65 of the UAW in New York; Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialists of America; and three New Haven aldermen.

One of the leaders of the student support movement for the strike, Kim Phillips, a second year graduate student in Afro-American studies, also spoke. "I became discouraged at one point and called my mother to tell her I was going to pack up and come home," Phillips said. "But she told me to stick it out, and I am."

In addition, a petition supporting the strike was presented to the university from 250 students at Brown University in Rhode Island.

A number of speakers from local unions supporting the strike pointed out that Yale is the largest employer in New Haven, and the fight for decent pay there effects the wages and working conditions of working people all throughout the area.

The rally was followed by a spirited march around the university, punctuated by songs and chants that have been written by strikers to highlight the central aspects of their fight with the college. The strike has been noted for its creativity, and one of the fund-raising tools of the local for its strike fund is sales of a song book that reprints many of the scathing and humorous songs to come out of the strike.



Local 34 members and supporters demonstrating in New Haven during strike against Yale. Strike has received broad support from labor movement, students, and women's organizations.