

## U.S.-paid terrorists kill Nicaragua coffee pickers

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — More than 70 civilians — in their majority volunteer coffee harvesters — were murdered by CIA-organized mercenaries in Nicaragua in the first two weeks of December alone.

According to a December 15 communiqué by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Defense, the worst massacre was the December 6 ambushing of a truck full of coffee pickers between the towns of Telpaneca and San Juan del Río Coco in the mountainous north-central part of the country known as Las Segovias. Of the 33 civilians on the truck, 29 were killed, many of them burned alive when the mercenaries set fire to the truck after having stolen provisions and identification papers from the passengers.

Jorge Luis Briones — one of four who survived — explained that the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionaries (called *contras*) attacked the truck using rockets, grenades, and rifle fire. Only five of the coffee pickers were armed.

"The *contras*," Briones told reporters from his hospital bed, "reached the truck where you could hear moans from the wounded, and then they bayoneted the people. Later, to save themselves work, they set fire to the truck."

"There was a child with his mother on the truck; they were peasants who had asked for a ride."

Agustín Lara, political secretary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Las Segovias, said that the atrocious massacre formed part of "a bloody offensive that CIA forces have launched in an attempt to prevent the coffee harvest." Coffee is one of Nicaragua's main export crops.

He said that three counterrevolutionary regional commands, with a combined total of more than 2,000 troops, were functioning in the zone. Over the past three months, Lara said, more than 400 peasants, mostly youth, had been kidnapped by the *contras* to replenish their forces.

"This has become a very deeply felt problem among the rural population," he said.

Lara added that the wholesale kidnappings demonstrate "the political failure of the counterrevolution, which has been unable to attract these sectors to its ranks."

The "beasts" — as the *contras* are often called here — are paying a big price for their offensive against the coffee crop. During the first two weeks of December alone, the mercenaries suffered 374 casualties, including 278 dead, in 33 separate clashes. This comes on top of 446 casualties the terrorists suffered in the month of November.

Among the heaviest blows dealt the *contras* was the breaking up of the Five Pines Task Force, including the elimination of its main officers, near the town of La Trinidad, Estelí Department.

Until recently the task force, a group of roughly 200-300 men, had been the basic operational unit of the CIA band.

However, the growing success of the Sandinista People's Army and militias has forced large *contra* units to break up and function as smaller terrorist bands.

The success of the offensive against the *contras* is reflected in Nicaraguan government estimates of their current strength. In an interview with the FSLN daily *Barricada*, Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión, vice-minister of the interior, estimated the *contra* forces at no more than 9,000, compared to estimates as high as 15,000 several months ago.

In Regions I and VI, the mountainous

Continued on Page 4



U.S.-organized counterrevolutionaries are paying big price for their offensive against coffee harvest. Sandinista army (above) has recently inflicted heavy casualties on them. Young woman is one of thousands of Nicaraguan youth mobilized to bring in coffee harvest.



Barricada

## CIA admits U.S. personnel helped bomb Nicaragua

BY CINDY JAQUITH

U.S. military personnel participated directly in at least two raids inside Nicaragua in the last year, the CIA admitted December 19.

According to the agency, it hired U.S. helicopter crews to help counterrevolutionary exiles attack the northern Nicaraguan town of Potosí on Jan. 6, 1984, and the southern port of San Juan del Sur on March 7, 1984.

The CIA claimed the direct use of U.S. personnel was strictly "defensive" — they were only there to protect the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, called *contras*, the agency said.

In fact, the two attacks were outright aggression. The January 6 attack on Potosí was one of six that occurred that week, during which the town's 1,000 residents were repeatedly shelled.

It was around the same time, on January 11, that U.S. Chief Warrant Officer Jeffrey Schwab was killed when his helicopter was shot down over another part of Nicaragua's northern territory. The U.S. government never explained what Schwab was doing over Nicaraguan airspace, but the new CIA revelations help shed light on that incident too.

The March 7 attack on San Juan del Sur took place at the height of the CIA's mining of Nicaragua's ports, which was combined with a series of assaults on economic targets and civilians throughout the country. Using high-speed launches and cover from the CIA helicopter crews, the *contras* tried unsuccessfully to blow up San Juan del Sur's fuel tanks.

The CIA's admissions came in the wake of a story in the December 16 *Detroit Free Press* that members of the 160th Task Force of the 101st Airborne Division of the U.S. Army had flown missions in Nicaragua and other Central American countries in 1982 and 1983. The *Free Press* said at least 17 members of the unit had been killed in 1983. The paper quoted relatives

of some of the dead men, who said the soldiers told them about the unit's missions, which were to back up "pro-American" forces in Central America, including in Nicaragua. The soldiers also told their relatives that if they were killed, the Army would cover up the circumstances of their deaths.

The Pentagon rapidly denied the *Free Press* story, claiming that 16 of the men died in training accidents and the 17th was killed in the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Acting speedily to bury the whole story, the Senate Intelligence Committee announced December 19 that it had reviewed the matter and found the Pentagon's denial fully convincing. The committee said the case was closed.

## Court upholds gov't worker's right to socialist activity

BY WILL REISSNER

In a victory for the political rights of all working people, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington ruled December 11 that the Federal Bureau of Investigation cannot launch a "full field investigation" of a federal employee simply because that employee is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Court of Appeals ruling, written by Judge Edmund L. Palmieri, noted that the YSA is "a lawful political group affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party ('SWP'), another lawful political group." It added that federal agencies cannot discriminate in employment on the basis of such legal political activity. This is an important victory for all government employees, who are often subjected to unconstitutional harassment for exercising their democratic right to be politically active.

The ruling overturned a District Court

## 'Freedom yes! Apartheid no!'

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Daily protests and arrests continue in front of South Africa's embassy here and in other U.S. cities where the apartheid regime has a public presence. These protests have focused attention on the repression of the African majority in that country, and the U.S. government's complicity with it.

While hundreds gather each weekday in protests organized by the Free South Africa Movement, Reagan crept out from under the thin cover of "quiet diplomacy" and made a public statement.

For the record, Reagan condemned apartheid and had a meeting with Black South African Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu. Reagan then falsely claimed credit for the recent release of 11 jailed Black South African leaders.

In fact, of the 11 political and labor leaders released, six have been rearrested and charged with high treason, which carries the death penalty. Included among those arrested were Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front, and Paul David. Both had sought asylum by occupying a British consulate in South Africa prior to their arrest.

At a December 10 press conference one block from the police line surrounding the South African embassy here, Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica and coordinator of the Free South Africa Movement, answered Reagan's claim by saying, "His administration should take credit for putting them in jail." Pointing to the rearrests, he stated, "South Africa is, in fact, moving to charge more people."

Asked how long the protests would continue, Robinson said, "Our protests are expanding to new cities, and even new countries. We will not stop until our demands are met. . . . We want all the trade unionists and other political prisoners released; we want a constitutional convention in South Africa with full political rights for all Black people; and we want 'constructive engagement' scrapped."

Robinson then introduced 71-year-old Rosa Parks, a legendary figure of the Black civil rights struggle. It was her refusal in 1955 to give up her bus seat to a white person in Montgomery, Alabama, that helped

Continued on Page 3

decision in a case brought by Harry Clark in early 1980.

Harry Clark was employed by the Library of Congress from 1973 to 1979 as a reshelver of books. FBI informers reported in 1975 that Clark attended meetings of the Young Socialist Alliance. The FBI then passed that information to the Civil Service Commission, which informed the Library of Congress's Personnel Security Office.

In June 1976, the Library of Congress asked the FBI to launch a five-part investigation into Clark's political beliefs and activities and to develop any information that might "reflect adversely on his suitability for continued Federal employment."

The FBI then questioned eight of Clark's coworkers in the library, including supervisors, about his political views, his activities while on vacation, whether he was a homosexual, and his religious beliefs. Four

Continued on Page 11



# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY ELOISE LINGER

NEWARK — In the smelly petrochemical belt of northern New Jersey, working people are trying hard not to be scared.

At Union Carbide, in suburban Bound Brook, workers are wondering about the poison gas disaster at the company's plant in India. The biggest question on everybody's mind is, "How could this terrible thing happen?" Two young workers who bought the *Militant* were very upset. "It's so awful to think about... everyone inside has been talking about it."

The question nobody wants to think about is: "Could it happen here?"

Most people wanted to believe that Union Carbide had not been so callous and negligent. A week after the catastrophe in India, members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union told a *Militant* sales team, "This plant is a safe one because the union has a strong safety committee, and the company is concerned for safety." Another added, "They're so safety conscious here, it's hard to believe they could allow such a thing to happen."

The *Militant's* headline, "Union Carbide disaster: profits before safety" was timely in light of the massive propaganda blitz being waged by the company inside its plants as well as to the entire public. Both union and unorganized workers spoke of the company's intense efforts to deny any responsibility for the thousands of people killed and the estimated quarter million suffering permanent health damage.

One story circulated by management is that company officials had "discovered a problem six months before and told the Indian government, but the Indian government didn't do anything about it."

Then there was the notion that the company president went to India to figure out ways to help out, but he was detained by the government of India.

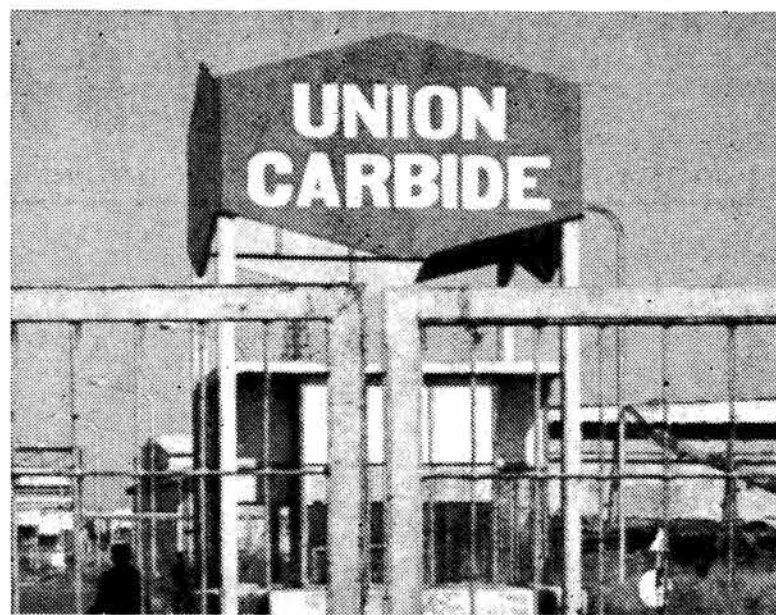
Yet another management lie was repeated by a young woman worker who explained that the "untouchables [those who rank lowest in the Hindu caste system of India] had built housing around the area of the plant even though the chemical company was already

there." She apparently had not been told by the company that Bhopal is a city of nearly a million people and that the poison gas had wiped out everything in a 25-square-mile area.

A few workers recognized the company's responsibility and what it means to people living near chemical plants. One man who was interested in the *Militant* said, "Since this happened, I don't even wear my Union Carbide hat in town anymore."

Others are shocked and don't know what to believe. One person said she was "trying to read everything to understand what is happening." It was at this point that a company official stepped in, shouting vehemently, "This paper [the *Militant*] is irresponsible for saying the company puts profits over the safety of people!" He intimidated one woman by yelling at her, "Do you know these people?" and by threatening to call the cops.

The team sold four papers in a few minutes. But it was crystal clear that management didn't want anyone interfering with their version of what happened in Bhopal. The young, gung-ho company of-



Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India. *Militant* sales team got hostile response from management when they sold in front of company's northern New Jersey plant.

ficial not only moved fast to call in security guards; he also followed our car far beyond the plant area to be sure we were on the main road out of town.

But Union Carbide will not stop

New Jersey socialists from getting out the facts. We are going back to the entrance, and into the residential and shopping area, to talk with people who work and live near Union Carbide.

## Seattle protest hits South African apartheid

BY BRUCE LESNICK

SEATTLE — More than 500 spirited protesters converged on this city's exclusive Madison Park area on December 9. They were protesting the operation of a South African consulate out of one of the local residences. Civil rights leaders, religious figures, left political groups, and Democratic Party politicians came to-

### Attention readers

**This is the last issue of the *Militant* before our one-week holiday break. We will resume publication with the issue dated January 11, 1985.**

gether, making this the broadest protest the city has seen in some years.

Demonstrators demanded that the consulate be closed and that U.S. economic and political ties with the racist white minority regime in South Africa be severed. The Seattle action was called as part of a nationally coordinated day of protests in the 12 cities across the country which harbor South African consulates.

Chanting "Free the political prisoners now!" and "People yes, apartheid no! South African consulate's got to go," dem-

onstrators circled in a picket line that stretched for two blocks. Picket signs identified many of the groups present. These included the National Black United Front, NAACP, Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Committee of Democratic Filipinos, American Friends Service Committee, and the Freedom Socialist Party. City Council President Norm Rice attended, as did Congressman Mike Lowry.

As the protest drew to a close, 23 pre-selected community figures stepped onto the consulate steps, prompting their arrest. Each was allowed to make a short statement before being taken to the police station for booking.

Rev. Samuel McKinney, co-chair of the Washington State Rainbow Coalition, was among the first to be arrested. He denounced the U.S. government's friendly ties with the South African regime, a policy euphemistically referred to as "constructive engagement."

"Constructive engagement is rubbish," he emphasized, to shouts of agreement. Other speakers pointed to U.S. corporations as the main oppressor of Blacks in South Africa and in the United States.

Others who were arrested at the protest included Bernie Whitebear, executive director of United Indians of All Tribes; Sandra Jo Palm, Women's Peace Camp; Roberto Maestas, executive director of El Centro de la Raza; and Bob Barnes, secretary-treasurer of Local 541 of the ship-scalers union.

The Sunday picket was the culmination of months of regular weekly protests at the South African consulate here. A planning meeting three days before the action drew more than 200 people, mostly Blacks. Both the planning meeting and the picket drew front-page coverage in the *Medium*, one of two Seattle Black weeklies.

Pressure from anti-apartheid activists has led some city officials to call for the removal of the consulate. City Council President Rice has introduced a resolution, calling for Seattle to divest city funds from banks that do business with South Africa. Mayor Charles Royer has added his name to those calling for the consulate closure.



Some of the 500 demonstrators outside the South African consulate in Seattle, demanding the release of imprisoned trade unionists.

Militant/Janet Post

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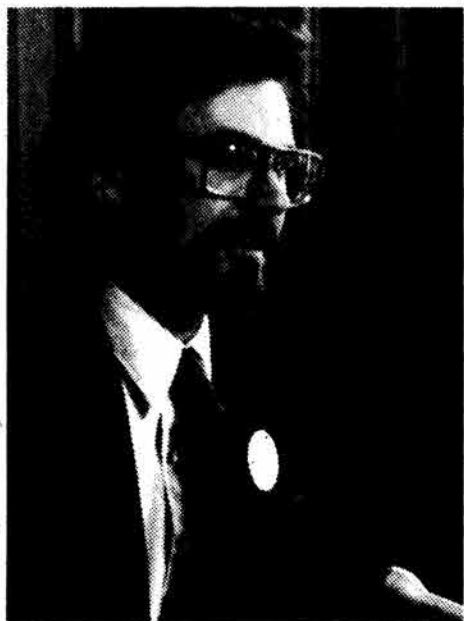
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# Indiana socialists fight tax harassment



**Bill Warrick, SWP candidate for mayor of Indianapolis in 1983, slammed the Indiana Department of Revenue's harassment of SWP.**

BY DAVID CAHALANE

INDIANAPOLIS — Government harassment of the Socialist Workers Party was blasted at a December 5 news conference here. The news conference was held to respond to a past-due tax bill for \$1,172.70 presented to the SWP by the Indiana Department of Revenue. The revenue department claims the SWP has an unpaid "Indiana corporation tax liability for the period ending December 31, 1983."

Speaking for the SWP was Bill Warrick, an oil worker who was the party's 1983 candidate for mayor of Indianapolis. Warrick pointed out that, "in their correspondence with us, the Indiana Department of Revenue claimed that a computer cross-check had shown that the SWP had filed a federal corporation tax return but had failed to file an Indiana state return."

"The whole pretext for beginning the harassment is a sham," Warrick said, "since the SWP in Indiana — or any other state — has never been required to file a federal tax return."

"We pointed out that the SWP is a political party, not a corporation," Warrick

explained. The SWP views the revenue department's action as part of a pattern of harassment against the SWP and other independent parties.

In the 1980 election, there were nine presidential tickets listed on the Indiana ballot. "But in 1984," Warrick noted, "after the state legislature quadrupled the signature requirement for qualifying independent candidates, four of the parties that petitioned for ballot status in 1980 — the SWP, Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party, and Citizens Party — were excluded in one fell swoop."

The SWP spokesperson pointed out that the Republicans and Democrats *do* file Indiana income tax returns. "But these returns cover only the profit-making enterprises of these organizations, such as interest received on savings accounts. Their returns do not include income from individual donations. Our income consists solely of individual donations, and all the donations we receive are spent to pay for operating expenses."

The SWP spokesperson also outlined a campaign to pressure the revenue depart-

ment to withdraw the tax bill. "We have written an open letter to Indiana Gov. Robert Orr protesting the action of the Department of Revenue and demanding that the tax bill be withdrawn. We encourage prominent individuals who support political rights to add their names to it."

"What is at stake here," Warrick said, "is more than just a bill for taxes. What is at stake is the right of any independent progressive organization to function without government interference in its internal affairs."

Norman Cox, the WRTV Channel 6 Indiana statehouse reporter, asked whether the Department of Revenue might be taking this action now because the SWP had not appeared on the 1984 ballot.

"That's a question we would like them to answer," Warrick replied. "In their correspondence with us, they refer to us as a 'corporation,' a 'not-for-profit organization,' everything but a political party."

"We say we're a legitimate political party, whether or not we are undemocratically excluded from the ballot at any given moment. Just because the state legislature passed a law aimed at keeping us and others off the ballot doesn't change us from a political party into a corporation."

In response to questions from Cox, Glenna Dudley, deputy director of the revenue department, expressed "resentment" that the SWP had "taken its case to the media." Dudley acknowledged that a political party that raises funds solely by donations does not have to file Indiana income tax returns.

The Indianapolis SWP has launched a campaign among prominent labor, Black, and women's rights figures to protest this harassment and has secured a lawyer.

Supporters of political rights are asked to send protest messages demanding that the tax bill be withdrawn to Indiana Governor Orr, with copies to Janice J. Barton of the revenue department, and to the SWP.

The addresses are: Gov. Robert D. Orr, State Capitol Building, Indianapolis, Ind. 46204; Janice J. Barton, Corporation Income Tax Section, Department of Revenue, State Office Building, Indianapolis, Ind. 46204; SWP, 4850 N. College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205.

## D.C. protest: Freedom yes! Apartheid no!

Continued from front page

launch the mass struggle against legal, racist segregation in the South. Parks told the media: "I am grateful to be able to lend my support in opposing apartheid which enslaves Black Africans. . . . I can recall in the 1930s, '40s, and '50s being aware of and opposed to the slave state of South Africa."

The fourth week of protests at the South African embassy averaged several hundred people every day. A coalition of Baltimore organizations, including the local chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party, the African National Reparation Organization, and the NAACP, organized "Baltimore Day" on December 14. District 8 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) provided two buses that were filled with protesters. The Baltimore contingent included some 20 members of USWA Local 2609 from the giant Bethlehem Steel complex. They joined nearly 400 protesters that day on the picket line.

The day before, the 400-500 people marching in three separate picket lines in the heart of Washington's famous "Embassy Row" included large numbers of students from the University of the District of Columbia.

Unionists carrying union anti-apartheid picket signs are on the line every day. Those represented include the National Education Association, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689, United Food and Commercial Workers, Service Employees International Union, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of Government Employees, and the Newspaper Guild.

Students from Howard University and a newly formed organization on the American University campus, AU Students Against Apartheid, are on the picket line every day. There has also been a growing presence of Black and white high school students, bringing their own signs and enthusiasm. Forty junior high school students, mostly whites, from St. Albans Episcopal School came as a group after a class meeting where they discussed apartheid.

D.C.-area churches have also participated in the protests. Several hundred attended a church-sponsored day of protest December 9. Rev. Ernest Gibson, executive director of the Council of Churches of Greater Washington, was arrested at the embassy door by D.C. police. He announced that December 23 would be a "Free South Africa Sunday" on the picket line and encouraged every "church, synagogue, and mosque" to participate.

Major national Jewish organizations announced support for the embassy protests. Three top officials of the American Jewish Congress were arrested on December 10 at the embassy door. Jewish organizations announced they will organize an anti-apartheid demonstration on Christmas Day.

Every weekday at least three people



Daily protests are taking place at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C.

have been arrested as "messengers." They go up to the embassy front door and knock. When they refuse to leave they are arrested. So far, charges have been dropped by local and federal authorities.

Those arrested this fourth week included Judy Goldsmith, president of the National Organization for Women; James Farmer, founder of the Congress for Racial Equality; former U.S. senator James Abourezk, representing the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; William Patterson, international representative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; John Sturdivant, executive vice-president of the American Federation of Government Employees; several Black Democratic elected officials, and well-

known local ministers.

The protests take place every weekday from 3:30 to 6 p.m. There is continuous chanting and horns honking support from auto, bus, and taxi drivers, many of whom are Black. Among the most popular chants are, "Freedom yes, apartheid no"; "No guns, no trade, no arms, no aid"; and "We mean it, no business — no business in South Africa!"

Heavyweight boxing champion Larry Holmes, a charter member of Artists and Athletes Against Apartheid, picketed on December 13 with a sign that read, "South Africa: the evil regime." One 13-year-old student held a handmade sign that read, "You shouldn't have to have a passport in your own country."

## Maurice Bishop Speaks



A collection of interviews with and speeches by the prime minister of Grenada during the years of the Grenada revolution, 1979-83. Includes an introduction explaining events that led to the overthrow of the revolution, the assassination of Bishop, and the invasion by U.S. troops.

Appendix contains statements of Cuban government and Fidel Castro on the killing of Bishop, the U.S. invasion, and Cuba's role in Grenada.

352 pages. Price: \$6.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

## Demonstration against S. Africa broken up by Pittsburgh cops

BY BOB ROBERTS

PITTSBURGH — The Pittsburgh cops violently dispersed a peaceful, informational picket December 15 protesting U.S. corporate investment in South Africa. Twenty-six people were arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct" and "obstructing traffic."

The picket line of about 75 people had been organized by Pittsburghers Against Apartheid. It is an organization that has organized protests in the past against U.S. government support to the South African regime and against U.S. corporate investment in that country.

Demonstrators were picketing the Pittsburgh Gold and Silver Exchange, demanding that they quit sales of the South African Krugerrand (a gold coin). The picket organizers had previously complied with a police request that room be left for pedestrian traffic to pass. The police then cordoned off the entire street and moved in several police cars, motorcycles, and three police vans. They began announcing over their bull horns that this was an illegal assembly and if protesters did not disperse they would be arrested.

One of those arrested was the president of the Board of Education, Jake Milliones. Milliones was quoted in the December 17 Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*: "We have never been disorderly. We have never had problems with the police before. . . . But yesterday they tried to start a riot."

The cops moved in and began grabbing pickets and shoving them towards the police vans. One man's head was grabbed by the hair and hit against the side of a police van.

The mayor of Pittsburgh has issued an apology and has ordered an "investigation" of the action of the city police.



# Terrorists kill Nicaraguan coffee pickers

Continued from front page

north-central departments of Nueva Segovia, Madriz, Esteli, Jinotega, and Matagalpa — there are about 4,000 counterrevolutionaries and 1,000 more across the border in Honduras, Carrión said.

In the south of Nicaragua, near the border with Costa Rica and in Costa Rica itself, Carrión said, there are no more than 800 men led by ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora. His forces were said to have numbered 2,000 or more prior to an army offensive along the San Juan River last summer that devastated his units.

## Peace talks with Miskitu leader

In addition, Carrión continued, the Miskitu-based MISURASATA might have as many as 1,500 or 2,000 troops on the Atlantic Coast, the sparsely populated eastern half of Nicaragua. The central leader of MISURASATA, Brooklyn Rivera, has entered into peace negotiations with the Nicaraguan authorities and recently returned openly to Nicaragua to have discussions about these talks with Indian communities on the Atlantic Coast. Discussions toward a cease-fire are under way.

According to Brigadier Commander Hugo Torres, head of the political directorate of the Sandinista People's Army, "We have managed to limit the operations of the counterrevolutionary forces; it has been possible to notably reduce their areas of operations; they have suffered large numbers of casualties."

Nevertheless, Torres explained in a November 27 speech to Managua militia officers, "counterrevolutionary activity continues" because the contra bands are kept alive by an unceasing flow of support from the U.S. government.

"The Reagan government has found new ways and forms of sending money and supplies of all kinds to the counterrevolutionary forces," notwithstanding formal Congressional votes against aid.

For this reason, Torres stressed, "coun-

terrevolutionary activity continues, and continues being the first stage of the Yankee aggression against Nicaragua.

"To the degree we are able to defeat counterrevolutionary aggression," he added, "we will be defeating precisely a direct U.S. aggression because the spearhead of that aggression, the first forces that the U.S. government has committed to the war against Nicaragua, are these counterrevolutionary forces."

## Managua militia tripled

Meanwhile, Commander Julio Ramos, head of army intelligence, gave initial results on the campaign to strengthen Managua's defenses against a possible direct U.S. attack.

Ramos said the number of militia members in Managua had tripled at the end of November and beginning of December. He said that several hundred new officers for the militias had already been trained, while hundreds more will be trained in the remaining part of December.

At the same time, M-44 "Matamachos" (macho-killer) carbines are being issued to militia units in Managua. Already, various militia units have been mobilized for three to five days of intensive military training. In January, Commander Ramos announced, dozens of new militia training centers will be opened throughout the city and intensive drilling will begin.

The bulk of the militias are territorial units, organized by neighborhoods.

In addition, there are militia units organized in workplaces through the unions. The Sandinista Workers Federation reported that these units now total more than 3,000 workers, on top of the four companies of workers' militias that have been mobilized to the battle front. These figures do not include young men drafted through the Patriotic Military Service. According to a survey done by the Sandinista Workers Federation, 47 percent of all draft-age workers are already on active duty.



Barricada

Campaign is under way to strengthen defense of Managua. Militia members build barricades as part of defense plans.

## SWP, YSA hold classes

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

With the 1984 socialist election campaigns behind them, branches of the Socialist Workers Party and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance will be organizing weekend educational conferences this winter. In addition to class series on a wide range of topics, these conferences will include rallies with major presentations by SWP leaders on U.S. politics and the international class struggle.

The SWP branches and YSA chapters in northern California held a successful conference December 9-10 on the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. Mel Mason, the SWP's presidential candidate in 1984, was the featured speaker at a rally in San Francisco that weekend.

Many of the weekend conferences will focus on a series of classes on the Pathfinder Press book, *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party*. These classes trace the party's political continuity since its founding in the fight against imperialist war, support for the struggles of the oppressed people of the world to free themselves from colonial rule, and the orientation of the party to the industrial working class.

Other weekend conferences will focus on the two volumes of *Revolutionary Continuity* by Farrell Dobbs. This series will take up the struggle in the United States for revolutionary unionism, independent working class political action, and the development of a communist leadership in the working class.

The Chicago branch will be hosting a regional conference for all members and supporters of the SWP and YSA in the Midwest on the weekend of December 29-30.

This conference will feature classes by SWP National Committee member Rashaad Ali on *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party*.

That same weekend, the SWP and YSA in St. Paul, Minnesota, are planning a conference for activists in five farm states around Minnesota. The weekend will feature classes on the founding of the SWP. National Committee member Mac Warren will be the keynote speaker at the rally there.

The Philadelphia SWP and YSA will be organizing an educational conference January 20. This conference will have classes on the class-struggle road to Black liberation. These classes will focus on the origins and development of the Black nationality in the United States, why Marxists support self-determination for this oppressed nationality, and the interrelationship between Black self-determination and working class emancipation.

A series of classes by National Committee member Nan Bailey on women's liberation will be the focus of the conference in New Orleans on January 26-27. These classes will take up the origins of women's oppression and the political program and strategy to achieve women's liberation. Bailey will also speak at the New Orleans rally.

Other conferences will focus on the roots and political character of Stalinism, the rise and consolidation of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union and the role of the Stalinist counterrevolution in the world class struggle today.

For more information on these educational conferences contact the SWP branch in your area (see directory on page 12).

## Catholic church moves against Nicaraguan gov't official

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On December 10, Fernando Cardenal, Nicaragua's Minister of Education, was expelled from the Jesuit order of the Catholic Church, to which he had belonged for almost 38 years.

Cardenal's response to this move was to publish a two-page open letter to the Nicaraguan people in the Sandinista National Liberation Front's daily, *Barricada*. Ostensibly expelled for taking a governmental post in opposition to church law, Cardenal said that the real reason is his loyalty to the Nicaraguan revolution, "a process which puts above all the interest of the poor."

"I love this cause more than my life," Cardenal affirmed, "and they asked me to abandon it precisely when the people are in the greatest danger, slandered and persecuted by the most powerful country on earth."

The pope used the advice of the Nicaraguan bishops to justify his order of expulsion. These men "have a political project," Cardenal continued in his letter. "They want to facilitate the work of Goliath to destroy David," to lay the basis to "justify a military aggression" against Nicaragua.

Cardenal explained that imperialism hoped to force him to leave the Nicaraguan government in order "to delegitimize the revolutionary process."

"The Vatican policy toward Nicaragua coincides with that of President Reagan," he added.

Throughout the 40 years of the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, "Our Church lived tranquilly and at peace with the oppressors," Cardenal stated. The bishops condemned the armed "legitimate and just defense of the oppressed people" and the Nicaraguan people became "accustomed to seeing the cross blessing the oppressor's sword."

To retreat from the Nicaraguan government now, said Cardenal, "would be not only betrayal of the cause of the poor, but also a betrayal of the homeland."



Fernando Cardenal

Margaret Randall

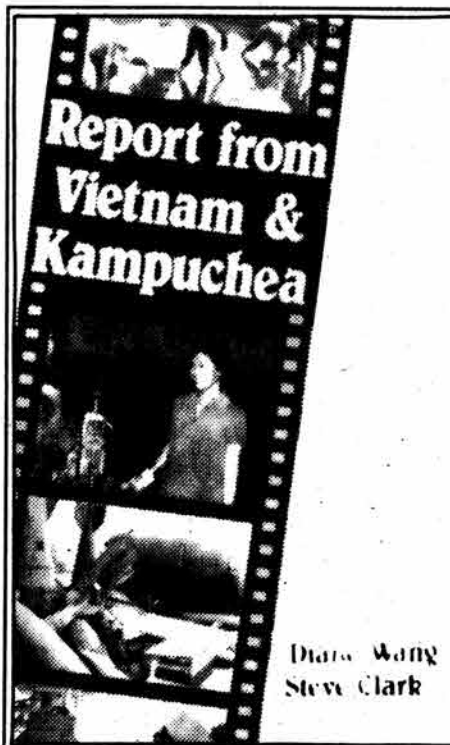
## Vietnamese newspaper covers tour of 'Militant' reporters

Pathfinder Press has recently published a new pamphlet by Diane Wang and Steve Clark entitled, *Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea*. In it, the authors explain what they learned during a fact-finding tour of Vietnam and Kampuchea last spring.

On June 8, shortly after their return, the *People's Army Daily*, a newspaper published in Hanoi, carried an article on their tour.

The paper reported that following their visit, Wang and Clark, "of the newsweekly the *Militant* and the magazine *Intercontinental Press*, have travelled to nine cities in the United States including Boston, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Detroit, and Louisville speaking and showing slides on the great achievements and developments in the national construction and defense of the Vietnamese people and on the present marvelous rebirth of the Kampuchean people."

"Many Kampucheans living in the United States were glad and pleased with the big changes and developments in Kampuchea since its liberation from the Pol Pot genocidal regime," it stated.



Diane Wang  
Steve Clark

## 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.

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# 'There is nothing more important than a child'

## Cuba hosts pediatric congresses

BY PAT GROGAN

"I think we can honestly say that Cuba has been a country that has taken seriously the motto of this meeting: 'There is nothing more important than a child.'"

The speaker was Dr. James T. Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF. He was addressing the first session of the Pediatric Congresses that opened in Havana, Cuba, on November 11. The congresses are aimed at developing solutions to the world's problems in the area of children's health.

The Pediatric Congresses — the 7th Latin American, the 14th Pan American, and the 21st National — were sponsored by the Latin American Association of Pediatricians and the Cuban Ministry of Public Health. The event drew 3,000 delegates from more than 40 countries.

The November 18 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Havana, featured a four-page spread on the conference, including reprints of several speeches.

Pediatricians from all over Latin America and several Caribbean nations attended the gathering. Large delegations came from Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic.

Seventy regional advisors from the UN's World Health Organization and UNICEF, and 30 scientists from the United States also attended.

### Cuba — 'remarkable progress'

Dr. Grant commented on the "remarkable progress made by Cuba in recent decades. Infant mortality in Cuba today is lower than in half a dozen European countries," he said.

If all of Latin America had the infant mortality rate of Cuba," Grant said, "there would be only 280,000 deaths instead of one million."

Grant said that of the one million small children who died in Latin America last year, the "majority suffered from the most common and ordinary and preventive of ailments. The majority ... never saw a pediatrician and never saw a hospital."

Grant pointed out that there is now a simple home cure for the principal cause of death among small children in Latin America — dehydration associated with diarrhea. Yet some 750 to 1,000 Latin

American children die each day because there are no programs to educate people about the cure.

Addressing himself to the Cuban doctors, Grant asked for "advice as to how your own techniques can be adapted to the use of others."

"Most other developing countries right now do not have the possibility for the doctor physician intensive system that has been used in this country," he told the Cuban physicians. "[I]t is difficult to get additional financial resources to follow the model here in Cuba," he said.

"If Cuban pediatricians can help pioneer models of how to educate mothers and families to do far more for their own children, this can be of great benefit for other countries, as well as for Cuba," he said.

### Castro's speech

In a major address to the conference, Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro outlined the remarkable accomplishments and methods of the Cuban people. These are the fruits of Cuba's 1959 revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed regime of Fulgencio Batista and gave the workers and peasants political power. By advancing along the road of a socialist reconstruction of its society, health care in impoverished Cuba is better than that available to most workers and farmers in many advanced capitalist countries.

Cuba's infant mortality rate is now 15 per 1,000 live births, Castro said. This makes Cuba one of the 25 countries in the world with the lowest infant mortality rate, approaching that of the United States.

Diarrheic infections and enteritis, which were once the leading cause of death in Cuba — as throughout Latin America — have been so sharply reduced that they are not even among the first five causes of death of small children.

Poliomyelitis, malaria, diphtheria, and tetanus have been completely eradicated. Other illnesses which had significant bearing on infant mortality have been all but eliminated: in 1983 there were 0.1 cases per 100,000 of whooping cough and measles. There were no cases of tuberculosis.

Not a single child has died in recent years from malnutrition. Castro explained that every child, up to the age of seven, is assured a liter of milk every day. "He has it by rights," Castro said, "and no one lacks the resources to obtain it."

In Cuba, he said, "you will not find beggars or barefoot children. ... Sometimes they are barefoot," he said to laughter, "but that's because they want to be, for mischief's sake. ... Not because they have no shoes."

On an average, a Cuban child in its first year of life will have more than 14 visits to a pediatrician.

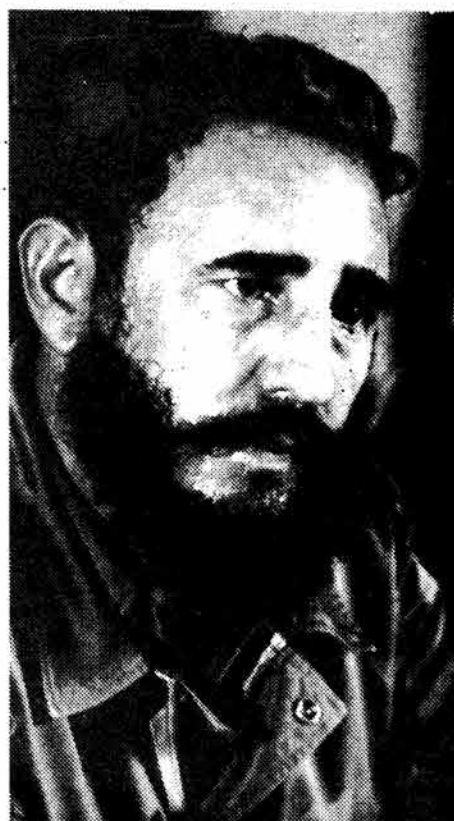
### Prenatal care

There are special summer vacation camps for asthmatic and diabetic children, where they are helped to deal with their illness.

High priority is given to prenatal care. The most advanced care is available to all pregnant women and newborn children. Of all births, 98.4 percent now take place in hospitals.

Through immense efforts, the number of clinics and hospitals has been vastly expanded and is now comparable per capita to the United States. The same is true of physicians. All medical care in Cuba is free.

Castro outlined some of the basic criteria that guide Cuba's approach to health care: "The first is to prioritize public health as one of the vital services for human society," he said. This includes establishing free health service for all, extending medical care throughout the rural areas, mass participation in health programs, placing stress on preventive medicine, and finally,



Fidel Castro gave major address to international pediatric congresses held in Havana. UNICEF Director James Grant told the 3,000 delegates that if all Latin America had infant mortality rate of Cuba, the lives of 740,000 children could be saved each year. At right, children in Cuban nursery.



Militant/Harry Ring

to "develop an elevated spirit of solidarity and profound awareness of the social and human value of this work in doctors and other health workers."

### Dengue epidemic

Castro used the 1981 outbreak of hemorrhagic dengue fever, a tropical, mosquito-carried disease that is especially dangerous to children, to illustrate the strengths of Cuba's medical care system.

The disease spread throughout the country in days. Some 350,000 people were hit, and at its peak more than 10,000 people a day came down with it.

Castro described the extraordinary effort that was made to combat the epidemic. Millions of dollars were spent. Thousands of workers were mobilized, with the support of the entire population, to destroy the mosquitos and to participate in caring for the sick.

Intensive care units were set up. It was decided to hospitalize all cases to finally isolate the disease. Since it was vacation time, schools were used as improvised hospitals. Tremendous efforts by doctors, nurses, and lay people who pitched in kept the mortality rate down to just 101 children and 57 adults. The epidemic was brought under control within months.

Cuba's investigation into the cause of the epidemic showed that it could not have occurred naturally and that it must have been deliberately introduced. Several months ago, a CIA-trained Cuban counter-revolutionary in New York admitted that he had been involved in biological germ warfare against Cuba at the time of the epidemic.

### Involvement of the people

A decisive factor, Castro said, is the involvement of the people in the battle for health care. The mass organizations are key in this.

The Federation of Cuban Women, for example, has 60,000 delegations throughout the country, and each of them has a trained, voluntary health brigade worker. They educate and work systematically to involve mothers and children in health care programs.

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) also participate in health campaigns such as blood donations. A half million people voluntarily donate blood each year.

The trade unions have health delegates in all the factories and work places.

Cuba has succeeded in extending health services throughout the rural areas. More than 60 percent of the doctors and hospitals are in the country's interior.

Broad educational campaigns are organized. Vaccination and preventive medicine is rigorously practiced.

Homes for expectant mothers have been established for women who live in isolated areas hours from a doctor.

Cuba puts a priority on training doctors and now has 20,545 doctors. Thousands upon thousands of Cuban doctors have been part of international medical brigades in over 25 semicolonial countries. Medical schools are being expanded and the goal is to have 75,000 doctors at the end of 15 years. Cuba wants to continue its internationalist aid, and also to allow every doctor a year off to study every seven years.

The most modern techniques and technology are used in Cuba. Cuba hopes to expand this further, as well as to increase its research facilities. A key goal is to continue developing the production of medical equipment and the pharmaceutical industry in Cuba. Cuba buys many of its medical supplies from the workers states and some Western European countries, since the prices set by the giant capitalist corporations are prohibitive.

Cuba has made its remarkable progress despite every effort by the U.S. government to prevent it. "It has been a hard, bitter, and I must say, almost unheard-of experience," Castro said, "but for the last 20-odd years there's been a blockade banning the export to Cuba of a single medicine, a single piece of medical equipment or a single spare part for that equipment from the United States, the country with the greatest technological development in this field."

### 'We changed the social system'

Castro reported that Cuba had met practically all the goals of the World Health Organization for the year 2000.

"This shows," he said, "what can be done, that it's not just a question of wealth, of an abundance of resources, because we are far from being a highly developed country. We've obtained these results by making rational use of our resources, by making a great effort."

"We changed the social system and that — I'll say it frankly — helped us a great deal," Castro said to applause.

However, he said, "We can't wait for the social system to be changed before trying to save the lives of the half million children [Dr.] Grant mentioned every year in Latin America."

Castro pointed to the imperialist banks and corporations as the culprits.

"We are moved and we have the satisfaction of having succeeded in reducing deaths among Cuban children by hundreds of thousands, and yet I must admit to you how much it pains us to think that 740,000 children in Latin America are dying [each year] when they could be saved ... 740,000 lives lost out of irresponsibility, insensitivity, negligence and ignorance!" Castro said.

Castro pledged Cuba's continuing efforts on behalf of children's health. "We place our successes, our modest achievements at your disposal. ..."

## Health care in Cuba before and after 1959 revolution

|  | Before | Today  |
|--|--------|--------|
| Infant mortality rate (per 1,000)                  | 60     | 15     |
| Deaths from acute diarrheic diseases (per 100,000) | 57*    | 4      |
| Maternal mortality rate (per 100,000)              | 118*   | 32     |
| Hospital births                                    | 20%    | 98%    |
| Polyclinics  | 0      | 396    |
| Hospitals  | 97     | 263    |
| Rural hospitals                                    | 0      | 54     |
| Children's hospitals                               | 3      | 27     |
| Homes for expectant mothers                        | 0      | 85     |
| Dental clinics                                     | 0      | 143    |
| Budget for public health (millions of pesos)       | 21     | 668    |
| Medical schools                                    | 1      | 18     |
| Number of doctors                                  | 3,000  | 20,545 |
| Nurses   | 1,600  | 35,000 |
| Technicians  | 478    | 34,000 |

\*1962 figures



# 'It is possible to defeat the imperialist war'

Speech by Nicaraguan leader

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

During the U.S. government's recent anti-Nicaragua propaganda campaign around the phony charges that Soviet MIG jet fighters had been delivered to Nicaragua, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) mobilized the Nicaraguan people to defend their country.

Part of the political preparation of the defense effort was a speech given in mid-November by Luis Carrión, a member of the National Directorate of the FSLN and Nicaragua's vice-minister of the interior. The speech was delivered to the Regional Committee of the FSLN and the leaderships of the FSLN Base Committees and Base Assemblies of the Sandinista Youth in the department of Managua.

The full text of the speech is available in English in the December 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

In his speech, Carrión explained that the FSLN led the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in overthrowing the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in 1979 and is leading them in consolidating their power. Today the FSLN's key responsibility is to organize defense against the U.S.-sponsored aggression.

After listing recent acts of aggression by the U.S. government against Nicaragua, Carrión explained that there's a real threat of a direct U.S. military intervention. "Is it possible," he asked, "for this little Nicaragua to defeat the attack, the war of Yankee imperialism?"

"It is possible," Carrión answered, because it would be "a war between an imperialist army fighting for a completely unjust cause, far from its country," and "an entire people struggling for the most just cause of all, the cause of its independence, the cause of its sovereignty, and freedom."

Just as the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese led to an international movement against the U.S. aggression, Carrión explained, the determined struggle of the Nicaraguans will mean that "the peoples of Latin America, of Europe, Africa, Asia, and the North American people will go into action with us against the imperialist aggression."

Carrión explained that this aggression "began some years ago" in the form of the CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries who are "the advance guard of the imperialist

aggression." Their activities are "simply the form that the imperialist war takes at this moment"; they are, he said, "the form imperialism has been able to use thus far."

The U.S. government has not intervened directly in Nicaragua yet because "they have not been able to create the conditions within the United States and internationally to justify an aggression," said Carrión.

They are using the mercenary forces, "whose maximum objective is the destruction of the revolution, since, logically, for the Yankees it would be cheapest and most ideal to destroy the revolution without having to intervene directly." Failing that, their "minimum objective" is to create the conditions to facilitate and justify direct imperialist intervention, said Carrión. One possible scenario for these conditions, he explained, is the counterrevolutionaries gaining control of some territory inside Nicaragua, declaring a "provisional government," and calling on Washington to intervene.

By defeating the counterrevolutionaries, therefore, Nicaragua is "defeating the imperialist war in its current form."

Carrión stressed that defense against U.S. aggression is not a temporary task. "The danger of imperialist aggression will always be present, until the United States ceases to be imperialist."

Carrión then turned to the political importance of the defense of the capital city of Managua. He explained that "to keep the population of the United States united around an aggression against Nicaragua, they [U.S. imperialists] need political victories, political coups in the short term. And, obviously, that political coup is the seizure of the capital." The quick capture of Managua would win the U.S. government political time at home and internationally, even with the rest of Nicaragua engaged in armed struggle against the invaders.

Carrión outlined the concrete plans to fortify Managua, including the organization of tens of thousands of its residents into militias, the digging of trenches, the accumulation of necessary material resources, and the organization of civil defense to guarantee maximum protection of children, the elderly, and the handicapped.

In defense of Managua, Carrión explained, "active resistance," similar to



Barricada

Women digging bomb shelter for civil defense in Managua.

the resistance of the people during the insurrection against Somoza, will be necessary. He recalled how during the insurrection, everyone was involved in the fighting and Somoza's National Guard knew that "all the people . . . were their enemies." With arms and this same determination, Carrión said, the Nicaraguan people will defeat the imperialist aggression.

The FSLN must politically prepare "the people to be ready to sacrifice themselves if necessary" in defense of Nicaragua's hard-won freedom, said Carrión.

The maintenance of a high level of preparedness, Carrión explained, will also help deter the aggression. It will send the U.S. government the message that "the Nicas are not such push-overs."

"Our sweat today," said Carrión, "can save us blood tomorrow."

Carrión ended his speech by explaining that there can be no strong defense without maximizing production. Therefore, in addition to mobilizing forces to defend Managua, militia members and government

workers are being sent to help with the crucial coffee harvest. "We have to fulfill our tasks with regard to the coffee . . . to the defense of the capital, [and] the defense of the homeland."

This speech clearly lays out the political character of the war and the tasks facing the revolutionary leadership in order to win that war.

In translating and reprinting this speech, *Intercontinental Press* provides an important tool for those interested in serious study of the revolutionary process.

This biweekly news magazine makes available in English not only the speeches, such as this one, by leaders of the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions, but also important documents of the FSLN, the Cuban Communist Party, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, and the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada. For supporters of the revolution who want to study all the political developments in the region, *Intercontinental Press* is a must.

## N.Y. Cargill workers strike

BY RAY PARSONS

ALBANY, N.Y. — Flour-mill workers here are battling the owners of Cargill, one of the largest companies in the world, for a decent contract.

The 55 members of Local 54 of the

American Federation of Grain Millers voted unanimously November 18 to strike. The union wants wage and benefits increases in line with the industry standard. Also at issue is the use of temporary workers which Cargill wants to hire at lower pay with no seniority rights. The union sees this as a move to divide the work force and destroy the union shop.

Local 54's members have explained that Cargill controls 30 percent of U.S. food production and distribution. Grain and flour is often stockpiled to force prices up, and food is allowed to rot while millions starve.

This reporter had discussions with striking workers on the possibility of solidarity with working farmers exploited by Cargill. Cargill forces family farmers to sell below production costs. We also discussed how Cargill's owners and capitalists like them are the real criminals responsible for the mass starvation in Africa. In satisfying their greed for profits, ruling-class families like the owners of Cargill decide who will and who will not eat.

Cargill has hired "rent-a-cops" to bust the strike, and picketers have been knocked down by scabs driving through their line.

Several workers have been arrested on "harassment" charges, and an injunction has been forced on the union, limiting the number of pickets.

The Solidarity Committee of the Central Labor Council of Albany has been mobilizing support for Local 54. This committee grew out of the actions in support of the striking Greyhound workers last year. More mass picket lines are planned and striking workers are quick to point out the urgent need for unity in defeating Cargill's union-busting.

## 'IP' reports on key Palestinian meeting

For nearly two decades, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has been the main political organization of the Palestinian people, fighting to recover their homeland from the Zionist regime of Israel. But today, the PLO faces mounting pressures from the imperialists, Israel, and some of the Arab governments of the region.

In this context, the PLO's highest decision-making body, the Palestine National Council (PNC), convened in Amman, Jordan, in late November. The December 24 *Intercontinental Press* features an article by Steve Craine on that important meeting.

Craine assesses the various blows the PLO has recently suffered — especially the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the 1983 Syrian-sponsored mutiny within Fatah, the largest PLO component. He looks at the political divisions within the PLO and the positions of the various currents.

In face of Israeli and Syrian efforts to sabotage it, Craine con-

cludes, the PNC meeting marked an important step in reaffirming the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

This issue, the last in 1984, also includes a complete index of all the articles, documents, and speeches published in *IP* over the past year.

*Intercontinental Press* is a biweekly that carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to Oceania and from the Middle East to Central America — than we have room for in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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# Nicaragua marks 1st year of military draft

## Meetings discuss pride, hardships that go with Patriotic Military Service

BY SUSAN BAUS

SOMOTO, Nicaragua — September marked the first anniversary of the institution of the Patriotic Military Service, which is what the military draft is called in Nicaragua. Throughout the country, there were meetings marking the Nicaraguan peoples' positive response to this call to defend the revolution.

The Patriotic Military Service was made necessary by the U.S. war against Nicaragua. The war means not only death and destruction, but also a major disruption in the everyday lives of Nicaragua's workers and peasants. On the anniversary, meetings were held to discuss what to do about the problems people face in regard to the draft.

I was in Nicaragua as part of the Marvin José López Reforestation Brigade and was able to observe one such meeting in Somoto, a small town located less than 13 miles from the Honduran border.

The day before the meeting, a sound truck circulated through the streets inviting all mothers and family members of draftees to come together for a dialogue to air their problems, frustrations, and complaints. About 100 women and a few men responded to the call and attended the September 19 meeting which was hosted by the Nicaraguan women's organization, AMNLAE.

The panel at the meeting included the local AMNLAE coordinator, a representative of the Patriotic Military Service, a local official in charge of distribution of goods, and several candidates of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in the constituent assembly elections.

For over two hours there was an open forum in which people stood up and told of their worries, hardships, and sorrows caused by the war.

One peasant woman explained that "our

harvest is beginning and we are afraid that without the help of our sons we will not be able to get the crops in before they spoil." Many women expressed their anguish at not having heard from their sons in many months. They did not know where their sons were, how they were, or when they would see them again.

One woman was anxious because her son had hepatitis (which remains common in the countryside). "I am afraid that the army will not be able to give him the special attention he will need to get well again," she said. Another woman explained that her family wants "to go visit our son but the bus trip costs many córdobas. We are poor and cannot afford the trip. We think the army should help pay for us to visit our sons or provide us with transportation."

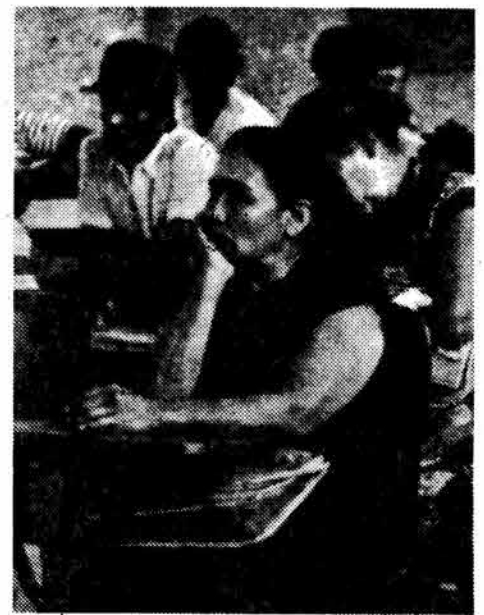
An older woman told the meeting that she needed her son back because her husband had fallen ill and she had no way to get him to the hospital, which was many miles away.

A peasant woman rose and said, "I hear the suffering of my neighbors and I too need my son at home to help us with the harvest. But I know that my son must go to defend the borders so that we here in the towns can live our lives in freedom." When she finished speaking the meeting gave her a standing ovation.

Other participants brought up the problems of the extreme scarcity of goods and the difficulties in getting what goods that were available distributed.

Some people talked about the problem caused by the shortages of vehicles. Underdevelopment and war have left Nicaragua with few cars and trucks. The situation has worsened as more and more vehicles must be used for defense. Trucks have been damaged or destroyed by counterrevolutionaries and spare parts are hard to come by. People told how this shortage affected them in many ways such as the difficulty in getting garbage collected, delays in getting to work, and trouble getting to voter registration stations.

After everyone who wanted to had spoken, the representative of the Patriotic Military Service, a young man of about 20,



Barricada  
A soldier's mother at one of many meetings held throughout Nicaragua on an anniversary of institution of draft.

spoke. He explained that "the army knows that the problem of communication with the families is a serious one. To try to open channels of communication the army is assigning a person to the region who will be a liaison between the families and the military. In this way inquiries can be followed up on and the families will be able to get the information they need."

He also explained that "the combat situation on the border often makes it impossible to get word back home immediately but that more attention will be given to making mail pickups from the front."

The representative of AMNLAE on the panel said that "the Nicaraguan people are in the process of understanding that this war is not just a border war but a war against the whole country that is being forced on Nicaragua by U.S. imperialism. The hardships are borne not just by those on the front but by all the Nicaraguan people."

"Those families who are immediately affected by the draft must not feel that they are isolated or that their problems are their concern alone to be solved as best they can."

Because of the national situation caused by the war," she continued, "there will be many problems that cannot be solved until the U.S. aggression is ended. Children will have to leave home to defend the country. Shortages will get worse." But "one of the strengths of the revolution is that the Nicaraguan people have learned to organize themselves and an organized people can accomplish many things that individuals would not be able to," she declared.

She explained that this meeting was to lay the groundwork for the formation of a committee of mothers and families of the draftees which would collectively work to ease the hardships. They would help each other with such things as the harvest, transportation, and distribution of goods. "AMNLAE will help in the organization of these committees and would work to assure that dialogues such as this meeting would continue," she affirmed.

Meetings such as this one demonstrate how the Sandinista National Liberation Front is leading the revolution, by openly acknowledging the problems that exist, involving the people in finding solutions, and frankly discussing the limitations the revolution faces in solving many of these difficulties.

Problems such as those discussed at this meeting, as well as the realities of the U.S. war against Nicaragua, were brought home again just four days later.

On September 23, a bus carrying parents to visit their sons stationed in the north broke down. The parents caught a ride on a military truck, which was ambushed 10 miles down the road by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. Of the eight people killed in the ambush, four were mothers of draftees.

The bus driver was also killed. His mother told the press the following day, "Now is not the time to cry. We must defend the revolution with our blood and bravery, not with our tears."



Militant/Susan Baus

Youth of Somoto, Nicaragua. It is teenagers such as these who responded to call-up to defend nation against U.S. war. *Contra* base camps are only few miles away from here across Honduran border.

## 'To defend freedom, these dead gave their lives'

BY DEAN DANIELS

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — November 5 was a national holiday in Nicaragua, celebrating the successful completion of the first free elections in the history of the country. It was a day of relaxation after a strenuous weekend of all-night guard duty and election work that involved hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans.

It was also the day the people of Estelí buried Leonel Montenegro and Gilberto Arias. Both were 16 years old. Both were killed two days earlier while defending their country and their revolution against the CIA-backed mercenaries.

Our group, made up of industrial workers from the United States, had just arrived in town and hadn't yet heard about the deaths. We did hear a *mariachi* band down the street, and asked what the occasion was. We were told it was a funeral for the two young militia members, and that their families had requested the *mariachi* because it was the favorite music of the two men. We decided to attend the funeral.

The graveside speeches explained, "This is the price paid by our youth. This is the price our people pay to be free and to be an example for all the peoples of Central America."

"The sorrow we feel, the pain of the mothers, must be converted into anger, into hatred for the imperialist aggressor," they continued. "We need more people in the Patriotic Military Service [Nicaragua's draft] and more preparations to defend the freedom for which these dead have given their lives."

The two youth who were killed were not unusual. The soldiers guarding the funeral procession were the same age. Many of their older brothers died fighting the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza,

which was overthrown in 1979. More than 7,500 Nicaraguans have been killed by the counterrevolutionaries or *contras*, as they are called here, in the last three years. This would be the equivalent of 700,000 people killed in the United States, more than the total of U.S. dead in both world wars, Korea, and Vietnam. And most of Nicaragua's dead are civilians, killed at work or in their homes.

An important part of defending the revolution is continuing production. The coffee harvest was about to begin in the areas around Estelí. Since coffee is one of Nicaragua's main exports, essential to the economy, the speeches emphasized the importance of participating in the harvest. "The Sandinista Youth will continue to defend our revolution while we move forward to the next task. We will harvest the coffee with a rifle on our back. If the *contras* come we will fight. Some of us will die. But we will harvest the coffee because it is needed to build our country and our future."

The next morning we visited Estelí's tobacco plant, where cigarettes and cigars are made both for domestic consumption and for export.

We had hoped for a tour of the plant, but the union leaders who met us said it was closed. Three Estelí militia members were killed the day before while fighting the *contras*. Two of the militia members, Germán Reyes, 25, and Juan Carlos Sanchez, 22, had been workers at the tobacco plant. They had been among the best workers in the plant.

"Since 1979 we have been fighting — and receiving blows from — imperialism," said José Ernesto Leyva, a production inspector. "This is a workers and peasants revolution, and they are the people who are

on the front defending the revolution and giving their lives to protect it."

We were asked, "Do the workers of your country understand the level of aggression here?" We explained that the major U.S. news media are controlled by the capitalists, who are afraid of U.S. workers learning the truth about Nicaragua. So very few U.S. working people are aware of the level of destruction the U.S. government's war is causing in Nicaragua.

Our hosts then took us to the assembly hall on the second floor of the factory, where a wake for the fallen workers was in progress. As we left, we were invited to attend the funeral later in the afternoon.

At three o'clock, we stood among the hundreds of people outside the crowded cathedral while the funeral mass was said. We joined the crowd of the working people of Estelí, following three more caskets on their slow march down the hill to the cemetery at the edge of town.

This time there was no music. But there were speeches and slogans. The crying of the sister of one of the dead workers punctuated the graveside speeches. The scene reminded me of a funeral in a small Kentucky town after a coal mine disaster.

Afterwards, we spoke with the workers from the tobacco plant about the U.S.-funded war and the readiness of the Nicaraguan people to combat it. We were reminded that 80 percent of Estelí was destroyed in the battles to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship, and that the town has earned its name, "Heroic Estelí."

When we left for Matagalpa the next morning, we took with us the memory of the determination we had seen among the people of this city as they buried five more victims of the U.S.-funded mercenaries.



# SWP National Committee assesses

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — A recent meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, held here at the beginning of December, assessed the current conjuncture in the U.S. and international class struggle.

The SWP focuses its political activity in nine national industrial unions: the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, United Transportation Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, United Mine Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, International Union of Electronic Workers, International Association of Machinists, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. Many of those at the leadership meeting are members of one of these unions who also participate in activities against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, family farmers struggles, and Black rights and women's rights organizations.

## Central America and Caribbean

The National Committee discussed and adopted a report from the SWP's Political Committee given by Mary-Alice Waters, who reviewed the political developments in Central America and the Caribbean since 1979. She affirmed that the struggle between the advancing socialist revolution in this region and U.S. imperialism is at the center of world politics today. She placed this struggle in the framework of what has happened in the class struggle internationally in the past five years.

The period from the late 1970s to 1981 were years of an upsurge in the international class struggle, where the workers and peasants made historic gains. Since 1981, however, the imperialists have been successful in pushing back the toilers in a number of countries and have regained some of the ground lost in previous years.

This conjunctural shift in the class struggle means that more pressure from imperialism is bearing down on fighters for national independence and social revolution. It also highlights the importance of the revolutionary, internationalist leadership of the Cuban Communist Party and the Sandinista National Liberation Front, who are leading the workers and farmers forward despite the pressures resulting from today's more difficult objective conditions.

## 1979: year of revolutionary victories

To emphasize to what degree things have changed, Waters recalled that in the year 1979 alone, there were several victorious revolutionary upheavals. The imperialists had a lot of problems on their hands at once.

The year opened with the January 7 overthrow of the murderous Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) by Kampuchean insurgents backed up by troops from Vietnam. This victory came on the heels of the sweeping away of capitalism in South Vietnam, thereby extending the workers state in the north to encompass the entire country.

In February the masses in Iran carried

out an insurrection that toppled the shah — one of the most hated dictators in the world. This was the culmination of more than a year of mass upsurge in Iran and it shook the entire region. The shah's regime had been one of Washington's staunchest supporters in the Middle East.

Just the year before, a popular revolution had broken out in neighboring Afghanistan. The masses wiped out many of the feudal political and economic forms that imperialism had used to maintain its grip on Afghanistan.

In southern Africa, there was an upsurge in the struggle in Zimbabwe, which freed itself from domination by the white settler regime the next year.

In Bolivia, Brazil, and Peru, there were also important mass struggles by working people.

## Victories in Grenada, Nicaragua

This upsurge in the class struggle worldwide framed the revolutionary advances that occurred in Central America and the Caribbean that year.

In March 1979 the Grenadian workers and farmers overthrew the dictatorship of Eric Gairy.

In July the Nicaraguan toilers won their war against the U.S.-backed regime of Anastasio Somoza. In both countries workers and farmers governments were established.

With the victory in Nicaragua, the liberation struggle in neighboring El Salvador accelerated. In October the bloody tyranny of Salvadoran general Carlos Romero was overthrown by a group of military officers in a move to head off a revolutionary explosion that was gathering momentum. The next year the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front were formed in El Salvador, representing an important advance in unifying the liberation forces. They launched a military and political offensive aimed at overturning the regime and establishing political rule by the workers and peasants.

A unification of revolutionary forces was also beginning at that time in Guatemala, where there were mass struggles of the toilers taking place in the cities and countryside.

Large strikes shook Honduras. And in October 1979, 250,000 Panamanians mobilized to celebrate the end of 76 years of direct U.S. imperialist rule over the Canal Zone.

The victories in Central America and Grenada had a profound impact on the Cuban workers state, which had faced Washington's wrath virtually alone in this hemisphere for 25 years.

As Cuban president Fidel Castro explained in a speech in 1980: "[O]ne must have a sense of history to know what ... revolutions mean here, next to the imperialist monster; yes, what the Cuban revolution and its firm, unwavering line has meant. One needs a sense of history and of realities to understand the merit of the San-



Militant/Fred Murphy

**Because U.S. imperialists have dealt setbacks to toilers in a number of countries since 1981, imperialists are able to bring more pressure to bear against Nicaraguan revolution. The Sandinista National Liberation Front has responded by deepening political and military mobilization of Nicaraguan people.**

dinista revolution, the merit of the Grenadian revolution. Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism."

The revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada reinforced the internationalism and working-class outlook of the Cuban people, enabling them to take new steps within Cuba to deepen their revolution.

## Imperialism deals setbacks

Waters pointed to some of the setbacks the imperialists have managed to deal to working people in the last three years. These setbacks have made the international situation today quite different than it was five years ago.

Capitalist political rule has not been overturned anywhere in the world since 1979. Washington has blocked the victory of the revolution in El Salvador. The struggle there has turned out to be longer and more difficult than many revolutionaries had anticipated.

In the Middle East, the 1982 Israeli invasion and continued occupation of Lebanon have severely weakened the Palestine Liberation Organization. The U.S.-backed war by Iraq against Iran, combined with the ongoing imperialist squeeze on Iran and the antilabor policies of the Iranian government, have dealt significant blows to working people in that country.

In southern Africa, Pretoria and Washington have joined forces to exert tremendous pressure on Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe through a combination of economic strangulation and military attacks.

The most serious blow of all to the oppressed and exploited was dealt in Grenada in October 1983 — after Washington already had some other victories under its belt. Grenada's workers and farmers government, led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, was overthrown by a Stalinist clique headed by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. This internal counterrevolution opened the door to the U.S. government's invasion and occupation of that once-free island.

With the defeat in Grenada, there are no longer "three giants rising up on the threshold of imperialism." This defeat struck especially hard in the Caribbean, where the destruction of the Grenada revolution was used by imperialism's spokespeople as proof positive that you can't make a successful revolution on a tiny island so close to the Yankee colossus.

The murder of Bishop and other leaders by counterrevolutionaries who claimed to be Marxists has been used to slander socialism and to obscure the gains Grenadian working people made through the revolution. It disoriented fighters throughout the world who looked to Grenada for inspiration and political lessons.

Within the United States the ruling class has used the invasion of Grenada to try and reverse widespread antiwar sentiments and

to whip up public support for its war against Nicaragua and U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The fact that the U.S. Marines could land in a Black, English-speaking country in the Caribbean, install a puppet regime, and be greeted — at least initially — as "liberators" was a tremendous political coup for Washington. There was no significant mobilization of opposition to the invasion within the United States.

## Imperialists always on the prod

This and other setbacks to the working people of the world do not signify a qualitative shift in the historic relationship of class forces on a world scale, explained Waters. The imperialists cannot reverse history. Mozambique and Angola will not be recolonized; the shah's family won't get back on the throne in Tehran; feudalism won't be reimposed in Afghanistan. Despite severe military and economic pressures, the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions are moving forward under revolutionary proletarian leaderships.

But just because the imperialists can't overturn each gain made by the oppressed and exploited doesn't mean the blows dealt by the capitalists don't weaken the working class and have an impact on its morale and combativity for a period of time. The imperialists have huge resources. They don't get tired and they don't give up. They are constantly on the prod.

By eliminating or postponing some of the most pressing problems they were facing in other parts of the world, Washington and its imperialist allies are now able to focus more attention on pushing back the workers and farmers of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Cuba. As the Cuban leadership has explained many times, it was the fact that the U.S. imperialists were bogged down in Vietnam for years that gave the young Cuban revolution the breathing space it needed to survive and be spared a full-scale U.S. military assault.

## U.S. war escalates

There has been a serious escalation of the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

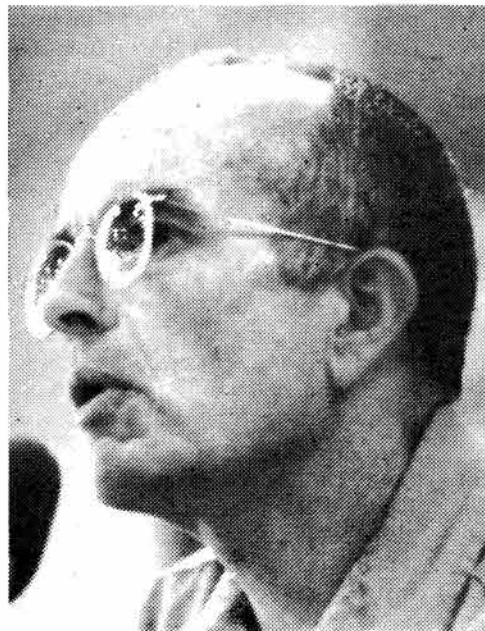
Since 1980, Washington has stepped up its war moves against Cuba. This includes more U.S. war "games" in the Caribbean, a massive propaganda campaign targeting Cuba as the "source" of "subversion" in the hemisphere, the 1982 ban on travel to Cuba from the United States, and the continued economic squeeze and blockade of Cuba, which is designed to limit the material gains the revolution can bring to the masses.

The leadership of the Cuban revolution has responded to these challenges by mobilizing the masses to defend their country, while simultaneously carrying on a worldwide political campaign to expose and hold back the U.S. government's aggression.

In El Salvador, U.S. military interven-



Mary-Alice Waters reported to SWP leadership on developments in Central America and Caribbean since 1979. Struggle between advancing socialist revolution in this region and U.S. imperialism remains at center of world politics. SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes reported on U.S. political situation.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



# U.S., world political situation

tion has escalated massively in the last couple of years. Meanwhile, Washington does everything it can to undermine the process of forging the united, revolutionary, vanguard party needed to lead the Salvadoran workers and peasants in the overturn of capitalist rule.

In Guatemala, the escalation of the U.S.-backed repression has led to big defeats for the mass movement there.

## Nicaragua

Nicaragua is the central target of Washington's aggression today. When the Nicaraguan revolution triumphed, Washington's first response was to try to pressure the Sandinistas into selling out. But the proletarian revolutionists of the Sandinista National Liberation Front could not be bought and sold. Like the leadership of the Cuban revolution, their actions are governed by the needs and interests of the workers and peasants.

Washington then began organizing an army out of the remnants of Somoza's National Guard, who had fled to neighboring Honduras when the revolution triumphed. These counterrevolutionaries, or *contras*, have been joined by renegades from the revolution, those who can't tolerate political rule by Nicaragua's worker-peasant majority.

Beginning in 1981, these forces have launched ever-larger invasions and other attacks on Nicaragua, which have taken their toll. Thousands of Nicaraguans have been killed and wounded. The economy has been damaged to the tune of millions of dollars. Despite this, the Nicaraguan people have prevented the *contras* from carrying out their objective of occupying a city from which they could launch a "provisional government" and then call on Washington to provide troops.

Each *contra* invasion has been defeated by the Sandinistas. But that doesn't stop Washington from re-arming the mercenaries and throwing them back into the ring each time.

## Buying time

By pushing the *contras* back again and again, the Sandinistas have bought precious time: time to organize more of the population into defense of the revolution; time to build broader support internationally for their right to self-determination in the face of Washington's onslaught; time for the Cuban people to fortify their defenses; and time for the Salvadoran rebels as well.

The success of the Nicaraguan workers and farmers in defending and strengthening their revolution has also given opponents of the war inside the United States more time to deepen the discussion in the labor movement and the Black and Latino communities about why the oppressed and exploited have no interest in backing Washington's war.

Waters pointed out that the revolutionaries in Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador have all explained over and over that Washington has everything in place militarily to introduce large numbers of U.S. combat troops into the region. But the U.S. rulers prefer to send in troops under circumstances where they can win a quick and easy victory.

Every defeat for the *contras* — the advance guard of the Yankee invaders — strengthens Nicaragua and thereby raises the political price Washington will have to pay for using its own troops.

As the Nicaraguans often say, Nicaragua will not be another Grenada. Unlike in Grenada, if the marines landed on the shores of Nicaragua today, far from being greeted as liberators, they would face the armed hostility of an entire people — and an entire region.

The National Committee reaffirmed the decision made by the SWP's convention in August that furthering opposition to U.S. imperialism's war in Central America and the Caribbean — including against the continued U.S. occupation of Grenada — is the central axis of socialist workers' activity within the industrial unions.

The goal of socialist workers in the industrial unions is to bring the labor move-

ment into the fight against war. They also take this perspective to existing solidarity and antiwar groups.

## U.S. political situation

The National Committee also adopted a report from the Political Committee given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes on the political situation in the United States, seen within the international framework outlined by Waters.

Barnes reaffirmed the fundamental analysis of the main features of the U.S. class struggle today that were contained in the political resolution adopted by the party's August convention.

The industrial working class and its unions are at the center of politics in the United States today. This is a result of the drive by the employing class to fundamentally alter the relationship of forces between labor and capital — an offensive that has been building since the 1974-75 world recession — and the emerging resistance to it by the ranks of the industrial unions.

There exists a gap between the current experiences and consciousness of the working class, and the radically transformed conditions and methods of struggle that will emerge as social, economic, and war crises tear apart the current political framework of relative social stability and capitalist democracy.

There is no layer of the working class today that has yet developed a political perspective to bridge the gap between today's conditions and the revolutionary battles of the future. These battles will culminate in the establishment of a workers and farmers government in the United States. It will take a growing number of class battles, combined, over time, with a deepening social crisis and imperialist war, to bridge this gap and transform the labor movement.

## What socialist campaign accomplished

BY TOM LEONARD

NEW YORK — A report to the December National Committee meeting of the Socialist Workers Party by Andrea Morell spelled out the political importance of the SWP's recently conducted election campaign.

Morell, a National Committee member of the SWP, was national campaign manager for the SWP's 1984 presidential ticket of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president.

The report explained the political context of the campaign. It took place in a period where there is no motion toward independent political action on the part of the labor movement and where almost the entire left collapsed into capitalist electoral politics, which included urging a vote for Democrat Walter Mondale.

Under these conditions, and despite its modest size, the Mason-González campaign played an important objective role in the discussions taking place in the working class today.

It was the only avowedly socialist campaign that explained politics in class terms and had the ability to explain and defend the need for independent Black and working-class political action.

## Central America

Throughout the campaign, SWP candidates educated on the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean, the central issue in politics today. They explained that no vote for a capitalist politician could end the war in Central America or stop the attacks on working people in the United States.

The SWP campaign made a contribution in explaining why Jesse Jackson's Democratic Party presidential campaign and his Rainbow Coalition were not a fighting alliance of the oppressed but rather a capitalist electoralist vehicle.

The socialists addressed the confusion around Democratic candidate Geraldine Ferraro's procapitalist candidacy for vice-president, pointing out that it did nothing to



While many unions have been hit with major takebacks, the United Mine Workers recently won a contract that maintained previous terms. Miners are now in stronger position to fight the bigger battles with coal operators that will come in future.

The struggles that are going on today by unionists, fighters for Black rights, and by farmers battling foreclosures are providing lessons for militant-minded workers and their allies and are helping prepare the working class for the struggles that lie ahead.

## An adjustment

While reaffirming the party's basic analysis, Barnes said it was necessary, nonetheless, to make an adjustment in the party's view of the current conjuncture in the class struggle. It's necessary, he said, for the party to recognize that the pace of the fightback against the employers has

been slower than anticipated. Combative workers are more hesitant today to go on strike or engage in other forms of struggle with the employers because they see that the solidarity and other conditions they need to win a given fight do not necessarily exist.

What's been happening politically in the United States in the last couple of years is of a piece with what's happening in the rest of the world. The U.S. ruling class has dealt the working class and its allies here a series of blows and setbacks, which have had an impact on working people.

In the mid to late 1970s there were im-

Continued on Page 10

advance the struggle for women's rights.

SWP candidates also participated in political discussions with workers in other countries. Through their visits to English Canada and Quebec, Nicaragua, Britain, Ireland, Puerto Rico, Martinique, and the Dominican Republic, they were able to bring the discussions and experiences U.S. workers are having to fellow workers in other countries. Upon returning to the United States they were better able to explain the struggles of workers abroad and help show the common interests the working class shares internationally.

The SWP directed its ideas to workers looking for answers and ready to discuss the U.S. war in Central America and other big political questions of the day.

The SWP took its election campaign to U.S. workers where they live and work. Mason and González campaigned at plant gates across the country and talked with workers in their homes. They walked on strikers' picket lines and used their election campaign to defend these workers. They

joined protests against police brutality, attended women's liberation gatherings, and spoke out in defense of political frame-up victims.

The SWP conducted a bilingual election campaign, which included nominating González, a longtime activist in the Puerto Rican independence struggle, as its candidate for vice-president.

González campaigned in both Spanish and English. The SWP campaigned among Latino and Chicano workers in the Rio Grande valley of Texas, and farm workers in California.

In addition, all the national and much of the local election campaign literature was reproduced in both Spanish and English. Another important tool in this work was *Perspectiva Mundial*, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. PM's coverage of the campaign won the publication new readers.

## Campaigning among farmers

SWP candidates also campaigned extensively in the countryside and got a good hearing for their socialist ideas. They participated in meetings and protest actions by working farmers struggling to hold onto their land and explained the farmers' struggle to trade unionists and others.

The SWP was joined in all these efforts by the Young Socialist Alliance, whose national leadership helped head up the national election campaign from the beginning. As a result of this work, new members and supporters were won to the YSA.

Morell stressed in her report that the national campaign began and ended with the clear perspective that the SWP was involved in a battle of ideas. The election provided the party with a platform to present its working-class perspectives.

An important aspect of this battle was the fight the party had to wage to get its national, statewide, and local candidates on the ballot in 23 states and the District of Columbia.

This was a big victory and a central

Continued on Page 11



Militant/Dee Scalera  
SWP national campaign director  
Andrea Morell.



# SWP assesses political situation

Continued from Page 9

portant signs of resistance to the employers' offensive among labor and family farmers. There was the development of the Steelworkers Fight Back opposition in the steelworkers' union.

In 1979 the Steelworkers won recognition at the giant Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia. Coal miners struck for 111 days in 1977-78. It was around this time that the unions began to get involved in the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and the battle against nuclear power. This is also when the American Agriculture Movement was formed and the first big tractorcade protests took place in Washington, D.C.

But as the rulers have intensified their attacks on working people, the pressure to retreat from even these activities has come down on all levels of the trade union bureaucracy and farm movement leaders. It's clear today that even to simply hold the line against the employers, it's necessary to mobilize the ranks of labor and its allies in real struggles against the bosses, as well as to oppose the bosses politically.

## Deeper identification with bosses

The union bureaucracy has charted the opposite course. They have pushed the union movement toward still deeper identification with the bosses and their government. They accept the bosses' insistence that workers today must live with declining wages and deteriorating working conditions in exchange for phony promises of job security for a small percentage of union members. They accept "two-tier" wage structures, which begin to institutionalize two different classes of union membership.

Within the trade union bureaucracy today there is no motion by any wing or layer of officials away from their current class-collaborationist course. Their policy accepts the framework of the maintenance of the capitalist profit system in the United States and its imperialist policies abroad. They promote elections as the most important arena of political activity for the unions, and the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties as effective vehicles for advancing the interests of working people.

There is a huge gap between the perspective and methods of the labor bureaucracy and what is actually necessary to begin to counter the rulers' offensive. And more and more workers are beginning to see the inadequacy of the old deals with the bosses. But there is still no layer of combative workers that has found its way to independent working-class political action as the alternative to the course charted by the bureaucracy. Today there is not even the nucleus of a class-struggle left wing in the unions.

And the longer the union officialdom is able to put into practice its variety of class collaboration, which means a continuing shrinking and weakening of the unions, the more the pressure from the employers is felt by fighters in the ranks.

This process was highlighted by the out-

come of the recent United Auto Workers (UAW) and United Mine Workers (UMW) contracts.

In the auto contract, Ford and General Motors squeezed further concessions from the UAW in wages, benefits, and work rules. The contract terms deepened the divisions among UAW members, favoring the better-paid workers.

The UAW officialdom argued that the membership should accept the contract because it was the best that could be gotten and, they claimed, it provided "job security," despite the fact that the provisions on this apply only to a thin layer of relatively better-off workers. The officials also made clear that if the ranks rejected the contract, there would be a strike that the bureaucracy had no intention of leading in a serious manner.

Faced with this situation, the majority of UAW members voted for the contract, with a large minority opposing it. Some who voted yes did so because they thought the contract offered them enough as individuals. Others opposed the divisive concessions in the pact, but voted yes because going on strike didn't seem like a viable alternative.

Unlike the concessions contract agreed to with Chrysler in 1979, which was presented as an emergency measure because Chrysler was losing money, the 1984 General Motors and Ford contracts were not presented as emergencies — in fact, the two companies had been raking in record profits. Thus the contract registered the gains the employers have made against the UAW, and it left the union in a weaker position in the fights that will inevitably break out as the employers strive to undermine the UAW further.

The mine workers' contract was quite a different story. While other unions were hit with major takebacks, the miners succeeded in maintaining basically the same contract terms as they had won in 1981.

The reason for this difference lies in the fact that more than a decade ago, the UMW ranks overthrew a reactionary, entrenched bureaucracy dominating their union. By winning a measure of rank-and-file control over union affairs, the miners have been better able to stand up to the coal operators' attacks on their union. They have waged several long strikes in the past decade to push back assaults on safety and living standards.

## Why miners voted yes

Recognizing that a takeback contract would probably spark another strike, the coal operators decided not to take on the miners this round. They did not demand the same kind of concessions other employers have been getting. The contract negotiated included a larger wage increase than other workers are getting; and did not include a two-tier wage structure, Sunday work, or a probationary period for new hires, all of which had been threatened earlier by the coal bosses.

The overwhelming majority of miners

— 83.4 percent — voted yes on the contract. While expressing dissatisfaction with various aspects of it, they recognized that this pact was far better than what auto workers and other unionists were being forced to accept. They also recognized that the coal bosses would come back with bigger attacks later.

To have voted down the contract would have meant a costly and long strike. And there was no guarantee of victory, given the general state of the labor movement, the lack of labor solidarity being organized for other strikes, and the lack of a clear strategy being put forward for how to effectively resist the employers' attacks. To fight the bosses unnecessarily on this contract, most miners felt, could weaken the union for the bigger battles they saw coming in the future.

In his report, Barnes pointed out that although there are fewer workers involved in struggle today than a few years ago, there are millions of workers who are open to discussing aspects of the class-struggle strategy that socialists advance within the labor movement. Many are open to discussing the need to replace the political rule of the capitalists with the political rule of the workers and farmers. Among these workers are individuals who can be won to the socialist movement today.

Barnes took up the question, raised by many on the left, of whether the impact of the 1960s radicalization has been erased today.

The radicalization that developed in the 1960s — that is, the widespread changes in attitudes on key social, economic, and political questions — was reflected in action in the massive civil rights movement, the student movement, the movement against the U.S. government's war in Vietnam, and the Chicano and women's liberation movements.

The rights of the entire working class were qualitatively expanded through the struggles these movements waged. Legal segregation in the South was destroyed. Affirmative action for oppressed nationalities and women, abortion rights, a much broader scope for free speech and privacy — an entire new set of historical rights — were won.

## Transformation of work force

These gains went hand in hand with, and helped spur on, a decisive transformation in the structure of the work force. In the period since World War II, Blacks have been integrated into industrial jobs in their millions. In the past two decades, women began to fight their way into jobs that employers had maintained as virtually all-male domains. The huge influx of workers from countries oppressed by U.S. imperialism has strengthened the working class by adding millions of workers who know firsthand the criminal role U.S. imperialism plays in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

These changes have been reflected in the union movement. Blacks, Latinos, and women not only joined the ranks of the unions in larger numbers, they are also leaders in the resistance to the employers' antilabor offensive.

The struggle movements of the 1960s, though they grew up outside the unions, had a big impact on the consciousness of the entire working class, especially in spurring pride and militancy among the oppressed themselves.

Having accomplished many of their goals, these movements tended to disintegrate. But the laws, rights, and changes in attitudes that they carved out in struggle remain. The ruling class has not been able to reverse any of those fundamental gains yet. The government and employers are chipping away at abortion rights, desegregation, and affirmative action.

And they have combined this process of erosion with an unrelenting campaign of reactionary propaganda designed to reverse working people's attitudes about racism, sexism, and war. But these gains can't be abolished simply by erosion or propaganda. They must be taken away in real battles — the same way they were won. The oppressed must be defeated, demoralized, and pushed back. Such attacks on the rights of the most oppressed, given what the U.S. labor movement looks like today, must simultaneously be blows di-

rected against the trade union movement itself.

At the present time, the employers are still at the stage of chipping away at the labor movement, as opposed to trying to bust outright the major industrial unions. A protracted battle between capital and labor is taking place.

## Coming showdown

The capitalists cannot buy off the working class this time around with massive concessions, as happened after World War II. The capitalists' weakened competitive position internationally prohibits this. A direct showdown between the industrial unions and the employers will happen, but it has not arrived yet.

It's important to distinguish between what the capitalists say they want to do to the working class and what they have accomplished thus far, which is considerably less, Barnes stressed.

He pointed out that most of those on the U.S. left have characterized the election of Reagan as a decisive defeat for the working class that will now set the entire framework of politics for years to come. This is false, Barnes said. The same error could be made in assuming that what came out of the labor negotiations in auto and coal this fall determines how the class struggle will unfold in those two unions for an extended period.

## Labor aristocracy

The report by Barnes also took up another weighty factor in the unfolding class struggle in the United States: the role of the labor aristocracy. This is the small layer of relatively well-paid workers in the labor movement that identifies its temporary interests with those of the employers, rather than with the mass of exploited workers. The existence of this layer in the working class, carefully cultivated by the employers, puts a further brake on the pace of the class struggle. It is this layer that the labor bureaucracy leans on and uses against the majority of workers.

For the labor aristocracy, the policy of collaboration with the employers has paid off to some degree. Unlike new hires, unskilled and unorganized workers, and the bulk of the women, Black and Latino workers, the labor aristocrats are the recipients of the small crumbs the bureaucrats get from the bosses in return for bargaining away the rights of the vast majority of the working masses, organized and unorganized.

It is the divisions and inequalities among workers that allow the tiny handful of super-rich families that run this country to continue to exploit and oppress the vast majority without being overthrown. The existence of the labor aristocracy plays a central role in dividing the working class, cutting across the development of class consciousness, and helping the bureaucracy and bosses keep the lid on things.

## Forging class unity

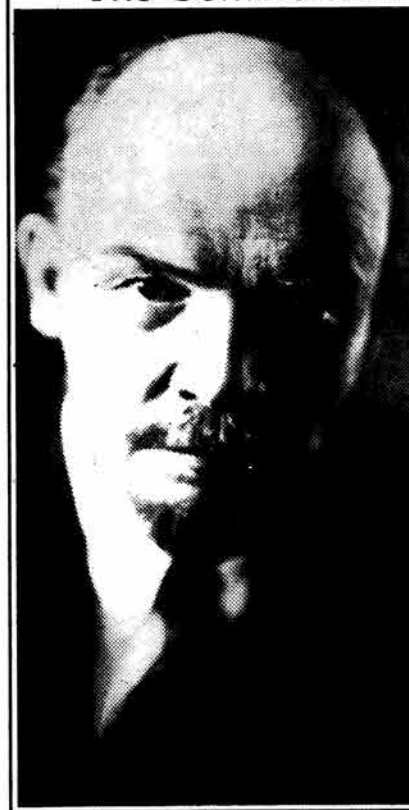
Class unity will only be forged in struggle, Barnes emphasized. It will be based on defense of the most exploited and oppressed in the work force, who will be in the vanguard of transforming the labor movement. This is why socialist workers concentrate their attention today on the young, Black and Latino, and female workers, those who are most receptive to a class-struggle perspective.

By accurately assessing the current conjuncture of the class struggle, socialist workers can more effectively participate in the fights that are taking place in the unions, Black communities, and in the struggle against imperialist war.

There is no way to transform the current stage of the class struggle artificially, to jump over today's objective situation and level of consciousness. To do so leads to missing the importance of the real opportunities that do exist today for socialists in the working-class movement.

This includes the opportunities to bring union power into the fight against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean, to win Black workers to the National Black Independent Political Party, to broaden the layer of workers reading socialist literature, and, most importantly, to recruit the significant number of workers who are ready to join the Socialist Workers Party today.

## The Communist International in Lenin's Time



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604 pages, \$10.95.

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



# Gov't worker wins ruling on rights

Continued from front page

of Clark's coworkers from previous jobs were also questioned.

Agents in New York interrogated two of Clark's former teachers and three former neighbors. Agents in Washington questioned his and his family's neighbors.

The FBI examined Clark's school records and sought information about his parents, siblings, and grandmother. It checked with police agencies in Minnesota and Washington and did a credit check on Clark.

The Appeals Court ruling notes that "Clark suffered mental anguish and was chilled in the exercise of his first amendment rights as a result of the investigation."

Following their interrogation by FBI agents, several family members and friends advised Clark to give up his legal political activities.

Clark also charged that the Library of Congress had discriminated against him in employment. Between 1977 and 1979 he had applied for promotion to 40 different jobs within the library but was not selected for any of the posts even though the library acknowledged that he was qualified for at least 17 of them.

The Appeals Court ruled that "the first amendment protects the rights of all citizens, including government employees, to hold political beliefs and belong to lawful political parties and associations."

It directed the lower court to reopen Clark's case to determine whether his "constitutionally protected association with the YSA or the unlawful investigation that arose out of that association was a substantial or motivating factor in the Library's decision not to appoint Clark to any of the positions for which he applied."

The ruling added that Clark only has to show that "his protected association or the investigation that arose out of that association was a 'substantial' factor in the Library's failure to promote him."

The Library of Congress, through the U.S. Attorney, had cynically argued that for Clark to prove he was discriminated against on political grounds he would have to show that no other YSA member was hired for one of the jobs for which he had applied.

Judge Palmieri's ruling noted that Clark had been "singled out for an extraordinary investigation on the basis of information received by the Library to the effect that he was associated with a lawful political group," the YSA.

Palmieri added that when government investigation "inflicts a palpable injury on the individual because of his lawful beliefs,

it has the direct and consequent effect of chilling his rights to freedom of belief and association."

In a telephone interview, Clark's lawyer Clifford B. Hendler pointed out that the ruling's significance goes beyond federal workers. "It applies to all persons in this country," Hendler said. "The Appeals Court ruled that even though a person may hold a low-level federal job, that is not reason enough to subject him to a full-field FBI investigation. If Mr. Clark had not held any kind of federal job, the justification for such an investigation would have been even less."

Holbrook Mahn of the Political Rights Defense Fund told the *Militant* that "the issues in Harry Clark's suit closely parallel those in the Socialist Workers Party's 11-year-old suit against the federal government."

"Do the constitutionally guaranteed rights of free speech, press, and assembly apply to everyone, including opponents of the capitalist system?"

"Do FBI agents and other federal cops have the right to infiltrate a legal political party, disrupt it, create provocations, and victimize its members and supporters solely on the grounds that they view the organization's ideas as subversive?"

The SWP suit was filed in 1973 and went to trial in 1981. An important issue in that suit is whether government investigations per se constitute political harassment and disruption. The government claims they are simply information-gathering expeditions. The SWP and YSA contend that



Militant/Lou Howort

YSA banner at antiwar protest. Federal court upheld government employee's right to be a member of YSA.

the investigations in and of themselves are a form of intimidation and harassment and, furthermore, that is their intended function. This has been confirmed by the Clark case.

Although the trial in this case ended on June 25, 1981, the federal judge, Thomas Griesa, has still not handed down a ruling.

The SWP and YSA are seeking millions in damages for past unconstitutional harassment of members and supporters and a permanent injunction against government-

tal abuses of the SWP's and YSA's democratic rights.

A statement released by YSA National Secretary Peter Theirjung saluted Clark's victory and said that his "defense of democratic rights sets an example for all youth." It is exactly the kind of harassment that Clark suffered, said Theirjung, that the "YSA, along with the SWP, is seeking relief from in our historic lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other government political police agencies."

## What socialist campaign accomplished

Continued from Page 9

achievement of the national campaign because of the contribution it made to the permanent struggle of the SWP to defend its right to function as a legal political party.

### Approached as political fight

Even though the campaign didn't run into a wave of new restrictions on ballot rights, the existing reactionary laws were difficult to comply with as they stood. They are designed to guard the political monopoly on the ballot held by capitalist political parties, not to make it easy for working-class parties to be able to run for office.

That is why the national campaign approached the struggle to get on the ballot as a political fight with the ruling class to de-

fend the democratic right to the ballot by the SWP, other working-class parties, and the working class as a whole.

When the Communist party was ruled off the ballot in California, the SWP sent a telegram to the secretary of state protesting the CP's exclusion from the ballot.

The socialist campaign organized support for its fight against challenges to the SWP's ballot rights in New York, Rhode Island, Michigan, West Virginia, and Alabama. It won ballot status in all these states except New York.

The Alabama campaign was a good example of how socialists can win broad support for their democratic right to be on the ballot. This was the first time Alabama socialists petitioned to get on the ballot in that state. (The SWP qualified for ballot status in an earlier election as a result of a court ruling.) They didn't assume that by collecting a sufficient number of signatures, election board officials would automatically place them on the ballot.

Instead, from the beginning of their petition drive, the Alabama socialists combined petitioning with a broad public appeal for the democratic right of the SWP to be on the ballot. This included obtaining a lawyer early in the campaign to help in the legal work.

They also got the names of prominent public figures — civil rights leaders, civil libertarians and others — who made public statements of support for the right of the SWP to ballot status.

State officials eventually did threaten to keep the SWP off the ballot, despite the large number of signatures the party had collected. The wide support the party had already gathered for its rights helped force the officials to yield and put the SWP on the ballot.

The important thing about the Alabama campaign is that the socialists did not wait to be challenged, but made the democratic right to be on the ballot part of the election campaign from the beginning.

In many petition campaigns, party supporters effectively combined the fight to be on the ballot with discussions and sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as they asked people to sign nominating petitions.

Morell explained the importance of winning ballot status in states where the SWP doesn't have branches, as part of the strug-

gle to establish the SWP as a national political party entitled to equal rights under the law. This included four midwestern farm states where working farmers, sympathetic to what the party had to say and its right to say it, helped Mason and González get on the ballot.

### Opportunities in 1985

In her concluding remarks, Morell observed that there will be electoral opportunities in 1985 that will enable the SWP to continue this effective work.

There will be several key local campaigns. The most important nationally will be the mayoral race in New York City. SWP candidates in these local races can participate in the same way and for the same political and legal gains that the party registered in the 1984 general elections.



Militant/Eric Simpson

SWP presidential candidate Mel Mason campaigning in West Virginia last April as part of effort to get party on ballot in that state.

## Wanted

### Young fighters to change the world

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) is a nationwide organization of young fighters with a political program and the determination to change the world.

We believe that the fight for justice and freedom is a worldwide struggle by working people to end war, racism, sexism, unemployment, exploitation, and the society that causes them: capitalism.

We are convinced that young people today have no future, unless we fight for a new society to meet human needs, not big business profits: socialism.

Participation in politics for us means joining in this struggle here in the U.S. where the worldwide battle for justice and freedom will ultimately be won.

We are young people — Blacks, Latinos, women, men, workers, students, and unemployed — all joined together in 45 chapters across the U.S. fighting for this common goal.

We invite you to join us in fighting for a worthwhile future. Join the YSA!

- ☐ Send me more information.
- ☐ I would like to join the YSA. Contact me.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$3.00 for six issues of the *Young Socialist*, the bimonthly YSA publication.
- ☐ Please send me a catalogue of socialist literature.
- ☐ Please send me a bundle of *Young Socialists* to distribute. (45¢ each for 10 or more.)
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**American Way comes to Grenada** — Charles McIntyre, a Ford dealer and chairman of the Grenada Chamber of Commerce, is



**Harry Ring**

reported as especially tight with Herbert Blaize, the new prime minister who's ticket enjoyed solid U.S. backing. McIntyre, who campaigned hard for Blaize, chortled, "The Chamber of Commerce is at the peak of its power

with this government."

**That'll learn 'em** — A federal judge in Evansville, Ind., threw the book at Larry Hannah, a bank official convicted of fraud involving more than \$2 million in bank funds. Brushing aside Hannah's expression of remorse, the judge sternly declared a stiff sentence was needed to deter others contemplating similar misdeeds. He gave Hannah 60 days and a \$15,000 fine.

**The march of civilization** — Procter & Gamble is still making a bundle on Pampers, but faces a new kid on the block. Reigel Paper is the first on the market with designer disposable diapers. Cabbage Patch Disposable Diap-

ers, of course, feature the Kids, plus flared bottoms. A bit pricier than the others, but nice for special occasions.

**Like piecework?** — The feds are looking into the relationship between Louisiana Gov. Edwin Edwards and members of the health-care industry. While out of office he helped them develop hospital projects which, as governor, he later exempted from an order barring new hospital construction. Asked how many hours he spent earning fees totalling \$1 million, the gov snapped back: "I don't get paid by the hour. I get paid by the results."

**Shop early for Xmas** — They won't be available until January,

but if you act quickly you may be able to snap up one of Givenchy's porcelain dolls decked out in one of his chic evening gowns. A limited edition of 500 — \$2,500 each. Or, if your budget's tight from the holidays, check out the ones being produced in quantity — \$100 to \$400.

**Stocking stuffer** — American Express is offering a genuine mink teddy bear, sporting a .025 karat diamond belly button. Only \$150, with five months to pay.

**Fashion tip** — Top fashion designers are now offering the opportunity for greater flexibility in evening wear by designing outfits in separate parts. Drop by Bergdorf-Goodman in New York

and you can pluck off the rack a puffy taffeta skirt by St. Laurent and a red or blue satin jacket by Ungaro. The skirt, \$1,100 and the jacket but \$1,075.

**"After all, it's merely money"** — That's the thought offered by Glenfiddich, a maker of scotch whiskey, in offering a crystal decanter containing a fifth of its 25-year-old single malt scotch for \$2,100.

**Thought for the week** — "We will not abandon the destiny of Chile to uncertainty and the threat of totalitarianism." — Butcher Pinochet announcing a new crackdown on the Chilean opposition.

## U.S. and Cuba reach agreement on immigration

**Continued from back page**

as a whole. (An angry Cuban people assailed them as "scum.") An undetermined number had criminal records. Still others were drawn by the image of a country whose streets were paved with cars, cassette recorders, and designer jeans.

And there were those who wanted to get out from under the relentless pressure of the U.S. drive to crush the Cuban revolution.

Anti-Cuba propagandists worked overtime to exploit the Mariel exodus as proof of the "failure" of the Cuban revolution. They talked endlessly about the 1 percent of the Cuban people who left and studiously ignored the 99 percent who chose to stay.

Any questions about the popularity of the revolution among the great majority of Cubans were answered by the giant demonstrations in response to the whipped-up anti-Cuba drive at the time. And the demonstrations were backed up by a record

number of Cubans volunteering for an expanded citizens militia in preparation for any direct U.S. aggression.

One part of the anti-Cuba drive was a racist smear campaign against the Mariel immigrants. The charge was made, without substantiating evidence, that Cuba had emptied its jails and mental hospitals at Mariel.

The 2,746 people Washington now proposes to send back to Cuba are those the U.S. government held as criminals or as mentally ill.

At the time of Mariel, Cuba categorically denied it had released any mental patients to join the boatlift. That denial has particular weight for those who have visited Cuba and have seen the remarkably concerned, humane treatment accorded mental patients.

Cuba readily agreed there were ex-criminals among those who came from Mariel. Who did you expect to come, Fidel Castro inquired, the cream of Cuban society? But he also firmly declared that no one doing time for crimes of violence was permitted to leave.

At the time of Mariel, U.S. screening officials admitted that only "a handful" seemed to have mental problems. (How many subsequently developed such problems as a result of being homeless in Miami is, of course, undetermined.)

As for those jailed as criminals, a State Department official admitted in June 1980 that, "We have no real proof against them." There was, he said, only their "confessions."

Castro indicated the Cuban government's plans for the people who are returning to Cuba. First, he said, they would be given physical examinations. Any health problems of a physical or mental nature would be treated free at a hospital.

Anyone who was jailed while in the United States who had not committed a crime, said Castro, will be found a job and reintegrated into society. If they did commit any crimes while in the United States, they would be jailed in Cuba.

Since the beginning of the Cuban revolution, Washington has welcomed hired killers from the old Batista dictatorship, capitalist politicians, pimps, and businessmen who stole millions from the Cuban people, as well as latter-day counterrevolutionary arsonists and terrorists.

## —CALENDAR—

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**South Africa: Black Majority in Revolt.** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 4, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Socialist Educational Conference.** Includes three classes on founding of Socialist Workers Party by Fred Feldman, and four classes on Teamsters struggles of 1930s by Maggie McCraw, Pete Brandli, John Gaige, and Susan Apstein. Classes begin Sat., Dec. 29, 2 p.m. Featured talk: "War and Revolution in the Americas: the Class-struggle Perspective for the United States." Speaker: Mac Warren, member National Committee SWP. Sun., Dec. 30, 7 p.m. Classes and talk translated to Spanish. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$5 for weekend, or \$1 per class and \$2 for talk. Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Eyewitness Report: Washington's War**

For Washington, these are not "common criminals."

For Cuba, the present agreement is an affirmation of its long-standing policy that participation in the revolutionary process is voluntary and those who do not wish to participate should be free to leave.

**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.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Charleston

**Union Carbide Disaster: Profits over Safety.** A panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 29, 8 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

## 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, Nic-

aragua, 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.

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**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-1018.

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**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

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Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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



# AAM plans Chicago Board of Trade protest

BY MIKE CHAMBERLAIN

DENVER — The American Agriculture Movement (AAM) has called a demonstration at the Chicago Board of Trade for January 21. In a recent interview here with the *Militant*, AAM representatives Fred Hillman and Jerry Griffin explained that the farmers will be protesting the board's manipulation of prices. This manipulation, they explained, hurts small farmers and benefits big grain companies like Cargill and Continental.

"The problem here is the same as in the Third World countries," said Griffin. "Because of the manipulation of commodity prices, these countries have to starve their people just to pay the interest on the loans they have out from the international banks."

Griffin and Hillman also discussed the stepped-up government attacks on U.S. farmers, in particular the case of Kinan Burke, and Jim and Doug Goodpaster, three Colorado AAM members. The three farmers were convicted at their second trial on charges stemming from a January 1983 police riot at a farm foreclosure protest in Springfield, Colorado. The protest made national news when the 500 farmers and their supporters who had gathered at the Baca courthouse were attacked by sheriff's deputies with tear gas and clubs.

During the protest, when Burke and the Goodpasters tried to enter the courthouse to place a bid on the foreclosed farm, they were met by sheriff's deputies, who maced, beat, and handcuffed them. The three were charged with assaulting a police officer.

The government went to great lengths to convict these farm activists. After the first trial ended in a hung jury, the government named a new judge and prosecutor and scheduled a retrial. "The prosecution went through 300 people to find a jury that would hang" Burke and the Goodpasters in the second trial, said Griffin.

The judge even ordered the three to undergo psychiatric testing in order to undercut their credibility. The judge agreed with the government prosecutor that the farmers' insistence on pleading not guilty and their desire to defend themselves in court were signs of mental instability.

Burke was found guilty of second degree assault — a felony. He and the Goodpasters were convicted of the obstruction of a police officer.

The conviction of these farmers is only one example of the government's attempts to intimidate U.S. farmers. Griffin explained that the AAM does not intend to be silenced by these attacks.

The AAM encourages all farmers and their supporters to turn out for the January 21 protest at the Chicago Board of Trade.



Farmers outside Chicago Board of Trade last September demanding moratorium on farm foreclosures

Militant

## SWAT cops kill Nebraska farmer

BY SALM KOLIS  
AND MIKE CHAMBERLAIN

CAIRO, Neb. — Farmers and their supporters here were outraged by the October police killing of Arthur L. Kirk, a Nebraska farmer, by the State Patrol SWAT team.

The SWAT team had been sent onto the Kirk farm on October 23 after Kirk refused to accept court papers from Hall County sheriff's deputies. The deputies had tried to serve these papers with weapons drawn. Serving these papers was the first step in an attempt by the Norwest Bank of Grand Island to seize cash, equipment, and crops from Kirk to cover \$300,000 in unpaid loans.

On October 27, 200 farmers and other supporters crowded into a press conference in Grand Island held by Deloris Kirk, widow of the slain farmer. She was joined at the podium by her children and her mother. State Senator Ernie Chambers, who is Black, was urged to speak by shouts from the crowd. During his remarks, Chambers said, "Everything that was done was designed to increase the pressure on Kirk until they [the police] reached their predetermined end — to kill him." He also warned of a cover-up of the incident.

Deloris Kirk explained to the press conference that the police would not let her on the farm to talk to her husband and try to defuse the situation.

In a press release, Corky Jones, state president and national vice-president of the American Agriculture Movement,

explained that "We have thousands in Nebraska alone that are in the same identical situation [as Kirk's]. I have heard countless times, statements from these people that they are never going to leave their land or home voluntarily. And Nebraska's apparent solution is to shoot them and carry them off."

Initial reports on the killing claimed that Kirk had died from a bullet wound that hit "part of his heart." Later reports indicated that he had bled to death.

The outrage among Nebraska's farmers can be seen in the letters that have filled the papers since the murder.

"Having known Art Kirk for the last several years, I feel he was a man who stood up for what he believed in and said what he thought. . . . Since I do not know all the facts and only what the news reports say, I have many questions," wrote one reader.

"Another farmer wrote, 'I am scared because I can see that happening on any farm in the country. I can see it happening right here on our farm.'"

After it became known that Kirk bled to death, one reader wrote in the Nebraska *Daily Independent*, "... only a short dis-

tance from Art Kirk's home, Cairo has an excellent First Responders team that could have saved his life had they been called. Didn't they [police] know they hit him? Sorry, baloney. Re-read the earlier reports where we were told that the men were equipped with 'night goggles' to keep him in their sights."

In the aftermath of the killing, the police, state authorities, and local media have launched a slander campaign against Kirk, portraying him as a psychopath.

Col. Elmer Kohmetscher, superintendent of the Nebraska State Patrol, told the press that calling the SWAT team onto Kirk's farm did not imply an "escalation of tension." The negotiator for the SWAT team, a state undercover drug investigator with 12 hours of college psychology, told the press that he interpreted Kirk's reactions as "paranoid, almost like schizophrenia."

When the *Militant* went out to the Kirk farm, we found that his neighbors didn't think Kirk was "irrational." As Reed Hongsermeier explained, "I've known that family for 25 years. There wasn't anything wrong with Art except he was in debt."

## Seaside Blacks demand resignation of racist city council member

BY KATHY BALL

SEASIDE, Calif. — "You go back and see where the Blacks have taken over, that's what they want to do to Seaside. They want to take over Seaside. Pretty soon everything on Fremont and Broadway will be boarded up. You won't have a job anywhere. I've seen them [Blacks] in action. I know what they can do." These racist remarks by Seaside City Councilman Berdine "Bud" Houser were quoted in the December 6 *Monterey Peninsula Herald*.

Houser has helped lead efforts to reverse gains made by Blacks here through struggles. Under the guise of "fighting crime," Houser endorsed cop raids on Cutino Park, a gathering place for Black youth. He led a slander campaign against a Black community bar culminating in the raiding of the building. He has consistently swept aside the appeals of Black citizens for the council's support against racist landlords.

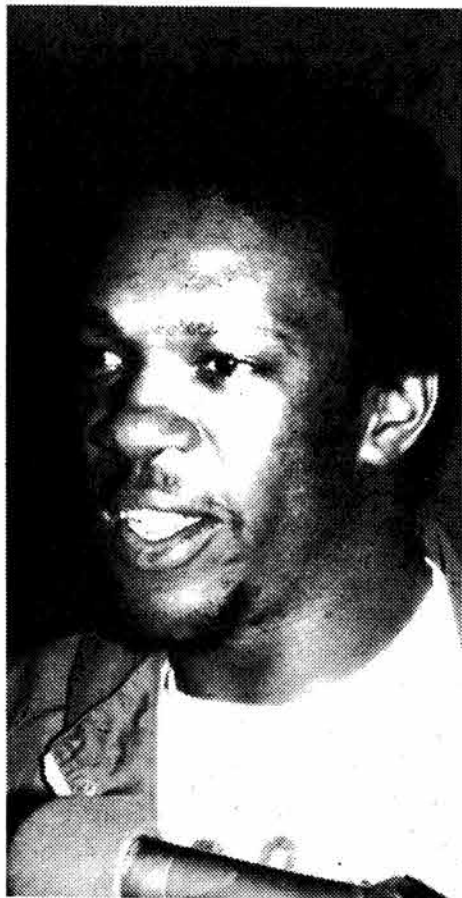
The city's Black community responded immediately to Houser's statement, packing the council meeting chamber on the day that his statements were published.

A week later, the Monterey Peninsula NAACP, at a meeting of nearly 100 people, voted unanimously to demand Houser's resignation. The Citizens League for Progress, a local Black organization, also called for Houser's resignation.

Mel Mason, former city councilman in Seaside and Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, demanded that Houser resign.

Ken Collins was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Seaside City Council in

1984. Collins, a member of the International Association of Machinists and a longtime activist in Seaside's Black community, received 1,115 of the 8,000 votes cast for two city council seats.



Ken Collins

Militant



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## Hijacking used to smear Iran

Since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Shah of Iran in 1979, Washington has missed no pretext to paint the Iranian people as terrorists and Iran as an outlaw nation. On December 4, when four men hijacked a Kuwaiti jet and forced it to land at Teheran airport in Iran, the U.S. government put its anti-Iranian propaganda offensive into high gear.

Washington and the capitalist media are on a concerted campaign to accuse the Iranian government of complicity with the hijackers. Stories appeared in the press claiming the Iranian government gave the hijackers arms and air time on television, and complaining that the Iranian government was moving too slowly to end the hijacking.

The facts, however, prove otherwise. The Iranian government immediately condemned the hijacking. The two U.S. passengers freed by the Iranian security forces told reporters in Kuwait that they saw no complicity between the Iranian government and the hijackers. The British pilot also flatly denied the charges that more guns were

brought on board the jet after it landed in Teheran.

Before the jet was stormed by Iranian security forces, the U.S. government was demanding that Iran either prosecute the hijackers or extradite them to another country to stand trial. Nevertheless, when the Iranian government announced on December 18 that the hijackers would stand trial in Iran, the U.S. State Department issued a statement saying that they were not satisfied with this decision. Washington is now demanding an "open trial," as assurance, it says, that "Iran is dealing seriously with these murderers."

These accusations of complicity are geared to making Iran out to be a terrorist country.

It's the U.S. government's role in Iran for decades; however, that reads like a textbook case of terrorism — from the installation of the murderous Shah in 1953, to providing arms for his government to use against the Iranian masses, to the U.S. support for Iraq's war against Iran. The real terrorist in the Persian Gulf is the U.S. government.

## U.S. lone 'no' on listing poisons

On December 18, the United States government cast the lone vote against publishing a new edition of a United Nations directory which lists dangerous products that have been banned, restricted, or failed to win approval in one or more of 60 countries.

The dissenting U.S. vote came after a debate which occurred at the very time reports were still coming on the disastrous poison gas leak at the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India.

In 1982, the U.S. delegates had voted against publication of the initial edition of the UN safety directory. When that directory was compiled, Washington refused to provide information for it. A listing of dangerous U.S. products was compiled by an environmental law firm which had to resort to the Freedom of Information Act to obtain the data.

The new edition of the directory will include 500 dangerous or potentially dangerous products. These include such items as DDT and other pesticides, various industrial chemicals, children's sleepwear containing Tris, which causes cancer, etc.

Many of these products have been banned in the United States. But, with Washington's agreement, the manufacturers simply peddle them abroad. A particularly lucrative market is the colonial and semicolonial countries.

Dennis Goodman, the UN delegate assigned to argue the U.S. position, offered three principal reasons for the lone no vote.

First, he argued with a straight face, most of the information in the directory was available elsewhere, admittedly in scattered form, and therefore the \$89,000 expenditure for the directory was "wasteful."

The complaint is particularly impressive from a government which, in the next fiscal year, plans to spend nearly \$300 billion on its military arsenal.

Secondly, Goodman asserted, the directory was "misleading" because it was too simplified.

Delegate Goodman's third argument got closer to the mark. Listing in the directory, he observed, "could unfairly discriminate against the export and sale of products of certain companies to the benefit of other companies."

After the 147-1 vote, one delegate said, "The United States action dismays us."

That's a polite understatement. It was a shameful display of imperialist and racist arrogance. It underlined the reality that the government in Washington is nothing more than a watchdog for big business, dedicated to ensuring its profits at home and abroad.

The people of the colonial and semicolonial countries pay a particularly heavy price for this. The imperialist banks and corporations which dominate their countries consign them to the worst poverty by consciously thwarting any industrial or agricultural development which might cut into their profits.

And these outside forces use their substantial economic and political clout to curb unions and keep wages at rock bottom.

That same clout is used to prevent, or render toothless, health and safety regulations which might interfere with the dumping of poisonous products, or the operation of such criminally dangerous plants as Union Carbide in Bhopal.

While Washington was casting its scandalous UN vote in favor of secrecy on dangerous products, it was confirmed that Union Carbide had deliberately concealed the facts about the risks of its operation from Indian officials.

This came from Rep. Stephen Solarz, who visited there. He told reporters he was "shocked" to learn that the mayor of Bhopal didn't have the vaguest idea that a disaster of such proportions could occur at the Carbide plant.

That's not really surprising. As the UN vote illustrates, for the capitalist rulers of this country, it's profits that count, not human lives.

## Norfolk busing plan under attack

The Justice Department has stepped into a court case in Norfolk, Virginia, to urge that the local school board be allowed to dismantle its longstanding, court-ordered busing plan even if it leads to increased segregation of the school system.

Since the Norfolk school board voted in February 1983 to junk busing for the purpose of school desegregation, Black parents, students, and civil rights supporters have been battling to prevent it. The NAACP went to court on behalf of Norfolk's Black school children.

The NAACP attorney pointed out that the effect of the school board's action will be to create 10 elementary schools that are 90 percent Black, a proportion that has not existed since before the busing program began in 1971. In addition, 40 percent of the elementary school children would be in all Black schools.

The Justice Department is urging that an earlier court ruling be upheld that said, "... while the board's plan would increase the number of racially identifiable schools ... the existence of one-race schools or substantially one-race schools is not unconstitutional without a showing that such schools were created for the purpose of discriminating on the basis of race."

This is a scarcely-veiled restatement of the notorious "separate but equal" segregationist argument.

In 1975 a court ruled that Norfolk — as a result of its

busing program — had succeeded in desegregating its schools. So the Norfolk school board and other antibusing bigots argued that busing should come to an end.

The Justice Department agrees: "Any argument that a school board that has eliminated all effects of past discrimination must nonetheless continue to avoid all policies that increase racial segregation amounts to an assertion that there is a constitutional right to attend racially balanced schools."

This is the first time the Justice Department has intervened to try to abolish existing busing programs. Washington hopes to set a precedent with this case.

The fundamental issue at stake today is the same as it was in 1957, when Black students first entered a white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas, or in Boston in 1974, when Black students faced racist mobilizations to stop a busing plan to desegregate the schools.

In a racist society where housing is segregated, where Black students are forced to attend the worst schools, busing plans are necessary to insure the right of Blacks to receive an equal education.

In the Norfolk case, the Reagan administration is probing to try to weaken support for school desegregation and deal a blow to Blacks and all working people.

Supporters of civil rights should sound the alarm and oppose this latest move against desegregated education.

## Lenin as election campaign manager in tsarist Russia

Virtually the entire U.S. left, with the exception of the Socialist Workers Party, made "dumping Reagan" the central axis of their intervention in the 1984 U.S. presidential elections. For most this meant calling for a vote either for Democrat Jesse Jackson or Democrat Walter Mondale.

The SWP ran its own candidates for president and vice-president — Mel Mason and Andrea González — and took advantage of the elections to discuss its revolutionary program with workers, farmers, and the oppressed.

Reprinted below are excerpts from the pamphlet *Lenin as Election Campaign Manager* by Doug Jenness. These excerpts are based on Lenin's writings about how the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democratic

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Labor Party campaigned in the 1912 elections to the Russian Duma. The Duma was merely a consultative body that was subordinate to the tsar. The Bolsheviks utilized these elections, however, to expose both the capitalist parties and the reformist policies of the Menshevik faction of the social democrats.

Also excerpted are some of the conclusions on participation in capitalist elections that the Communist International drew from the experiences of workers parties around the world.

This pamphlet can be purchased from Pathfinder Press at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The price is 25 cents plus 75 cents for postage and handling.

In 1911, one year before the elections were to take place, Lenin wrote an article entitled "The Election Campaign and the Election Platform" which says in its opening paragraph: "The elections to the Fourth Duma are due to be held next year. The Social Democratic Party must launch its election campaign at once. ... Intensified propaganda, agitation, and organization are on the order of the day, and the forthcoming elections provide a natural, inevitable, topical 'pretext' for such work." In other words, the election campaign was to be the center of the party's propaganda offensive.

The initiation of the election campaign coincided with the publication of the first legal Bolshevik newspaper, *Pravda*, a four page newspaper that came out daily. The launching of *Pravda* was a major victory for the Bolshevik Party. It became the principal instrument for publicizing the election campaign and popularizing its program. Reading the articles Lenin wrote at that time, one can see that he viewed the promotion of *Pravda* and the building of the election campaign as an interlinked process.

At that time the election laws in Russia were extremely restrictive and discriminatory, denying the majority of peasants and workers the vote. They almost make the restrictive election laws of this country seem democratic. In addition, the laws were very complicated and hard to understand. In the section of his biography of Stalin covering this period, Trotsky points out that "combining painstaking attention to details with audacious sweep of thought, Lenin was practically the only Marxist who had thoroughly studied all the possibilities and pitfalls of Stolypin's election laws."

The campaign and election of Duma deputies provided legitimacy and important legal opportunities for the underground, illegal Bolshevik Party. It served as a means of reaching and cementing ties with the mass of workers. It served to expose the tsarist government and political parties as well as the liberals and Mensheviks. In particular, it helped to draw a sharp line of distinction between the Bolshevik Party and the reformist Mensheviks. ... It was not a task to be carried out in routine fashion; rather, it was the central task of the party, requiring a tremendous mobilization of forces, political inspiration, and great care for detail.

The positive lessons of the Bolshevik experience in parliamentarism, along with the negative example of the Western European parties, was discussed thoroughly and codified in a set of theses adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. In summary some of the key points in these theses are:

The fundamental method of struggle of the working class against capitalist rule is the method of mass action; parliamentary tactics, although important, are supplementary and subordinate.

The objective of work within elections or capitalist congresses is propaganda to reach workers and other sectors of the population who have not yet been reached.

Election campaigns should not be geared primarily toward getting votes, but should be revolutionary mobilizations involving not only the party leaders and candidates but the entire party membership.



# British socialists hold conference for miners



Roy Butlin, leader of railway workers who refused to move scab coal, addresses London conference in solidarity with miners strike. Conference was organized by supporters of weekly newspaper, *Socialist Action*.

BY DOREEN WEPPLER

LONDON, England — More than 70 trade union activists and socialists gathered in East London the second weekend in December for an inspiring and informative conference in solidarity with striking coal miners. The conference was organized by supporters of the weekly newspaper, *Socialist Action*. Miners from South Wales, Notts, Yorkshire, Kent, and Leicestershire, who have been in East London organizing solidarity with their strike,

attended the conference.

The number of activists present from the rail industry almost equaled the number of miners. Members of the Post Office Engineering Union and the Transport and General Workers Union also attended.

Lively debate on the central political issues in the strike at this stage of the dispute followed speeches from the platform. Steve Shukla, a young miner from Armthorpe colliery who is a *Socialist Action* supporter, spoke. Shukla just returned

from a strike fund-raising tour of North America. Sue Bence from the Aylesham Women's Action Group and Roy Butlin, leader of Coalville's railway workers who are refusing to move the mountains of scab coal in the Midlands area, also spoke.

Virtually every question confronting the miners today was raised — ranging from the scabbing role of the leadership of the Trades Union Congress, Britain's labor federation, to the working-class approach to the violence that has occurred during the strike.

Paul Galloway from Thoresby mine explained how scabs were organizing in the Notts area to try to sever the areas's relation to the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Malcolm Pinnegar, a miner from Leicestershire, pointed out how the scab operation to destroy the NUM through the use of the courts was coordinated among the different areas. "This operation is being carried out by a suspect group of NUM members, many of whom have only recently become miners. They want to take over our union and destroy it as a working-class organization," Pinnegar said.

The second session of the conference, on the miners strike and the struggle for socialism, was opened with a talk on the Plan for Coal. It was given by Mark Hunter, a young miner from Wellbeck pit who is a *Socialist Action* supporter. Andrew Pulley, a Black member of the auto workers union in the United States, whose local was on strike, brought greetings of solidarity to the conference and pledged to take back to his fellow workers the lessons of the miners' strike. Pulley was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1980 U.S. elections.

Tony Jules gave a message of solidarity from the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Move-

ment outlining the plight of the Grenadian people today as the occupation of their country by foreign troops continues.

Martin Meagan, a bus worker and Labor Party member recently returned from Nicaragua, gave a moving account of the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to control their own destiny. To a hushed audience, she explained that "It's no accident Reagan, backed by [British Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher, is going to invade this tiny country. The Nicaraguan working people have their government in power and they are a shining example to the working class worldwide. The lessons of this struggle have a direct relevance to the miners today."

Other speakers also addressed their remarks to the need for a working-class strategy to win political power. Because, as Antonia Gorton pointed out in summing up the conference, "without a perspective of putting working people in the driving seat of a new society run on the basis of human needs and not capitalist profit, we will have no longterm solution to the problems we face daily."

The conference ended on a high note when greetings from the Irish affiliate of the Fourth International, People's Democracy, were read out.

One woman from a mining community summed up what she learned at the conference: "I didn't know about Nicaragua before today. And I wondered what was behind the troops going into Grenada. Now I see why our fight really is a common fight with working people the world over."

At the end of the day a miner and a telecommunication engineer decided to join with *Socialist Action* supporters in our fight for a socialist society.

Doreen Weppeler is a member of Britain's National Union of Railwaymen.

## LETTERS

### Antiabortion violence

I read the article in the November 30 *Militant* on the right-wing, antiabortion bombings of the Metropolitan Medical and Women's Center in Wheaton, Maryland, and the Planned Parenthood office in nearby Rockville.

Two days before the bombings I was one of about 60 people who participated in observing a huge antiabortion picket line and sit-in at the Wheaton clinic. The observers were organized by the Coalition for Choice.

The Coalition for Choice planned to both witness the right-wing action and escort patients through the right-wing mob. These right-wingers harass, threaten and sometimes physically attack women trying to get into the clinics.

The coalition plans were disrupted by the antiabortion forces who at the last minute moved their protest from Gaithersburg to Wheaton. Still, a number of us found the new location. At the new site, we were restricted to simply observing the right-wing show and weren't able to escort patients through.

Since the November 19 bombings the participants in the Coalition for Choice and other forces in the Baltimore-Washington, D.C., area have formed the Coalition Against Violence to Abortion Clinics.

The threats of violence against women's clinics have increased since November 19.

On November 20, Alternatives, Inc., a clinic that performs abortions in Silver Springs, Maryland, received a telephoned bomb threat. No bomb was found. This clinic is a few miles from the clinics bombed the day before.

A few days later, two Fairfax County, Virginia, (near Washington, D.C.) clinics received threats.

On November 21, the *Washington Times* reported that a man had called a Cleveland, Ohio, radio talk-show host on November 20 to

take credit for the bombings. The man identified himself as "Adam" and said he was from the Army of God, which has taken credit for previous antiabortion violence, including kidnappings. "Adam" said that the Army of God would plant 25 more bombs at "abortion chambers" and "disrupt offices of Planned Parenthood at the same time" in cities throughout the country.

The recent wave of arson and bombing attacks — and threats like these — are aimed at terrorizing anyone who wants to make use of clinics that perform abortions or facilities that offer family planning services.

We cannot stand silent and watch while the government and right-wing groups try to take back our right to choose abortion. Women's rights groups, trade unions, and all working people should respond to these attacks.

Dana Burroughs  
Baltimore, Maryland

### Nicaragua debate

Col. Lawrence Tracy, a representative of the U.S. State Department, failed to convince people attending a debate in Louisville recently of the need to support the CIA-organized counterrevolution in Nicaragua.

More than 250 people came to the debate, which was sponsored by Louisville-area churches and held at the Louisville Baptist Theological Seminary. Prior to the debate, the audience viewed an American Friends Service Committee film entitled, *Report From the Front*, which documented the effects of the *contra* war and the determination of the Nicaraguan people.

Col. Tracy, who is the Department of State senior military advisor on Latin America, was debated by Eleanor Garber, a local attorney and member of the National Lawyers' Guild Nicaraguan-election delegation. Garber

opposed the U.S. government's policy of trying to overthrow the Sandinista government. She reported on the many gains of the revolution.

Col. Tracy repeated the U.S. government's lies about Nicaragua threatening its neighbors and alleged Soviet and Cuban control of the revolution in Central America. He evaded the many questions from the audience that showed support for Nicaragua and exposed the U.S. government's position.

The attitude of the majority was shown in their applause when I asked Tracy if he thought many workers would want to fight for the U.S. in Nicaragua with the current unemployment and restrictions of rights in the United States itself.

Bronson Rozier  
Louisville, Kentucky

### Copper strikers

For over 15 months, miners and their families in Clifton and Morenci, Arizona, have been fighting for their jobs, their union, their homes, and their community.

We call upon you at this time for your support and financial help. Intimidation and terror are tactics often used by Phelps Dodge against the strikers.

Local authorities, in compliance with state and company officials, insist on pursuing charges against the strikers in spite of their innocence. The defense of the strikers, however, is costly and we therefore ask you to help us. Send donations to: MMWA Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1117, Clifton, Ariz. 85533.

Fina Roman, president  
Trudy Morgan, secretary  
Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary  
Clifton, Arizona

### Starvation

The media is at it again. Now they are trying to prove that Marx-



H. Clay Bennett

"... We've started practicing preventive health care ... our income prevents any ..."

ist politics are responsible for starvation.

A recent editorial in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* had this to say: "No doubt Marxist experiments have harmed African agriculture beyond the effects of the recent droughts."

Somehow they never mention that the Soviet Union and China have been able to eliminate starvation in two of the largest countries in the world. They also neglect to mention that the United States has never been able to eliminate starvation anywhere in the world.

Steven Halpern  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Best Christmas present

For the first time I got to see your newspaper recently and I enjoyed it very much. As an inmate at the U.S. prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, I do not have the necessary funds to order a subscription and was wondering if you would send me a subscription anyway. It would be the best Christmas present I could ever get.

A prisoner  
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

### Irish POW

Revolutionary greetings and best wishes to all comrades at the *Militant*. I am receiving the paper regularly now and I'm looking forward to receiving it in 1985. I also received the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. Happy Christmas and New Year.

Yours on the socialist path.  
Paschal Holmes, POW  
Portlaoise Jail, Ireland

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where necessary 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.

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.



## Cuba, U.S. reach immigration accord



United Nations/Saw Lwin

Cuban President Fidel Castro

BY HARRY RING

The governments of Cuba and the United States announced an immigration agreement December 14. It was reached after negotiations over a six-month period.

The agreement provides that Cuba will accept the return of 2,746 exiles who left their homeland during the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

In return, Washington agreed to the resumption of Cuban immigration to the United States.

A White House spokesperson emphasized that the accord "does not signal any change in U.S. policy toward Cuba."

Hostility toward Cuba will continue, he

arrogantly declared, "because their conduct in Central America is totally unsatisfactory in the eyes of the United States."

(Washington persists in the baseless lie that Cuba is "exporting" revolution in Central America to justify U.S. military intervention there).

### U.S. entry policy

In return for Cuba accepting the Mariel immigrants now in custody here, Washington will expand its present tight entry policy to include spouses, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters of Cubans who are U.S. citizens or legal residents. The total yearly quota will be 20,000.

In addition, Washington will accept 3,000 former Cuban prisoners and their families. These were among 3,600 released by Cuba in 1979 on the basis of an agreement that they could come to this country. These were people convicted not for their political beliefs, but for criminal actions against the revolution. After their agreed-on release, Washington announced it would screen them one by one to ensure their ranks did not include "common criminals" or planted "spies."

In a television appearance on December 15, Cuban president Fidel Castro explained that for a long time, Cuba has stated its willingness to authorize the exit from Cuba of all those who have been convicted of counterrevolutionary activities. They feel that the U.S. government has an obligation to them, Castro explained, because it was Washington that incited them to carry out these activities in the first place. Their exit, said Castro, will be good news for them and good news for the rest of the Cuban people as well.

While the U.S. capitalist media has consistently suggested that Cuba bars people from leaving, the fact is that from day one of the 1959 revolution, Cuba has had an open-door emigration policy, granting exit permits to any who obtain visas to live elsewhere.

The U.S. policy on Cuban immigration, to the contrary, has been a weapon in its ongoing campaign against the Cuban revolution.

From 1959 until the U.S.-inspired missile crisis of 1962, Washington did everything it could to encourage all those who wanted to leave Cuba to come to the United States. These included many with professional and technical skills, draining Cuba of these resources.

When the U.S. door was slammed shut in 1962, thousands of those who had come here faced separation from their families, who had expected to follow.

In 1965, Cuba opened the port of Cariamoca for those who wished to leave. This compelled Washington to again accept Cuban emigrés.

But in 1973, such immigration was again reduced to a trickle by Washington.

### Mariel

In April 1980, Washington was boxed in again when Cuba opened the port of Mariel, near Havana, for all who wished to leave.

This was done in response to ongoing U.S. provocations.

Washington, and several Latin American regimes complicit with it, had been making a policy of not granting visas to Cubans who tried to leave legally. But they readily granted "political asylum" to those who left illegally — by crashing into their embassies, hijacking boats, etc.

When Mariel was opened, Cubans in Florida organized a boatlift and an estimated 125,000 Cubans came here.

Initially the Carter administration declared it welcomed the Mariel immigrants with open arms. But when the number turned out to be more than expected, the U.S. government abruptly declared such immigration illegal and began seizing boats participating in the lift. This provoked such an outcry among U.S. Cubans that Carter was forced to welcome the newcomers "with open arms."

Those who came were a mixed lot. They included many who had never been integrated into Cuba's revolutionary process, including those who placed personal gain as individuals above the interests of society

Continued on Page 12

## Irish freedom fighter wins round in court

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

On December 13, a federal judge in Manhattan ruled that Joseph Doherty, an Irish Republican Army (IRA) volunteer from the north of Ireland, could not be extradited to Britain. Judge John Sprizzo based his ruling on the provisions in the U.S.-British extradition treaty which says no one can be extradited for performing

politically inspired acts. This ruling represents a victory for Irish freedom fighters and others fighting for national liberation who seek asylum in the United States.

Doherty was sentenced to life imprisonment after being convicted in absentia of killing a British army officer and of membership in the IRA. Doherty had escaped from prison in 1981 prior to his trial.

He was arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in New York City in June 1983 and has been held without bail in the Metropolitan Correctional Center since that date.

The U.S. attorney and the British government argued that Doherty's actions were criminal in nature. Defense attorneys Mary Pike and Steven Somerstein argued

that Doherty's activities were politically motivated and took place in a period of political insurgency in the British-occupied north of Ireland.

Judge Sprizzo accepted the arguments of the defense and ruled that "[H]ad this conduct occurred during the course of more traditional military hostilities, there could be little doubt that it would fall within the political offense exception" article of the extradition treaty.

During the hearing, the defense called expert witnesses from Ireland to testify on the history of the struggle against British rule in that country, the discrimination against the nationalist population in the British-ruled north, and how the present phase of the armed struggle grew out of the

civil rights movement.

Jill Knight, Conservative Party member of the British Parliament, condemned the decision, accusing the federal judge of giving "the seal of approval to murder, maiming, and terrorism."

The real terrorists in Ireland, however, are the British imperialists. Yet only one British soldier has ever been convicted of murder for any action taken while on duty in Ireland.

Meanwhile, Doherty is still in jail and the government is trying to deport him, saying he is in this country illegally.

Doherty's lawyers are asking that he be released from prison on bail while they pursue his fight for political asylum in the United States.



Militant/Marc Lichtman

Supporter of Irish freedom struggle at May 1981 demonstration in New York.

## Judge fines miners union in Alabama

BY MARTY BOYERS

BIRMINGHAM — In a precedent-setting attack on labor rights, U.S. District Judge William Acker has fined the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) more than a half million dollars.

The decision was the result of a suit brought against the UMWA by the owners of a nonunion mine in northern Alabama. Oakman Mining Company and Prater Equipment Company were represented by attorneys from the Center on National Labor Policy.

The Oakman mine, located in strongly prounion Walker County, was the site of picketing during the UMWA's 1977-1978 111-day national strike. On February 2, 1978, hundreds of state troopers launched a military-style assault on the pickets, complete with helicopters. The suit claims that the mine workers violated the "right" of the nonunion outfit to operate.

The Center on National Labor Policy, which sponsored the legal attack, has a murky history. Among its activities was writing an article published in *Reader's Digest* about alleged "union violence." Exactly how this "Center" and the owners of the Oakman mine found each other was not clearly established in court.

What was established in court was the state police action against the UMWA during the strike. State troopers testified that they even disguised themselves as miners in order to spy on strike meetings.

Judge Acker did not accuse the UMWA of being responsible for secondary picketing or the supposed vandalism of property. Instead, he ruled that the union was liable because it did not attempt to convince individual members or supporters to leave the Oakman mine alone!

The jury recommended that the UMWA

pay the companies \$525,693 in compensatory and punitive damages, which Acker approved. Bill Mitch, attorney for District 20 of the UMWA, said the union will appeal the decision.

Mark Curtis, Alabama Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in 1984 and a member of United Auto Workers Local 1155, blasted the verdict.

"If these antiunion racketeers collect half a million dollars from the miners, the door will be opened for an avalanche of lawsuits against unions attempting to bankrupt them financially and intimidate their members. Acker's ruling that unions can be liable even for actions they don't sponsor is an open invitation to police or company provocations to frame up unions."

"The labor movement and all defenders of union rights should protest this ruling and demand that it be reversed!"