

March on D.C. April 20 against U.S. war in Central America

Peace, labor, Black groups join effort

BY LAURA GARZA

An important antiwar demonstration has been called for April 20 in Washington, D.C., by a broad array of national organizations. It is part of four days of actions called by these groups, working together as the April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice.

The call for the actions lists the demands:

"1. Stop U.S. military intervention in Central America. Support human freedom and dignity by also ending intervention in the Caribbean, the Middle East, Asia, Pacific and Europe.

"2. Create jobs, cut the military budget. Provide for human needs and challenge racism and discrimination based on sex and sexual orientation.

"3. Freeze and reverse the arms race, beginning with a halt on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

"4. Oppose U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home."

The April 20 demonstration will provide an important opportunity for all opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean to reach out to unionists, Blacks, and Latinos to help organize opposition to the wars the U.S. is waging in El Salvador and against Nicaragua.

The April actions also note the link between the U.S. government's policy of war and intervention abroad, and racism, sexism, cutbacks, and union-busting here at home. The call issued for the actions states in part: "We call for an end to U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the rest of Central America, an end to support for brutal dictatorships such as those of Pinochet in Chile and Marcos in the Philippines, and a new beginning for a free and democratic South Africa with majority rule.

"Like others before us, we can exercise



June 9 antiwar march in New York City. Broad coalition is building April 20 demonstration in Washington.

power and change history. We will make it known that there is no national mandate for war and injustice, for poverty and militarism, for racism and violence. We are clear in our call for an end to policies that include daily threats and attacks against the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua, policies that will inevitably lead us into a regional war in Central America, and the danger of greater military conflict in the Middle East and Southern Africa."

The call points out that "Ten years ago this April the war in Vietnam ended. We recall that war and what it took to stop it. We know our protests make a difference, and when we stand with the struggling people of the world we have the strength to turn the tide."

Among the organizations included on the steering committee of the April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice are: American Committee on Africa, American Indian Movement, Clergy and Laity Concerned,

Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Congress of National Black Churches, Democratic Socialists of America, Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Association of Machinists, League of United Latin American Citizens, and Mobilization for Survival.

Also on the steering committee are: National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, National Congress of Puerto Rican Rights,

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All-out push needed to build action

The call for a national antiwar demonstration in Washington April 20 is welcome news. Opponents of Washington's aggression against the peoples of Central America should go all-out to ensure the success of this important action.

Surely the demonstration comes at a timely moment. U.S. military intervention is escalating in Central America. Oppo-

EDITORIAL

nents of the war drive across the United States are looking for a meaningful way to register their opposition and to win new forces to their ranks.

Given an energetic, united effort to build it, April 20 can prove a significant blow against the warmakers.

Among the ranks of organized labor there is already an encouraging amount of opposition to Washington's reactionary course in Central America, as there is among working people generally.

On January 4, top Reagan administration officials told the media that an extensive campaign is under way to obtain new Congressional funding for the CIA-run terrorist bands attacking Nicaragua.

Last October, Congress voted \$14 million for these mercenaries and will consider further funding in February.

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Marroquín presses new effort in fight against deportation



Héctor Marroquín

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Political Rights Defense Fund has demanded that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) end its deliberate stalling and grant permanent residence status to Héctor Marroquín, a socialist who faces deportation to Mexico.

Marroquín applied for a green card — resident status — more than a year and a half ago. Now the INS has indicated that a "lengthy investigation" is required before his application can be acted on.

"A 'lengthy investigation'? That's nonsense," responded PRDF director Holbrook Mahn. "The government has been investigating and maintaining files on Marroquín since he was a teenage student activist in Mexico. And in the 11 years he's been here, they've compiled an additional thick dossier on him."

Marroquín is married to Priscilla Schenk, a U.S. citizen. He meets all the re-

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UMWA: unsafe conditions caused Utah mine deaths

BY CECILIA MORIARITY

CASTLE DALE, Utah — Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), at a crowded news conference here January 5 charged that the lack of adequate escapeways "contributed significantly" to the deaths of 27 people at the Wilberg mine on Dec. 19, 1984.

Nineteen UMWA members and eight company executives and foremen were killed in a fire at the mine, which is located outside Orangeville, Utah. It was the worst U.S. mine disaster since 1970.

The fire at the mine, which is managed by Emery Mining Corp., has still not been extinguished. The company has laid off 244 Wilberg employees indefinitely, virtually the entire work force. UMWA members at the Emery-owned Deer Creek mine, which is located directly above Wilberg, are also not working because it is filled with poisonous carbon monoxide gas produced by the Wilberg fire. The hundreds of miners without work join many other jobless workers here in southeastern Utah, where big layoffs in recent years from the coal mines have left the area with very high unemployment.

At the time the fire broke out, the miners were working in a section of the mine where a longwall, the most mechanized machine for producing coal, was in use. Emery Mining was trying to set a world production record for underground coal mining.

The victims would have had "ample opportunity," Trumka said, to safely evacuate the mine if there had been a separate fresh-air entry or a third entry down the longwall section of the mine through which they could have escaped the fire. He pointed out that current federal mine regulations require only two entries into a longwall section in coal mines. In response to a reporter who asked if the federal government had any responsibility for the 27 deaths, Trumka said, "They approved that plan."

He said that the UMWA's goal would be "to fight diligently to see that longwall systems are made safe for all coal miners, UMWA and nonunion." He referred specifically to "regulation changes" to make it a law that companies be required to provide a third entry-escapeway with fresh air, isolated from any electrical equipment that could catch fire.

Trumka reviewed some other initial findings of the UMWA's continuing investigation into the Wilberg fire:

- A warning system to detect over-heating on the belt-line carrying coal out of the section was not working. Trumka said, "It had been listed three times in the management's book and they were well aware that the system was inoperative."

- The fire-suppression system at the motor of the belt-line in this section of the mine did not work during the fire.

- The telephone nearest the point where

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY JUDITH LAMBERT

ALBANY N.Y. — The upstate New York cities of Albany, Schenectady, and Troy are surrounded by industries that are fundamental to the U.S. economy. They include steel, auto, rail, chemical, textile, garment, and electrical.

Of these, the electrical industry wields the most political and economic power. An example is the giant General Electric plant in Schenectady, which a few short years ago employed 12,000 workers. Today, after massive layoffs, only about 6,000 members of Local 301 of the International Union of Electronic Workers are still on the job at GE.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance here have put a priority on making the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* available to GE workers.

This is especially a challenge in the winter. Workers enter the plant's main gate via two main streets and must be approached by

the sales team at stoplights. One team member holds up a sign advertising the *Militant*. This serves to explain the team's activities and alerts those interested to have their money ready.

Sales volume has not been significant at GE since the recent effort began. But the goal right now is to establish a regular, consistent presence so the workers can depend on the team being there and can see what issues and struggles are featured in the socialist press each week.

The GE sales team has several long-range goals. One is to establish a readership among IUE Local 301 members. Another is to develop an ongoing dialogue with these and other workers where their observations and concerns can be aired, and socialist views and alternatives can be shared.

At the heart of any ongoing success at the GE main gate, however, is the current effort to maintain a regular, consistent presence.

Examples of this are the results achieved at the United Steelwork-

ers-organized Adirondack and Al Tech steel plants over the past year.

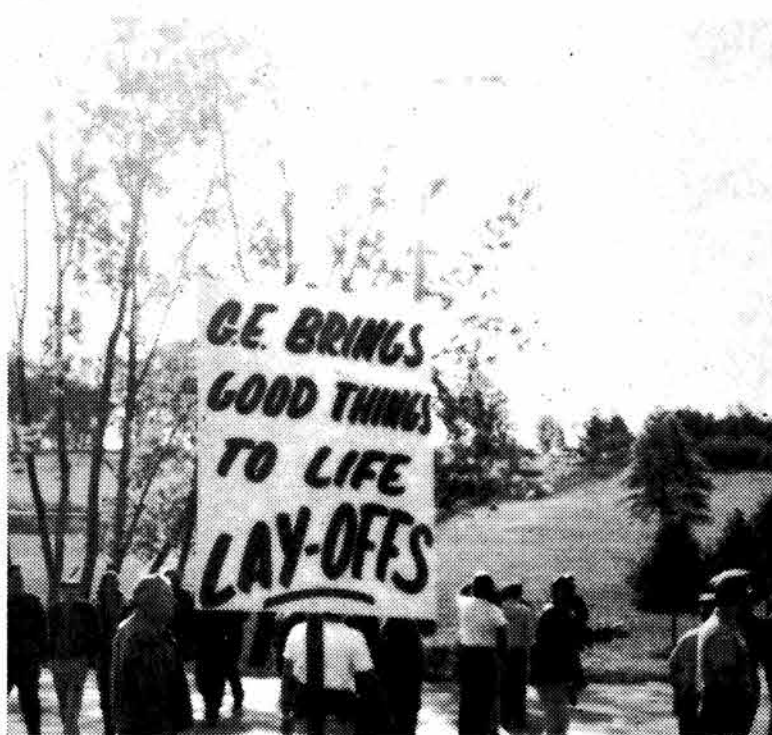
About 15 percent of Adirondack's work force are Blacks, one to five of whom buy the *Militant* each week. They say they follow the *Militant's* coverage of the South African liberation struggles.

During the 1984 election campaign, they indicated they were interested in the *Militant's* views on Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination.

Al Tech is a basic steel plant. Several of the Black workers buy the paper fairly regularly.

One worker won't buy the *Militant* yet, but likes to discuss politics with the socialists. He attended a socialist campaign rally last fall and the dialogue is continuing.

He is not unusual. There are many like him, some obscured by frosty car windows at stoplights outside GE. But the Capital District's socialist sales teams are determined to reach them.



Picket line of electrical workers at GE's Schenectady plant. *Militant's* sales teams are establishing regular presence at this GE plant gate in order to develop readership among IUE Local 301 members.

India's crisis: capitalists gain fragile reprieve

BY ERNEST HARSCH

By the end of 1984, the earlier alarm among Indian ruling-class circles and the major imperialist governments over India's political instability had abated somewhat.

Those fears had been expressed most sharply in the wake of the June 1984 Indian army assault on Sikh rebels in Punjab — in which more than 1,000 were killed — and in the immediate aftermath of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's assassination on October 31. To many bourgeois commentators, it appeared at the time that the political control of the Congress Party — the country's main capitalist party — was weakening to such an extent that the future of capitalist rule in India was threatened.

The Congress Party continues to face serious problems: virtual rebellions in some states, strikes by workers, peasant unrest, outrage over the thousands killed by the Union Carbide gas leak in Bhopal, and a more generalized discontent fueled by massive poverty, misery, hunger, and imperialist oppression.

But for the time being at least, the Congress Party has succeeded in reasserting its dominance and control.

In this, it has greatly benefited from the fact that the working people lack a revolutionary leadership that can fight for and advance their class interests.

It has also used its control over the police, army, courts, and other institutions of the capitalist state to repress popular struggles.

And with the weakness and disarray of most of the bourgeois opposition parties — many of which exist only in particular regions — the Congress Party remains the single, dominant capitalist party on a countrywide level.

All this was reflected in the results of the December 24–28 general elections to the Lok Sabha, the governing house of parliament. Winning by its largest margin since it first came to power in 1947 with India's independence from British rule, the Congress Party took 401 of the 508 contested seats, with 49 percent of the popular vote.

In every state except Andhra Pradesh, where a strong regional bourgeois party trounced the Congress Party, the bourgeois opposition parties were either swept out of the new parliament or reduced to a few seats.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) — a Stalinist party that had held the largest number of opposition seats in the previous parliament — also saw its parliamentary strength diminished (though it still defeated the Congress Party by wide margins in both West Bengal and Tripura).

To an extent, the Congress Party was able to use Indira Gandhi's assassination to boost its electoral fortunes, which had been slipping in the months before her death. "While relying heavily on the idea of a sympathy vote," an article in the December 13 *Far Eastern Economic Review* observed, "the ruling party is taking no chances. It has advanced the election date by a couple of weeks to cash in on the shock of the assassination."

As in previous elections, the Congress Party's control of the electoral machinery, large amounts of cash, and gangs of club-wielding "campaign workers" also gave it a further edge. In many rural constituencies, capitalist landlords who look to the Congress Party routinely ensure that entire blocs of votes are cast for it.

During the course of the campaign, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi also sought to

stir up chauvinist sentiments among India's dominant nationality, the Hindus, by attacking the demands of the Sikhs for greater regional autonomy. Similar statements by Congress Party leaders earlier in the year helped encourage organized right-wing, anti-Sikh pogroms by chauvinist gangs in the immediate wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination; several thousand Sikhs were butchered. Remembering those massacres, tens of thousands of Sikhs fled to Punjab (where they are a majority) during the election campaign.

In both Punjab and Assam, the central government did not feel confident enough to even hold elections.

Following the Congress Party's electoral victory, Rajiv Gandhi claimed that he had been given a mandate to "swiftly take India forward." The election results, he maintained, showed that voters "wanted something new, they wanted change."

While hundreds of millions of Indians undoubtedly long for a change from their impoverished and wretched living conditions, the Congress Party will not bring it. In the more than three decades that it has governed the country, it has done nothing to end the exploitation of the workers and peasants or the oppression that the country as a whole suffers from imperialism.

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Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Andrea González, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Tom Leonard, Karen Newton, Mohammed Oliver, Harry Ring.

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UMWA honors victims of Utah mine fire



United Mine Workers union president Richard Trumka (left) and vice-president Cecil Roberts. Roberts told union commemorative meeting: "Wilberg was not safe, and what happened did not have to happen. We can go forward from this point to make sure that others do not have to go through what you are going through today."

UMWA: unsafe conditions caused Utah mine deaths

Continued from front page

miners discovered the fire also did not work, and this prevented them from directly contacting the victims who were working down the section, about 1,500 feet from the fire. Trumka reported that the broken phone had also been previously reported to management before the fire and had not been fixed.

• Two other possible escapeways for the crews working in the longwall section were blocked by caved-in coal and rock. Trumka said that mine management and federal inspectors from the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) knew of the blocked passageways. (A week before the fire, the federal mine inspectors had completed a mine inspection at Wilberg. Earlier, MSHA had given Emery a permit to continue mining despite the cave-in.) The only two escape ways possible for miners working in the section were the two entries where the fire was burning.

Trumka said that although he was not prepared to say exactly what caused the fire, there are only certain things that can cause fires in an underground coal mine. In the "immediate vicinity" of the fire at Wilberg, he said, was "belt equipment, electrical equipment, including the transformer, and high-voltage cables."

Trumka stated that he believed the fire was started from an electrical source and did not start on the belt-line as Emery Mining has continued to assert. UMWA members at Wilberg have pointed out that the company regularly overloaded the electrical system to increase production. Miners were often assigned to turn on the machinery every time safety circuit breakers shut it off because of overload.

When asked if he thought Wilberg was a safe or unsafe mine, Trumka said, "If everything had been done right, this wouldn't have happened." He pledged that the UMWA would not let any unsafe condi-

tions that caused the death of miners to go uncorrected and that a "full statement will be made after a full investigation."

Trumka was critical of Emery Mining's reference to a "safety chamber" where the company said it hoped the victims had made a "logical safe retreat" after the fire broke out. Trumka said, "This has led people to believe that in every coal mine across the country there exists this wonderful safety chamber — where miners retreat, where they get fresh air and clothing, watch television, and do whatever they want." He said no such place as a safety chamber exists in underground coal mines, but that "the UMWA has been attempting for some time to get real safety chambers for miners."

During the news conference, Trumka reported that the 26 men and one woman killed were probably quickly overcome by carbon monoxide generated by the fire. He told reporters that suggestions that the dead miners were themselves responsible for not getting out ignore the fact that carbon monoxide is odorless, colorless, and tasteless. Even though the technology exists to detect the presence of carbon monoxide gas, there were no such detectors provided by the company. Even if the miners had had such equipment, all their escapeways were blocked by cave-in or fire.

After a four-week strike in October 1984, miners at the Wilberg mine and the two other mines managed by Emery won the right for the union to investigate any "serious mine fire." The union is continuing its investigation into the fire and is also investigating whether Emery Mining, which manages the mines for the Utah Power & Light Co., had corrected the numerous safety violations the company had been cited for prior to the fire.

Cecelia Moriarity is a member of UMWA Local 2176 and is laid off from the Wilberg mine.

Labor history — lessons for today

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BY CECELIA MORIARITY

CASTLE DALE, Utah — "Twenty-seven lost their lives needlessly at the Wilberg mine, and I say needlessly more strongly now as a result of our investigation," said Michael Dalpiaz, president of District 22 of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). These were his opening remarks to a union commemorative meeting for the coal miners killed Dec. 19, 1984, by a fire at the Wilberg mine near here.

Dalpiaz promised that the union "would turn every possible stone to determine the

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has set up a fund for the families of the Wilberg mine disaster victims. Donations may be sent to UMWA Carbon-Emery Disaster Relief Fund, c/o UMWA District 22, P.O. Box 783, Price, Utah 84501.

cause and prevent it in the future." He said that "we have promised the families this, and promised that we won't forget our brothers and sister." Nineteen UMWA members, 18 men and 1 woman, died in the fire.

In the audience of 300 that turned out for the meeting were many Wilberg miners and wives, families of the victims of the disaster, members of other UMWA locals, and garment workers. Seated at the front of the meeting were international and local officials of the union and representatives of the UMWA Carbon-Emery Disaster Relief Fund set up for the victims' families.

Dalpiaz had words of praise for the 25 mine rescue teams from Utah and three other states that "risked their lives beyond the call of duty" to try to save the trapped miners. He said it was "the finest job I have ever witnessed."

On behalf of the families of the victims, Dalpiaz thanked the members of UMWA Local 2176 at the Wilberg mine, other UMWA locals, and the community for their help and support during the rescue and firefighting effort.

Everyone rose for a long moment of silence to honor the dead miners.

Dalpiaz then introduced Cecil Roberts and Richard Trumka, the vice-president and president of the UMWA, who were visiting the area to talk with the victims' families and to review initial findings of the union's investigation of the disaster.

In his remarks, Roberts said that the worst thing about the disaster to him was the young children left without fathers.

"Coal operators tell us death is a part of getting coal out," said Roberts, "and they tell us it is unfortunate that people have to

die. One hundred twenty-four miners died in 1984, and 2,459 miners have died since 1969, an average of one miner dying every two and a half days."

"Wilberg was not safe, and what happened did not have to happen. Let's don't travel down this road any more to sit in auditoriums at other meetings like this."

He said miners should not have to die to get the coal out. "We can go forward from this point to make sure that others do not have to go through what you are going through today." He told the audience that the international union had donated \$10,500 to the relief fund to help the victims' families.

Trumka also spoke and expressed the families' gratitude to the mine rescue teams and to the local unions for their help. The families' final message, Trumka said, was "for the union to find out the truth about what occurred." The families had told him that it would help them to know the truth and help the union to prevent other miners and their families from going through the same thing. Trumka said, "We won't stop until we do."

Trumka explained that although mining families have been "raised to live through tragedy, we have not been raised to accept it as necessary."

In concluding, Trumka read out the names of each of the union members who died.

The meeting closed with remarks by Clinton Price, a member of UMWA Local 2176. He was one of the two miners who first discovered the fire and risked his life trying to put it out.



Sun Advocate/Larry Beckner
Mine rescue team at Wilberg disaster

Utah coal miners appreciate honest 'Militant' coverage

BY JOE GEISER
AND RICHARD RATHERS

PRICE, Utah — Residents of this coal-mining area are anxious to read a newspaper that tells the truth about the Wilberg mine disaster here last month. There were so many workers who wanted copies of the January 11 *Militant*, with its front-page story headlined "Company greed killed coal miners in Utah," that socialists here have ordered an additional shipment of 100 papers.

At least 80 *Militants* were sold on Saturday, January 5. This was the same day the United Mine Workers of America held a commemorative meeting near here honoring the 19 union miners killed in the fire at the Wilberg mine.

Many workers who bought the *Militant* knew some of the miners who were killed. They were looking for a news report that would say what they already suspected: that the company was responsible for the fire.

A miner from the nearby Deer Creek mine bought the paper and was amazed at its honesty compared to the other coverage he had seen. He immediately made a list of coworkers he was going to show the article to.

At shopping centers and in visits to miners' homes, people were eager to get all the

information available about the Wilberg mine. Many workers in this area are either miners or people whose income is directly dependent on the mines.

Militant supporters went to the job service office here on Monday, where the laid-off miners from the Wilberg mine came to sign up for unemployment benefits. Fourteen *Militants* were sold in a half hour. A coal-truck driver, who said he was forced to fight for his benefits after being unjustly fired, asked if he could buy a subscription to the *Militant*. He had bought a copy the previous Saturday and agreed with most of what he had read in it.

Workers at a garment shop organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union here bought six copies of the *Militant* in 10 minutes at a plant-gate sale early Monday morning.

Later the same day a *Militant* team went to the afternoon shift change at Kaiser Steel's Sunnyside mine. Eleven workers bought the paper. They were anxious to read about the conditions their union brothers and sisters at the Wilberg mine had endured.

One sales person also talked to a retired carpenter who bought a subscription to the *Militant* and contributed another \$10 toward the cost of publishing the paper.

GREENSBORO, N.C. — The current economic upturn has never reached millions of young people in this country, especially Black and Latino youth. Thousands of these and other working class youth have been forced into the military by high unemployment, hoping to learn a skill or get an education.

The Greensboro, North Carolina, chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance decided recently to go to Fayetteville, N.C., to talk to some of the workers and farmers in uniform who are stationed at Fort Bragg. We wanted to listen to what they thought about the escalation of the U.S. war against Nicaragua, and how much they knew about the revolution in Nicaragua.

We thought it would be important to take our antiwar ideas to those young people who will be sent to fight in Washington's war.

The main piece of literature our chapter took was our newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. In the November-December YS, there is an eyewitness report from Nicaragua.

Fort Bragg is one of the largest military bases in the United States. It was put on full alert during the MIG jet fighter hoax in early

November and is still on 18 hour alert. It is the home of the Special Forces — Green Berets — and the 82nd Airborne Division, the main unit sent to invade Grenada last year. These are not raw recruits, but the finished products of the U.S. military.

We found that the troops at Fort Bragg were not unlike most other young workers and farmers. Some were not willing to discuss their opinions of the war, and a few were hostile. But many were willing to talk with us and were open to our antiwar and socialist ideas.

Some had absorbed the military's "briefings" on Nicaragua. They had been taught that Nicaragua was becoming a Soviet staging ground, and a threat to "our" freedom. They explained that if called upon they would fight to defend the United States against the "enemy."

Most of those we talked with had no strong opinion about the war. They were ready to go if they were ordered to do so. No one wanted to go to war. The response was, "I just follow orders."

Almost no one believed that Washington would actually invade Nicaragua. They said it would be too unpopular and cause a lot of

"bad publicity." One person, however, was sure that Washington would invade. He was part of an Army intelligence unit.

Several of those we talked to had been part of the Grenada invasion or had friends who had been sent. One Black GI told us that the troops sent to Grenada had no idea where they were going or why, or that Grenada was a Black country that had made a popular revolution in 1979. He said all of a sudden they were just dropped into combat.

This GI was against the U.S. intervention in Central America.

We explained that we thought that U.S. troops would get a different response in Nicaragua than they got in Grenada, where the overthrow of the government two weeks previous had disoriented the population. We told them about the tremendous popularity of the Sandinista leadership among Nicaraguan working people.

Two of us had visited Nicaragua, and we talked about some of the gains working people made through the revolution, like free education and medical care; the organization of unions; land to the peasants; and rights for women and national minorities.



Soldiers on chemical-warfare training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Young Socialist Alliance members found that young GI's at base were interested in discussing U.S. war in Central America.

We found that it was possible, when armed with the facts about Nicaragua, to break down the lies that the U.S. government tells. People wanted to discuss who exactly they would be defending if they were sent to Nicaragua. It wasn't hard for them to see that working people fight the wars and the capitalists profit from them.

We left Fort Bragg inspired by our discussions and the good response to our ideas. We feel that it is our job to continue to reach young workers like these with the

most powerful weapon we have in the fight against the U.S. war drive — the truth.

This article was compiled by members of the Greensboro chapter of the YSA.

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

Boston antiwar groups protest office break-ins

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — A rash of burglaries and break-ins at the offices of antiwar and Central American solidarity organizations in this area have begun to stir protests by local activists and defenders of democratic rights.

The campaign to expose and denounce these attacks began in the wake of the first wave of break-ins on November 27 at two Cambridge churches, one of which houses the offices of the Central America Solidarity Association (CASA), the New England Central America Network (NECAN), and the Nuevo Instituto de Centroamerica (NICA). All three groups' offices were broken into.

The Old Cambridge Baptist Church, which rents the offices, is a well-known organizing center for opponents of Washington's wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador. CASA and NECAN are local and regional affiliates of the National Network in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People and the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador. NICA operates a school in Estelí, Nicaragua. The groups offer meeting space for organizers of U.S. production brigades which aid in Nicaragua's coffee and cotton harvest.

Files in the offices were rifled, and a message cassette from the NICA telephone answering machine was taken. Obvious valuables were left untouched.

The burglaries came as the Old Cambridge Baptist Church was preparing to publicly announce it would serve as a sanctuary for Salvadoran trade unionist Estela Ramírez.

On December 4, the church began its sanctuary program. On December 20, its offices were forcibly entered as part of the second wave of break-ins. In addition to NICA's offices, those of CAPA, a local group that works with El Salvador's teachers' union and shares space with Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí, and those of an anti-draft group were burglarized.

The Church of the Covenant in Boston, which had recently backed the sanctuary effort of the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, was also broken into. No valuables were taken.

Meanwhile, a widely-circulated letter sent by solidarity groups and Old Cambridge Baptist Church documenting the first series of break-ins was netting publicity and protest.

On December 10, the Cambridge City Council protested the break-ins, demanding the police investigate them.

According to a front-page article in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the police report states those responsible for the entries were "interested in only the organizational files and data" of the groups.

The December 30 *Boston Globe*, in a major article on the break-ins, reported that FBI spokesman Lawrence Gilligan said none of the groups are currently being investigated by the FBI, denying his political cops were involved in the entries. He did, however, concede that the FBI has been involved in such activities in the past.

At a December 21 news conference at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, John Roberts, Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts executive director, said the entries have "earmarks of government infiltration."

In a reference to government-organized harassment and victimization of activists in the past, Roberts noted that "what haunted us in the late '60s and '70s may be coming back in the '80s."

The break-ins, Old Cambridge Baptist Church administrator Peggy Smith said,

were "intentionally done to be as blatant and insulting as possible."

Speaking for the solidarity groups, Beverly Treumann, NICA director, told the media, "our best security is not provided by police or the locks on our doors but by public support."

This kind of harassment, like the break-ins, Treumann told the *Militant*, aims "to frighten us, discourage us from carrying out our work. But our response, on the contrary, is to go to the public with our opposition to the intervention in Central America. We are completely legal."

As Boston-area activists were mounting their response to the break-ins, Presbyterian minister James Keller of Lawrence, Massachusetts, 30 miles north, was receiving death threats via telephone.

The threat was conveyed to the *Lawrence Eagle Tribune* by a man identifying

himself as a member of the anti-Castro Cuban terrorist outfit, Omega 7. The next day, Keller's secretary received a death threat from another "Omega 7" caller, who said, "You're a bunch of communists. If you don't stop talking about Nicaragua, we're going to blow you up."

Boston FBI spokesman Lawrence Gilligan said no "violations of federal law" were made in this threat against Keller's civil rights.

The "best response" to this, solidarity leader Treumann told the *Militant*, "is an increase in our protest. These kinds of attacks are not only on solidarity groups, but all those who oppose U.S. foreign policy. It's our responsibility to go to the American people with this protest."

Actions to protest the threats against Keller are planned for later this month in Lawrence.

U.S. covert action in Central America is 'painfully familiar'

To help deceive the people of this country about U.S. military aggression abroad, the government makes every effort to cloak such operations in secrecy. This is true in Central America today and was also true as the U.S. aggression developed against Vietnam. The reason is simple enough. The government knows that the emergence of the truth deepens public opposition to its wars.

Recently, Tom Dammann, a veteran reporter, wrote an article for the *New York Times* about his family's experience with such secrecy. The following is an abridged version of the article, which appeared December 21, 1984.

CHARLEVOIX, Mich. — A report that a secret helicopter unit of the 101st Airborne Division repeatedly makes covert forays into "hostile regions" of Central America "to aid pro-American forces" surfaced recently. Earlier this month, the Knight-Ridder newspapers reported that families of Americans killed in such actions were told their sons or husbands had died in accidents in places far from Central America, like South Fox Island, in northeastern Lake Michigan. Whether true or not (there has been no confirmation) this report is painfully familiar to me.

Shortly after Christmas last year, I learned that my son, Thomas L. Dammann Jr., had made five covert parachute jumps into

North Vietnam in 1959 and 1960, when Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy were Presidents. We weren't yet at war with North Vietnam but Washington was telling us we had a vital interest in Vietnam's mineral wealth (tin and tungsten) and offshore oil.

Tommy's leg was shattered in the aftermath of his fifth drop. He was 20 years old. Officials at Fort Benning, Ga., told his mother and me that he suffered the injury in an auto accident near the base the night before his discharge was due.

Tommy kept this secret for 24 years. And for 24 years he limped through life on a leg two inches shorter than the other, fighting an anger he would never fully express. We didn't even know he had been in Vietnam until last January, when his wife, Marilyn, called to tell us he was in the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Tomah, Wis., being treated for "post-traumatic shock syndrome" because of Vietnam experiences. It was only then that Tommy finally revealed that the auto accident was a coverup. (Inquiries with the Georgia State Police turned up no record of such an accident.)

Tommy settled in San Francisco after his discharge, was married, started college and got a job on the *San Francisco Chronicle*. By the mid-60's, he had lost his wife and his job. He participated in a number of

demonstrations against the war and was jailed once.

For years, he tried a variety of jobs in different places. He moved to Michigan's Upper Peninsula where he lived alone for years, reading and drinking. He was hospitalized for alcoholism several times.

A year ago last fall, Tommy was raging at the nightly news, screaming of the naked similarity between Washington's explanations for present actions in Central America and the pre-Vietnam statements. His secret was beginning to come out. Frightened, Marilyn took him to the V.A. hospital for help.

I talked to Tommy several times last spring, after he left the V.A. hospital. He avoided conversation about Vietnam. Once, in answer to a question, he said, "I was dropped into North Vietnam five times, Dad; four times from Libya and the last time from Fort Benning."

My son's traumatic experiences, and his tortured life, don't prove anything about the Reagan Administration's tactics in Central America. Moreover, we may never know the whole truth about our Government's covert activities, either in Central America today or in Southeast Asia more than 20 years ago. I am certain of one thing, though — Tommy will never again reveal his secret. He died last June, apparently in a fall on his stairs at home.

Coal miners discuss fight against U.S. war

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Last November a worker at the Dowty Corp. outside Pittsburgh, which makes coal mining machinery, brought in a Nicaraguan union pin to show to his friends. The pin had been put out by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which was formed after the 1979 revolution in Nicaragua, a revolution that overturned a hated dictator.

Workers at Dowty are members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2350. The CST pin evoked interest in what Nicaraguan unionists are like, particularly Nicaraguan gold miners.

Shortly before, the U.S. government had made threats to bomb Nicaragua if it acquired MIG combat jets for self-defense. "I think we're going to go down there," said one Dowty worker, a young man in his twenties. "What are we doing down there anyway?" asked another.

'Like fighting UMWA people'

As the CST pin was passed around, workers offered a variety of opinions about the U.S. war against Nicaragua. Some knew very little about Nicaragua, even where it is located. Most of the workers believed that the Sandinista government there had no right to get MIG jets.

At the same time, a number of the workers were deeply opposed to being sent there to fight. "It would be like fighting UMWA people, union members like ourselves," said one. Another said he thought the U.S. intervention in Central America was all about keeping wages there low to help U.S. corporations. Several of the workers had gone to a talk by a Salvadoran unionist, Alejandro Molina Lara, two years earlier and had learned from him about the antilabor role of the U.S. government in El Salvador.

A number of the workers were convinced that young men like them will get sent to fight in Nicaragua. "The corporations don't care whether we live or die," said one. Another said he thought UMWA members ought to be fighting the employers here, instead.

Discussion shifted to what the U.S. unions can do to stop such a war. Several workers felt the labor movement here is too weak to take action, pointing to the blows the unions have already taken at the hands of big business in this country.

Socialist miners, auto workers meet

Discussions like this are taking place in plants, mines, and shops across the country. In mid-December, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who belong to the UMWA held a meeting in Pittsburgh. They devoted an important part of their discussions to the opportunities to involve their union in the fight against U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean. SWP members who belong to the United Auto Workers held a similar meeting where they too discussed deepening union involvement in antiwar activities.

Workers at both meetings felt the potential to bring the power of the U.S. labor movement into the fight against the war has yet to be tapped.

Several socialist coal miners reported that when Washington made its threats about MIGs in November, discussion picked up in their mines. One miner approached a socialist coworker to buy a copy of the *Militant*, saying, "It's time to find out about the other side."

Earlier in the fall, *Militant* sales teams had travelled through the coalfields of Alabama, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, Kentucky, Utah, and Arizona. Some team members had assumed that miners would be most interested in discussing the national contract the UMWA had just negotiated with the coal companies. In many cases, they found that miners and their families were more interested in talking about Central America. What attracted them to the *Militant* was its extensive coverage of Nicaragua. Several expressed concern that their sons would be drafted to fight an unjust war there.

At the SWP national convention last August, delegates voted to place the fight against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean at the center of the party's work. This included making antiwar work the principal axis of party mem-



Militant/Lou Howort

Coal miners' contingent at Aug. 27, 1983, march on Washington, D.C., for jobs, peace, and freedom.

bers' activity in industry.

The majority of SWP members are industrial workers, concentrated in the following unions: UMWA, United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, United Transportation Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, International Union of Electronic Workers, International Association of Machinists, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. Members of each of these unions met at the convention to discuss how to carry out the campaign against the war in their respective unions.

The goal of this campaign is to help bring the unions into active opposition to the war, which is the central political question confronting the U.S. labor movement today.

April 20 demonstration

The most important national opportunity to do this today is the April 20 march on Washington, D.C., demanding that the U.S. government get out of Central America. This demonstration has been called by a broad range of antiwar, church, and political groups. Significantly, two important unions — the International Association of Machinists and the United Food and Commercial Workers — are serving on the demonstration's steering committee.

Information about the action can be brought to the attention of coworkers, union officials, and union bodies right away. This will begin a discussion on the need for labor to throw itself into building and participating in this important demonstration.

At their December meeting, socialist coal miners adopted a report by Kipp Dawson, a member of UMWA Local 1197 in Pennsylvania. Her report focused on stepping up efforts to directly involve the UMWA as a union in antiwar activity. "We think our union should take up the fight against the U.S. war in Nicaragua and El Salvador as a major union question, as part of its responsibility to defend the membership, as part of its responsibility as a working-class organization," she said.

"The UMWA has fought more effectively than most U.S. unions against the government's war on workers at home, and it should also be a fighter against the other half of that war, the war against working people in Central America and the Caribbean."

Systematic, long-term work

Dawson explained that the goal was not only to deepen discussions with individual UMWA members about the war, but to work with other unionists to bring local union bodies and officials into the antiwar effort. This is not a simple job, she stressed; it calls for systematic work over a long period of time. Among her suggestions were inviting speakers from Nicaragua and El Salvador to address union meetings, as well as U.S. speakers who have visited those countries. She pointed out that whenever protests against U.S. intervention are organized, socialists should help involve their union locals in building and participating in them.

Dawson also noted that a number of union officials and members have made

fact-finding trips to Nicaragua. Union-sponsored tours — to learn firsthand what Nicaragua is like and meet with unionists and others there — can have a powerful impact when tour members return to this country and report what they saw.

She gave as an example a tour currently in Nicaragua of farmers and farm workers, which has been organized by the North America Farm Alliance and Oxfam America, a relief agency. The goal of the farm activists going on the trip is to learn how agriculture is organized in Nicaragua and compare it with the conditions farmers and farm workers face in the United States today.

Trips by women miners

In the discussion, miners raised further ideas. Several pointed out that in addition to other UMWA bodies, local COMPACS, the union's political action committees which are made up of working miners, have often expressed interest in discussing and taking action on big political questions.

A woman miner noted that the Coal Employment Project (CEP), which organizes to help women get and keep mining jobs,

has traditionally extended solidarity to miners and other workers around the world. Salvadoran unionist Alejandro Molina Lara was invited to the CEP's 1983 national conference, for example. Women miners in the CEP have visited miners in such countries as Britain, India, the Soviet Union, and China, reporting their findings back to the group. The idea of women miners going to Nicaragua, and inviting Nicaraguan miners to come here, would be popular, it was felt. A West Virginia miner pointed out that activists in Central America solidarity groups in that state have close ties to the UMWA. Activities initiated by such solidarity groups offer another opportunity to involve the union more directly in the antiwar fight.

The call for a national antiwar march April 20 provides a big opportunity to advance all these activities in the UMWA. As organizing for the march picks up steam, more coal miners will want to learn the facts about the U.S. war and discuss what the UMWA can do to stop it. Antiwar miners can not only help maximize participation of UMWA members in the march, but play a vital role in building the demonstration among other working people as well.

Nicaragua foils an attempt to provoke incident with Costa Rica

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — An attempt to provoke a serious diplomatic incident between Nicaragua and Costa Rica has fallen flat.

The story begins last August when, under pressure from his parents and with the help of a counterrevolutionary lawyer, José Manuel Urbina Lara sought political asylum in the Costa Rican embassy here.

Urbina, a law student, was in no way a political prisoner or refugee, however. He was simply trying to avoid Nicaragua's draft.

The Costa Rican authorities welcomed this "political refugee" with open arms. They allowed him to stay in the embassy so that his case could serve as grist for counterrevolutionary propaganda mills.

The Costa Rican station "Radio Impacto" sought to make Urbina's case a cause célèbre, airing frequent reports on it from Managua correspondent Salomón Calvo Arrieta. Although Radio Impacto presents itself as just one more slick commercial radio station, it is in fact an outlet of ARDE, a coalition of CIA-backed counterrevolutionary groups carrying out terrorist attacks on Nicaragua.

On Christmas eve, Dec. 24, 1984, Urbina's fiancée went to visit him at the embassy after all embassy personnel had left.

Urbina and his friend tried to sneak out of the embassy together. When the Sandinista Police guard outside the embassy tried to detain Urbina, a scuffle ensued in which Urbina was wounded in the leg.

The incident was immediately seized upon by the CIA, and especially Radio Impacto correspondent Calvo. The story was spread that Nicaraguan authorities had committed a grave violation of Costa Rican sovereignty and international law by

storming the embassy, smashing down the door, dragging out the hapless Urbina, and wounding him in the process.

As the days went by, Radio Impacto's tone grew more violent, demanding stiff action by the Costa Rican government and going so far as to suggest a direct U.S. attack on Nicaragua.

The top Costa Rican authorities, however, seemed a little slow in joining fully in the campaign, and for good reason. They knew there had been no attack on their embassy December 24. They knew also that Urbina was no political refugee — in fact, he had been talking to them about abandoning his claim.

On January 4, Urbina held a news conference where he announced that he was now willing to go into the Patriotic Military Service, as Nicaragua's draft is called. "I renounce voluntarily any efforts that go in the direction of considering me as a political refugee."

He said that Nicaraguan authorities "have reconsidered my case and they are willing to integrate me into the defense of the homeland."

As for the reports of Radio Impacto's Managua correspondent, Urbina said, "this gentleman took advantage of the situation and tried to politically manipulate my arrest, to such a degree that he tried to make it seem like I was being politically persecuted and opposed the principle of the defense of the homeland."

Meanwhile, Calvo had already been put out of circulation by Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior (MINT). In a brief communiqué dated January 3, the MINT announced that Calvo had been arrested December 29, was being questioned, and in due time would be handed over to Nicaragua's People's Tribunals to be tried.

Mass protests continue in Philippines

Commission of inquiry implicates top officials in Aquino assassination



Millions of Filipinos have participated in antigovernment protests like that at left marking first anniversary of assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. Unemployment, inflation, low wages, and poor working conditions have sparked strikes despite government repression. Above, strikers at Manila's Artex textile company in September 1984.

BY EILEEN MORGAN

The following article appeared in the December 7 issue of *Socialist Action*, a biweekly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand, that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

AUCKLAND — Although more than a year has passed since the assassination of Philippine opposition politician Benigno Aquino, the mass antigovernment protests sparked by his death are continuing.

Huge demonstrations took place in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, on both August 21 — the first anniversary of the assassination — and November 27, Aquino's birth date.

Up to two million people were estimated to have taken part in the August 21 protest. Other marches and rallies, involving tens of thousands, have been ongoing throughout 1984.

Benigno Aquino was a central leader of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), the procapitalist opposition to the dictatorship of Pres. Ferdinand Marcos. He was murdered at Manila Airport, on his return to the Philippines after spending several years in exile in the United States.

A military "investigation" immediately after the assassination pinned the blame on Rolando Galman, who was shot by the soldiers escorting Aquino off the plane immediately following the shot that killed Aquino. The investigators claimed that Galman was a lone gunman hired by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The CPP is an outlawed organization, and its chairperson, Jose Maria Sison, has been in prison since 1977. The armed wing of the CPP — the New People's Army — leads a guerrilla struggle against Marcos and can mobilize 20,000 combatants.

Commission of inquiry

The hundreds of thousands of Filipinos who poured into the streets in the weeks following Aquino's assassination made it clear that this "explanation" was not accepted. Under this pressure, Marcos was forced to set up a public commission of inquiry. Its five members were, however, hand-picked to limit the scope of its findings. The Aquino family boycotted the commission's proceedings, saying it could never arrive at the truth as long as Marcos was in power.

After 10 months of public hearings two reports were released by commission members on October 23 and 24. Both reports were forced to conclude that there was no evidence to support the claim that the CPP was behind the assassination. Instead, everything clearly pointed to a military plot. Galman was only an innocent scapegoat.

The first report to be released — by the

commission's chairwoman and long-time Marcos associate, Corazon Agrava — claimed that only seven people were involved in the plot. Responsibility rested with the six guards who escorted Aquino off the plane and Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio, the head of a 2,000-strong security force at Manila Airport, she stated.

Army leaders implicated

Agrava's report went out of its way to declare that Army Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver had had nothing to do with the assassination. Ver is a distant relative of Marcos and was his bodyguard and chauffeur until appointed head of the 200,000-strong armed forces.

The majority report by the other four commission members, in contrast, names 26 people, including one civilian (a millionaire businessman), as being involved in the assassination plot. Included in the 26 are Ver, Custodio, Maj. Gen. Prospero Olivas, the Metro-Manila commander of the Philippine police, and Col. Vicente Tigas, a media representative for the Presidential Security Command.

The majority report, however, like Agrava's, stopped short of implicating Marcos himself in the assassination plot. But, as Aquino's widow pointed out to journalists, it is impossible to believe that the murder was "planned and executed without Marcos' knowledge or express approval."

On October 25, thousands of Filipinos marched through central Manila to protest the commission's failure to implicate Marcos and to demand that he resign. Five days later demonstrators clashed with riot police, who used tear gas, smoke bombs, truncheons, and water cannon. Several demonstrators were injured and 14 were arrested.

Marcos originally tried to protect Ver, telling him in a letter that "the circumstances under which the board has chosen to implicate you in its findings are fraught with doubt and great contradictions of opinion and testimony." Ver was granted a temporary leave of absence. But on November 5, with mass protests continuing, all 26 named in the commission's majority report were indicted for "double murder" (that is, the murders of both Aquino and Galman) before the government ombudsman. It remains to be seen, however, whether any further action will be taken against any of them.

Economic reality

The mass upheaval in the Philippines is a product not only of opposition to the brutal police methods of the Marcos dictatorship, but of the economic reality confronting Filipino workers and farmers. A report published in the October 30 *New Zealand Herald* (reprinted from *Newsweek*) explained, for example, that:

- Nearly 300,000 workers in Manila have lost their jobs since the beginning of 1984.

- Inflation now stands at 60 percent.
- The foreign debt is U.S.\$25 billion. The International Monetary Fund has recently approved a \$600 million loan, pending the implementation of a stringent austerity policy.

- The Philippine economy is expected to shrink this year, possibly by as much as 6 percent. For example, rice had to be imported for the first time in years because the rising cost of fertilizer has cut production.

Union struggles

In an interview published in the October-November issue of *Push*, the newspaper of the Hotel and Hospital Workers Union in New Zealand, Filipino trade union leader Bobby Ortaliz — who visited this country in August — outlined some of the wages and conditions faced by workers in the Philippines.

Ortaliz explained that industrial workers in the Philippines earn around \$2.50 a day. Agricultural workers on the plantations are supposed to be paid around \$1.50 a day, but most get as little as 40 to 70 cents. The official poverty line is \$3.50 to \$4 a day.

As well as being president of the sugar workers union, Ortaliz is acting secretary of the KMU (Kilusang Mayo Uno — May First Movement), a trade union alliance that has, he says, over 700,000 members. The KMU has played a leading role in mobilizing working people in protests against the Marcos regime.

According to Ortaliz there are about 3 million industrial workers in the Philippines. The majority of the work force of almost 20 million are peasant farmers and agricultural workers. The unemployment rate is currently around 35-40 percent, he estimates.

Despite government repression against trade unions and striking workers, the first six months of this year saw 500 strike notices filed with the Ministry of Labor and Employment. Up to August, 150 strikes had taken place, and in September, 10 strikes broke out in Manila alone.

Imperialist backers

Marcos has powerful backers in the face of this mass opposition to his rule, however. The United States has \$2 billion worth of investments in the Philippines (60 percent of its total South East Asian investments), and huge strategic military bases with 20,000 U.S. troops.

During the recent presidential election campaign in the United States, Ronald Reagan made it clear that Marcos has his wholehearted support. The U.S. government had to defend Marcos and his govern-

Continued on Page 10

Speech by leader of Burkina in 'IP'

In the West African country of Burkina (formerly Upper Volta), a group of radical young officers seized power in August 1983 in the midst of a massive popular upsurge against the former French-backed regime. Backed by several left-wing parties, they formed a new government and pledged to carry out a sweeping social transformation of that impoverished country.

The January 21 *Intercontinental Press* carries the main programmatic document of Burkina's National Council of the Revolution (CNR), a speech by Pres. Thomas Sankara.

In the speech, Sankara describes the legacy of poverty and backwardness left behind by colonial and neocolonial rule, the roles of the various classes, and the CNR's characterization of the process in Burkina as a "democratic and popular revolution." Its aim, he said, is to transfer "power from the hands of the ... bourgeoisie allied with imperialism into the hands of the alliance of popular classes."

Sankara also outlined the various

tasks of the new government: building mass organizations, arming the population, initiating land reform, and introducing other measures to benefit working people.

This issue of *IP* also features a major review of the political debates going on today within the Polish workers movement.

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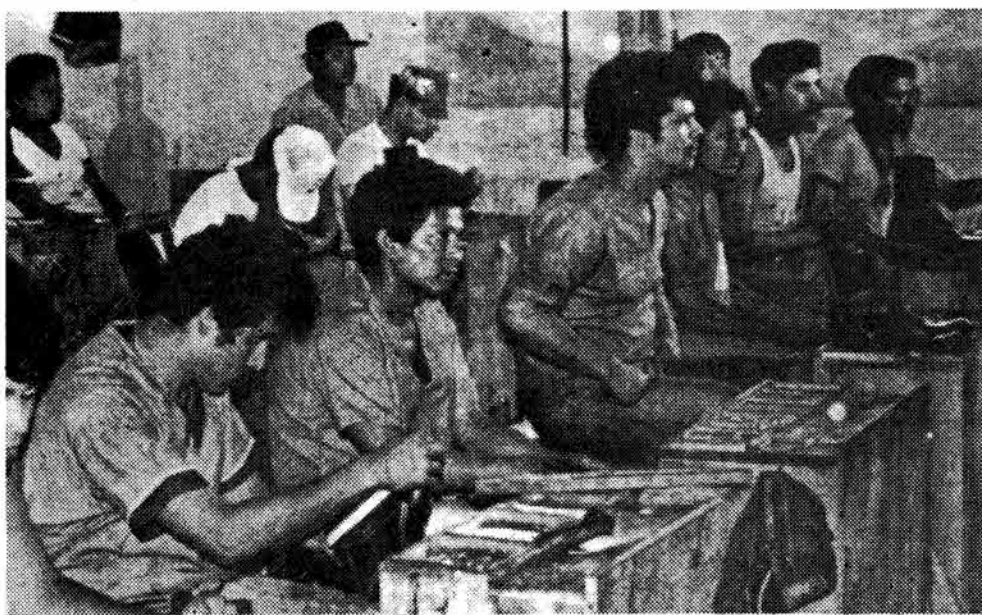
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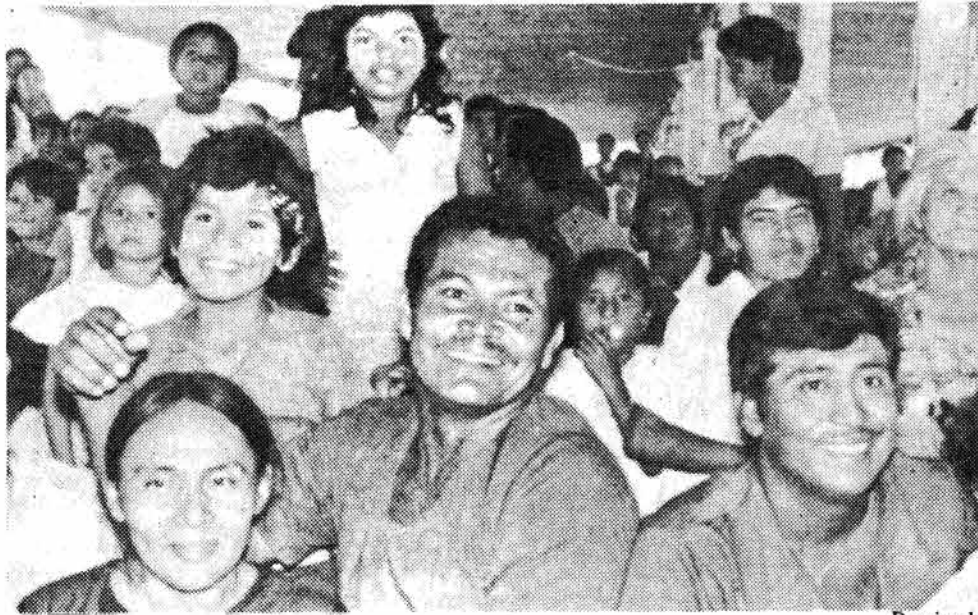
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Nicaragua's humanitarian prison system is in keeping with goals of its worker and peasant-run society. At left, inmates at an open-farm penitentiary work on handicrafts. At right, celebration for newlyweds at the Jorge Navarro Central Penitentiary.

Nicaragua creates 'open prison' system

The U.S. government portrays the revolutionary government of Nicaragua as a brutal, totalitarian regime that is an arch-enemy of human rights. The Sandinistas' humane treatment of prisoners, especially of the torturers and murderers of the National Guard of the U.S.-backed regime of dictator Anastasio Somoza, is a striking refutation of these charges.

The following article about Nicaragua's open prison system is reprinted from the November 22 issue of the English-language *Barricada Internacional*, the international weekly of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. It was titled: "Open penitentiary system: where conscience is the only guard."

"My personal revenge will be that your children go to school and live in happiness," said Tomás Borge to the man who tortured him in prison in 1978. His words went beyond that when, at his initiative, the open farm penitentiary system was created shortly after the revolutionary triumph.

The prisoners there, mostly former Somocista guardsmen, lead their lives free from supervision by armed guards.

Those who know the kind of brutalities committed by the National Guard against the people, can understand the real extent of the Revolution's generosity in giving these men a chance to make their lives anew.

"If we were to do the same things they used to do, we might as well forget this Revolution," said Commander Borge, now head of the Ministry of the Interior that oversees the penitentiary system. Borge was kept in solitary confinement for two years in Somoza's jails, and his first wife died as a result of injuries received under torture. Amnesty International charged that between 1976 and 1978, he was the most tortured man in the world.

In the first three months following the overthrow of Somoza, 8,500 guardsmen

were taken prisoner; 3,000 were released without trial due to a "lack of evidence." The rest were tried by courts set up especially to handle these cases. Another 6,000 had managed to escape to Honduras and Guatemala in July. By 1983, only 2,529 former guards were still in prison.

It thus became necessary for the Nicaraguan government to create a new prison model in keeping with the new society being formed.

The first test was in 1981, when some 4,000 convicts were sent to pick cotton under minimum surveillance; the experiment was a success and laid the groundwork for developing the open-farm system, which in 1982 inaugurated its first center, 23 kilometers north of Managua, in Tipitapa.

There are currently six farms, three of which are open and three semi-open, to accommodate 1,000 prisoners.

The facilities are located in the outskirts of the capital and the convicts work mainly in agricultural tasks. Each group of prisoners on the farm has a specific job: cultivating coffee, planting grains such as corn, beans and sorghum, and on some farms, raising livestock.

The 280 acres that make up the Tipitapa farm have an abundance of fruit trees. The cultivated fields surround the cool and pleasant building that houses the inmates.

Three representatives are on a prisoners' council that is in charge of discipline, education, cultural activities and production. They meet regularly with the rest of the inmates to discuss farm work.

They have also developed a handicrafts section and have held exhibitions of leather and wood items made there. Classes in painting are given on one of the farms by a prominent Nicaraguan artist, Olivia de Guevara, who specializes in the Solentiname school of primitivist painting.

Responsibilities

The inmates themselves take turns working in the kitchen and in the warehouse,

and consider it a matter of pride to keep the facilities clean and orderly.

They are frequently seen in Managua shopping for the farm in their blue prison garb, unaccompanied by prison escorts. They spend thousands of córdobas on these purchases and usually return at the agreed time. Whenever they need medical attention they go to a hospital accompanied only by another inmate assigned as escort.

The farm is run by three unarmed police members, whose purpose is to provide education for the inmates and give advice on work organization and responsibilities.

During the two years the model prison has been operating, there have been only five escapees.

Armed custodians guard the semi-open farms; however, this is mostly symbolic because they guard only the entrance of the farm, which itself is open.

Every six months, prisoners from the farm are entitled to a week's vacation with their families. Weekends are set aside for visitors, with special arrangements for conjugal visits; some prisoners live with their families in their own quarters located away from the main farm building.

Philosophy

The only requisites for a prisoner to be sent to the open farms are to demonstrate discipline and a willingness to work and have a relatively short sentence. Sentences for former guardsmen range between 5 and 30 years.

The penal system director, Second Lieutenant Denis Palma, explains the phi-

losophy of the farm in this way: "Man has a certain level of conscience and he doesn't need to be forced to do things; the presence of armed custodians goes against this. People would not be able to develop a sense of responsibility, instead they would react against force and coercion. The Revolution should have a place within each person and that's what we're trying to do. We want each person to realize who he is, what he has within him and what he should be, so that he begins to assume responsibilities as a person."

This philosophy is reflected in one inmate, Florencio Orlando Pereira, a former guardsman serving a five year term. Pereira says that he and his fellow inmates don't try to escape because "leaving the farm wouldn't mean escape, but betrayal of the trust they've given us. I realize I have to stay here until my time is up. I've learned some good things, and I want to keep their trust."

For Denis Palma, the program will be successful if the prisoners learn not to "see each other as individuals but rather understand their responsibility in transforming society." He asks: "In what other penitentiary system can we hear these expressions of responsibility toward others, in which the inmates seek to transform the world we live in so that it will be easier for mankind to live a good life?"

The doubt exists, however, if former convicts will be accepted by society when they are released. Pereira is optimistic, based on the experience of those already released: "we know that society accepted them a long time ago."

Wedding held for prison inmates

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan revolution gave a special holiday gift to 10 prisoners — all the men former members of Somoza's National Guard — serving time in the Jorge Navarro Penal Center in Tipitapa. On December 19 they were allowed to get married and have the ceremony in the prison.

This prison wedding, an act without precedent in Nicaragua and most of the world, was performed in front of more than 1,000 prisoners' family members, two judges, a priest, and the prison staff. Authorities decreed a special visiting day for all Somozaist prisoners at the Jorge Navarro center.

A traditional three-story wedding cake was served, a gift from the National Commission to Promote and Protect Human Rights. One of the prisoner brides, Guadalupe Cuadra, wore a traditional wedding dress for the occasion. She and her husband met 13 years ago and have four children, who are being cared for by her mother.

Her husband, Clemente Robleto, was sentenced to the maximum of 30 years, but they hope with good behavior he will be released earlier. Robleto expects to be able to visit his family as other prisoners have been allowed to do.

Another couple is discussing having a child in prison since they will be able to live together there.

One prisoner said, "In addition to having permitted us to marry, I thank the revolution most for having taught me the iron-workers' trade, so that I can work in any construction in the world."

The prison authorities had fixed up part of a pavilion in a separate area so that the couples could enjoy a honeymoon after the wedding.

The revolution's policy toward prisoners was summed up by Alberto Ramírez in the Sandinista National Liberation Front daily, *Barricada*: "The fact that a man finds himself behind bars in payment for his crimes before society does not prevent him from being treated as a human being."

The Ministry of the Interior, which is in charge of prisons, emphasizes education and reintegration into society, in striking contrast to the brutal and dehumanizing treatment meted out by the prison system of the United States and other capitalist countries.

Nicaraguan prisoners have been taught to read and write, given technical courses, and have regular, periodic private visits with wives and families both inside and outside the prison.

Sister Mary Hartman of the Human Rights Commission remarked at the wedding, "Only in Nicaragua can acts like this take place. This is proof that the leaders of the revolution are fulfilling their promise of July 19, 1979, to build a new society based on respect for human rights."

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.

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The Metropolitan Medical and Women's Center in Wheaton, Maryland, was destroyed by bomb blast and fire last November. Supporters of abortion rights in D.C.-Maryland area are discussing protest activities.

7th antiabortion bombing hits D.C. area

BY PEARL CHERTOV

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Anti-abortion rights terrorists have bombed another women's clinic in the Washington, D.C., area. Moments after midnight on January 1, 1985, a powerful bomb exploded at the Hillcrest Women's Surgi-Center in south-east Washington, D.C.

The bomb — placed on a window ledge — caused extensive damage to the clinic. One wall and the roof collapsed. The force of the blast shattered nearly 250 windows in the two apartment buildings across the street. Fragments of glass were blown into dozens of apartments. Fortunately, no one was injured.

Scores of residents — many of whom were celebrating New Year's Eve — ran into the street to see smoke pouring out of the clinic.

This was the seventh bombing of a women's health clinic or abortion-related facility in the Washington, D.C.-suburban Maryland area since February 1984. It was the fourth bombing to occur in six weeks.

On December 24, a bomb exploded on the first floor of an office building that houses the Metropolitan Family Life Planning Clinic in Suitland, Maryland. The clinic — located on the fifth floor — was not damaged.

On November 19, bombs exploded minutes apart at a Planned Parenthood office in Rockville, Maryland, and the Metropolitan Medical and Women's Center in Wheaton, Maryland. The Wheaton clinic was destroyed by the bomb blast and fire.

"We are outraged and angry," said Joanna Cannon, spokeswoman for the Hillcrest clinic. "We exist here legally and those who choose to express their opinions with bombings are criminal and wrong."

Cannon said that the clinic has seen "picketers, hate mail, and bomb threats" since it opened. She told reporters that the clinic would reopen.

Cannon said that bombings across the country have caused "fear in the hearts" of clinic workers. But "along with that fear there's a lot of anger and a lot of outrage."

Rosann Wisman, executive director of Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington, said, "Abortion is legal. The service is available as an individual right and individual choice. [Bombers] are keeping people from exercising that right."

Judith Waxman, a board member of the Women's Medical Center, explained that the bombings are a serious threat to women's health and right to choose. "I'm equally outraged that there's no nationwide federal investigation going on. The statement has been made that it's not terrorism. It sure looks like terrorism to me."

Planned Parenthood, abortion and

women's health clinics, and abortion rights supporters are demanding a federal investigation into the series of arson and bombing attacks that have occurred against clinics nationally.

Barbara Radford, executive director of the National Abortion Federation, pointed out, "We suspect that if we were talking about a chain of supermarkets that had been bombed to the extent of 29 in one year that we would see an FBI investigation."

The National Abortion Federation office in D.C. was bombed on July 4, 1984.

Washington, D.C., mayor Marion Barry visited the Hillcrest clinic two hours following the bombing on January 1.

"People who do these kind of things, I compare them to the Nazis in Germany who would kill people . . . and the Ku Klux Klan who would bomb Black churches and schools and others," Barry said.

A man identifying himself as a member of the Army of God-East Coast Division, a violent anti-abortion rights group, called the *Washington Times* to claim responsibility for the bombing. The caller claimed the clinic bombings were intended as a warning to all those who perform abortions.

"The bombings will not stop," he said.

Supporters of women's right to choose abortion are meeting in the D.C.-Maryland area to discuss activities to defend abortion rights.

NOW plans January 22 activities

BY PAT GROGAN

January 22 is the 12th anniversary of the historic *Roe vs. Wade* Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion.

The anniversary takes place as foes of abortion rights are stepping up their attacks on a woman's right to choose, including a wave of bombings and arson attacks on abortion clinics.

Women's rights organizations and supporters of abortion rights are organizing picket lines, vigils, speakouts, rallies, and other activities in defense of abortion rights in cities across the country around the January 22 date.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) has urged all its chapters to organize activities to defend the right to legal abortion. Mary Jean Collins, NOW's Vice-President Action, pointed to the continuing escalation of violent attacks on abortion clinics and urged that all chapters "demand an investigation and an end to the campaign of terrorism and intimidation." She urged chapters to hold press conferences, picket lines, and letter-writing, petitioning, and lobbying campaigns to demonstrate

Head of Wisc. clinic describes harassment

Maggi Cage is executive director of the Fox Valley Reproductive Health Care Center in Appleton, Wisconsin. Since 1978 the clinic has been the target of repeated acts of harassment and violence by opponents of abortion rights. This campaign has escalated since 1983, when Norman Stone and Jerry Horn, leaders of an antiabortion group called Save Our Babies, declared war against the clinic.

Militant correspondents Mindy Brudno and Sue Hagen interviewed Cage on December 14 in Milwaukee. Following are excerpts from that interview.

Question. Could you describe what services your clinic provides?

Answer. We're a full-service reproductive health care center. We provide general gynecological care, abortions through the 15th week of pregnancy, vasectomy care, and STD [sexually transmitted disease] screening and care. In addition, we do family-planning services and birth control counseling.

Q. Can you tell us about the history of harassment of your clinic and its staff?

A. I started the clinic in 1977. In 1978 we were firebombed and vandalized. The man was arrested and convicted, and is now serving a 10-year sentence.

In November 1983 two individuals arrived on the scene. One, Norman Stone, said that he had a vision from God, who told him what to do about abortion, me, and the clinic. He and Jerry Horn proceeded to trespass and refused to be removed from the property. That began well over a year of repeated acts of criminal trespass.

We had a trial, and the judge gave them probation on the condition that they not trespass anymore.

We have also had a lot of vandalism. The locks on the doors to our building have been jammed. The protesters put their own padlock on the gate in front of the building.

We have had the word "murderers" painted in red paint on the driveway. In 1983 we had a shooting. I came into my office one morning to find 14 bullet holes had been shot through the window that I sit in front of. It was a little unnerving.

We have had a lot of screaming and yelling at women as they come into the clinic: "Please don't kill your baby," amplified recordings of a baby crying, picket signs that say things like, "Maggi Cage murders babies for money."

They make exaggerated statements about the complications from abortions. There is an antiabortion counseling center in the area that tells people we do abortions with a razor blade on the end of a stick, and all sorts of really bizarre stories designed to frighten and intimidate women. They must



Militant/Sue Hagen

Maggi Cage told *Militant* that six-year harassment campaign against Reproductive Rights Center has escalated in last year.

feel that the truth is not a powerful enough deterrent to terminating a pregnancy. So they lie.

The homes of my employees have been picketed, and a number of people have been called at home and harassed. On December 3 Norman Stone trespassed in violation of his probation, was arrested, taken to jail, and was there for a week.

Q. What impact has this harassment had on the staff and the patients? To what extent has the intimidation worked?

A. It has not deterred women from coming to the clinic to seek abortion care.

The effect it has on the patient psychologically is another matter. When that woman comes in the door after having crossed the picket line, she is really angry.

The women who work at the clinic are there because they are very dedicated to women's issues, and to guarantee that women have the constitutional right to choose.

Q. What should supporters of the right to choose do to defend the clinics, and defend the right to abortion?

A. Locally, we can do a lot — by forming coalitions that include the feminist community, the religious community, the medical community, and citizens in general.

In terms of clinic violence, I think first of all the public needs to become more aware.

They should know, for example, that a Jewish woman who escorts patients to the clinic was told by the protesters that they wished she had burned in the Holocaust. We've had escorts told, "We wish your mother had aborted you." An escort was assaulted by the protesters. I've been assaulted by the protesters.

It gives you a taste of reality. This is not just happening in one place. This is happening across the country.

Terrorists bomb three clinics in Pensacola

Continued from back page also.

In addition to the latest attacks in Pensacola, there have been 30 other arsons and bombings which have destroyed clinics around the country since 1982, as well as more than 300 incidents of vandalism. Women's rights activists in Pensacola and in Miami have called on the FBI and the federal government to step up their investigations of these terrorist attacks, which, they say, are designed to terrorize women and challenge their constitutional right to obtain an abortion.

January 22 is the 12th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. In Miami, the National Organization for Women is planning a picket line on that day to defend the right of a woman to choose abortion.

Probes into Puerto Rico repression continue

Evidence ties gov't officials to frame-ups, murders of independence activists

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Public pressure is on the colonial government of Puerto Rico to pretend that something will be done to put an end to the string of police frame-ups and murders of proindependence activists.

The focal point of public outrage is the case of Cerro Maravilla. On July 25, 1978, two young Puerto Rican independence fighters — Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado — were ambushed, beaten, and summarily executed by 15 cops at Cerro Maravilla. The government first reported the incident as a shoot-out with "terrorists" who were planning to blow up the Cerro Maravilla communications tower.

The official explanation met with growing skepticism from the Puerto Rican people, especially after the role of police agent provocateur, Alejandro González Malavé, in entrapping the two youths became widely known.

The first four investigations, by both the Puerto Rican and U.S. governments, backed the police version. Public pressure, however, forced the Puerto Rican Senate to organize public, televised hearings. During these hearings, three of the cops involved testified that high officials in the intelligence division of the police were involved in planning the shooting. The government had covered up the murders.

As pressure mounted to get to the bottom of the case, and hearings continued, new evidence surfaced that points to former governor Romero Barceló's involvement not only in the cover-up, but in the executions themselves.

The December 20 issue of the weekly newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), *Claridad*, reported that Adolfo Flores, former director of a television station, and Ernesto Vila, a certified public accountant, told the Senate investigator that Barceló's adviser, Pedro Rivera Casiano, ordered the executions at Cerro Maravilla.

This verifies the earlier testimony by educator José Méndez that Rivera Casiano admitted he was put in charge of Cerro Maravilla by the governor.

When Rivera Casiano denied these charges, *Claridad* reported that Méndez, who identifies himself as having been an "intimate friend" of Rivera Casiano for several years, declared, "I know beyond the slightest doubt that Mr. Rivera Casiano is lying."

The unraveling of the Cerro Maravilla case has forced the Senate to investigate the case of young independence supporter Ramón Toledo Maldonado, who was framed up on charges of possessing explosives in February 1978.

During the Senate investigation, former police sergeant Onofre Jusiano testified that Desiderio Cartagena, the former superintendent of police, ordered him to frame up Toledo Maldonado. This order, he said, came from the governor.



Militant/Martin Koppel



Claridad

Raphael Cancel Miranda (left photo), Puerto Rican independence fighter, speaking at July 25, 1984, rally to demand justice in Cerro Maravilla case. Pedro Rivera Casiano (above left), adviser to Puerto Rico's former governor, and Desiderio Cartagena, former superintendent of police, have been implicated in political repression.

In light of these facts, demands are being raised for new investigations into other cases. At a December 12 press conference, Raul Alzaga and Ricardo Fraga, leaders of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans that supports the normalization of relations between Cuba and the United States, demanded the Senate investigate the murder of Carlos Muñiz Varela. Muñiz Varela, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade and activist in the independence movement, was murdered on April 28, 1979. Although the Brigade had released information last April that they had uncovered a contract for \$50,000 by right-wing Cuban businessmen with the Puerto Rican police to murder Muñiz Varela, no

investigation has taken place.

Supporters of independence are also demanding a new investigation be opened into the murder of Santiago Mari Pesquera. Mari Pesquera, independence activist and son of longtime leader of the fight for independence Juan Mari Bras, was murdered on March 24, 1976.

Walter Henry Coira, a young Cuban with a history of mental illness and ties to right-wing Cuban organizations, was convicted of the murder. Although evidence made clear that Coira could not have acted alone, the first investigation was marked by a rush to close the case with the conviction of Coira.

The newly elected administration of

Rafael Hernández Colon won the November elections by promising to end both government corruption and official cover-ups of political crimes by cops and right-wingers. It is doubtful that he will carry out these promises since many of these crimes and cover-ups, such as the murder of Mari Pesquera, occurred during his own previous administration.

Government investigations will not end the repression in Puerto Rico because such attacks originate in Washington and are carried out under the direction of U.S. cop outfits like the FBI. The U.S. government, along with the colonial parties on the island, is behind these frame-ups, murders, and cover-ups.

Cops in Poland admit killing priest

BY TOM LEONARD

The trial of four secret police assigned to the Interior Ministry of Poland is revealing the brutal methods that the bureaucratic rulers of the Polish workers state resort to in silencing working-class critics.

So far three of the cops have admitted taking part in the killing last October of Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, a priest who was an open supporter of the Solidarity union movement. Popieluszko was in close contact with supporters of the banned union at the giant Huta Warszawa steelworks north of Warsaw and gave monthly public sermons protesting the violations of democratic rights.

At the time of the killing, the four cops were members of the governing Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), but were expelled after being charged. The four were Col. Adam Pietruszka, Capt. Grzegorz Piotrowski, Lieut. Leszek Pekala, and

Lieut. Waldemar Chmielewski.

The slain priest was abducted last October, brutally beaten, stuffed in a car trunk, and later thrown into a reservoir with stone weights attached to his feet.

The priest's bodyguard-driver was also kidnapped at the same time, but he managed to escape and spread the word about the kidnapping.

Testimony at the trial in Torun, Poland, revealed that the cops, with or without official sanction for their crime, carried out a premeditated murder. Their purpose was to terrorize and intimidate critics of the Polish government's antiworking-class political repression. Public exposure of the brutal kidnapping and murder, however, quickly led to nationwide protests by working people that forced the government to proceed with an investigation and arrest the cops.

The trial is being held in a showcase atmosphere with television and press coverage of much of the proceedings. This unusual move — to publicly try members of the secret police — was prompted by the government's need to make the trial appear as legitimate as possible, given the widespread outrage at the murder.

The government's aim is to pin the blame for the killing on these four cops alone, while absolving the government itself. Whether or not Popieluszko was killed on orders from higher up, such terrorist methods have often been used by the police in the past, with official sanction. Several dozen Solidarity activists and supporters have been severely beaten or killed since the crackdown on Solidarity in December 1981.

Pekala, the first cop to testify at the trial, said that when he was asked to accept the mission to kidnap the priest, he had been assured by Captain Piotrowski that the plot had the support of high government officials, and that there had been similar kidnappings in the past where the cops involved were never caught. He said that Piotrowski even had a special pass that gave the killers authority to dismiss any attempt at investigations of their activity by regular police.

Pekala also revealed an earlier attempt on the priest's life when the cops hid by the

roadside and threw stones at the priest's moving car, hoping it would force a fatal accident.

The second cop to testify, Chmielewski, said that Piotrowski had told him not to worry about being investigated for the kidnapping because all the investigators are "our people." He also revealed the names of two members of the Interior Ministry mentioned by Piotrowski. They were Gen. Zenon Platek and Gen. Zbigniew Jablonski, neither of whom has been charged with complicity in the murder. Platek, however, had been suspended from his job on the minor charge of "lack of supervision."

Captain Piotrowski, the apparent ringleader of the plot, told the court, "acting with others I stopped the car in which the priest was riding. I bound his hands and placed a gag in his mouth. I beat him with sticks. I caused him to lose consciousness. I prevented him from freeing himself and when consequently we found ourselves at a dam I threw his body into water." Despite this admission, Piotrowski has denied the specific charges against him.

In the face of these bald-faced admissions of political assassination by former members of the PUWP, Polish government head Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski has publicly labeled his former party members "aberrations" in the Interior Ministry. His goal is to scapegoat them for the murder, thus trying to avoid tainting his government with such an unpopular crime.

New Orleans panel on elections, war

BY RACHELE FRUIT

NEW ORLEANS — "The Re-election of Ronald Reagan — Mandate for War?" was the topic of a panel discussion at a recent Militant Forum here. Among those in attendance were nine workers from a local garment shop organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), activists in the local chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), and several Latinos.

The panel, which included representatives of the NAACP, the National Organization for Women (NOW), NBIPP, Gulf Coast Tenant Association, and the Socialist Workers Party, expressed a variety of views on the elections.

Raphael Cassimere from the NAACP pointed out that Reagan was not elected by a majority and that most people don't agree with his policies.

NOW president Lynne Reniham said, "NOW believes that Reagan's election is a mandate for war." She said that she was determined "to work harder than ever" to elect Democrats in 1988.

Ntieshi Shishebe from NBIPP pointed out

that in the 1984 elections, "the differences disappeared in the so-called debates" between Reagan and Mondale. Both candidates "supported the invasion of Grenada, the threat to quarantine Nicaragua, and supported the reactionary regimes in El Salvador, South Africa, and Israel."

Steven Beren, a member of ACTWU Local 1002, spoke for the SWP. He explained that he supported the candidates of the SWP in the elections. He said that the Democrats as well as the Republicans represented the employing class. Both parties, he said, were against working people at home as well as being for the war in Central America.

The U.S. government's war in Central America is the central political question for working people today, Beren said. He pointed to the need for the labor movement and organizations like those represented on the panel to participate in the fight against this war.

A lively discussion on the struggle against the U.S. war followed the panelists' presentations.

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Eyewitness report on Kanak struggle against French rule in New Caledonia

BY VINCENT KERMEL

On Dec. 1, 1984, proindependence forces in the French colony of New Caledonia proclaimed a provisional government of Kanaky on that Pacific island. The provisional government was set up by the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), a coalition of 10 organizations. That move followed a FLNKS-organized boycott of the November 18 elections to the island's local assembly.

Because of the French authorities' policy of colonial settlement, the island's 64,000 Kanaks, a Melanesian people, make up only 44 percent of the population. About 35 percent of the population is French. The remainder is composed of some 16,000 natives of other French colonial possessions such as Fiji, Wallis, and Futuna, and the Indian Ocean island of Réunion; and by 10,000 Indo-Chinese, mostly Vietnamese.

The following article appeared in the Dec. 14-20, 1984, issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

THIO, New Caledonia — The nickel-mining town of Thio, the only community on the east coast of New Caledonia still administered by a European, was under the control of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front for nearly three weeks. This mobilization began after the active boycott of the Nov. 18, 1984, elections and ended with the lifting of roadblocks on December 10 and the opening of negotiations with [the French government's special envoy] Edgar Pisani.

The ferociously anti-independence mayor of Thio, Roger Galliot, is a perfect symbol of the colonial bourgeoisie. A landowner in the Foa region, owner of a nickel mine, and investor in fishing boats, Galliot has one of the great fortunes in the territory.

Galliot's political trajectory is also indicative of how those who hold local economic power have hardened their views as the Kanak people's demands have taken shape.

Roger Galliot was a member of the Caledonian Union (UC) when it was established. He left that organization when it

India's crisis: rulers gain fragile reprieve

Continued from Page 2

The imperialists also seek some change in Indian government policy. An editorial in the December 22 London *Economist* opined that Rajiv Gandhi's ascension brought "the hope of an easier relationship between India and the west, because the 40-year-old Mr Gandhi does not inherit in 1985 so many of his mother's mid-century anti-imperialist prickles."

While much of the previous government's "anti-imperialism" was demagoguery, it did reflect some real strains between world imperialism and the Indian capitalist class, which is one of the strongest in any semicolonial country and has its own interests to defend. The Indian government's "nonaligned" stance and its opposition to aspects of U.S. policy (such as the arming of its chief regional rival, the Pakistani regime) mirrors these interests.

So far, Rajiv Gandhi has indicated no significant changes in Indian foreign policy, stating in a news conference after the elections that it would "very substantially be the same" as that of his mother's administration.

Whatever reservations they may have about aspects of Indian policy, the imperialist news media has generally hailed the results of the elections and the Congress Party's reinforced position.

But the momentary stability of capitalist rule in India remains extremely fragile. Rajiv Gandhi's claimed electoral "mandate" cannot prevent the class struggle from erupting anew.

From *Intercontinental Press*

moved toward the demand for independence and for the recovery of stolen lands.

After running in the 1979 elections on the slate of the Federation for a New Caledonian Society (FNCS), linked to [then French President Giscard's] UDF, Galliot set up the far-right National Caledonian Party (PNC) and during the last election made an alliance with the ultraright National Front in France, led by Jean-Marie Le Pen.

The active boycott of the November 18 election was a big success in Thio. Only 10 Kanaks voted, and out of 1,700 registered voters, including 541 Europeans, less than 25 percent went to the polls.

Galliot received only 65 votes, trailing the Rally for Caledonia in the Republic (RPCR), which has ties to the Gaullist RPR in France.

Strengthened by this initial result, the FLNKS organized to shut down the town. The majority of the nine tribes in the region, totalling nearly 2,000 people, took part in the action.

Well-organized occupation

Seven roadblocks and a maritime patrol controlled access to Thio. Traffic was prohibited inside the town. Through meticulous organization and the FLNKS's determination, it was possible to avoid any violent confrontation, thereby ensuring the operation's success and the self-defense of the proindependence militants.

Economic activity was totally paralyzed. It is estimated that the French-owned Société le Nickel mining company lost more than 28 million Pacific francs [about US\$500,000] per day in Thio.

The way this action was organized indicates the progress made by the FLNKS in this area. A local FLNKS committee directed the whole occupation. The seven roadblocks were staffed by teams of militants with their own self-defense systems.

Seizure of the nickel company's vehicles and gasoline stocks and the boats of Roger Galliot's fishing company contributed to the effectiveness of the proindependence mobilization, which was based on real local mass support. Young and old, women and children, everyone had a place in this action.

The danger of a violent confrontation was reduced by the FLNKS's confiscation of several dozen hunting weapons belonging to people in the European community. This action, which was preceded by intensive psychological preparation of that community, also strengthened the defensive potential of the independence forces.

A committee of elders, including one proindependence European, ensured contact with the besieged community. It took charge of health and social problems. As a result, in the village of Petroglyphe the Europeans themselves turned their weapons over to the FLNKS to avoid any reaction to this delicate operation of disarmament. A delegation of them even went to the Thio police station, where 80 police were holed up, to ask them not to try anything since the FLNKS was effectively taking measures to guarantee their security.

In fact, not a single shot was fired against Europeans. The productive apparatus was maintained intact. And the FLNKS prevented a repetition of the looting of stores that took place in the first days. To that end, watch tours and patrols were set up within the perimeter controlled by the proindependence forces.

These weeks of occupation were an unprecedented experience for the local Kanak population, in terms of scope and duration. The local Kanaks had to ensure supplies for the militant community and its self-defense day and night. This encouraged new experiences of the populations concerned in terms of independent organization, discussion, and action.

Deepening of mobilization

This united regional mobilization of the Kanaks expressed a deepening nationalist and anticolonialist consciousness. It also had an impact on hesitant elements, drawing them closer. Of the 10 Kanaks who voted on November 18, six could be found

on the roadblocks within a few days. The local traditional chieftainry associated itself with the movement, even setting up their own blockade.

Immigrants from [the French-ruled Pacific colony of] Wallis and Futuna in Thio also joined this protest action in their majority. This shows the present potential for deepening the unity of all the oppressed and exploited against the reactionary and colonialist right.

The success of this action was not unrelated to the abilities that the local proindependence leaders demonstrated in taking initiatives.

The December 2 neutralization of a company of Mobile Guards brought in by helicopter to take down the roadblocks is a good example of the effectiveness of the independence forces. Having circled the police, the FLNKS members accompanied them to the local police station in Thio without disarming them, "so as not to humiliate them too much," FLNKS leader Eloi Machoro told us.

The roadblocks encircling Thio were lifted December 10, but actions continued in the region. The Thio city hall had already been occupied to prevent the return of the fascist mayor.

The crucial problem of the land can provide other occasions for action. In the Thio district, out of 100,000 hectares of land [one hectare = 2.5 acres], 85,000 belong to the state and 12,000 to the European settlers (mainly to three of them), while the 1,700 Kanaks live on only 3,000 hectares. Land occupations have already begun to take place.

Preparations by right wing

The FLNKS's objective, which links the demand for land with the struggle for democratic administration of the town of Thio, is to gain increasing control of the terrain. Advancing along this path against a profoundly racist settler community that is attached to its privileges will require a degree of determination and mobilization that the FLNKS seems now to be actively preparing.

The colonialist right, especially since the massacre in Hienghène [on December 5, which killed 10 FLNKS supporters], is arming and preparing for violent confrontations.

While Roger Laroque, mayor of the capital city Nouméa, makes veiled calls for

Broad coalition builds April 20

Continued from front page

National Education Association, National Gay Task Force, National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, Nicaragua Network, NISGUA (Guatemala Network), Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Operation PUSH, Rainbow Coalition, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, SANE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, TransAfrica, U.S. Peace Council, United Food and Commercial Workers Union, United States Students Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and others.

Activities are being planned in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle to coincide with the major demonstration and other events planned for Washington, D.C. Local coalitions to build the actions have already been set up in Boston; Cleveland; Chicago; Minneapolis; New Haven, Connecticut; Philadelphia; Pittsburgh; and Wheeling, West Virginia. Local coalitions will also be formed in Washington, D.C., New York, and other cities.

The activities planned by the April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice will span four days, from Friday, April 19, to Monday, April 22. A national march and rally will take place Saturday, April 20. Friday and Sunday educational and cultural events will be held, as well as training for lobbying and non-violent civil disobedience which is scheduled to take place on Monday.

The April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice plans to actively seek endorsers for



Kanak liberation fighters in South Pacific set up roadblock at Thio, a town they occupied in their struggle for independence from France.

this armed mobilization, the reactionary Europeans in the capital are preparing to lay siege to proindependence sectors of the city. At this time they are still only making lists, gathering information, and setting up anti-independence roadblocks. But no one should have the slightest doubt about the intention of a large segment of the local reactionaries to crush the Kanaks and their allies rather than recognize their right to political power.

The Mitterrand government's stalling for time and its passivity regarding these preparations by the colonialist rightists can only increase the risk that this conflict for independence will have a violent outcome. From *Intercontinental Press*

the demonstration and other events, as well as to involve a broader number of groups and individuals in building the actions.

For information on how to get involved in building these actions contact: The April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice, care of the Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Suite 418, New York, N.Y. 10003. The phone number is (212) 533-0008.

Mass protests in Philippines continue to shake regime

Continued from Page 6

ment, he explained, "rather than throwing them to the wolves and then facing a communist takeover across the Pacific." By "wolves" he was, of course, referring to the working people of the Philippines.

Other imperialist powers such as New Zealand and Australia have also been strengthening their economic and military ties with the Marcos regime. New Zealand Ministry of Defence briefing papers made public in October, for example, indicate that moves towards a closer military relationship between New Zealand and the Philippines began two years ago, and have since gathered pace. This is being developed under the mutual assistance program for aiding the development of the armed forces in South Pacific and Southeast Asian countries.

Employers rip off pension benefits

BY MORRIS STARKS

CINCINNATI — Employers have figured out yet another way to rob workers of the few benefits they do receive from the wealth they produce. The new trick is called "reversion." It is the procedure employers use to terminate workers' pension plans and to legally scoop up millions of dollars of the "excess" funds.

Since 1980 at least 261 corporations have grabbed \$2.7 billion out of terminated pension plans through such reversions. Right now, some 90 corporations have reversion applications pending. If successful, they will pick up another \$1 billion that rightfully belongs to workers.

Among reversions still pending, Armour Food will take \$91 million from its workers, the Valley National Bank will grab \$51 million, and Raymond International will pocket \$30 million.

According to one recent estimate, no less than 25 percent of major U.S. corporations are considering reversions to get their hands on the "excess" funds in their employees' pension plans.

How has this happened? Recent high interest rates have generated pension fund assets well beyond what is needed to continue paying benefits to current retirees and provide for the already earned benefits of workers still on the job. The Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA) forbids an employer from removing these "surplus" funds from a pension plan while the plan is in operation.

However, the law allows employers to terminate such plans provided that benefits payable under the plan are assured. The employers consider any leftover funds to belong to them under ERISA. The government agrees.

New "guidelines" issued by the Reagan administration make it easier for corporations to terminate pension plans. Several lawsuits have been filed on behalf of workers, but the courts have ruled in favor of the employers.

Very few pension plans are fully indexed against inflation. Most plans are not even partially indexed. Some employers are forced to give small cost-of-living adjustments to retirees when union contracts are negotiated. Years of constant inflation have left most retirees with a lower standard of living.

The increased pension funds — the result of profits made from investing these funds — could be used to provide cost-of-living increases to present retirees and to provide higher benefits for future retirees. Employers, however, aren't interested in increasing workers' standard of living, but only in augmenting their own wealth.

When a pension plan is terminated, workers lose benefits they would have earned in the future under the plan. A worker who normally would receive \$550 a month in retirement benefits will receive only \$300 a month under a terminated pen-

sion plan because his or her employment years stop accumulating once the plan is terminated.

Moreover, when a new pension plan is set up to replace the one terminated, workers covered by the old plan are considered "new" under the replacement plan. Benefits cannot build up fast enough to provide anything like the retirement income a worker would have received under the terminated plan. A Labor Department study of reversions concluded that if a pension fund is terminated, workers will lose \$45 for each \$100 of retirement income.

Until recently, reversions have affected mostly salaried and other nonunion workers because virtually all union contracts forbid unilateral pension-plan termination. However, when Harper & Row Publishers Inc. terminated its plan and grabbed more than \$10 million from its clerical workers, the United Auto Workers (UAW) joined these employees in a class-action suit against their employer. The UAW had waived its pension plan termination rights in order to get a contract for Harper & Row clerical workers.

It is likely that pension-plan termination will show up on the agenda of upcoming contract negotiations. In Cincinnati, Powell Valve employees, who have been on strike for months, are fighting the owners' concession demands, including their proposal to terminate the pension plan. The company would net more than \$1 million and the workers would end up with a worse plan and lower retirement benefits.

New effort in antideportation fight

Continued from front page

quirements necessary to get a green card, Mahn noted. That's all that needs to be confirmed to legally entitle him to a green card, emphasized Mahn.

Marroquín fled to this country in 1974 when the Mexican government tried to frame him up for his political activity.

The INS arrested Marroquín in 1977 and moved to deport him on the grounds that he was undocumented. Their actual reason is his political beliefs and activity. Marroquín is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Because of his politics, Marroquín's plea for political asylum here was denied by the INS. Last June, that denial was upheld by the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, Marroquín applied for the green card which his marriage to a U.S. citizen entitles him to. From the outset, the INS dragged its feet on his application, and now proposes to delay it even further.

Because he is undocumented, the process by which Marroquín must obtain his green card is unusually complex, even for a

federal bureaucracy.

What's required is that he leave the country and apply for his visa at the U.S. consulate in Toronto, Canada.

The interview date is set after he notifies the consulate that he has all the necessary documents — birth and marriage certificates, etc.

Before Marroquín leaves the country for an interview at the consulate in Toronto, the U.S. government is required to give him a letter stating that if his green card application is denied, he is entitled to reenter here for an additional year in order to try to reverse any unfavorable decision.

Mahn said that when the hearing is held in Toronto, PRDF will focus public attention on the hearing and will organize a delegation of defenders of democratic rights to accompany him to ensure that Washington does not violate its own rules and attempt to prevent him from returning.

It was when Marroquín's attorneys notified the U.S. consulate in Toronto that Marroquín had the necessary documents for the interview that officials responded he would have to wait an extended period because further "investigation" is assertedly needed.

This stalling adds to the victimization of Marroquín. Without a green card, he is denied the right to work.

And being without papers leaves him in a risky position. At any time they think they might get away with it, the INS can decide to brush aside the law and their own rules of procedure and put him across the border into Mexico. They have done that in other cases and have made moves, so far unsuccessful, in that direction with Marroquín.

There's no question the government remains determined to get rid of him. But it faces thorny legal and political problems, which apparently is why it prefers, for the time being, to leave his status unresolved.

The State Department has openly declared its policy is not to grant visas to members or supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. And, at Marroquín's asylum hearing, an INS lawyer baldly declared, "The U.S. does not grant asylum to Marxists."

The Marroquín case challenges the unconstitutional, thought-control bill called the McCarran Act. The government claims it has the right, under this act, to exclude

people from the United States whose ideas it deems a threat to the "national interests." The government's stubborn, unconstitutional drive to get rid of Marroquín because of his political beliefs has evoked broad public protest.

impose a "business necessity" test on reversions. In other words, any corporation could terminate its pension plan if it claimed bankruptcy, insolvency, or other business "hardship."

The Roybal-Metzenbaum bill has the wrong starting point. The wealth in pension plans belongs to workers because their labor produced it. Both their own contributions and the so-called "company contribution" come from the same source. Reversions should be made absolutely illegal under any circumstances.

Union bodies, Latino and Black organizations, civil liberties and church groups, and many prominent figures have supported Marroquín's demand for asylum and his demand for a green card.

Thirty-four members of Congress have supported Marroquín's fight against deportation.

There has been important labor support. Endorsers of PRDF's efforts include Screen Actors Guild president, Ed Asner; Leon Lynch, international vice-president of the United Steelworkers; William Lucy, president of the National Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and many more.

Among the numerous Chicano figures defending Marroquín's rights are Mario Obledo and Rubén Bonilla of the League of United Latin American Citizens.

Coretta Scott King, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Eddie Carthan, and other Black rights fighters have also lent their support.

Now, with the fight to compel the INS to stop stalling and issue Marroquín's green card, Mahn said, a renewed effort is essential in winning even greater support. Many union bodies have already registered their sympathy for Marroquín and a great deal can be done in winning new union support, as well as asking those already backing Marroquín to protest INS stalling.

To facilitate these efforts, he said, the committee has issued new material reviewing and updating the facts of Marroquín's case.

And Marroquín himself will continue to be at the forefront of the fight. Mahn announced that in February, Marroquín will make a new tour of California to enlist support for his cause.

Meanwhile, Mahn urged, letters and telegrams should be sent protesting the stalling on Marroquín's green-card interview.

These should be addressed to INS Commissioner Alan Nelson, Washington, D.C. 20536.

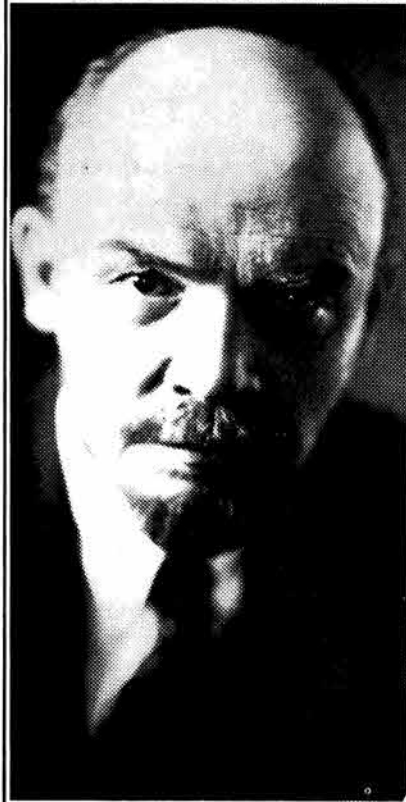
Copies should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund — along with badly needed financial support — at P.O. Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Militant/ Stu Singer

Bosses' use of "reversion" schemes to terminate pension plans will mean cuts in already meager benefits for future retirees.

The Communist International in Lenin's Time



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604 pages, \$10.95.

Also available is a *Study Guide to Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, 23 pages, \$1.50.

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

THE GREAT SOCIETY

Not to worry — The company which operated the government-owned Fernald uranium processing plant outside Cincinnati



Harry Ring

stepped aside after angry public protest greeted the disclosure that 300 pounds of radioactive dust had escaped from plant smokestacks. However, a spokesperson assured, the dust was only "mildly" radioactive.

The bleached type — A company official responded firmly to the findings of a researcher that workers at the Fernald uranium plant were up to five times as likely to develop lung disease as workers in other occupations. "We don't believe that has anything to do with the fact that they're working with uranium," he opined. "I would expect the same thing at a flour plant."

Our rational society — Leland Prussia, Bank of America's chairman, worries about the chances of "some kind of recession" that will hurt his bank's many troubled borrowers. He also worries about the possibility of "strong prosperity" that would increase interest rates

"and cause even more problems." — the *Wall Street Journal*.

Gossip dep't — We have heard, from time to time, that there are some people in this country who are very well off. But, we hasten to concede, this is purely anecdotal. Like for instance, the news reports that en route to Palm Springs for his New Year's sojourn, the prez checked into an L.A. hotel \$3,000-a-night tower suite.

Not bacon and eggs — The Cato Institute, whatever that is, sent out holiday cards with the greeting, "Peace and Free Enterprise." Which is sort of like, "Low

Rent and Landlords."

Virtues of diversity — Coleco Industries dropped some \$55 million last year on their Adam home computer which proved a sales lemon. However company tops escaped the welfare lines by grossing more than half a billion on Cabbage Patch dolls.

Fit for a queen — Proponents of "Buy American" will no doubt be pleased to learn that the queen of England wears alligator boots crafted from hides provided by a Georgia tannery. You too can wear the same type. Prices range from \$600 a pair to \$1,200, depending, we presume, on the quality of the hide and the size of your

foot.

A nice ride — New York strap hangers may not be happy with the quality of the service they get for their 90-cent tokens, but at least they can be satisfied that benefits do derive from it. For instance, the five top execs of the Transit Authority knock down a minimum of \$100,000 a year and another four draw between \$90,000 and \$100,000.

Thought for the week — "There is no substantial hazard at all from the chemical industry. They are safe to work in and safe for neighborhoods." — Robert W. Lundeen, chairman of Dow Chemical.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Toxic Waste: The Emelle Chemical Dump. Speaker: Wendell Paris, chairman, Minority Peoples Council on the Tenn-Tom Waterway. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Truth About Cuba: An Eyewitness Report and Slideshow. Speaker: Joanne Torrici, member Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Famine in Ethiopia: Legacy of Colonialism. Speaker: Eddie Berger, member Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Socialist Educational Conference.

1. Class: "Origins of Women's Oppression: A Marxist Analysis." Speaker: Ellen Haywood, member National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 26, 2 p.m.

2. Forum: "War and Revolution in the Americas." Speaker: Maceo Dixon, member National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m., preceded by forum dinner, social to follow.

3. Class: "A Strategy for Women's Liberation." Speaker: Ellen Haywood. Sun., Jan. 27, 1 p.m.

504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: each class, \$1; forum, \$2. Ausp: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Tribute to Howard Packer: 40 Years in the Socialist Movement. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S. Michigan. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Ethiopia: Who Is Responsible for the

Famine? Speaker: Rich Cahalane, member Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

The Bitter Toll of the Continuing U.S. War Against Vietnam and Kampuchea. Sun., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Dairy Queens. A video on the struggle of three farm women. Followed by presentation by Richard Stout, Michigan Democratic Agriculture Committee. Sun., Jan. 13, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Chile Today: Mass Protests Against the Dictatorship. Speakers: Representatives from the Chile Solidarity Committee and Young Socialist Alliance. Film showing of *Chile: I Don't Take Your Name in Vain*. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Jan. 13, 7 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Industrial Disasters: Private Profit vs. Workers' Lives. Sun., Jan. 13, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, room 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Freedom Struggle in South Africa. Speakers: Ira Williams, vice-president, Social Service Employees Union Local 371; Sandy Boyer, Co-coordinator, Labor Committee Against Apartheid; Rev. Arthur Jones, president, New Democratic Association; Lafayette Little Avant, president, Black Student Organization at Rutgers; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner Raymond, one block from Broad). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Chile: The Horror of the State of Siege. Slideshow and update by U.S. lawyer recently returned from Chile. Fri., Jan. 11, 7 p.m. NYU Loeb Student Center, West 4 St. at La Guardia Pl. Ausp: Committee for a Free Chile.

OHIO

Cincinnati

We Are Driven. A film on life in a Japanese auto plant, to be followed by a discussion of its lessons for U.S. workers. Sun., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Stop the Clinic Bombings. Defend the Right to Abortion. Speakers: Angela Chaney, Cincinnati Women's Services; Susan Flanary, Cincinnati Women for Women; Lorraine Starsky, member Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers Local 647; Pat Hamer, member National Black Independent Political Party. Sun., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Maurice Bishop Speaks. Tape recording of speech by Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop given in 1983 at Hunter College, New York. Discussion to follow. Sun., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Report-back on the British Coal Miners Strike. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, member United Mine Workers Local 1197 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 19, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Union Carbide Disaster: Profits Before Safety. Speaker: Lynn Allen, member Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Fri., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Murder for Profit: From India to Utah, Corporations Are Killing People. A panel discus-

sion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 12, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Defend Abortion Rights. Stop the Violence Against the Clinics! Speakers: Maggi Cage, executive-director, Fox Valley Reproductive Health Care Center; Cindy Van Vreede, Reproductive Rights Task Force of National Organization for Women; Chris Breihan, member United Auto Workers Local 438 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Political upheaval in India: an eyewitness account

Speaker: **Asha Singh.** A trade union and women's rights activist in India. Leader of the Revolutionary Communist Organization.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Francisco

Fri., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

San Jose

Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

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CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. **Seaside:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1645. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

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

4065.

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

INDIANA: Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

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

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. **State College:** YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409

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

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

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

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

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

The struggle to rebuild Vietnam and Kampuchea

Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea by Diane Wang and Steve Clark. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014; 71 pp., \$2.00.

BY STEVE MARSHALL

The new Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea*, is an important weapon in the arsenal of opponents of Washington's war in Central America and the Caribbean. In it are collected some of the articles, originally published in the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*, that reporters Diane Wang and Steve Clark wrote on their fact-finding tour of Southeast Asia in early 1984.

The pamphlet's subtitle, "Lessons for the fight against Washington's new Vietnam war in Central America and

bombs under the soil, chemical poisons deforming new generations.

With facts, figures, and examples, the Vietnamese who spoke with Wang and Clark present the successes of their revolution: the best educational system in the region, free medical care for all, advances in women's equality, and, for the first time ever, self-sufficiency in food.

Among the places Wang and Clark wrote about are:

- Nam Dinh, in northern Vietnam: an industrial city levelled by 218 U.S. air strikes, now largely rebuilt for its 140,000 residents. The Nam Dinh Textile Factory provides hospitals, clinics, schools, daycare centers, and subsidized housing for its 14,000 employees.

- Hanoi, Vietnam's capital: where Bach Mai Hospital, half destroyed by Washington's 1972 "Christmas bombing," is now a leading medical center. In addition to treating patients, it helps direct Vietnam's national health programs, aimed at providing basic medical care for the entire population.

- New Spring, in southern Vietnam: a new economic zone outside Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), where some 100 families operate a sugarcane state farm. Wang's report details the active participation of the workers and farmers themselves in the zone's production and social-welfare programs. Especially interesting are brief interviews with several people who have been won to the revolution since its victory in 1975.

In their articles from Kampuchea, Wang and Clark illustrate the near-collapse of society there under the holocaust, first of U.S. B-52 bombers and then of Pol Pot's reign of terror. Under these circumstances, Kampuchea's social advances are all the more inspiring.

Wang and Clark covered a lot of other ground in Southeast Asia. Their articles include reports on the effects of U.S. chemical warfare; the ongoing, U.S.-backed Chinese attacks on Vietnam; the differences in development between northern and southern Vietnam; the special problems of Ho Chi Minh City; land reform in both Vietnam and Kampuchea; education; Agent Orange research; and family-planning programs.

What stands out above all as the key to these revolutions' successes is their awakening of millions of workers and peasants to active participation in running their societies.

An introduction to the pamphlet by *Intercontinental Press* staff writer Will Reissner reviews the history of the Vietnam War and highlights the parallels with U.S. intervention in Central America today — from the propaganda about "Soviet and Communist aggression," staged elections, and cosmetic "agrarian reforms," to the



Militant/Steve Clark

Diane Wang (center) with Kampuchean women. Chou Noeun (left), deputy chief for agriculture in Kompong Chhnang Province, and Men Sophoary, an accountant for the province.

conscious distortions by the capitalist media that were part of Washington's war effort.

Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea should find an audience among workers and farmers in the United States who are thinking about the current U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, as well as Indochina.

Vietnam veterans, Agent Orange victims, and antiwar activists will find this pamphlet a useful counter to Washington's rewrite of the Vietnam War.

Getting this pamphlet into the hands of working people can help bring the lessons of Vietnam and Kampuchea to U.S. workers, who can use them in the fight against Washington's wars today.

PAMPHLET REVIEW

the Caribbean," is appropriate. Crushing the revolution in Nicaragua and preventing the victory of the workers and peasants in El Salvador are the Democrats' and Republicans' chief foreign-policy objectives today.

Part of Washington's attempt to erode antiwar sentiment among U.S. working people is the promotion of lies about the Vietnam War, seeking to portray it as a progressive intervention by the U.S. military. Washington churns out lie after lie about life in Vietnam and Kampuchea today, in order to convince us that the fight for liberation there — and the U.S. antiwar movement — wasn't worth it.

The recent successes of the Kampuchean and Vietnamese military campaign against right-wing guerrilla camps on Kampuchea's border with Thailand have provoked a new round of howling from the U.S. State Department about "Vietnamese military aggression."

This, combined with the escalation of Washington's war in Central America, makes it especially important to get out the truth to working people about the experiences of the Vietnamese and Kampuchians. After enduring a military onslaught by France and Washington for over three decades, these peoples finally prevailed in their liberation struggles. Both countries have made important social and economic gains since then.

The reference point for measuring the results of those victories is the devastation they inherited from the French, Japanese, and U.S. imperialists: shattered economies and millions of citizens killed. Throughout Wang's and Clark's reports there are reminders of this legacy: malnourished children, twisted wreckage, live

Why socialists oppose phony tax-cut measure

BY ELIZABETH STONE

LOS ANGELES — In the 1950s, approximately 28 percent of federal taxes were paid by corporations. By 1984 the portion paid by corporations dropped to 9 percent.

The burden of taxation is falling more and more heavily on those who can least afford it — the masses of working people, family farmers, and people who own small businesses.

It's no wonder, then, that during the 1984 presidential election campaign, when Walter Mondale announced he favored raising taxes — including taxes on working people — this lost him a lot of votes.

And it's no wonder that Ronald Reagan tried to cover over his administration's record of giving tax breaks to corporations and the rich, while intensifying the economic squeeze on working people.

The positions of these candidates reflected the fact that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have a real alternative to the present tax system which is designed to make working people pay the bulk of the taxes.

California tax debate

This lack of an alternative was also seen in this fall's election debate on taxes in California, a debate which focused on a tax proposition initiated by forces around the right-wing demagogue, Republican Howard Jarvis.

Jarvis became famous six years ago when he helped spearhead an effort to place a proposition on taxes on the California ballot. Known as Proposition 13, it passed by a wide margin. It limited the annual tax on property to 1 percent of its assessed value and limited any increase on that valuation to 2 percent a year unless the property changed hands. Proposition 13 also restricted the ability of state and local bodies to increase taxes other than property taxes.

Proposition 13 gave a small measure of tax relief to working-class homeowners in

California who were experiencing galloping increases in their property taxes.

At the same time, it was a blow to working people — including those who own their own homes — because it was used to cut back social services. Education, libraries, and public swimming pools were cut back. Transit fares went up. Public employees were laid off, and the wages of others were frozen. The cutbacks hit the Black and Latino communities hardest.

Proposition 13 thus also became a tool for dividing the working class — pitting workers who own homes against workers employed by the government and against Black, Latino, and Asian workers who stood to lose the most from the cutbacks.

Moreover, two-thirds of the tax reduction under Proposition 13 went to landlords and corporations. Billions of dollars were channeled away from public use and into the pockets of the rich.

Proposition 36

Proposition 36, which was presented as an amendment to Proposition 13, was defeated this year at the polls. Supporters of Proposition 36 billed it as a measure to save Proposition 13 from attacks against it in the courts and by Democratic and Republican politicians.

If the proposition had passed, it would have limited even more sharply the ability of state and local authorities to raise taxes or to charge any new taxes in the form of fees or assessments. It would also have given a property tax refund totaling \$1.7 billion to those who have owned property since 1978. More than half these refunds would have gone to businesses and landlords.

Many people voted against 36 on the basis of the "unfairness" argument made against it. That is, on the basis that the refunds discriminated against new homeowners in favor of those who purchased their homes before 1978.

Millions of dollars were spent by both sides in the fight over Proposition 36. Sup-

porters of 36 raised over \$4 million through direct mailings. Every person who owned a home received a series of mailings filled with warnings that if Proposition 36 failed, their taxes would skyrocket. They were told that the politicians and courts were eating away at Proposition 13 through inaction and by allowing new fees and assessments.

Opponents of tax measure

Opposing Proposition 36 was a coalition of corporations, trade union officials, and prominent Democratic and Republican Party politicians.

Toward the end of the campaign, the Service Employees' International Union gave \$92,500 to defeat 36. They argued that the estimated \$2.8 billion lost in tax revenues if 36 passed would bring more layoffs and cuts in education and other needed services.

Land developers also played a big role in the defeat 36 campaign. They argued that restrictions on taxes and fees would make it difficult to finance public services needed in new residential and industrial areas.

Merrill Lynch and Co. and other Wall Street firms gave hundreds of thousands of dollars since they feared Proposition 36's restriction on taxes would threaten the profits they reap off high-interest government bonds.

Thus, on Proposition 36, as was the case with Proposition 13, working people had no good alternative. On the one hand, 36 promised to hold the lid on taxes. But this would be accomplished at the expense of social services and would put money back into the hands of the rich through property tax refunds.

On the other hand there were the opponents of 36, including the corporations, who want to saddle working people with higher taxes.

Socialist Workers Party's proposals

Given the fact that Proposition 36 was against the interests of working people,

especially those at the bottom of the ladder, it was correct for the labor movement to urge a vote against Proposition 36. But it was wrong for labor officials to align themselves politically with the employers, landlords, and capitalist politicians, whose opposition to 36 stemmed from their desire to fatten their own bank accounts at workers' expense. Labor ended up leaving working people at the mercy of these forces instead of fighting for a tax program that would be truly in the interests of the workers, farmers, and others victimized by the present tax system.

In the fall election, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party did put forward proposals in the interests of workers and family farmers. They included:

- Tax the rich. No taxes on working people.
- Eliminate sales taxes and taxes on individual family homes and on the property of small farmers and owners.
- Eliminate the billions of dollars of tax-free interest to wealthy holders of state, city, and federal bonds.
- Place a 100 percent tax on the profits of polluting corporations and the war profiteers.
- Eliminate the war budget and end the use of workers' tax dollars in defense of the interests of U.S. corporations abroad.

The socialist candidates exposed the reactionary purposes working people's tax money is used for in Central America and the Caribbean — to make war against workers and peasants who are fighting there for such things as the right to trade unions, land reform, and freedom of their country from domination by the U.S. imperialist ruling class.

Abolishing U.S. military spending — and the escalation of U.S. aggression in Central America — is key to taking the debate over taxes out of a framework that pits workers against one another by forcing them to make a false choice between tax relief and adequate social services.

April 20 protest hits U.S. war

Continued from front page

A top State Department official voiced confidence that Congress would fork over the cash.

Confirming this, it was noted that a number of Congressional Democrats who had been seen as opponents of open financing of the *contra* drive are now shifting their position.

And in El Salvador, Washington is speeding up its buildup of the regime's military forces.

On January 8, the U.S. embassy in San Salvador announced that the Salvadoran air force has been given a new gunship specially designed for counterinsurgency warfare.

Earlier, the Pentagon delivered four Huey UH-1 helicopters, bringing the total of such aircraft to 35. At least five more are slated for delivery this year.

The war that is already under way in Central America and the threat of a qualitative escalation are precisely what make the April 20 march so important.

Particularly gratifying is the fact that the initiating coalition for the demonstration includes two major U.S. unions, the International Association of Machinists and the United Food and Commercial Workers.

This shows the potential for major union involvement in the demonstration. A number of international unions already belong to the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, and there have been numerous union declarations of solidarity with persecuted Salvadoran unionists.

Antiwar unionists should make the building of April 20 their top priority.

And along with such activity in the unions, there should be a sustained effort to build the local coalitions in support of the demonstration.

The national coalition already includes a number of prominent organizations. Their local affiliates provide a significant nucleus for coalitions in the various cities, with a number of such local coalitions already in formation.

Among the organizations already on the coalition's national steering committee are Clergy and Laity Concerned, Mobilization for Survival, Operation PUSH, U.S. Peace Council, Democratic Socialists of America, Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and numerous Central American solidarity groups.

The April 20 march will cap off a projected four-day program of national activity.

These include local activities in support of the coalition's objectives on April 15, tax day; educational and cultural events in Washington April 19; the march and rally April 20; and on Monday, April 22, congressional lobbying and nonviolent civil disobedience at sites throughout the capital.

Point number one in the coalition's program is: "Stop U.S. military intervention in Central America."

Building the April 20 demonstration and related events should be point number one on the agenda of all opponents of U.S. aggression against Central America.

'Socialism' to blame for famine?

On January 3, President Reagan declared his intention to initiate a nakedly political food program for Africa, where more than 14 million people are in danger of starving to death.

Reagan said he would propose a "Food for Progress" program under which food aid would be funneled to those countries where agriculture is based on "market principles" and "private sector involvement" — that is, dog-eat-dog capitalism.

The president says "socialist economic systems" are prevalent in underdeveloped countries and this is the root of their problems.

Hunger is indeed prevalent in the Third World. But the root problem is not what Reagan demagogically describes as "socialism." Rather, it stems from imperialist domination of these countries. Capitalists and bankers from the imperialist countries have perpetuated and enforced economic underdevelopment in these countries because it is essential to ensuring their domination and the superprofits that flow from it.

According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, 201 million people in the world suffer serious undernourishment. Their ranks include 10 million in the Philippines alone. In Haiti, 40 percent of the people are hungry. Yet even Reagan wouldn't argue that dictators Ferdinand Marcos and "Baby Doc" Duvalier are promoting "socialist" farming.

True, the Ethiopian government, headed by Lt. Col. Mengistu, is promoting a land reform program which Reagan sees as "socialist." But the present government has been in office only for the past decade. Hunger has prevailed in Ethiopia a good deal longer than that.

Under the previous feudal regime of Emperor Haile Selassie, the nobility and church owned 55 percent of the land.

Giorgio Passio, a UN agriculture expert, explained last month that the current famine in Ethiopia is not simply the result of the present drought. Over the years, he said, Ethiopian farm land was "mined rather than maintained." There has been, he said, "a massive, long-term degradation of the land."

The Italian, British, and U.S. imperialists, who dominated Ethiopia until the overthrow of Selassie a decade ago, did nothing to end this degradation of the land. In fact, they helped ensure its perpetuation.

When the 1974 Ethiopian revolution overthrew the monarchy, the new government divided the big land holdings among the landless farmers.

The government has also organized some state farms and state-sponsored cooperatives. These involve but 4 percent of the land and 5 percent of the farmers. But they account for 10 percent of Ethiopia's agricultural production.

In other words, Reagan to the contrary, the state farms and co-ops have proven some two and a half times as productive as individual farms.

True, progress there has been painfully slow. But this is not simply a problem of the Mengistu government's capacity to cope with the terrible legacy of the past. Imperialism — specifically U.S. imperialism — continues to thwart Ethiopian development.

From the time Italy was dislodged from Ethiopia by its British and U.S. imperialist rivals in World War II, U.S. arms and dollars flowed to the reactionary Selassie regime. The aid ended abruptly with his overthrow.

Since then, Washington has worked systematically to throttle the new government.

In the present famine in Africa, with the world watching, Reagan has grudgingly sent a shamelessly inadequate amount of food relief.

But the U.S. government refuses to provide Ethiopia with the seed to grow its own food.

It permits some food to go there, but it forbids U.S. dollars to build warehouses to store it.

The Ethiopian government is currently sponsoring a food-for-work program whereby Ethiopians who help reclaim land and construct roads — in a country where three-quarters of the farmers live more than a half day's walk from the nearest all-weather road — can get food.

By law, Washington declares, it cannot permit any of its food relief to go for the food-for-work program.

What law? The "Hickenlooper Amendment."

"Hickenlooper," named after its sponsor — an Iowa Republican — was passed in 1962. It bars U.S. developmental aid to any country which nationalizes property of U.S. companies and fails to make a "good faith" effort to pay for it.

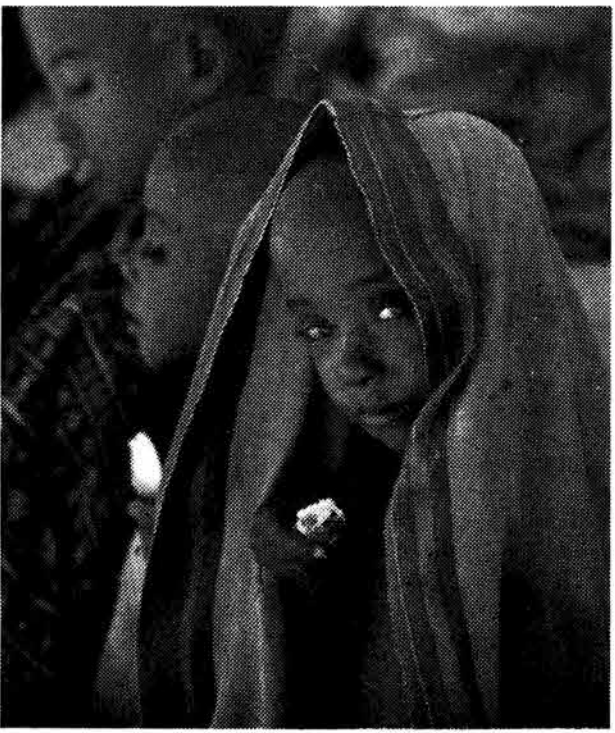
In 1974, the new Ethiopian government took over some U.S.-owned homes, a few airplanes, and a factory of the Kalamazoo Spice Co.

Kalamazoo Spice insists the plant is worth \$20 million. The Ethiopian government apparently is not persuaded of this.

That disagreement constitutes the asserted lack of "good faith" which is the claimed U.S. justification for the denial of developmental aid to Ethiopia!

It should surely teach Ethiopia the virtues of the profit system.

Meanwhile, U.S. warehouses are bulging with surplus grain. U.S. imperialism is responsible, in good measure, for Ethiopia's current plight. Working people in this country should energetically demand that all necessary aid be sent to Ethiopia — with no strings attached.



How Marxists view ruling class' 'anticrime' drive

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The cops, capitalist politicians, and the big business press have seized on the shooting of four Black youths on a New York City subway by racist vigilante Bernhard Goetz to escalate their reactionary propaganda campaign on the themes of law and order and crime.

This propaganda is designed to convince us that to protect ourselves from "crime" we need more cops, fewer rights for those arrested, and stiffer penalties for those

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

convicted. This racist, reactionary campaign, like the vigilante action that is propelling it forward, is *against* the interests of working people.

The Learning About Socialism column this week and next will discuss how Marxists approach the question of crime and how law-and-order campaigns are used against working people.

Crime means breaking the law. The ruling class "anticrime" campaign centers on what's commonly referred to as "street crime," the amount of which is greatly exaggerated by the capitalist media. Their coverage of "street crime" is geared toward making working people believe that it is the biggest problem we face. And it's used to smear Blacks in particular as an entire race of criminals.

The biggest rip-offs and most grotesque violence committed against working people, however, are by and large not even considered crimes and are not reported as such by the big business media.

Why?

Because they are *legal*.

It's legal for supermarkets to overcharge you so that \$20 worth of food costs you \$40. It's legal for landlords to make millions off of outrageous rents for apartments that often don't even have heat or hot water. It's legal for banks to collect thousands of dollars in interest on each car or home loan. It's legal for hospitals and doctors to charge exorbitant fees just to look at you — and to refuse treatment if you don't have the cash to fork over.

It's legal for employers to make billions off the products that we produce, while they pay us a small amount back in wages and lay us off at will.

How many capitalists are arrested for industrial "accidents" — like the recent mine disaster in Utah — which kill or maim thousands?

How many cops that gun down Black and Latino youth are ever arrested — let alone tried, convicted, and thrown in jail? And the Supreme Court itself sanctions legal murder through the death penalty.

Nor do the capitalists' crimes stop at the borders of the United States. These international outlaws fund counter-revolutionary terror against Nicaragua. They give arms to the Salvadoran government to use against the working people of that country. They withhold food from starving millions in Africa.

None of these things are crimes, according to the ruling class' definition of law and order. Since the bosses, bankers, and landlords who profit from these crimes make up the social class that runs the government through the Democratic and Republican parties, they make the laws to protect their interests.

When necessary, however, the capitalists even violate their own laws. Employers routinely violate health and safety regulations. Companies bribe government officials to win lucrative contracts or to block the enforcement of the hundreds of environmental laws that are on the books.

Capitalism is built on crime. It is not surprising therefore that what is referred to as organized crime is also part of capitalist criminality. Organized crime is simply the illegal side of business that meets the market demands for gambling, prostitution, drugs, and murder contracts. Like other businesses, it yields profits and attracts capital. Despite the hoopla surrounding police investigations of organized crime, these investigations are not designed to stop it but simply to hold it in check.

Heads of organized crime mingle with the capitalists. They buy capitalist politicians. They invest in the businesses of the capitalists. The Kennedy family, for example, made its fortune through smuggling liquor during Prohibition. They are now respectable, legal capitalists and ruling-class politicians.

Your view of who is a criminal is determined in large part by what class you are a member of — the working class or the capitalist class. During the 1981 air traffic controllers' strike, for example, many working people saw President Reagan, who busted the union, fired the strikers, and made the skies unsafe, as a criminal. The capitalists, on the other hand, viewed him as their hero and the air traffic controllers as criminals.

Today the capitalists see the four Black youths who were the victims of the vigilante attack as the criminals and the racist Goetz as their hero.

(To be continued)

Paralyzed Black sues South Africa over treatment

If Barry Martin were white, he would still be dancing. But instead of performing, Martin is confined to a wheelchair. He needs constant care. He must be dressed, cooked for, and helped with bathroom functions. Martin



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Mohammed Oliver

has no real use of his fingers, nor any bladder, bowel, or sexual functions.

Martin, a 23-year-old Black who lives in New York City, is crippled for life — a victim of South African apartheid. Last month he filed a \$130 million lawsuit against the Republic of South Africa over the racist treatment that ended his dance career.

Martin was performing with a British dance troop in South Africa's Sun City resort in September 1983. He and a white friend, a British dancer, were driving in the Transvaal when the car skidded, went off the road, and

tumbled several times. The driver was flung from the car. Martin, who was the passenger, was trapped inside their Volkswagen.

An ambulance arrived and picked up the injured white driver. Martin, suffering from severe pain, was left for dead.

A Black passerby later drove Martin to a nearby white hospital. There, Martin was forced to wait on a hard bench in the lobby. He was never admitted to the hospital. He received no medical diagnosis, attention, or care.

Martin's neurosurgeon reports that the car accident only fractured the fifth and sixth vertebrae in Martin's neck. He still had feeling in his arms and legs when he arrived at the white hospital.

But, after refusing to admit him, racist hospital officials put Martin in an ambulance and sent him to the Black section of a hospital in Pretoria — 65 miles away.

The trip made Martin a quadriplegic. Harvey Wachsmann, Martin's neurosurgeon and lawyer, says that with Martin's fracture "you wouldn't move him across the street like that. . . . You have to stabilize the cervical spine first."

Martin's anguish continued in Pretoria. Once he arrived at the second hospital, Martin was again denied treatment and care. The hospital staff refused to aid Martin, even though quadriplegia was diagnosed upon his

arrival. Martin wasn't treated until he was granted so-called "Honorary White Status" and transferred to the white section of the hospital.

In his suit Martin says his experience "so shocks the conscience of mankind and violates the standards of civilized nations, so as to constitute outrage and torture in violation of all principles of International Law and human decency. . . ."

Martin's case underscores the apartheid regime's utter disregard for Black life. "This happening to me, and being American," notes Martin, "it makes me realize this must happen all the time to Blacks there. People must lose their lives because of the system."

The South African government "is lousy, screwed up — very screwed up. It's inhumane," says Martin.

It's a regime based on the exploitation and oppression of 27.6 million Blacks, who have been stripped of their land, denied democratic rights, and gunned down in the streets for daring to protest their oppression by South African employers.

Martin's treatment shows the brutality of apartheid rule. It's yet another reason to redouble our efforts in this country and around the world to mobilize working people against apartheid and its imperialist backers. With our solidarity, the struggling Black masses in South Africa can deal a blow to apartheid that won't simply cripple it, but snuff it out.

LETTERS

Abortion rights

Pat Grogan's article on abortion rights in the December 7 *Militant* is an excellent tool. It is an article I am going to be sure to save to use in discussions, present and future, on abortion rights. It lays out a clear political, working-class approach to this question.

There is another aspect to the question of abortion rights which I want to mention. As Grogan points out, the Nazis had outlawed not only abortion, but contraceptives as well. Many of the current antiabortion arguments point in this very dangerous direction.

The idea that a fetus is a human being we have seen taken to its fullest "logical" conclusion — that is, that the individual sperm and egg, before conception, are sacred. They cannot be "wasted" or destroyed because they are unborn human lives. Not only does this form a religious argument against contraception, but against homosexuality as well.

The seriousness of this threat to the rights of gays and lesbians is brought home to us when we recall Anita Bryant's "crusade" against the rights of gays and lesbians in Dade County, Florida, several years ago. She succeeded in her campaign to get a county gay rights ordinance overturned. As I recall, one of her main arguments was the claim that gays were destroying and denigrating human life.

A woman's right to legal, safe abortions is an issue that must be taken up and a right that must be defended by all who fight for equality and for freedom from exploitation and oppression.

This is especially true of our trade unions, which are the largest and strongest national organizations we have. Labor's support for the Equal Rights Amendment should lead to support for abortion rights, as equality for women is impossible if women are denied the basic right to control their own bodies, and thereby their lives. This right is a prerequisite for liberation.

Beverley Andalora
Dallas, Texas

Soldiers like 'Militant'

In Seaside, California, we had a new experience with *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales.

Seaside is on California's Monterey Peninsula where Fort Ord, one of the largest infantry training centers in the U.S., is located. There are nearly 13,000 infantry soldiers stationed at Fort Ord, many of whom live in Seaside.

Through *Militant* sales and

campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the elections, we learned a lot about these soldiers.

Unemployed and unable to find jobs, many joined the army to learn skills they hope will help them find work when they get out.

Socialist ideas met with mixed reaction by the soldiers stationed here. But the issue that hit closest to home was the opposition to Washington's war drive and the use of U.S. troops in new Vietnam-style wars in Central America and the Caribbean.

Young soldiers responded with clenched fists and shouts of "That's right," when they saw signs we made that read, "U. S. out of Central America and the Caribbean" and "Not one cent, not one soldier for the dictatorship in El Salvador."

Larry Lukehart
Seaside, California

Farm crisis

The St. Louis Militant Labor Forum held a discussion December 9 on the crisis facing working farmers.

The auto workers, coal miners, and antiwar activists in attendance heard a talk by Jean LaFrance of the Illinois American Agriculture Movement (AAM).

LaFrance lost his farm last September in a forced sale. He gave a vivid account of how the banks manipulated him into the debt that led to this foreclosure. He also talked about his involvement in the AAM and invited those present to join a protest at the Chicago Board of Trade in January.

The forum included a presentation of the socialist program for working farmers and the video *Dairy Queens*.

Kim Kleinman
St. Louis, Missouri

Left needs unity

I have been reading several newspapers from political organizations on the left. But there is no unity among these organizations because each organization has its own interpretation of Marxism and how to apply it to the United States.

The most important thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism, is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. If this is correct, then why don't we let reality guide us? Reality is telling us today that it is time for unity.

A meeting of all organizations on the left that are progressive and democratic should be held, and the question of what is to be done



Bob Englehart

posed at that meeting. At least you can cooperate with each other on issues that will benefit the poor and oppressed people.

A prisoner
Stormville, New York

Tax plan

A headline in the *Pueblo Chieftain* read: "Rich would bear tax plan's burden." My first thought was that somehow I had missed the revolution. But a closer reading reassured me.

The article reported that if the Reagan administration's new tax plan went through, the corporate income tax would be a flat 33 percent, down from the current 46 percent maximum, and that accelerated depreciation of the cost of plants and equipment would save companies about \$23 billion this year.

Lois Remple
Pueblo, Colorado

'Monster'

I was reading *Inside the Monster: Writings on the United States and Imperialism* by José Martí when the December 14 issue of the *Militant* came.

In the *Militant* were the reports on Bhopal, India, and Charleston, West Virginia, and Union Carbide's "profits before safety" policies.

I am aware now, even more

than before, why Martí chose the term "monster" to refer to the USA as a capitalist, imperialist country.

Jack D. Bresée
Richmond, Virginia

Mercenaries

Covert warfare using mercenaries has some obvious advantages to the government by making it easy to hide from the public and more difficult for the public to react against.

The government doesn't have to take any responsibility for mercenaries who survive a covert war: no veterans benefits, no G.I. bill, no low interest mortgage loans. No pensions or dependents' benefits, no years of treatment of vets for alcoholism and delayed stress. No agent orange or radioactive disease lawsuits haunting the government for years. No embarrassing statistics on suicide, domestic violence and inability to adjust among the returning veterans population. No unseemly demonstrations of rage and despair by veterans for what war has done to them.

Elizabeth Cant
Bergenfield, New Jersey

Won't submit

I am presently incarcerated in a Virginia maximum security concentration camp called Mecklen-

burg, where rebellions will never die down because a lot of comrade brothers here strive for freedom and justice.

The administration allows their guards to torture us, beat us, chain us to the beds, and put us on restrict status. I have been on restrict status for four months so far without any recreation. The only time you can come out of your cell is to take a shower three times a week for eight minutes. I refuse to submit.

Please forward me the *Militant* newspaper so I can continue to grow with my people's struggle. I read a book on Angola — *The Hidden History of Washington's War*, where I got your address.

A prisoner
Boydton, Virginia

Correction

An error appeared in last week's article on the report-back by a U.S. trade union delegation to Nicaragua. The national recording secretary of the Screen Actors Guild is Sumi Haru, an Asian-American.

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.

Racists praise N.Y. vigilante

Mayor Koch uses shooting to fuel 'law and order' drive

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

NEW YORK — The capitalist media here continues to give massive favorable coverage to the attempted murder of four Black teenagers on a subway by racist vigilante Bernhard Goetz. On December 22, Goetz shot Barry Allen, 18; Daryl Cabey, 19; Troy Canty, 19; and James Ramseur, 18. Cabey, paralyzed for life from the wounds inflicted on him by Goetz, slipped into a deep coma on January 9.

Since the shootings, working people have been bombarded daily with television, radio, and newspaper reports painting Goetz as a hero. This media campaign is aimed at whipping up racism and an "anti-crime" hysteria in order to prepare further attacks on the democratic rights of Blacks and other working people.

Right-wing commentators, such as columnist Patrick Buchanan, hail Goetz as a hero who decided to take on "crime in the streets." Buchanan, for example, wrote in the daily *New York Post* that "Far from being a manifestation of 'insanity' or 'madness,' the universal rejoicing in New York over the gunman's success is a sign of moral health."

Buchanan praised Goetz and other vigilantes, claiming they were the "direct descendants of rebellious forebears who took up arms and shot down British troops. . . ."

Liberals, while deploring the December 22 shootings, have been quick to show their "understanding" of Goetz and his motivation. The January 6 *New York Times*, for example, claimed that its investigations have helped to draw a portrait of Goetz that shows "an inward-looking, socially awkward man who was raised in small-town comfort and educated in private schools, who divorced once, succeeded in his own electronics business, but was frustrated in his efforts to fight drugs, crime, and filth in the city."

Goetz, however, is neither a hero, nor a "frustrated" fighter against "drugs, crime, and filth in the city." He's a virulent racist who cold-bloodedly emptied his .38 revolver into four Blacks on a subway train.

Aided cops

In 1981, Goetz was allegedly mugged on a New York City subway. Goetz charged three Blacks tried to rob him. One Black was arrested and later served four months in jail.

Goetz, complaining of the court system's "incompetence," decided to get a gun so he could mete out his own "justice" in the future.

His neighbors report that Goetz wrote petitions to the New York Police Department demanding more cops patrol Union Square, the area in Manhattan where he lives. In addition, Goetz is a member of "Drugbusters," a group in his neighborhood that works with the cops to go after people they decide are peddlers. Goetz was known by neighbors as an outspoken racist. Armed, he was just waiting for a chance to gun down some Blacks. Goetz had repeatedly told friends that "Sooner or later, I'm going to get them."

Goetz says that the four youths he shot asked him for \$5. Goetz then reportedly said, "I have \$5 for each of you" and pulled out his gun. He shot all four Blacks — two in the back as they fled. By his own admission, Goetz only stopped shooting because he ran out of ammunition.

Goetz turned himself in after neighbors in his New York apartment building told the police that Goetz was the man they were looking for. His bail was set at a ridiculously low \$50,000.

Business associates of Goetz launched a Bernhard Goetz Legal Defense Fund. The group has gone on a big public campaign



New York City mayor Edward Koch (seated at center of table) and former police commissioner Robert McGuire (at left in glasses) preparing to testify at July 1983 congressional hearings on police brutality in New York. Koch proposal for more cops will mean increased violence against Blacks, Latinos, and other workers.

claiming Goetz shot the four Blacks in self-defense.

Right-wing support

The "Guardian Angels," a group of vigilantes who patrol the city's transit system, began harassing subway passengers, asking for a \$1 contribution to aid Goetz's defense. The group also picketed the Riker's Island jail where Goetz was being held, demanding that he be freed.

The "Angels" work closely with the cops in New York and other cities. The group is headed by Curtis Sliwa, whose demagogic appeals have attracted some working-class youth — many of them Black and Latino — to his right-wing organization.

On January 8, Goetz himself put up the \$50,000 cash bond and walked out of the jail.

Meanwhile, in "unrelated" cases, the four Blacks shot by Goetz have been charged with larceny and "criminal mischief."

Supporters of Goetz, such as the editors of the *New York Post*, praise the racist shooting. They argue that the problem working people face in this society is working-class youth, especially Blacks and Latinos. President Reagan said at his January 9 news conference that "we all can understand the frustration of people who are constantly threatened by crime and feel that law and order is not particularly protecting them."

Liberal 'opposition'

Liberal "opponents" of vigilantism agree that Blacks, Latinos, and other workers are the problem, but say the cops should "take care" of them. These liberals fear the Black and Latino communities won't sit by passively if white vigilantes who gun down Black and Latino youth are glorified.

Sydney Schanberg, for example, who writes the "New York" column on the op-ed page of the *New York Times*, said in his January 5 piece that "We all know that a lot of the crime on the subways is committed by Black and Hispanic youths. What will happen to law-abiding Blacks and His-

panics, who are the bulk of the subway ridership, if tribal justice is encouraged?" Schanberg quoted a "very reasoned and very reasonable Black friend" who feared racist vigilantes would be indiscriminate in shooting Blacks.

"The sympathy with Bernhard Goetz that has been voiced by people of all persuasions and classes in this city is not hard to understand," wrote Schanberg, "but talk about taking up arms is."

"These emotions should be directed toward strengthening a law enforcement system that we all agree is not working very well."

New York Mayor Edward Koch runs a similar liberal line. "The frustration and anger are so obvious not only in New York City, but around the country," he said on a January 6 television news program. "The rights of society have been impinged upon, and what they're saying is they're fed up. I'm fed up, too."

On January 7, Koch held a news confer-

ence at which he announced that the December 22 shootings had generated support for strengthening the city's police force.

"I believe that we must transform this tragic incident into a catalyst for further reforms and improvements in the criminal justice system," said Koch.

"We cannot ask our citizens not to resort to unlawful self-defense if the system does not adequately insure their safety and promote well-ordered, peaceful conditions for their families and businesses."

More cop violence

Koch requested that the state government add 20 judges to the Criminal Court and set up special courts in each borough of the city just to deal with people arrested in the transit system. Koch said he would make a budget proposal to add 3,000 more cops to the city's police force, which would raise the number to more than 31,000.

Koch also called for the state legislature to adopt an "adult preventive detention statute." Such a measure would allow a judge to deny bail to a person considered by the court to be a danger to the community. A similar bill, affecting the federal courts, was adopted by the U.S. Congress last October.

Black and Latino youth, always the special target of cop violence and harsh court sentences, will be among those who will suffer most from the legislation proposed by Koch.

Koch's call for more cops will mean more killings like that of Daryl Dodson, a 23-year-old youth gunned down by a cop in Brooklyn on January 4. This shooting occurred when a man reported to the 75th Precinct that "someone had threatened him" and cops poured out of the station looking for the alleged maker of the threats. The cops cornered Dodson and, they claim, Officer Joseph Vacchio's gun "accidentally fired." Dodson was unarmed.

New York City cops recently killed an elderly Black woman, Eleanor Bumpurs, while trying to evict her from her home. Cops shotgunned Bumpurs, claiming the ill woman threatened them with a knife.

New York City cops killed 321 people between 1974-1982. Of that number, 157 were Black — nearly half. Another 108 were Latino.

The real criminals are killer cops, like those who shot Dodson and Bumpurs, and vigilantes like Goetz. They should be locked up for their crimes. Moreover, the barrage of racist law-and-order propaganda coming from the capitalist media and government should not go unanswered.

Terrorists bomb abortion clinics in Pensacola, Florida

BY PAT SILVERTHORN

MIAMI — It is no longer possible to obtain a legal abortion in Pensacola, Florida.

On December 25, three bombs went off within minutes of each other, destroying one abortion clinic and two gynecological clinics that also offered abortions.

The clinic — the Ladies Center — was completely gutted. It had been picketed the weekend before the bombing by groups opposing abortion rights. The Ladies Center had moved to its present location after its old office was destroyed in a bombing last June.

Activists working at the destroyed clinics in Pensacola said these attacks are attempts to take away the right of women to choose abortion. "These attacks don't only impact on abortion rights, but on the

rights of women to contraception and simple health care," they pointed out. They explained that these attacks have immediate consequences, such as in Pensacola, where today there are no more abortion clinics operating.

Four arrests have been made in connection with the bombings. The two men and two women arrested admitted to the bombings, claiming they were "called by god."

The pastor of the church the four attend said that he completely supports their intentions even if he doesn't support their actions.

The bombings in Pensacola were part of several attacks on abortion clinics that occurred during the holidays. Two clinics in the Washington, D.C., area were bombed

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