

Atlanta mayor backs April 20

BY SARA JEAN JOHNSTON

ATLANTA — "We are here today to announce our support for the April Days of Protest and the April 20 march on Washington," said Rev. Timothy McDonald, spokesperson for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Atlanta Coalition for the April Days of Protest. He spoke at a news conference held at City Hall.

McDonald was joined by Mayor Andrew Young; State Rep. Tyrone Brooks from the Rainbow Coalition; Leamon Hood, the southern regional director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Margaret Roach, Nuclear Freeze; and Ray Hooker, a Nicaraguan legislator from that country's Atlantic Coast who is touring the United States, telling the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution and Washington's war against it.

"Forty percent of the combat ready troops in the U.S. are Black and Hispanic," McDonald told the media. "We in SCLC feel this is a travesty of justice for these youth to be used by white, rich, corporate America's army. These actions are important both in raising our voices in protest and in getting out the truth about Nicaragua to the American people."

McDonald introduced Hooker. "This brother from Atlanta's sister city — Bluefields — was kidnapped by the *contras* while campaigning for his seat in the Nicaraguan National Assembly," he said, using the Spanish term for the CIA-organized counterrevolutionaries. "Mr. Hooker was held for 58 days, was shot, but received no medical care whatsoever from the *contras*. He is here today because of the efforts of both the Nicaraguan and North American people."

"The U.S. government is carrying out a savage war against the Nicaraguan people," said Hooker. "Reagan says that the *contras* are the moral equivalent of the U.S. Founding Fathers. We in Nicaragua have more respect for the revolutionaries who led the American Revolution in this country than your own government does."

"While in Nicaragua we are in the process of creating autonomy for the Black population, while over 100,000 North Americans have freely visited our country since our revolution in 1979, the U.S. government has stated they want Nicaragua to

Continued on Page 5

Reagan backs racist terror in S. Africa



Cops attacking Blacks in South Africa. Reagan blames Blacks for the violence.

BY MALIK MIAH

The 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960, in which 69 Black people were brutally gunned down, was marked in a river of blood by the South African government.

Nineteen Blacks were slaughtered in Langa township March 21 by South African cops while participating in a peaceful

funeral procession. The racist regime claimed that a crowd of 4,000 people attacked the cops with stones, sticks, and firebombs. But eyewitness accounts report that the crowd had dwindled to 300 to 500 people when the cops opened fire.

This murderous assault — the bloodiest for a single day since 1960 — raised the official death total for the last 13 months to

243, all Blacks except one.

In the typical arrogance of an imperialist slavemaster, President Reagan told a White House news conference that the Blacks themselves may have provoked the cops, and thus caused their own deaths.

Reagan said with a poker face, "I think to put it that way [as killings of Blacks by the police] — that they were simply killed and that the violence was coming totally from the law-and-order side — ignores the fact that there was rioting going on on behalf of others there."

"And it is tragic," he said, "and again, we hope that this can be corrected. But I think also it is significant that on the officer side, or the police side — whether they were military police, I think they were police — it is significant that some of those enforcing the law and using the guns were also Black — Black policemen."

The fact that many of South Africa's cops are Black does not alter their role and function, which is to defend the apartheid regime. Just as in the United States, cops and capitalist politicians who are Black serve and defend the system that is oppressing the Black nationality. In capitalist countries, a cop is a cop no matter what their skin color may be.

Reagan concluded his comments on the Langa township events by saying, "there is an element in South Africa that do not want peaceful settlement of this, who want trouble in the streets, and this is what's going on."

Although it was Reagan talking, the pol-

Continued on Page 6

Blacks' stake in fight against war

April 4 marks the 17th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. A prominent figure in the massive movement for Black civil rights, King was gunned down in cold blood in Memphis, Tennes-

demnation of the U.S. government's war in Vietnam.

The link King made in that speech between opposition to the U.S. war and support for the civil rights movement is especially useful to review now. Today the U.S. government is waging a fierce war both against the rights and living standards of U.S. working people and against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

There is an obvious connection, King said, "between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America."

The experience of Vietnam had taught him, King declared, "that America would

never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such."

In addition, said King, the war was sending the sons, brothers, and husbands of the poor "to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population."

"So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would never live on the same block in Detroit."

The "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today," King was forced to conclude, is "my own government."

"I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam," declared King.

King became a staunch opponent of the Vietnam War because he was a consistent fighter for Black equality and was opposed to the whole social system of legal segregation in the South and de facto segregation in the North.

The civil rights movement involved massive, bloody battles which pitted Black workers and farmers — and their allies among whites — against the Klan, cops, courts, legislatures, and both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The smashing of the Jim Crow legal segregation in the South is one of the greatest victories for Blacks and other working

Continued on Page 22

EDITORIAL

see, on April 4, 1968. He was in that city expressing his solidarity with embattled Black sanitation workers who were fighting for union recognition.

Exactly one year before he was murdered, King delivered his first major con-

Pan Am workers ratify a takeback contract

BY LOUIS LONG

MIAMI — By a vote of 3,583 to 2,193 the membership of the Transportation Workers Union (TWU) has voted to accept a proposed contract and end their four-week strike against Pan American Airlines.

Members of Local 504, which represents about 4,000 Pan Am workers in the New York area, was the only local to reject the agreement, with 1,991 votes against and 1,856 votes for.

Here in Miami, the members of Local 500 of the TWU voted to accept the contract by a 9-1 margin.

The new contract is almost the same as the earlier company proposal that TWU mechanics, baggage and freight handlers, and cleaners overwhelmingly rejected at the end of January, leading to the February 28 strike.

The new takeback contract contains provisions that weaken the union and Pan Am

workers in relation to the company.

The two worst features of the contract involve part-time workers and "B-rate employees." The company can now hire up to 15 percent of the work force in TWU-organized jobs as part-time, non-union employees. Full-time workers who are laid off can be called back as part-time workers. New employees, hired as part-time or full-time, will start at B-wage rate — which is 30 percent below that of current employees. After five years, they will get up to the level of the bottom of the current pay scale.

This creates severe divisions among workers. A worker doing the same job as another will be paid 30 percent less, work less than a 40-hour week, and not have union protection.

Another setback in the new contract is that the 14 percent pay cut, which the company was supposed to restore last January, has now become permanent, even though a

court ordered the company to restore it.

The new contract will also eliminate 700 jobs of commissary workers, although there are provisions for them to get severance pay or transfers to other Pan Am jobs. The contract will also combine ramp and cleaning jobs. This will also mean the elimination of jobs.

The lack of a union strike fund made things more difficult than necessary for the strikers, but the strike is not ending because the strikers and their families could not hold out any longer. Most strikers here say they have to accept the takeback contract because it is the best they can do now. Many feel that it would be dangerous to continue the strike because it could jeopardize the survival of their union and their jobs.

The strike was called because the company was demanding further concessions

Continued on Page 2

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY H. ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales teams have been helping to build the April 20 antiwar march to take place in Washington, D.C. They have done this by going to plants, rail yards, and refineries to talk to workers about why our class should oppose the United States sending troops into Central America.

Because of this activity, members of the local antiwar coalition refer to us as "the people who build April 20th at the factories."

Recently we resumed sales at a Sun Oil refinery that went through a six-month strike last year. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-901 members were forced out on strike because the

company wanted to introduce a new three-tier wage seniority system. This included starting new hires at 50 per cent of the base wage.

During that strike we campaigned at the plant gate for the Socialist Workers Party's presidential slate.

We also campaigned for Sun Oil worker Katy Karlin, who was the SWP candidate in Pennsylvania's 2nd Congressional District.

Support for Karlin included selling the *Militant* to OCAW local members during and after the strike. The Sun Oil sales team was made up of socialist garment workers from Philadelphia. One team member introduces the *Militant* saying, "Read a socialist

paper that stands up for workers' rights here and around the world."

In the last two sales the team sold five *Militants* and gave out a lot of leaflets building the April 20 demonstration.

A separate leaflet given out had a subscription blank to the *Militant* and a report on a visit by U.S. garment workers to a textile plant in Nicaragua.

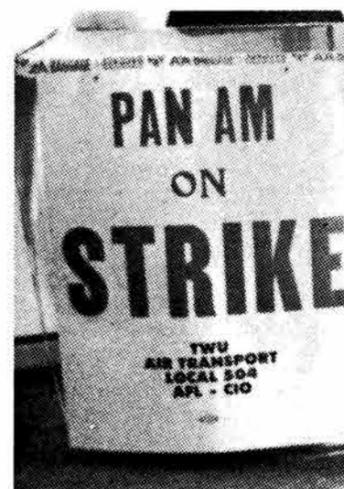
Another *Militant* sales team recently went to the Philadelphia airport to show solidarity with the striking Pan Am airline workers. We didn't have a chance to talk to Pan Am workers, but several Eastern Airlines workers came over to see what we were up to.

One of them told how Eastern was playing a shell game with the

International Association of Machinists and other airline unions. He told how the company gave out a lot of worthless stock to workers in exchange for a hefty reduction in pay.

A second Eastern worker disagreed. He said that workers now had four union representatives on the company board of directors and were now part of the ownership.

The first worker bought a *Militant* and ended the conversation by saying that the workers had taken big wage cuts on the last contract and it didn't look too good this time around. He said that if the workers really owned the company they would be giving themselves a big raise instead of having to "loan" the company money.



Militant/H. Allen
Transport Workers Union picket sign at Philadelphia airport.

Latino workers help out Dallas sales-drive team

BY TOM LEONARD

There were a number of very impressive sales the second weekend of our 10-week sales campaign. The goal is to sell 30,000 single copies of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and also to get 2,150 subscriptions to the two socialist publications.

Dallas reported weekend sales of 72 *Militants* and 84 *Perspectivas*, plus four *Young Socialists*, the newspaper published by the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Dallas recently moved to a location closer to the Latino community. This helps explain their increased *Perspectiva Mundial* sales.

Another reason is their successful sales at a monthly film showing that is organized by Salvadoran refugee groups. At the last movie, a couple of Latinos joined the sales team to help them sell *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Minneapolis-St. Paul also reported selling out their 225 *Militants* and called in an order of 50 more papers. This success came even though their regular order didn't ar-

rive on time, forcing them to cancel Saturday sales.

Sunday they took 100 *Militants* to a southern Minnesota rally of 3,000 Hormel packinghouse workers who are engaged in a fight to stop company cutbacks. They sold all their papers before the rally ended.

Later that same day they sold 105 *Militants* at a rally in Minneapolis-St. Paul commemorating the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Salvadoran archbishop Oscar Romero, who was gunned down by right-wing death squads.

Morgantown, West Virginia, also had successful weekend sales and called our circulation office Monday morning to order 20 more *Militants*.

Cleveland called to say that the *Militant's* coverage of the preparations for the April 20 antiwar actions helped their Saturday sales. They sold 84 single copies out of a bundle of 85. They ordered an additional 20 *Militants*.

Phoenix reported first-week total sales of 82 *Militants*, 22 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and one subscription. Twelve *Militants* and eight *Perspectiva Mundials* were sold at plant gates. Six *Militants* were sold to

farmers at a demonstration in downtown Phoenix. The farmers were selling lunches to passersby at the actual cost of producing the food, before the processors get a hold of it.

Phoenix has taken a sales drive goal of 800 *Militants* and 150 *Perspectiva Mundials*, plus 50 subscriptions.

St. Louis sold 75 papers on Saturday, including 33 at two political meetings. They

also set a sales goal of 75 subscriptions and 1,000 single copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Subscriptions counted toward the goal of selling 2,150 are also starting to arrive in the circulation office. Baltimore sent in four this week. Three were to members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and one to a United Auto Workers member.

Pan Am workers ratify contract

Continued from front page

from workers who had already been giving back for the last four years. Workers were angry at unilateral concessions imposed in direct violation of the contract. Pension payments were frozen and the company refused to restore a 14 percent wage cut that was supposed to end January 1.

When they voted to reject the takeback contract and go on strike, TWU leaders and members were counting on support from the four other unions at Pan Am. They thought they could shut down the airline and win a better contract. But this was a miscalculation. In a future issue of the *Militant*, we will take a look at why this was so.

At a March 27 meeting in Hialeah, Florida, 1,000 strikers met to discuss and vote on the contract. At that meeting, copies of a letter to TWU members from TWU international officers were distributed, along with a 10-page contract summary.

The letter confirmed previous newspaper reports that Pan Am vice-chairman Martin Shugrue threatened the negotiating committee on March 21. "Unless there was an agreement within three days, Pan Am intended to contract out other functions such as fleet service and building maintenance, and that these contracts would be of a permanent nature, just like commissary."

The letter goes on to state, "The recommendation to accept is based on the conviction

that management will not make further concessions. To prolong this strike is to invite additional casualties and the loss of what has already been obtained. . . . It would be totally irresponsible on our parts to recommend any other course other than acceptance."

Strikers leaving the meeting after voting met with a barrage of reporters and TV cameras. None of the strikers said they liked the contract. But few thought it was possible to win a better one now by continuing the strike.

Sell the 'Militant' to Pan Am workers

In Miami, supporters of the *Militant* have been organizing special sales to striking Pan Am workers, as well as to other airline workers.

A leaflet was distributed at the meeting of strikers. It included a collage of clippings and headlines from the *Militant* showing the extensive coverage of the Pan Am strike. The leaflet pointed out that the *Militant* told the truth about the strike and helped build solidarity, as well as having up-to-date information, and helping to draw the lessons from this and other struggles. The leaflet included a subscription blank.

Militant supporters around the country are encouraged to make a special effort to get the *Militant* out to Pan Am and other airline workers.

Socialist candidates join pickets

BY DAVE PRINCE

NEW YORK — "We pledge to use our campaigns to answer Pan Am's campaign of lies and to build solidarity for your strike," Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, told striking Pan Am workers from Transport Workers Union Local 504. Both González and Mark Satinoff, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New Jersey, were at the picket lines at Kennedy Airport, Pan Am's main base of operations in the United States.

Workers here are angered by Pan Am's demands for more givebacks. One union member explained, "Since 1981 we have given Pan Am over a billion dollars in

wages and benefits. If I give you a billion dollars you should be in the black, not the red."

Another striker told González that many of the Pan Am workers had 20 or more years of service. Most, including himself, had felt loyal to the company. "That's changed now," he said. "A lot of us who were loyal have been shaken up."

A number of the strikers expressed their thanks for the solidarity offered by the socialist candidates. They took copies of campaign literature and information on the April 20 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., as well as the socialist campaign newspaper, the *Militant*.

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!

That way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from El Salvador and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the United States. Read our proposals on how to stop the bipartisan U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the employer offensive here. Read our ideas on what it will take to replace this system of exploitation, racism, and sexism with a system that's in the interest of working people.

At the plant gates, picket lines, and unemployment lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the

news, participating in the struggle. To subscribe today, fill out the attached coupon.

Enclosed is: \$3 for 12 weeks \$15 for 6 months
 \$24 for 1 year A contribution

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014



The Militant

Closing news date: March 27, 1985

Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

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

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

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

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

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

U.S. backs Iraqi aggression against Iran



U.S. AWAC spy planes are being used to provide Iraqi military with information to attack Iranian targets.

BY FRED FELDMAN

U.S. imperialism is turning up the military, economic, and diplomatic pressure on the Iranian revolution. The spearhead of the imperialist attack is the military dictatorship of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, which is escalating its four-and-a-half-year war against Iran.

When Iraqi forces invaded Iran in 1980, Saddam Hussein proclaimed the goal of toppling the Khomeini government and restoring a proimperialist regime like that of the shah, who was ousted by the 1979 revolution.

In recent weeks, the Iraqi regime launched almost daily bombing raids in Iran. Iraqi planes have penetrated deep into Iran, striking at Tabriz, Isfahan, Tehran, and other major cities. Residential districts have been prime targets, with casualties in the hundreds.

These actions shattered an accord reached last June in which the Iraqi and Iranian governments agreed to exempt civilian targets from attack.

Iranian forces responded with bombing attacks against Baghdad, the Iraqi capital,

and frequent shelling of Basra, the country's second largest city. Some Iraqi towns near the Iranian border were also shelled.

Reagan administration officials claimed that an Iranian drive across the Tigris River, apparently aimed at cutting off the road to Basra, had been blunted by Iraq's massive superiority in air power and artillery. The officials gloated about the tens of thousands of casualties they said had been inflicted on the Iranians.

Iraqi forces have failed thus far to dislodge Iranian troops from the strategic and oil-rich Majnoon Island inside Iraq.

The stepped-up air war against Iran has been made possible by shipments of advanced bombers and missiles to the Iraqi rulers by Britain, France, and other imperialist powers.

The Saudi Arabian monarchy and other proimperialist regimes in the region have also provided Saddam Hussein with well over \$35 billion in aid to keep the Iraqi economy afloat. At the same time an ever-tightening economic blockade has been imposed on Iran.

The activity of counterrevolutionary ter-

rorists inside Iran is another component of the imperialist war against the revolution. Six people were killed March 15 when a bomb exploded in the midst of tens of thousands who were listening to a speech by Iranian president Ali Khamenei. Iraqi warplanes overflew Tehran within a half hour of the bombing.

U.S. military collusion with the Iraqi regime against Iran is coming more into the open. Every inch of the war zone is monitored by U.S. spy satellites and U.S.-piloted AWAC reconnaissance planes. The data they gather is passed on to the Iraqi military.

According to the March 17 London *Sunday Times*, the Iraqi military is alerted immediately if there is to be an attack on naval targets in the Persian Gulf. The newspaper claimed that U.S. officials "delay transmitting 'hot' data of Iranian attacks on ground targets for several hours to retain a veneer of impartiality."

Last June, a U.S. AWAC plane directed Saudi Arabian air force jets in downing two Iranian planes over the Persian Gulf. It is likely that similar guidance is being provided more covertly to Iraqi forces.

Washington is also putting itself in position to be able to carry out more direct military intervention against the Iranian revolution or similar outbreaks in the Gulf region.

The Pentagon announced March 23 that the United States has nearly finished building military installations in Oman, Somalia, and Kenya for use by the Rapid Deployment Force. The Pentagon's regional command can now draw on some 300,000 U.S. troops.

The March 25 *New York Times* reported, "The United States used Oman to stage the unsuccessful mission to rescue the American hostages in 1980. Last December, according to Western and Arab officials in Washington and the Middle East, the United States had a team of commandos secretly positioned in Oman" while a Kuwaiti plane was being held in Tehran by hijackers.

Washington and its allies have stepped up diplomatic support to the Iraqi regime as well. In November Washington and

Baghdad established full diplomatic relations for the first time since Iraq severed ties in response to Israel's June 1967 invasion of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The March 25 *Business Week* stated that "a U.S. delegation will take a draft U.S.-Iraqi trade agreement to Baghdad next month. By the end of the year, the U.S. expects to have a military attache in Baghdad."

On March 20, following heavy Iraqi bombing of Iran, the supposedly neutral Reagan administration demanded that Iran stop fighting. And it indicated further steps to weaken Iran. "We are making substantial efforts to diminish the flow of arms to Iran from free world sources as a means to induce Iran to end the fighting," declared a State Department spokesman.

The U.S. declaration coincided with demands by the Iraqi government that the United Nations Security Council intervene against Iran.

On March 18, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein visited Baghdad to show their support to the war against the Iranian revolution. They were said to have discussed further military assistance to Iraq.

The intense pressure against Iran is an indication of the threat that the Iranian revolution represents to imperialist domination of the Middle East. The example of the Iranian revolution continues to inspire others to stand up for their rights. The resistance of the people of West Beirut and southern Lebanon to U.S. domination and Israeli occupation is a case in point.

When the Tehran government decided to provide aid to Nicaragua, the Reagan administration reacted by reiterating its designation of Iran as a "terrorist" nation.

Washington is determined to roll back the Iranian revolution. The U.S. rulers are convinced that Khomeini's government, despite its capitalist policies, can never be a reliable protector of imperialist interests. The imperialists seek to topple this government and replace it with one that can be counted upon to do Washington's bidding. The Iraqi regime's war against Iran has been backed by Washington from the beginning as part of that counterrevolutionary drive.

Socialist Publications Fund needs your contribution

In the "Revolutionary Heritage" column of this week's *Militant*, we print excerpts from an article by V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik Party and the October 1917 Russian revolution (see page 22).

Lenin's article is an assessment of a 1912 fund drive that, when successfully completed, enabled the Bolsheviks to publish a daily newspaper in St. Petersburg. Lenin considered this an important accomplishment, particularly the fact that the money to finance the workers' press was raised by the workers themselves.

The Socialist Publications Fund that we launched in our March 22 issue is also aimed at financing the workers' press. The funds we raise will go towards continued publication of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The money we raise will also aid other socialist publications, such as the *New Internationalist*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory; and the international news magazine, *Intercontinental Press*.

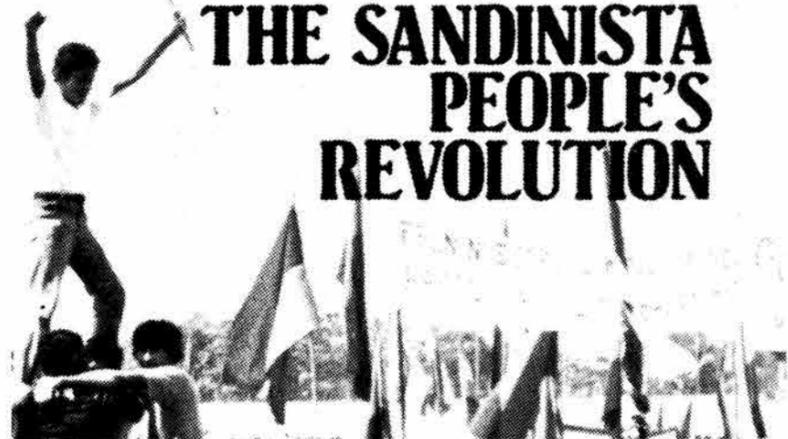
The Socialist Publications Fund will be vital in facilitating some special projects in the coming year. At the top of the list is the publication of *Nicaragua: Sandinista People's Revolution* by Pathfinder Press (see ad on this page). This 400-page book will include major speeches and articles by leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The new book will be invaluable in helping to explain why working people in this country should support the Nicaraguan revolution, and oppose the efforts of the U.S. government to crush it. Pathfinder is aiming to get the new book out in time for the April 20 national antiwar actions.

AVAILABLE SOON!

Speeches by Sandinista leaders

NICARAGUA THE SANDINISTA PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION



This new collection contains more than forty speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution given between March 1982 and December 1984. Included are speeches and interviews by leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan government, such as Pres. Daniel Ortega, Vice-pres. Sergio Ramirez, Tomás Borge, Jaime Wheelock, and Victor Tirado; and important documents, such as the FSLN's 1984 "Plan of Struggle." Several items appear here for the first time in English translation, including an interview with William Ramirez and a letter by Tomás Borge on the problems of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. 400 pages, price to be announced. Available May 1985 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

In the March 22 issue of the *Militant*, we launched the Socialist Publications Fund with the goal of raising \$75,000 by June 15.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* and other socialist publication projects.

Checks should be made out to: Socialist Publications Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution to the Socialist Publications Fund of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Organization/Union _____

\$75,000

Collected:
\$2,205

A broad coalition of peace and civil rights organizations and several trade unions have called for protests in Washington, D.C., April 19-22, highlighted by a mass march and rally on April 20. Actions will also be held in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities.

The demands of the protests are: stop U.S. military intervention in Central America; oppose U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home; freeze and reverse the arms race; create jobs, cut the military budget.

To contact the national coalition, write or call: April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, Box 2598, Washington, D.C. 20013-2598; (202) 667-9485.

Eight national unions endorse April Actions

Eight national and international unions have endorsed the April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice to date. They are: International Association of Machinists; International Chemical Workers; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; United Electrical Workers; United Farm Workers; United Food and Commercial Workers; and United Furniture Workers.

Garment union, Oil Workers back L.A. march

BY SUE SKINNER

LOS ANGELES — The April 20 march here, which will go through downtown and the garment district, has been endorsed by more than 100 organizations and prominent individuals. Tens of thousands of English and Spanish leaflets have been distributed and buses will be coming from San Diego and nearby Orange County.

Cornelius Wall, regional director of the Western States Region

of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); Miguel Machuca, organization director for the ILGWU region; and the Southern California District Council of ILGWU have all-endorsed the march.

Marta Alicia Rivera, the U.S. representative of ANDES-21, the Salvadoran teachers' union, spoke to a meeting of 40 ILGWU members who are conducting an organizing drive at the Angel Echeverria Co.

"We are fighting the same bosses in El Salvador that you are fighting here in the United States. It is the same struggle. That is why you should join us in the April 20 mobilization in Los Angeles," said Rivera.

At one of the coalition planning meetings, Alejandro Molina Lara, a representative from the United Electrical Workers union, announced that District 10 of his union had voted to endorse April 20.

A representative of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) explained that Jack Foley, District 1 director of OCAW, had sent a letter to several OCAW locals explaining the importance of the march and urging them to get involved. OCAW Local 1-547 voted to support April 20 and donate \$100. The executive board of OCAW Local 1-128 also endorsed.

The Los Angeles chapters of both the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the National Organization for Women are also backing the march.

The Free South Africa Movement here, which includes the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, TransAfrica, Brotherhood Crusade, and a number of elected officials who are Black, is organizing a contingent in the demonstration.

Representatives from City Councilman Robert Farrell's office have been participating in coalition meetings. The councilman has pledged his support and offered his assistance.

The march here will express solidarity with the hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers in Los Angeles. "Support rights for undocumented workers. Support the sanctuary movement

and Central American refugees," is one of the demands of the Los Angeles march.

The extent of antiwar sentiment was recently shown when 1,500 people turned out to picket the Beverly Wilshire Hotel where 100 supporters of the CIA-organized Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries were holding a fundraiser. Actor Ed Asner and others held a press conference at the same time inside the hotel to protest U.S. aid to those terrorists.

To contact the coalition, write or call: L.A. April 20 Coalition, c/o WILPF, Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, 4603 Prospect Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90027; (213) 225-6136 or (213) 381-6793.

Striking Alaska Airlines workers applaud April 20

BY DEAN PEOPLES

SEATTLE — Seventy-five people attended the March 18 planning meeting of the Northwest Action for Peace, Jobs and Justice held at the American Postal Workers Union hall.

Two days later a representative from the coalition addressed a meeting of about 150 members of International Association of Machinists Local 2202, which is currently on strike against Alaska Airlines. IAM 2202 members applauded the presentation and took leaflets for the Seattle April 20 march. The local subsequently endorsed the action.

The coalition has received endorsements for the demonstration from about 60 area organizations.

Among demonstration organizers are activists from the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1380, Seattle American Postal Workers Union, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 6, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, all of which have endorsed the action.

The Whatcom County Labor Council in Bellingham, Washington, has also voted to endorse the action, contribute \$50, publicize it, and to organize carpools to Seattle.

Volunteers to build the demonstration are organized out of SEIU Local 6's office, which is located at 150 Denny Way, Seattle, Wash. 98109; telephone (206) 448-7354.

H.S. students, feminists, labor build in Phila.

BY STEVE HALPERN

PHILADELPHIA — High school students in this city have agreed to distribute 40,000 leaflets for the April 20 demonstration in Washington. To build youth participation, they are also organizing an event called "Reggae Against Repression" on March 30. At the March 2 coalition meeting, held at American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District 47 headquarters, 25-30 of the 100 people in attendance were high school students.

All of the Philadelphia chapters of the National Organization for Women have endorsed the demonstration and sent out a mailing to their memberships.

An appeal for labor involvement in the march was sent to 300 area unionists. Signers of the letter included: Danny Chmelko, business representative of International Association of Machinists District 1; Bernard Dinkin, education director of the Philadelphia Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Bob Brown, president of District 1 of the United Electrical Workers; Gary Kapanowski, president of AFSCME Local 1723; and Roger Tauss, president of Transport Workers Union Local 234.

Other union supporters of the action in this area include: Philadelphia Federation of Teachers; Pennsylvania State Education Association region; District 1199C of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; AFSCME Districts 33 and 47; and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

At the March 17 coalition meeting, Godfrey Sithole of the African National Congress of South Africa and Thomas Cronin, the president of AFSCME District 47,

were featured speakers. Among those present at the meeting were members of the civil rights group Operation PUSH. The Philadelphia Southern Christian Leadership Conference is also an endorser.

The coalition can be contacted at: 1425 Walnut St., 3rd Floor, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102; telephone (215) 854-0177; (609) 482-1090; (609) 854-1971.

Upstate N.Y. — UFCW speaks to other unionists

BY GEORGE KONTANIS

ALBANY, N.Y. — Responding to a call to action signed by representatives of local trade unions, civil rights, and peace organizations, an April Actions Committee has been established in the Capital District, which encompasses the Albany, Schenectady, and Troy region of upstate New York.

At a March 11 coalition meeting, Bob Stankes and Angelo Vellake, representing the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) District Local 1, made suggestions on how to more actively involve labor in the April 20 march. The UFCW took responsibility for speaking on behalf of the committee at upcoming meetings of the Troy and Saratoga Central labor councils. They also offered the use of their office as a leaflet distribution center.

After an appeal by a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at the March 14 meeting of the Solidarity Committee (an official labor solidarity group of the Albany Central Labor Council), \$50 was donated to the April Actions Committee.

The Central America Solidarity Alliance, NAACP, and the Upper Hudson Weapons Freeze have all endorsed the action and sent leaflets to their members.

The Capital District Committee can be contacted at 221 Central Ave., Albany, N.Y., 12206; telephone (518) 434-4037 or 463-2356.

600 rally to stop farm foreclosure sale in Minn.

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

GLENWOOD, Minn. — Six hundred farmers, union members, and other supporters held a protest rally here on March 18 that succeeded in blocking the foreclosure sale of Jim and Gloria Langman's 480 acre dairy farm. Three days after the protest, Sheriff Gerald Moe announced that the sale has been rescheduled for April 1.

The rally, held on the steps of the Pope County Courthouse, was spirited and militant. Picket signs and banners read "Farms not arms," "Keep the peace, enact a

moratorium" and "St. Paul unions support family farmers."

Farmers rode tractors around the courthouse. Dozens of farmers arrived in a livestock semitrailer truck with a banner reading "Farmers are being slaughtered."

Activists from Groundswell, the National Farm Organization (NFO), the Farmers Union, the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), and Twin Cities unionists participated in the protest.

At the rally before the sale, Paul Sobocinski, speaking for Groundswell, a grassroots farm organization, explained that a protest campaign had postponed a February foreclosure sale of the Langman farm. Travelers Insurance Co., which holds the Langman mortgage "told Jim Langman he could plant and harvest this year if Groundswell didn't show up at this sale. At Jim's invitation Groundswell is here today . . . to show that we are ready, willing, and able to provide a people's moratorium of foreclosures, in the absence of a legislative moratorium bill in Minnesota."

Victor Hale from Minnesota AAM said, "Our Secretary of Agriculture Block said he was going to carry out an orderly transition of farmers off the land. I'm going to do all I can to prevent the orderly transition off the land."

NFO speaker Gerry Blonigan said that the government can and does bail out big corporations but it wouldn't do anything to

help the small farmers.

Leo Zimmerman from the Farmers Union explained, "The government doesn't represent us. We're like the Indians — they're taking our land and looking for a reservation to put us on."

Support from Twin Cities unions was enthusiastically welcomed. Ron Mathis, a Black Ford worker and Groundswell board member, brought support from UAW local 879. He told the rally that his union had twice demanded that Travelers Insurance stop the sale of the Langman farm. He promised continued action by labor to back family farmers.

Lisa Ahlberg spoke for Local 168T of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) in St. Paul. She reported that the local's executive board had voted to support the protest. She and other union members had collected signatures in the plant on a statement that called for "the labor movement to unite with the farmers to fight the government policies designed to drive family farmers off the land as well as the big corporation and government supported campaign to bust unions."

As the rally ended, Pope County Sheriff Gerald Moe came to the door of the police station across the street. Twenty-three people, including representatives of various farm organizations, blocked the door. They were arrested and charged with obstructing the legal process, a mis-

demeanor.

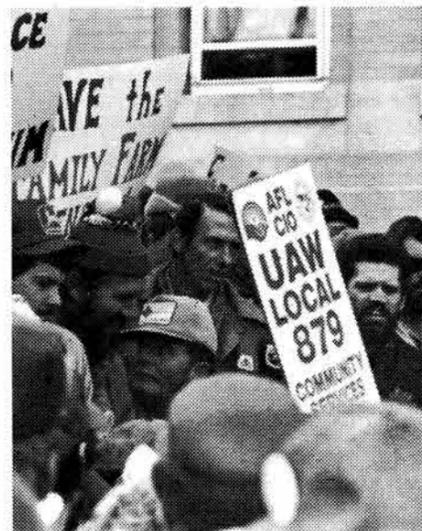
Moe, a dozen city police, and a Travelers lawyer then walked across the street to the courthouse to attempt the sale. Moe was surrounded by the crowd, that chanted "No Sale!" and "Call it off!" and linked arms to prevent any potential bidders from reaching him.

After an hour of chanting, Moe announced "I cannot conduct the sale, so at the present time, the sale is cancelled." A few minutes later the 23 protesters who had been arrested were released on their own recognizance.

Sheriff Moe later told the press that "state help may be needed to safely carry out future sales with similar crowds."

The farmers and their supporters left the protest pleased that they had helped make history by blocking this sale. Bobbi Polzine, a leader of Groundswell, said, "This is the first time a foreclosure sale has been halted on a courthouse steps in this generation. This shows what we can do when we band together."

They also left thinking about Jim Langman's words, "The USDA has forecast that 10-13,000 farmers will be lost in Minnesota in the next two years. There's no other solution to this than parity pricing. We won a short concession. We have to keep the government reacting to our actions to keep us on the farm. We must stand together hand in hand and say 'No More!' I will not, and you should not, give up fighting for farmers' rights."



Militant/Peggy Winter

S.F. labor speak-out builds April 20 rally



Labor is helping to build April 20 action in northern California. Above is first meeting of coalition, which met in ILWU hall.

BY ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

OAKLAND, Calif. — To build support for the April 20 march and rally in San Francisco, Bay Area trade union officials addressed the four main themes of the demonstration at a labor speak-out here on March 21.

The event drew about 150 people to the hall of Teamsters Local 70, including officials and rank-and-file members of the California Federation of Labor; Alameda County Central Labor Council; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; American Federation of Teachers; International Association of Machinists; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); and Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

U.S. war in Central America

Diane Burneo, executive secretary of SEIU Local 616, spoke on why labor must oppose U.S. intervention in Central America. Burneo was part of a fact-finding commission sponsored by Project National Interest, which toured El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua last year.

Burneo reported that "millions of dollars of U.S. aid to El Salvador have prolonged the war there and have killed the land reform. U.S. dollars have lengthened the reach of those who have no regard for human rights. . . .

"In Central America," Burneo continued, "our money seems to go nowhere else but into wars — wars against the civilian population in Guatemala and El Salvador, to undermine democracy in Honduras, and against the advances of the workers and poor peasants in Nicaragua."

In Honduras, one of the poorest countries in the hemisphere, U.S. aid has not meant more food or an improvement in the living conditions of the people, but the construction of nine military airfields, several radar stations, and a U.S. military training center. Honduras has been turned into a base for attacks by Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries against Nicaraguan schools, health-care centers, and agricultural cooperatives.

"Working people in Central America have no choice but to fight back," Burneo said. "While Ronald Reagan talks about promoting democracy in Central America,

U.S. military intervention is undermining all possibility for real democracy. The U.S.-backed war against the civilian population in El Salvador has left three-quarters of a million homeless. Strikes are illegal. All democratic rights have been suspended, including freedom of speech, association, and assembly. All attempts to organize for survival are met with repression."

Labor's right to organize at stake

"What's at stake in Central America," Burneo concluded, "is what is our own life blood here: our right and our ability to organize. In the United States the labor movement fights for our right to organize ourselves to have a say in our lives and working conditions. But we can't hold on to our gains if we become an island in a sea of subjugation. April 20 is an opportunity to speak with all the strength, vigor, and numbers that our unions can gather."

The U.S. labor movement's role in fighting to end Washington's support for South Africa's apartheid system of segregation was put forward by Curtis McClain, international secretary-treasurer of the ILWU.

The ILWU is one of eight international unions that has endorsed the April Actions. It has passed resolutions against apartheid and in favor of solidarity with the Black workers of South Africa. It has pushed for divestment of union funds in companies doing business in South Africa, and carried out boycotts of South African cargo on West Coast docks.

McClain said that the U.S. government's goal is "to strengthen the stranglehold of the ruling Nationalist Party in South Africa, while paying lip service to the struggle against apartheid."

"The U.S. government is committed to defend the South African regime," he continued, "because it is an important market and source of raw materials like gold, magnesium, and platinum. It believes that control of Black workers in South Africa is key to defend the interests of U.S. companies and banks doing business there."

McClain explained that the newly emerging trade union movement in South Africa will play a critical role in the fight for political and economic change. "South African trade unions have a decidedly political role in the struggle for a new society, in the struggle to overturn the basic blocks of the South African racial system," he declared. "Their struggles go beyond the factory floor — workers are oppressed politically, so they must act politically."

'Oppose arms sales to South Africa'

The U.S. labor movement, McClain urged, must "actively and aggressively oppose the Reagan administration's policy toward South Africa. Opposition to institutionalized racism must take precedence over trade and commercial relations. We must oppose arms sales to South Africa, and impose sanctions on U.S. companies doing business there, in line with United Nations resolutions."

And as trade unionists, he said, "we must educate union members on the conditions of life, work, and struggle of Black

South Africans, offer financial aid and technical assistance to South African trade unions, and analyze and publicize the links between apartheid and profits."

"The key element in ending apartheid," said McClain, "is what Black South African workers are doing. But as American workers we can offer important assistance to our brothers and sisters who are on the front lines of the battle against apartheid."

Bill Daly, business representative of the Painters Union Local 4, spoke on the coalition's demand for jobs and justice, not war. "It's about time that labor has come out of the closet to address the question of representing 'special interests,'" he said. "Yes, we do represent 'special interests' — the interests of the young, the old, minorities, and women. We are not ashamed to say it. It's what we're supposed to do."

Daly noted that the interests of U.S. working people are under heavy attack. "While workers in South Africa and Central America face real bullets, American workers face paper bullets, injunctions against the labor movement," he said.

Daly recalled recent strikes in the Bay Area, like those of Greyhound workers, department store workers, and hotel and restaurant workers, saying that the lesson that had to be drawn from all of them was the need for unity within the labor movement. April 20, he said, was an opportunity for such a show of unity.

Peter Cervantes-Gautchi, business manager of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, hit the U.S. government's development of nuclear weapons as a threat to all humanity.

Margaret Butz, deputy director of SEIU Local 390/400, chaired the meeting and appealed for donations.

The Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice can be contacted at 240 Golden Gate Ave., Room 112, San Francisco, Calif., 94102; telephone (415) 771-0882.

'Our visible opposition makes a difference'

The following "Open Letter to the Peace and Justice Movement" was sent out by the April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice Administrative Committee.

This April marks the tenth anniversary of the end of the War in Vietnam. In all of the many lessons of that period there is a critical one we must not forget as Ronald Reagan and his administration enter their second term. To put it simply, our visible opposition to government policies *does* make a difference. The broad-based movement that was built in this country to oppose U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia had a role — and an important role — in finally bringing that war to an end.

This April also offers us an opportunity to express our outrage at this administration's foreign and domestic policies. The April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice represent a new, positive step in the growth

of our movement. With agreement on four basic themes (no intervention, build a just society, reverse the arms race, oppose apartheid/end racism) a national coalition and many local coalitions have been built to organize for a complete program of activities and actions in Washington, D.C., from April 19 to 22. (Actions are also taking place in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and Houston.)

Momentum and interest for the April Actions has been steadily building. Our movement has come to understand that there is a relationship between the U.S. policy and practice of military intervention (be it in Central America, the Middle East or Southern Africa) and the ever-escalating nuclear arms race. More and more people see the tie between cuts in much-needed social spending and a completely unacceptable bloated military budget. We know there will be no lasting peace without full economic, social and political justice. The April Actions provide a timely and much-needed chance to publicly express those connections while calling for a comprehensive shift in this nation's domestic and foreign policies.

While the April Actions are politically strong, and interest builds daily, there is a very serious problem. Money — or more

precisely, the lack of it. We all know how hard it is to raise the money so desperately needed for the full range of organizing efforts going on throughout the country. And it would be a mistake to damage the funding base for that ongoing organizing. At the same time, a successful series of national actions could bring new energy to the broad-based movement for peace and justice.

The domestic and international situations are extremely serious. Now, in a profound way, we truly need each other. And this is just as true when we talk about money. It would be nice to be able to turn to a few sources for large financial support. But reality forces us to turn to *you*, the women and men who are the heart and soul, the sweat and tears of the progressive movement in this country.

We can raise the money needed for the April Actions — just as we know we can and must build a movement strong enough to turn this country around. Please do everything you can do to help build this vital effort for peace, jobs and justice. Send in as large a donation as possible (although no contribution is too small) to the April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, P.O. Box 2598, Washington, D.C. 20013-2598. Thank you.

Atlanta April 20 support growing

Continued from front page

"say Uncle," Hooker said. "To accomplish that, the U.S. will have to create one huge cemetery out of our country. A cemetery that will include the bodies of an untold number of North American youth."

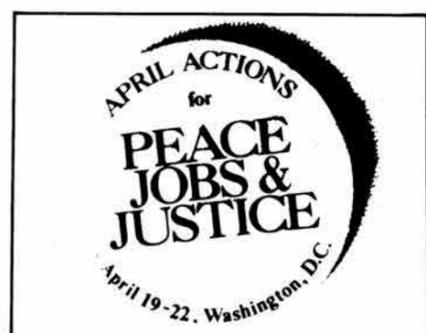
Hooker was in Atlanta March 16-18 on a tour sponsored by SCLC.

Atlanta mayor Andrew Young explained his support for the April Actions. "These demonstrations are designed to remind the nation of the choice it has between life and development and death and destruction," said Young.

"There is a lot of talk of whether there is democracy in Nicaragua," he said. "There is more democracy in Nicaragua than there was in the South that I grew up in before the civil rights movement."

The Atlanta Coalition also held a successful film showing earlier in the month, on March 9, to commemorate the 6th anniversary of the Grenada revolution. The Ellis Theatre was donated for afternoon showings of the Grenadian film *A Dream Takes Off* and the South African film *The Discarded People*. Seventy-five people, half of them Blacks, attended the event.

"A Freedom Struggle Benefit," sponsored by the National Black Independent Political Party, will take place Saturday, April 13, at 7 p.m. in the Atlanta Junior College Auditorium. It will build participation in the April 20 march on Washington.



New button to build April Actions costs \$1. It can be ordered from New York April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, 224 W. 4th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014.



Demonstration of more than 5,000 in San Salvador. Action demanded that murderers of Archbishop Oscar Romero, who was assassinated by government-run death squads March 24, 1980, be brought to justice.

Build April 20 — end U.S. domination of Grenadian people

BY HARRY RING

Marking the sixth anniversary of the March 13, 1979, Grenada revolution, Don Rojas issued an open letter to progressive publications internationally. The complete text appears in the April 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. (For information on obtaining a copy, see ad page 6.)

Rojas was a member of the New Jewel Movement, which led the Grenada revolution. At the time of the overthrow of the revolutionary government on October 19, 1983, he was press secretary to Maurice Bishop, Grenada's prime minister, who was assassinated on that day. Rojas had also been editor of the Grenadian weekly, *Free West Indian*. He is currently living and working in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

To defend the Nicaraguan revolution, and press the fight for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Grenada, Rojas in his letter urged maximum support for the April 20 march on Washington:

"We must now and in the coming days militantly reaffirm our solidarity and support for the Sandinista revolution, resolve to defend it with all our capacities, and urge our friends in the United States to participate in the planned April 20 demonstrations for Peace, Jobs, and Justice in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

"Patriotic and revolutionary Grenadians everywhere," he continued, "place high hopes in the success of these planned mass actions in the very belly of the imperialist monster because only a united, conscious, and vigilant American public can aid the working people of Nicaragua and El Salvador in defeating Washington's escalating military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. The April 20 demonstration also provides another platform from which to advance the fight against the

U.S. occupation of Grenada."

Rojas declared three political purposes for his open letter: to celebrate the Grenadian revolution's accomplishments; to press the struggle for U.S. withdrawal from Grenada; and to consider the lessons to be learned from the victory and defeat of the revolution.

He briefly summarizes the enormous gains achieved by the revolution — the sharp reduction in unemployment, the gains for women's rights, progress in building an educational system, and laws to protect and advance the interests of working farmers.

Since the overthrow of the revolution and the assumption of U.S. control, he writes, unemployment has again increased drastically, prostitution is again widespread, social programs introduced by the revolution are things of the past.

The open letter offers an incisive refutation of the apologists for the bureaucratic Coard grouping in the New Jewel Movement, which murdered Maurice Bishop and other central leaders of the revolution, and opened the door for the U.S. invasion.

The most fundamental lesson to be learned from the overthrow of the Grenada revolution, Rojas writes, "is one that the magnificent Cuban revolution continues to teach us: that it is not possible to seize and hold onto power only in the name of the working people. The workers and farmers must be led to take power themselves. This is what Bishop's NJM movement did on March 13, 1979."

The struggle to free Grenada from U.S. imperialist domination, Rojas declares, "will be long and difficult."

"But," he firmly adds, "victory is certain, and the second Grenada revolution is inevitable."



Militant/Angel Lariscy
Grenadian revolutionary Don Rojas speaking to Canadian audience at a meeting in Windsor, Ontario, in February 1984.

Congressmen push aid to Kampuchean terrorists

While Washington politicians falsely accuse Cuba and Nicaragua of exporting revolution, these same politicians are busily at work trying to export counterrevolution.

The latest move in this direction was a House subcommittee vote to allocate \$5 million for open military aid to Kampuchean anticommunist forces trying to overthrow the government of Kampuchea.

The March 20 funding vote was by the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Asia. The proposal was initiated by Stephen Solarz, a liberal Brooklyn Democrat.

The action came as the Kampuchean counterrevolutionaries suffered devastating blows at the hands of Kampuchean government troops backed by Vietnamese forces.

If Congress approves the measure, it will be the first time the U.S. government has openly provided direct military support to the counterrevolutionaries, although it has been giving them ill-concealed "covert" aid since they first set out to overthrow the present Kampuchean government.

The government there has been leading in the reconstruction of Kampuchea, which suffered so terribly, first from the murderous U.S. bombings during the Vietnam War, and then from the genocidal Pol Pot regime.

The House subcommittee voted that the proposed \$5 million be allocated to two of the counterrevolutionary bands, one

headed by Son Sann, the other by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Formally, none of the arms would go to the Khmer Rouge gang headed by Pol Pot.

This is simply cheap hypocrisy. The Sann and Sihanouk groups are in a U.S.-created alliance with Pol Pot. Washington's problem is that the stench from Pol Pot is so bad internationally that they have to act as if they don't know him.

While Democrats initiated the move to openly arm this gang of counterrevolutionary thieves, it's doubtful that the Reagan administration will say no, even though their present stance is not to give open assistance.

Last December, the Heritage Foundation, the right-wing "think tank" that is tight with the Reagan administration, formally proposed escalated support to the Kampuchean counterrevolutionaries and similar outfits elsewhere around the globe.

Like their Nicaraguan *contra* counterparts, the Kampuchean right-wingers have been unable to win any support among the workers and peasants. They have been forced to operate from Thailand sanctuaries along the Kampuchean border.

On March 11, their last military base on the border fell in the face of a Vietnamese-Kampuchean offensive. A drive that began last fall succeeded in removing the three counterrevolutionary groups from every one of their border bases, forcing them inside Thailand.

Reagan backs S. African terror

Continued from front page

icy of imperialism toward South Africa is *bipartisan*. Like Reagan, leading Democrats and other Republican leaders support South African imperialism. Their criticisms of the South African regime, when made — as even Reagan did at the same news conference, calling apartheid "repugnant" — are said in order to deflect the growing anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. and around the world.

The bottom line for Washington is defending imperialist interests in southern Africa. Johannesburg remains the key link in imperialism's chain around the neck of workers and peasants in South Africa and the entire region.

The iron fist policy of South Africa's rulers, like that of Israel's in the Mideast, is necessary because of the ongoing mobilizations and determined resistance by the oppressed majority.

Since 1960 big changes have occurred in South African society — particularly in the size and potential power of the Black working class. While the regime was murdering Blacks in Langa township, for instance, 40,000 Black gold miners went on an illegal strike at the Vaal Reefs mine near Klerksdorp, 120 miles west of Johannesburg, to demand higher wages. According to the owners of the Anglo American Corp., the strike is the biggest at a single mine. The mine is the largest gold mine in the world.

The South African government's brutal response to ongoing protests and strikes

cannot defeat the resistance and determination of the Black majority. The battles will continue until self-determination is won through a successful social revolution that overthrows the current regime and replaces it with a government of working people.

The best aid that U.S. working people can give to the Black majority is to join in the two weeks of protest from March 21 to April 6 organized by the American Committee on Africa, and the April 20 national antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and other cities.

Castro on Latin American revolution in 'IP'

The forthcoming issue of *Intercontinental Press*, dated April 15, reprints major portions of a long interview given by Cuban president Fidel Castro to Spanish journalists in February.

Castro emphasizes that for the United States to intervene in Nicaragua "is to play with fire beside a powder keg, because in my opinion, the political and social situation of Latin America can be described as a powder keg."

One of the principal causes of this explosive situation is the crushing burden of foreign debt faced by all Latin American countries. Castro details the scope and impact of this problem and concludes that simply renegotiating the debts will solve nothing. Instead he proposes a grace period of 10 to 20 years, free from all repayment obligations.

In this interview the Cuban president also explains his view that the Nicaraguan revolutionaries of the FSLN are correct in pursuing the "struggle for independence, national liberation, and social progress." Given Nicaragua's backward-

ness, he says, "economic development is the top priority for the Nicaraguan government, not the construction of socialism."

The current, April 1, issue of *IP* carries the full text of Castro's January 11 speech in Nicaragua in which he announced the cancellation of the debt Nicaragua owed for Cuban assistance in building a giant sugar refining complex there.

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

Enclosed is \$7.50 for 3 months. \$15 for 6 months. \$30 for 1 year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
— inprecor —

SALUTES MAY DAY

Sixth Anniversary of Grenada Revolution

Don Rojas on Lessons of Victory and Defeat

ANZUS Pact
Imperialists Collaborate to Police Asia and Pacific

Report From Ghana
Mass Organizations Hit
Imperialist Pressures

Fidel Castro in Nicaragua
'To Be a Revolutionary
Is a Great Privilege'

Subscribe to the Young Socialist

Bimonthly revolutionary youth paper covers the fight against Washington's wars and racism, the struggle for women's liberation, and the fight for a socialist world. \$1 for six issues

14 Charles Lane
New York, New York 10014

Nicaraguan child care: target of U.S. war

BY MICHAEL PENNOCK

CIUDAD SANDINO, Nicaragua — Behind the market in this city of industrial workers, located just outside Managua, is a child-care center.

In February a group of U.S. workers on a trip sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., visited this center.

As we arrived, the older children broke into smiles, pointed, and ran to tell others that visitors were coming.

Child-care centers are a vital gain of the Nicaraguan revolution. Under the Somoza dictatorship, there was only one child-care center in the whole country. Donated by Colombia, it was basically a warehouse, not an educational and developmental center.

Today, there are 125 child-care centers in the country, including those in factories and offices. They are called child development centers, or CDIs, because they emphasize not only care and proper nutrition, but education and preparation of children to take their places in a new kind of society.

On the wall of the Ciudad Sandino center is a quotation by Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge. Under Somoza, says Borge, "this was a country where indifference, corruption, and egotism reigned supreme."

Nicaragua's child development centers now teach social cooperation and the dignity of work. Such "subversive" ideas have made them frequent targets of the counter-revolutionary terrorists, called *contras*, who are financed by Washington.

At the CDI we were introduced to Evelyn Zapata Teller. She is a psychologist and currently the director of this center. Zapata Teller is a temporary replacement assigned by the government's social welfare ministry. The CDI's permanent director and a full half of the staff are gone. Fifty percent of all child-care workers in the country are participating in the cotton harvest. The U.S. war has forced Nicaragua to mobilize so many people for defense that students and service workers are playing the leading role in ensuring that the harvests are brought in.

Zapata Teller explained that the Ciudad Sandino center opened in 1983 with aid from Austria. It currently services about 110 children. Many of their parents work in the nearby market. Some parents work in factories on the far side of Managua.

The social welfare ministry also runs rural child nutrition centers. These are designed to provide meals for children whose families are working in the fields.

At the Ciudad Sandino CDI infants are accepted as young as 45 days old, on up to the age of six. The center is open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., five days a week.

We visited some of the children who were having lunch — a hot meal of meat, rice, vegetables, and milk. In addition to meals, every child gets a bath each day, and, except for the infants, classes.

There is far more demand for child care than Nicaragua can currently meet. The



Militant/Cindy Jaquith



Militant/Michael Pennock

Left, U.S. tour member examines bomb shelter at child development center. Right, lunchtime at center. U.S.-backed terrorists seek to destroy Nicaraguan child care which was gain of 1979 revolution.

CDIs and rural nutrition centers combined serve 67,000 children. But there are more than 600,000 children in Nicaragua under the age of six.

Children are selected for the centers based on those families with the lowest income. The CDIs also aid children with physical and psychological problems.

Zapata Teller emphasized that the child care is not free. It is felt that the payment of a token fee helps develop parental responsibility and interest in the activities of the center. The fees come nowhere near covering the expenses of the center. The upper limit charged is 180 córdobas a month (less

than U.S.\$6.50 at the official exchange rate). A skilled worker in Nicaragua can make up to 8,600 córdobas a month; the minimum wage for urban workers is 3,000.

We asked what impact the U.S. war is having on the children. Zapata Teller said this was a big concern of the staff. Here there have been no direct military attacks yet. But the children feel the impact of the war every day. Their families are among those being mobilized for the harvests or the war fronts. At the center, the children themselves participate in regular civil defense drills.

Other CDIs are harder hit by the U.S.

aggression. Eight children at a center in northern Nicaragua were killed by *contras* in January. Four rural nutrition centers were burned to the ground by *contras* in Rio San Juan near the Costa Rican border.

Even though child care in Nicaragua today is severely limited by the U.S. war, the children at Ciudad Sandino have better care than many working-class children in the United States. As we crossed the playground to leave we saw something else Nicaraguan children have — and most other children don't.

In the middle of their playground were two large bomb shelters.

Sandinistas aid peasants in war zone

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The revolutionary government of Nicaragua is making special efforts to alleviate the effects of Washington's war on peasants in the northern part of this country, where the U.S.-financed aggression is most intense.

In February, for example, Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge travelled to Matagalpa and Jinotega provinces to meet with more than 500 farmers, most of whom had been directly victimized by the U.S.-backed *contras*, as the counterrevolutionary terrorists are known here.

The people he met with, ranging from poor peasants to large landholders, told Borge of kidnappings, mutilations, and murders carried out by the *contras*. Forty-three said that their farms, processing facilities, or tools had been destroyed. The region produces coffee, a critical source of foreign exchange income for Nicaragua.

One peasant said, "We haven't been able

to get out a single load of coffee. We are penniless. We ask you, Commander Borge, and the revolution, to help us to go forward." He added, "And may this revolution live forever!"

In 1984 the peasants of these two provinces alone lost more than \$1 million in damages due to the *contras*. More than 20 farms have been destroyed just during the current harvest season.

After he had heard their stories, Borge announced that the government would declare a moratorium on debt repayments and provide additional credit to those whose farms have been burned down so that they can rebuild.

He also stressed the importance of the peasants being part of the military defense of the country. "We can't let ourselves be cowed by fear," he said.

Then Borge introduced a nine-year-old boy who had lost his leg in a *contra* attack. His mother had been killed. Borge

explained, "This child, victim of the counterrevolution, lost, not some property, but the most valuable thing there is in the world. We can reconstruct farms, but who can return to this child the life of his mother?"

The peasants also raised complaints with Borge about abuses they said had been committed against citizens there by the army and government authorities. They charged that army searches had been carried out without respect for the religious sentiments of the people; that one farm had been arbitrarily taken away from its owner; and that a few people had been unjustly imprisoned after others had accused them of being *contras*.

Borge said ways must be found to quickly channel reports on such abuses to the proper authorities. "We will be inflexible about compliance with the law, even if he who commits the crime is a founder of the Sandinista Front."

A few days later, Nicaraguan Pres. Daniel Ortega met with eight mothers, all of whom had children who were teachers and members of the 50th Anniversary Educational Brigade.

Several of these *brigadistas* have been special victims of the *contras*. Six were killed and eight kidnapped in September 1984. The latter, it has been learned, are being held prisoner in a *contra* camp in Honduras.

Since their capture their mothers have been working with the Red Cross, United Nations, and other international organizations and have even appealed to the pope to secure their children's freedom. Nicaraguan mass organizations such as the teachers' union (ANDEN) and the July 19 Sandinista Youth, as well as the ministry of education, have also become involved in this work.

At the meeting Ortega announced the formation of a special presidential commission that will appeal to the governments of Honduras and Costa Rica to help bring about the *brigadistas'* release.

One of the mothers said, "It is true that the situation of our children pains us. They are something that left us, of our blood. But one has to go forward, supporting those who are now in the mountains in order to win this war."

Nicaragua assails U.S. sabotage of loan

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government is calling for a united front of all Latin American countries against a U.S. attempt to block a loan to Nicaragua.

Nicaragua applied to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) for the \$58.4 million loan in 1982. The U.S. government is torpedoing the loan for purely political reasons, in violation of the regulations governing the bank.

Like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and similar financial bodies that claim to aid semicolonial countries, the IDB is largely under U.S. control.

Although it has 26 voting members, one nation, the United States, has 35 percent of the votes on the bank's board of directors. The other 25 members are Canada and the countries of Latin America.

Washington had originally tried to block the loan to Nicaragua through the bank commission that screens applications for financing. However, that commission approved the loan. Then U.S. Secretary of

State George Shultz sent a letter to Jorge Ortiz Mena, the bank president, in January. Shultz basically threatened a U.S. pullout from the IDB if the loan to Nicaragua went through.

Ortiz Mena announced several weeks later that the loan had been sent back to the screening commission. He claimed that the decision was not politically motivated. Shultz, Ortiz Mena said, had raised only technical and economic objections.

[A copy of Shultz' letter was obtained by the *Washington Post*. According to the *Post*, Shultz wrote that the loan would "relieve financial pressures on (Nicaragua) and free up other monies that could be used to consolidate the Marxist regime and finance Nicaragua's aggression against its neighbors. . . ."]

Nicaragua's vice-minister of external cooperation, César Aróstegui, said Nicaragua would appeal the decision on its loan request to a meeting of the bank's governors in Vienna at the end of March.

"We do not believe that Nicaragua has lost the battle against U.S. blackmail in the IDB," said Aróstegui. He added that his country would lead "a battle of all Latin

America" against U.S. attempts to use the IDB as one more weapon in its war against Nicaragua. This, Aróstegui said, "would destroy the principles that hold this body together."

If the U.S. government gets away with this attack on Nicaragua, he added, "It is easy to imagine the United States doing this at any time against another member" of the bank.

Nicaragua had earmarked the \$58.4 million loan for agriculture to bring 50,000 acres into the production of coffee, cotton, basic grains, and animal feed. It would also have increased the country's cattle herd by 63,000 head and allowed 28 new chicken farms to be established.

Nicaragua has also submitted two other loan requests to the IDB. One — \$50 million — is for the cattle industry. The other — \$17 million — is to finance a geothermal electrical generating plant.

"In a normal situation these credits . . . would be approved during this year, but now this will have to be the result of a Latin American victory against the United States," said Aróstegui.

Cop trial in Puerto Rico reveals cover-up

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The trial of 10 Puerto Rican police accused of perjury in the cover-up of the execution of two Puerto Rican independence activists ended March 23. The cops stood trial for lying about the events in the July 25, 1978, murder of Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado. They were gunned down by police at Cerro Maravilla, the mountaintop site of the Ricavision television tower.

In the testimony of former supervisor of Police Intelligence, José M. Montañez Ortiz, which opened the trial on March 4, the depth of the cover-up was revealed.

Montañez Ortiz told the court that he had lied to the district attorney investigating the shooting because, "I understood that I was not going to find support among the other police officers and it would be my version against theirs."

Julio Ortiz Molina, the taxi driver who had taken the youths to Cerro Maravilla, described to the courts how the youths were arrested, beaten, and then killed by police. He testified that he had lied to the district attorney on the day of the slayings because "at the time the person taking down my answers was a police captain, I was in police headquarters, my vehicle was in the hands of the police, and I understood that if I told him what happened they might have made reprisals against me."

Ortiz also told the court that three days later, when he tried to tell another district attorney what had really happened at Cerro Maravilla, "I was threatened with perjury charges."

Rikavision employee Miguel A. Marte Ruiz, who was working at their facilities at Cerro Maravilla the day of the murders, also testified. He told the court that he heard two gunshots about five to fifteen minutes apart. After the first shot, Marte testified, he saw one of the youths alive and crying while surrounded by cops.

Modesto Delgado, Marte's supervisor at Rikavision's Cerro Maravilla facilities, testified that one of the defendants, Rios Polanco, threatened him. After these threats he decided to lie and support the official police story that the youths were killed during a shoot-out at Cerro Maravilla. He told the court that he had advised Marte also to support the police version. As the investigations into the case continued, Modesto testified that he and Marte decided to tell the truth and changed their original statements.

Carmelo Cruz, a former member of the Police Intelligence Department who has immunity in this case, also testified. He told the court that Angel Luis Pérez Casillas, one of the ten cops on trial, had urged



Body of independence activist Arnaldo Rosado (left), who was murdered by cops. Julio Ortiz Molina (right) witnessed crime.



the cops to change their statements about what happened at Cerro Maravilla. Cruz testified that Pérez Casillas had instructed the cops on what to say before the district attorney in Ponce, the federal grand jury, and the Senate investigation of the Cerro Maravilla case.

The trial marks a victory for the Puerto Rican people. The U.S. government and local authorities have been dead set against a trial, and for six years they were successful in keeping the case out of court.

The perjury trial, now that it has begun, is marked by Puerto Rico's colonial status. Prospective jurors are required to be profi-

cient in English. In a Spanish-speaking country like Puerto Rico, this automatically eliminates most workers and farmers from the jury. The court also questioned prospective jurors about their political views: Did they support independence for Puerto Rico? Who did they support in the last elections on the island? Supporters of Puerto Rican independence were excluded from the jury.

A jury of eleven men and one woman was finally selected after interviewing nearly 100 people. This includes the brother of an attorney who had represented one of the cops in the 1983 Senate hearing

on the case.

Prior to the opening of the perjury trial, eight of the ten cops made motions before the court for separate trials, breaking the united defense the cops had put up during the initial investigations of the case. These motions, which were rejected by the court, reportedly implicate two of the accused cops, Luis Reverón Martínez and Rafael Moreno Morales, with the actual killing of the two independence activists.

In addition to perjury charges, all ten cops face first degree murder charges. The hearing on the murder charges is set for April 19.

S. African unionist speaks in Chicago

BY PETER LAZARE

CHICAGO — The message brought by Emma Mashinini, general secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, to working people in Chicago was simple and direct:

"Keep on demonstrating against the South African government. Keep up the pressure. Your efforts do not go unnoticed by the people in our country."

Mashinini was in Chicago on March 3-5 as part of a nationwide tour sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). Her visit included speeches to trade unionists, appearances before political organizations and churches, and meetings with labor leaders and political figures.

A highlight of her visit was a talk to more than 100 trade unionists at the ACTWU hall. The audience included more than 40 workers from the nearby Hart Schaffner and Marx factory.

Mashinini was introduced by Arthur Loevy, the Midwest director of ACTWU. When Mashinini rose to speak, she received a standing ovation.

She described the situation facing South African workers today. She spoke of the terrible injustices of the apartheid system; the pass laws; the use of migrant labor; the homelands policy; and other forms of institutional racism in South Africa. Mashinini explained how unions have arisen to fight against the system. Their objective, she explained, "is not to make the apartheid system any better. We want to get rid of it altogether."

Mashinini drew parallels between the situations facing workers in South Africa and workers in this country. She pointed out that hundreds of U.S. corporations have invested in South Africa to exploit the cheap labor there. Despite all the propaganda about the exemplary role these corporations play as agents of social change there, Mashinini declared, "Companies from the United States do not behave any better in South Africa than South African companies."

Mashinini also appeared before a special meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor that was devoted to women's issues. Of the 100 trade unionists assembled, more than half were women.

Mashinini said South African workers were gratified at the anti-apartheid efforts of the U.S. solidarity movement. These efforts, she stated, make South African workers feel they are not struggling alone.

On Thursday, March 7, trade unionists in Chicago responded to Mashinini's call for support to the struggle against apartheid. More than 100 people participated in a picket line at the South African consulate sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Organization for Women, and other women's rights groups. The chants of the picketers centered on three demands: to shut down the South African consulate; for U.S. corporations to divest from South Africa; and for an end to apartheid.

The picket was part of a regular series of Thursday pickets at the South African consulate sponsored by the Free South Africa Movement.

Antiabortion cop attacks woman

BY PAT GROGAN

A 26-year-old woman was physically attacked and then arrested by an off-duty New York City policeman as she was leaving a Brooklyn abortion clinic. The policeman was a participant in a right-wing, anti-abortion-rights picket line outside the clinic.

According to Dr. Michael Levy, the medical director of the Obygn Pavillion, Patricia Toro arrived at the clinic at 9:00

Stevie Wonder's music banned in S. Africa

In accepting his Academy Award for best original song March 25, Stevie Wonder dedicated his Oscar to Nelson Mandela, the central leader of the outlawed African National Congress of South Africa. Two days later the South African regime banned Stevie Wonder's music from the government-controlled broadcasting stations.

Mandela has been held in prison since 1962 by the racist South African regime and is serving a life sentence for "treason." On January 31 South Africa's rulers offered to release Mandela if he would promise to give up political activity.

Despite having spent more than two decades in prison, Mandela turned the offer down. "I am a member of the African National Congress," the Black leader stated, "and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die."

a.m. on Saturday morning, accompanying a friend who was seeking an abortion. Outside the clinic were three members of "Life in First Essence," an anti-abortion-rights outfit that has been picketing outside the clinic for eight years. One of the picketers was Russell Bjune, an off-duty cop.

Describing the scene as the two women entered the clinic, Dr. Levy said, "They shouted obscenities and verbally accosted the two women. It's like a war zone out there."

When Patricia Toro and her friend were leaving the clinic, Bjune confronted her and pushed a large sign of a burned fetus in her way. Then, he picked her up and threw her against a wall, yelling, "In the name of Jesus, do you know what they are doing inside there?"

Levy said that Toro and her friend went back into the clinic and called the police. However, the cops arrived and took the women to the 72nd precinct where Bjune charged Toro with harassment and resisting arrest. Her friend was charged with obstructing justice because she tried to help Toro after Bjune attacked her.

Toro was kept in jail overnight and was refused medical treatment despite Dr. Levy's efforts to get her taken to a hospital.

"I called the precinct several times and pleaded with them to take Miss Toro for medical care, because she had a bruise the size of a fist on her head," Dr. Levy said.

Toro has filed a complaint against Bjune, which has been turned over to the Civilian Complaint Review Board.

Missouri farmer is fined \$341,000

BY JEFF DORFMAN

ST. LOUIS — Wayne Cryts, a Missouri farmer, has again been ruled in contempt of court and ordered by a federal judge to pay over \$341,000 to a bankruptcy trustee.

The March 20 decision was a further outgrowth of legal actions against Cryts dating from February 1981 when he removed from storage 33,385 bushels of his own soybeans from a bankrupt grain elevator. The grain elevator company and its creditors were trying to keep Cryts' beans to cover the bankruptcy losses.

Cryts was jailed for two months in 1982 for being in contempt of court for refusing to name those who helped him remove his beans. At that time the court issued a \$287,708 judgment against Cryts, members of his family, and two other farmers. A jury acquitted Cryts of any wrongdoing, reflecting the broad support his case received from farmers and other working people in southern Missouri and around the country.

U.S. District Judge Thomas Eisele has clearly ruled that unless Cryts pays \$110,000 within a year, the judgment will be increased by another \$50,000.

Cryts said, "I don't have the money to pay the fine. But even if I did, I wouldn't. If it means going back to jail, and I sure don't want to be in jail, but I'm willing to accept that. I'd rather be in jail fighting for

what I believe than outside submitting to what I think is truly a great injustice."

Cryts is undaunted by this judgment. He spent the weekend following the court ruling in St. Louis participating in a farmer-labor meeting convened by the United Auto Workers Region 5. There he said, "I plan to spend my time trying to save this family-farm system."

Court OKs execution of young Black

"Being born Black in America was against me.

"You all cry out that America was built on Christianity. I say it was built on slavery. The poor and Black people, we're all pawns of society as long as we just sit back and don't do anything."

These were the words of 28-year-old John Young moments before he was killed in Georgia's electric chair on March 20.

He is the 41st person legally executed since the Supreme Court reinstated capital punishment in 1976.

The Supreme Court refused the day before to halt the execution, denying Young's claim that he had not gotten adequate legal representation from his lawyer. The lawyer has since been disbarred and admits that he had not adequately defended Young.

International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant April 1985

Police in Nicaragua: 'We identify with workers, peasants' Speech by Tomás Borge

To celebrate the fifth anniversary of Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior, a ceremony was held in the capital city of Managua on Oct. 17, 1984, to present awards to outstanding members of State Security, the Sandinista Police, and the Fire Department. Among the special guests were the mothers of combatants who had been killed in the course of police and security work, and a delegation of religious figures visiting from the United States.

Commander Tomás Borge, who has headed the Ministry of the Interior since its founding, gave the keynote speech. In it, he discussed the role and responsibilities of the police, security forces, and mass organizations in the initial stages of consolidating Nicaragua's workers and farmers government, which came to power on July 19, 1979. Borge also pointed out that in the future, when imperialism is eliminated and class contradictions cease to exist, there will be no more need for organs of coercion by the state.

The text of the speech was printed in the Oct. 18, 1984, issue of the Sandinista daily, *Barricada*. The translation of the following major excerpts is by Harvey McArthur. This speech is one of more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution that will appear in Pathfinder Press' new book *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*. This new, 400-page collection will be available soon from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. © Copyright 1985, Pathfinder Press; reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

Comrades:

The U.S. government recently published a document which, like a romance novel, carries the title *Broken Promises*. In it, they continue to claim the Sandinistas broke a series of promises we made to the Organization of American States before July 19 [1979]. They denounce the "repressive apparatus" created by the revolutionary state, by which they mean the Ministry of the Interior. They say we have a secret police — they are referring to State Security — and claim it is headed by a Cuban ex-colonel who today has Nicaraguan citizenship.

And I thought Lenin Cerna [head of State Security] came from León; but now, according to the North Americans, it seems he is a Cuban ex-colonel! It's a miracle they don't claim he's Vladimir Ilyich [Lenin] himself, reincarnated!

They say the Sandinista Police are part of this enormous repressive apparatus, and that they are a body designed to reinforce totalitarianism.

They include the mass organizations as a functional part of State Security — and this, I must confess, is absolutely true. What would we do without the mass organizations? There would be no State Security. The mass organizations are the antidote to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency; the organized people are the backbone, the irreplaceable source of strength of the Ministry of the Interior.

But just as these mass organizations make up our fundamental base of support, they are also our sharpest critics. Here I have a communication from Leticia Herrera, the national coordinator of the CDS [Sandinista Defense Committees]. It says there is still a lack of coordination with and support for the CDSs on the part of the Sandinista Police and State Security. The CDSs point out that on occasion, when carrying out their assigned tasks, the Sandinista Police do not give proper treatment to those arrested and to the people in general. The CDSs also believe that at times we place little importance — or do not give an adequate response to — the information and reports that come from the people's organizations. They ask, in addition, for modernization of the weapons issued to the Volunteer Police, so as to equip them more adequately for the situation of war we face.

It is likely that the analysts of the Central Intelligence Agency will never come to understand the great significance of this integration, of this relationship full of criticism and encouragement, that exists between the Minis-

try of the Interior and the organizations of the Nicaraguan people.

They end their cheap little novel by saying that the Ministry of the Interior, the Police, and State Security are designed to perpetuate themselves within a totalitarian state.

Of course, another thing they won't understand is when I say that one day the Ministry of the Interior will disappear!

We are convinced that one day the Ministry of the Interior will disappear. Some day there will no longer be any reason for coercive organs of the state. But naturally, as long as class contradictions, both national and international, continue to exist; as long as imperialism, with all its consequences, continues to exist; as long as crime, one of the saddest scars left by the exploitation of man by man, continues to exist — the Ministry of the Interior will remain as a powerful organ of combat, control, vigilance, and coercion.

When the Ministry of the Interior no longer has any reason to exist and human society has been transformed into the reign of justice, when egotism and hatred have been driven out of man's consciousness, then some complementary tasks such as fire-fighting and traffic control will be directly assumed by organizations of the community.

The victory of the Sandinista People's Revolution was our contribution to the struggle by mankind worldwide to

create a better society. Each victorious revolution will mark a qualitative change in humanity's inevitable, sweeping effort to eliminate the causes of inequality — first and foremost that mountain of bones and artificial illumination, that raucous shout of arrogance that is North American imperialism.

But in the meantime the Ministry of the Interior is indispensable, and for this historical moment we are very far from proposing its extinction. On the contrary, the only possible alternative is for it to grow in quality and quantity, in organization, in operative capacity, in sharp and forceful response, in unrelenting vigilance over the happiness we have won, in technical perfection, and in full and unlimited integration with the working people.

Development of this sort means, in the long-term historical sense, negation of the ministry itself.

To the extent that we overcome crime, and above all to the extent that we negate the existence of imperialism, we will at the same time be negating the need for the Ministry of the Interior. As we increase the strategic blows we strike the enemy, there will be less need for the efforts, for the very existence of the Ministry of the Interior, at least as we know it now, as a powerful, decisive body whose vitality is the very essence of the revolution.

The fighters of the Ministry of the Interior came from a great school — the school of revolution. The revolution taught us how to be police who fight crime, how to defend the security of the state by placing our lives at risk to break up operations by the counterrevolution. The revolution taught us that technique is important, but more important is consciousness of the need to commit everything to the cause of the exploited.

What use is the technique we have mastered, what good will it do us if we do not possess unbreakable morale?

What use would technique have for us if we did not fully identify with the interests of the workers and peasants?

Proof of what we have accomplished lies in the fact that in the past five years the Sandinista Police has significantly reduced criminal activity, while at the same time significantly increasing its ability to solve the crimes that are committed. In 1983, more than 6,000 of the 8,400 crimes committed were solved. This means that seventy-two out of every 100 crimes were solved by the Sandinista Police.

But the decrease in crime is also a result of the reorganization of our society, of the emergence of a new, collective morality. In 1980, a year of a high rate of crime,

Continued on next page



Militant/Fred Murphy

Borge called mass organizations like neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees "the antidote to the Central Intelligence Agency." They work with Sandinista Police and State Security to defend Nicaraguan people against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary sabotage.

Continued from preceding page

there was no Volunteer Police. The noticeable decrease in crime in 1983 was due in good measure to the existence of more than 8,000 Volunteer Police who, by December, will number 10,000. This participation by the people inside the structures of the Sandinista Police has also made possible an increase in the number of hours of vigilance and patrols so as to assure the safety and tranquility of our people.

The police still face a series of problems. There are delays in radio patrols responding to emergency calls. At times, when an accident happens, several hours may pass before traffic specialists report to the scene.

Although all the achievements of the Sandinista Police are a matter of pride for the revolution, we believe the principal achievement is the development of an honest and revolutionary police force. That joy, that confidence, that sparkles in our eyes when we see a member of the Sandinista Police, working beneath the sun or the rain, is the opposite of the terror once inspired by the Somozaist police and today inspired by similar police forces that defend the corrupt interests of Latin American dictators.

One year: 5,552 traffic accidents

We must — it cannot be postponed — confront the problem of prevention and clarification of the causes of traffic accidents, which remain at a critical level.

Over the past 12 months there were 5,552 traffic accidents, which meant a loss of more than 100 million córdobas. But infinitely more serious is the resulting loss of human life. The worst thing is that the majority of those accidents were caused by people who drive on our narrow streets as if they were on a racetrack, in many cases drunk or paying no attention to traffic regulations.

The Department of Transportation and the Sandinista Police, with the participation of the entire nation, must confront this critical problem with consistent and sustained campaigns. The safety of our families should be a sufficiently persuasive reason for us to avoid traffic accidents. Those who kill through careless traffic accidents are guilty of homicide and should be treated as such.

We are concerned by the fact that the police have still not taken up adequately the prevention of crimes by minors. We are referring specifically to those children who commit some crime and who should receive special attention so they will not resume their criminal activity. This, in a situation in which our society, for objective reasons, still does not offer these children full alternatives for development and recreation.

With the triumph of the revolution we inherited a prison system that had never sought to reeducate the prisoners. We, who were once guests in those dungeons, concluded that the concept of the revolution meant reeducating the prisoners with the aim of reintegrating them into productive labor. About 40 percent of the prison population is now involved in productive tasks, which in turn opens up for them real possibilities of being reintegrated into society. Our goal is for all prisoners to participate in productive tasks and to lead a life that is useful and less difficult.

Six open farms

Today there are six open and semi-open farms, 897 prisoners are taking part in adult education programs, 167 are enrolled in an accelerated primary school program, and others are studying at the secondary level through correspondence courses.

Nonetheless, we still face serious problems of overcrowding, lack of resources to undertake reeducation on a wider scale, and a lack of adequate sites.

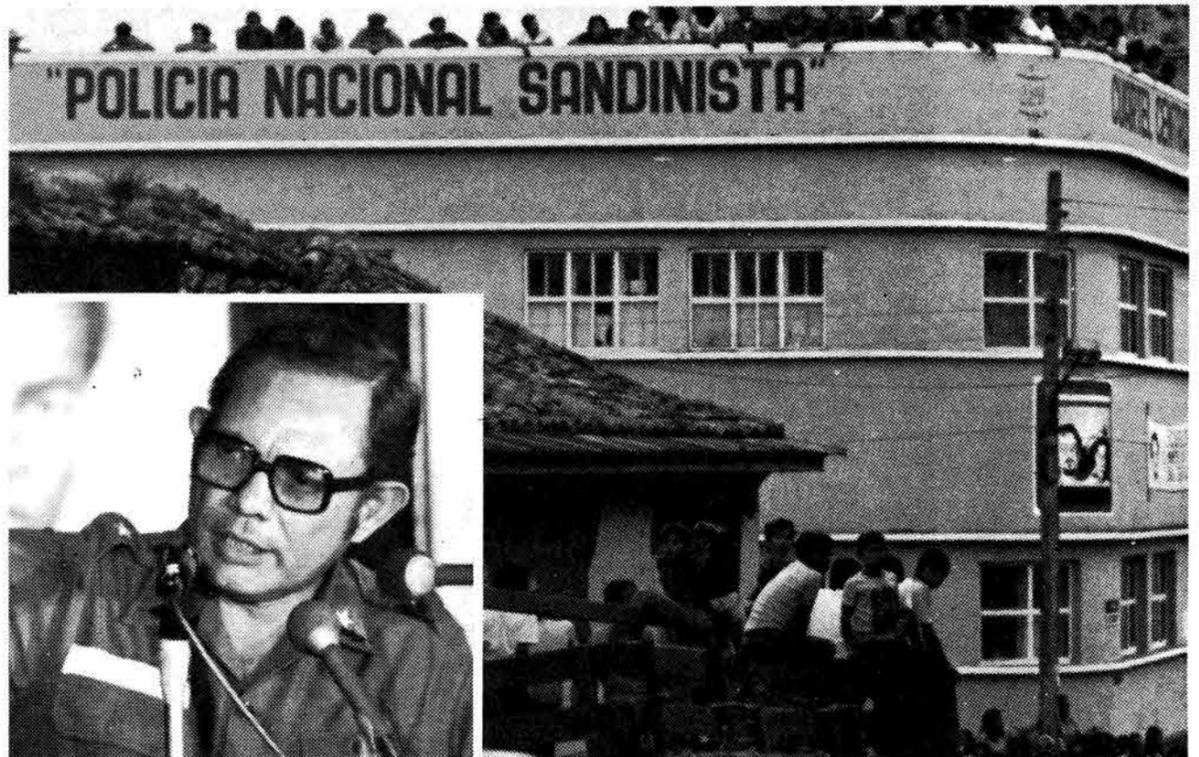
The compañeros of the prison system carry out perhaps one of the most difficult and self-sacrificing tasks of the Ministry of the Interior.

Over these last years we have enacted a law on citizenship, laws on travel and the residency status of foreigners, and a series of other laws that make it possible for the passport and immigration department to function within the framework of full revolutionary legality.

For various reasons, not unrelated to the remnants of institutional feudalism and bureaucracy, weaknesses persist in national security in terms of supervision of the processing of certain types of travel documents.

Many Nicaraguans travel, and inevitably there are a number of forms that have to be filled out to leave the country. But it used to be even more difficult for those who lived outside the capital to take care of such matters. Steps have been taken to decentralize the processing of travel documents, and this has made it possible to resolve at a local level problems that previously had to be referred to Managua.

The National Fire-Fighting System, despite concentrating its efforts on the prevention of fires, has had to put out an average of 280 fires a year. Their heroism and efficiency was demonstrated once again on Friday, October 12, when they extinguished the fire that consumed the PROAGRO [Agricultural supplies and equipment] warehouses, on the highway leading north out of Managua.



Militant/Michael Baumann
Borge explained, "The fighters of the Ministry of the Interior came from a great school — the school of revolution. The revolution taught us how to be police who fight crime, how to defend the security of the state by placing our lives at risk to break up operations by the counterrevolution."
 Militant/Fred Murphy

The fire departments's lack of equipment is at times dramatic. We now have 18 fire-fighting units in different regions of the country, but one-third of their vehicles are between thirty and forty years old. In this sense, we are paying the price of a vicious circle of poverty. If there is a fire, we will be left even poorer. But because we are poor, we do not have sufficient resources to put out the fires. The only unfailing resource is the heroism of our people.

In the face of lack of resources: consciousness

The lack of resources of the Ministry of the Interior has in large part been offset by a high level of consciousness and fighting spirit, a spirit and consciousness that have been reflected in exceptional acts of heroism over these last five years. Many of these acts have not received public recognition and probably will not receive it for years.

This spirit and consciousness explain how, starting with almost nothing, we developed a State Security apparatus capable not only of confronting the counterrevolution, but also of defeating the work of the CIA against Nicaragua.

It was only with the direct support of the United States and the complicity of other countries that the counterrevolution was able to establish two fronts of military struggle and two armed counterrevolutionary organizations.

The major cities of the country have been kept free of enemy activity. This left the enemy with no alternative but to attack production centers, schools, farms, and cooperatives from their foreign military bases, through aerial and marine bombardment.

It would take much time to list all the blows our State Security has dealt to the CIA. It will suffice to mention the smashing of the [1981] "Red Christmas" operation, whose aim was to separate the Atlantic Coast from the rest of Nicaragua. And the uncovering of terrorist commando squads that had been organized to assassinate leaders of the revolution.

We should also recall the terrorist plan to send into the country toys and flashlights containing high-power plastic explosives, whose victims would have been Nicaraguan children and workers.

How we stopped the CIA

Adding up the number of terrorist attacks, we can appreciate the magnitude of the tasks facing our counterintelligence and intelligence forces.

Operations have been planned against our sugar mills, refineries, electric power plants and substations, textile mills, the Momotombo geothermal power plant, oil pipelines, bridges, railways, airports, radio stations, and relay stations of the Sandinista Television System. In 1983 alone, State Security uncovered more than 100 plans for assassination attempts and for other types of enemy activity.

State Security has managed to infiltrate the ranks of the counterrevolution. The courage of these silent heroes has given us advance warning of enemy attacks. They have also worked with the Sandinista People's Army and helped coordinate a number of military offensives.

The Sandinista People's Army is well supplied with troops — in both quantity and quality — as well as with technical training, especially in armored vehicles, artil-

lery, and antiaircraft weapons.

As a whole, the EPS has attained the characteristics of a modern army. Our army, the pride of the revolution, is disciplined, conscious, and valiant.

The Ministry of the Interior has its own small bodies of troops, both in State Security and as part of the Sandinista Police. The "Pablo Ubeda" troops of the Ministry of the Interior, which have made a specialty of heroism, have been and continue to be trained for specific actions that require a high level of fighting ability. Of course, all the fighters of the Ministry of the Interior are prepared to become combat soldiers in a moment of military emergency. There is not a single official, a single officer, a single fighter of the Ministry of the Interior who is not ready and willing to take up arms for the homeland, to kill and die for our revolution.

[After addressing in detail how the FSLN responded to efforts by U.S. imperialism and Nicaragua's capitalist political parties to scuttle Nicaragua's elections and undermine the Contadora talks, Borge continues:]

But the effort to undermine the legitimacy of the elections, postpone them, and undercut the validity of the Contadora group are not the only way they have tried to attack us, nor are these our sole difficulties. We also face a siege on our economy, a decline in the prices paid for our products, and the heavy burden of the past, which together have created a potentially dangerous economic situation. We have to take the reins firmly and put on our spurs if we intend to ride that runaway horse — the law of value — under the present conditions of our economic system.

It is no consolation to know that the immense majority of the countries of Latin America suffer from a terrifying economic anemia, bound hand and foot by their foreign debt and the poverty of their peoples.

The revolution is a guarantee of the future

We are certain that the revolution is the guarantee of a future that will be far different from that dismal image of the Nicaragua of yesterday — or from the present faced by many of our sister peoples. We still have before us the objective of building a new society that will embody the paradise of the imagination, the paradise of human solidarity, where the highest form of property will be the responsibility of all of mankind to all of mankind.

To lose sight of the final objective would be like constructing a building without plans or drawings, creating a useless framework of iron and cement. We revolutionaries know that those who lose sight of the horizon lose sight of the revolution.

Building this new society means traveling a lengthy road. This road is called strategy, and each step we take along it is called tactics. The Sandinista People's Revolution has to, must, survive on this long road by unraveling the strands of the web that faces us at each moment.

Union of strategy and tactics

The greatest of errors would be to transform a tactic into a strategy, just as it would be wrong to deny coming and going, flexibility at any given moment, and intransigence when that is appropriate. Tactics and strategy are united dialectically. But — and this we must stress — tactics are the servant of strategy.

Continued on ISR/8

Fidel Castro on recent shifts in Cuban economy

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

Significant shifts are under way in the Cuban economy. Two recent speeches by Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro outlined the changes. They were approved in the 1985 economic plan adopted at the end of December 1984 by the National Assembly of People's Power, Cuba's legislature.

The main decisions adopted are to:

Prioritize production for exports to both the East European workers states and the capitalist world market.

Reduce consumption of imported oil through economizing on energy use, and through pushing forward on the development of nuclear power.

Reduce other imports through substitution of domestically made products.

Reduce the rate of increase in social spending.

Achievements of revolution

One aspect of the U.S. ruling class' anti-Cuba propaganda campaign is the claim that Cuba's economy is a failure. But the achievements of the Cuban Revolution to date show that nothing could be further from the truth.

Over the last quarter century Cuba has led the way among countries that suffer from imperialist oppression in the expansion of health, education, rural electrification, mass transportation, and many other social services. It has built factories and oil refineries, mechanized and diversified agricultural production, built a modern fishing fleet, and intensified extraction of its mineral resources.

Cuba's infant mortality rate — a key indicator of the availability of medical services — is a remarkably low 15 per 1,000 live births. For purposes of comparison, this is a figure the United States as a whole did not reach until 1976 and, because of racial discrimination in medical care, has not yet been attained for U.S. Black infants.

Cuba's literacy rate of 96 percent is one of the highest in the world. In levels of nutrition, in all of the Americas it is surpassed only by Argentina, Canada, and the United States.

In terms of economic development, Cuba has few rivals in the semicolonial world. Over the last 26 years the Cuban economy has expanded at an average annual rate of 4.6 percent. Over the last four years the rate of increase has been the highest on the continent, approaching 8 percent a year.

Strong economic growth continued in 1984. While in 18 other Latin American countries the economies grew at an average of 2.6 percent, in Cuba growth increased 7.4 percent.

Why then the shifts in economic policy?

Impact of world economic crisis

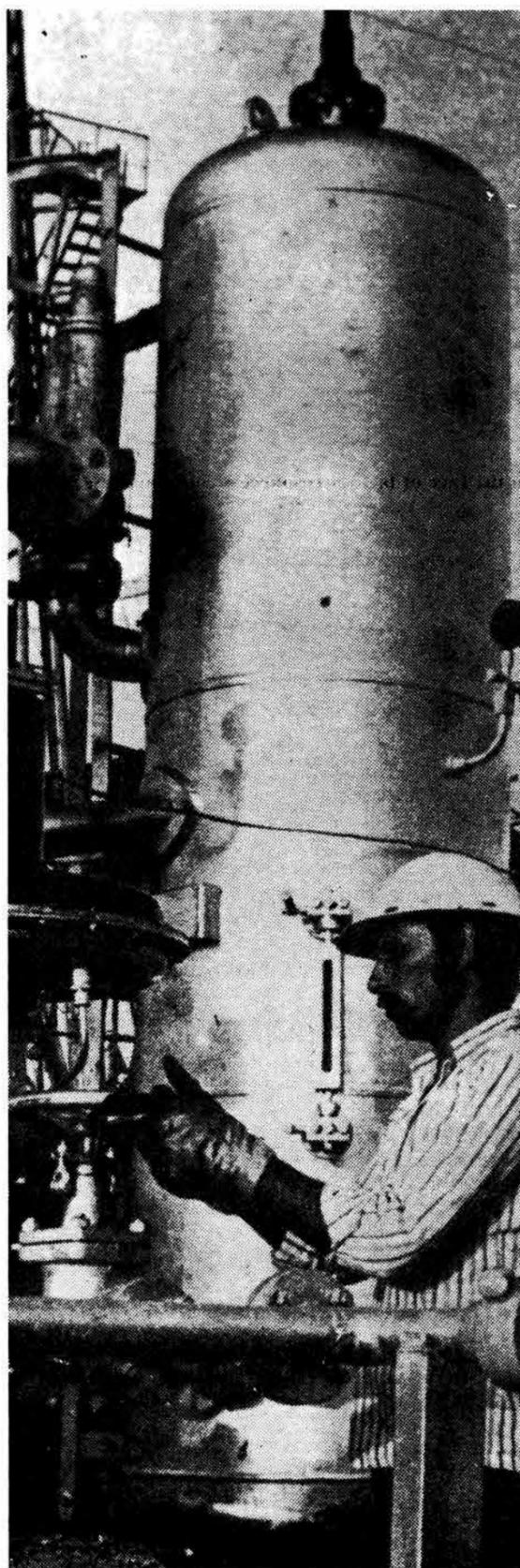
Like all semicolonial countries, which are oppressed by imperialism, Cuba has been hit hard by the world capitalist economic crisis. The interest rates it must pay for hard-currency foreign loans have skyrocketed. The prices it must pay for imports from the world capitalist market have increased. Yet the prices of the raw and semi-finished materials it exports have plummeted. One ton of sugar, for example, used to buy six tons of oil. Today, that same ton of sugar buys only one-third of a ton of oil.

Cuba faces additional economic limitations stemming from the hostility of the U.S. ruling class. Chief among them is the fact that Cuba's "natural" market, the United States, only 90 miles away, is completely cut off by an economic blockade that has been continually enforced under the last seven U.S. presidents, Democrats and Republicans alike. Most of Cuba's exports must travel an extra 3,000 to 5,000 miles to Europe to find buyers. The same is true for its imports.

Council of Mutual Economic Assistance

Economic aid from the Soviet Union and other workers states has been crucial in helping Cuba withstand these pressures. As a member of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), a 10-member organization of workers states, Cuba — along with Vietnam and Mongolia, the two other non-European members — receives special priority in trade and in economic development aid.

At the last CMEA conference, which was held in Havana Oct. 29-31, 1984, Cuban Vice Pres. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez pointed to the significance of this commitment. "Not only was it decided to ratify preferential treatment given to Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia by the other members," he said, "but it was also made very clear that the CMEA membership as a whole should contribute to speed up the development of these three countries in order to put them on a par — in a period which cannot be



Granma Weekly Review

In recent speeches, Cuban president Fidel Castro explained necessity to economize on use of imported oil and to develop nuclear power. He acknowledged dangers inherent in nuclear power, which are exacerbated in capitalist countries by quest for profits. Cuba's plants, he stressed, will be built with "all the responsibility the socialist state can muster."

short — with those of the other members."

Castro explained in his address to the CMEA meeting, "It is Cuba's membership in the socialist community, along with our people's successful efforts to continuously raise labor productivity and make our economy more efficient and profitable, that has enabled us to advance as we are doing."

A special agreement of cooperation exists between the CMEA and Nicaragua. Regarding this, Castro said, "We believe it is dramatically urgent to do our best to help Nicaragua confront victoriously the enormous human and economic sacrifices that the Reagan administration's attacks have imposed on it."

"Cuba," Castro pledged, "will spare no efforts to fulfill this undeferrable duty" to Nicaragua.

To facilitate Cuba's longer-range planning, aid for big investment projects from other CMEA members is negotiated in five-year contracts.

The Cuban government organizes the economy based on five-year plans. When the 1986-1990 five-year plan was drawn up, it assumed aid that the Cubans were counting on receiving from the Soviet Union and other countries. Meetings were held last fall to determine how much aid the Soviet Union would provide Cuba over the next five years. The outcome, Cuban Vice President Rodríguez told the *Washington Post* in early February, was that Cuba would receive less than anticipated.

"Our expectations were for 4 billion rubles [nearly \$5 billion] in combined new and continuing projects," Rodríguez said. But Cuba had to reduce its requests "to more realistic amounts."

New look at economic priorities

In a speech December 28, at the conclusion of the National Assembly of People's Power, Castro discussed the new steps that will be taken in light of this situation now facing Cuba.

"It is really by reviewing the international situation and the economic crisis affecting a large part of the world, by probing these present and future problems and the outlook after 1990 and after the year 2000 for the Third World and for our country," he said, "that we have come to important conclusions, to certain ideas and concepts. . . ."

"I have explained them to some comrades, in theory, in overall terms. At times they have been talked about: what is necessary in theory is to increase exports, put the emphasis on the economic, limit investments of a social nature, etc. But to have reached the conviction, a generalized awareness in all the Party and government leadership, that hadn't happened before."

After reviewing the social gains Cuba has made since the revolution, Castro asked: "How was this miracle possible?" The resources, he answered, "in part, came from the efforts of our people, but what essentially made possible these advances and the solution of all these problems was international solidarity, the solidarity of the socialist camp and primarily the Soviet Union."

"That was our privilege," Castro continued, "but it also created a certain mentality among us. Everything was solved; everything was secure." This led to "a wasteful mentality, a mentality of little thrift, a consumption rather than export mentality . . . an import rather than export mentality."

It was his opinion, Castro said, that "had we invested those resources better, we would have accomplished a lot more . . . had we known then what we know today . . . had we arrived at these concepts sooner, we could have accomplished a lot more."

'Strategic export products' shortfall

Turning to Cuba's economic performance in 1984, Castro noted the growth that had been registered but pointed out that growth percentages alone do not tell the whole story. What matters are what areas the growth is in. In 1984, he said, the important point is that "we fell short in three strategic export products, while at the same time we increased our imports."

In sugar production, projected to reach a total of at least 8.8 million tons, there was a shortfall of about 600,000 tons. Production of Cuba's two other main exports — nickel and citrus — also fell short. ". . . growth in products that occasion hard currency expenditures or needs, cutting down on production that brings in hard currency. . . . To a certain extent that is what we had in 1984," Castro said.

In a speech to the same assembly of People's Power delegates, Minister of Economic Planning Humberto Pérez issued a similar caution in evaluating overall results of the 1981-85 five-year plan:

Continued on ISR/6

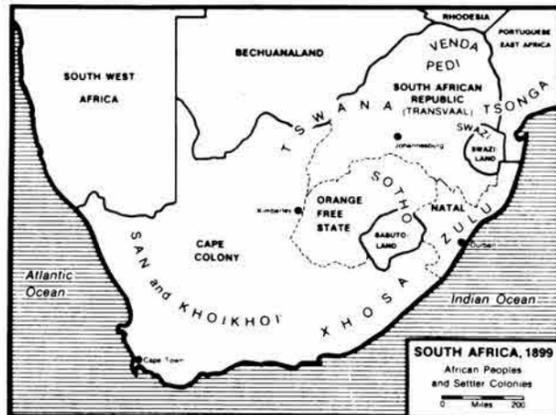
How Marxists view the Anglo-Boer War

Printed below are excerpts from a letter to the editor from *Militant* reader Victor Langley from New York City. Langley's letter was written in response to a review by Don Davis that appeared in the November 23, 1984, issue of the *Militant*. Davis reviewed an article by Russian Bolshevik leader Gregory Zinoviev entitled "Wars: Defensive and Aggressive," which appears as the appendix to the *Study Guide to Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*.

Langley objected to Davis's statement that Zinoviev's article explained "why Marxists backed the Boers in South Africa in their war against British imperialism at the turn of the century."

Following Langley's letter is a reply by *Militant* staff writer Mohammed Oliver.

How can a paper that purports to be Marxist run articles supporting the Boer Rebellion? The piece by Don



Davis on Zinoviev's pamphlet on imperialist war did just that, and Davis claimed that that was the Marxist view at the time. I don't believe it. It certainly wasn't Lenin's position.

The Boers, the Dutch settlers who colonized South Africa, viciously drove the Black African population from their land and brutally oppressed and enslaved the various African peoples. They are, and remain today, the most brutal oppressors of the African peoples. When these oppressors rose up against British rule there was nothing progressive about the revolt. On the one hand there stood the British imperialists and, on the other, stood the Dutch colonial settlers. The Boer War was nothing more than a reflection of the inter-imperialist conflicts between Britain and the Netherlands.

The Boer War was a falling out among thieves over which oppressor would be able to exploit the rich gold and diamond fields of South Africa. The Boer rebellion was more like Ian Smith's "declaration of independence" in Rhodesia in 1965 or the slaveocracy's revolt in this country in the 1860s. Didn't Marxists oppose these rebellions?

Marxists didn't support either the British imperialists or the Boer settlers. This war was an inter-imperialist one. Revolutionaries called for the overthrow of both the British and the Boer oppressors through a national liberation war by the oppressed Blacks.

Militant reader Victor Langley raises some important questions in his letter to the editor. Taking a look at the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 can be useful in getting a better appreciation of the Marxist approach to analyzing wars in our epoch.

The position of Marxist movement

Langley contends that Zinoviev's view of this war was exceptional among Marxists at the time; that it was not the view of Lenin or other leaders of the Second International.

The claim that this was not Lenin's position is false. First of all, Lenin and Zinoviev were close collaborators at the time.

Zinoviev was a central leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian revolution. At the time he wrote the article in question, he and Lenin were the two Central Committee members of the Bolsheviks living in exile. They jointly edited the Central Committee newspaper, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and other Central Committee publications.

One result of this editorial collaboration was a book written by Zinoviev in 1916-1917, *The War and the Crisis of Socialism*. The article, "Wars: Defensive and Aggressive," appeared as a chapter in that book.

Lenin reviewed the chapter of Zinoviev's book containing his views on South Africa. And there is no evidence that Lenin ever indicated any disagreement with Zinoviev's view.

Secondly, although Lenin didn't say much about the

Anglo-Boer War, what he did say was unambiguous.

In Lenin's article "The War in China," written in 1900, he explained, "For the sake of the profit of a handful of capitalists, the bourgeois governments have waged endless war, have sent regiments to die in unhealthy tropical countries, have squandered millions of money extracted from the people, and have driven the peoples in the colonies to desperate revolts or to death from starvation. We need only recall the rebellion of the native peoples against the British in India [1857-59] and the famine that prevailed there, or think of the war the English are now waging against the Boers."

That is, Lenin compared the Boers' struggle against Britain's rulers to the upsurge by the oppressed peoples of India against the same British ruling class.

But it wasn't only Lenin and Zinoviev that held this position. In 1901-02, the Bureau of the Second International opposed the aggression by Britain in South Africa. To the great majority of the socialists of the day, the Anglo-Boer War was a classic example of a capitalist colonial war.

Imperialism

In his book, Zinoviev explained that in the final decades of the 19th century, capitalism on a world scale had reached a new stage — imperialism. Both Zinoviev and Lenin argued that this stage is the highest and last phase of capitalism. It is marked by wars and revolutions, by inter-imperialist conflict over control of the raw materials and labor power of the colonial and semicolonial world, and national liberation wars fought by these oppressed nations against their imperialist exploiters.

Zinoviev wrote that "all the wars of the non-European peoples, who have been turned into mere objects of imperialist policy, are 'just' wars of defense."

Lenin, in his July 1916 article, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," explained that the working class, fighting for its emancipation, is confronted by an alliance of all the imperialist classes. Therefore, Lenin argued, "the main thing today is to stand against the united, aligned front of the imperialist powers, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the social-imperialists, and for the utilization of all national movements against imperialism for the purposes of the socialist revolution."

Boer war

Zinoviev and other revolutionaries looked at the Anglo-Boer War in this framework. "The Boer war," he said, "was a just war on the part of the Boers and the world proletariat took their part."

"Why? Because the Boer people was fighting for its independence," said Zinoviev, adding in a footnote that, "This did not prevent the Boers from exploiting a part of the natives."

"English imperialism, however," Zinoviev continued, "was fighting for the capture of the diamond fields..."

Zinoviev noted that, "For decades the English imperialists had oppressed the Boers, exploiting them politically and economically."

Langley disagrees, claiming the Boer republics were themselves imperialist nations and the Anglo-Boer War an "inter-imperialist conflict."

Is Langley right, and Zinoviev and other revolutionary leaders wrong? Just who were the Boers anyway?

To answer these questions, it's necessary to step back and look at the historical context of the Anglo-Boer War. Langley's incorrect view of the conflict flows precisely from his ahistorical approach.

The Boers — from the Dutch word for farmer — were the descendants of Dutch settlers, who first began to arrive in South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. This began a long history of conquest, plunder, and dispossession of the indigenous African peoples and their societies.

Colonial land grab

The colonialists drove the native peoples from the land and seized it for their own use. This drive for land would continue to motivate Dutch and, later, the British and Boer colonial policy.

In addition to a shortage of land, the settlers also faced a big shortage in labor power. In 1657 the Dutch East India Co. agreed to the importation of slaves from elsewhere in Africa and Asia. Slavery was the predominant form of labor in the Dutch colony throughout the 18th century.

The Boers fought colonial wars for more than a century as they expanded further into the countryside.

In 1794, the Dutch East India Co., broken under the weight of immense debt, went bankrupt. Using the excuse that the Dutch colony on the Cape might fall into the hands of the French rulers, the Netherlands' British allies seized the Cape in 1795.

So, Langley is mistaken to call the Boer rebellion "a



Gregory Zinoviev, a central leader of Russian revolution and a collaborator of Lenin's, explained why vanguard of world proletariat backed Boer republics in southern Africa in their war against Britain.

reflection of the inter-imperialist contradictions between Britain and the Netherlands." Dutch rule in the Cape had been ended for more than a century before the Anglo-Boer War began.

Like their Dutch predecessors, the British rulers granted privileges to the settlers — British and Boer. The British governors parcelled out 4,000-acre farms to the settlers. This land was forcibly stolen from the native peoples and was worked in large measure by subjugated African labor.

'Great Trek'

Meanwhile, in Britain the industrial capitalists were becoming dominant in the economy and government. To the industrial barons, slave labor was more costly and less efficient than wage labor. The slave trade was abolished in the British empire in 1807, and the slaves freed in the Cape Colony in 1834.

Between 1836-1846, 10,000 Boers left the Cape Colony for the interior in what was called the "Great Trek." While opposition to the abolition of slavery motivated some of these settler-farmers, the primary reason for the expansion was the search for more land.

The Boer expansion meant a new series of colonial wars. In these conflicts, the Boers served as the shock troops for the British capitalists. Every bit of territory seized by the settlers was annexed by the British rulers, causing the Boers to expand still further. Every attempt by the Boers to set up an independent state was crushed by British troops.

In 1854, the British rulers, for largely economic reasons, decided not to pursue the Boer expansion any further and allowed the settlers to set up two white-supremacist republics with a subjugated population of Blacks. The two settler-colonial states were the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal).

Afrikaner nationality

During many years, the Boers in the two republics, as well as those who had stayed behind in the Cape Colony, gradually acquired a new cultural and national identity. The Dutch they spoke changed, until it was transformed into a new language, which they called Afrikaans. They began to refer to themselves as Afrikaners.

Langley is correct when he notes that the Afrikaners oppressed the indigenous African peoples. But he fails to see that the Afrikaners were themselves oppressed by the British ruling class.

These Afrikaners, mostly farmers, were exploited by the predominantly English bankers and other capitalists. The British ruling class politically oppressed the Afrikaners, aiming to take away any political independence the settlers won. This oppression of the Boers intensified with the consolidation of imperialism at the end of the 19th century. With the discovery of extensive diamond fields in 1870 and the world's largest gold deposits in 1886, both in the Boer republics, British imperialism moved to build the foundations for an industrial empire in South Africa, resting on oppressed Black labor — the system now known as apartheid.

The Anglo-Boer War was a battle between an oppressed nation and British imperialism.

War of 1899–1902: A reply to a reader

Marxists took the side of the oppressed, the Boers.

In addition to wanting to seize the massive gold reefs for imperialist exploitation, the British ruling class also aimed to strengthen its domination over the indigenous peoples. The British imperialists saw the division of southern Africa into four white settler-states — the British colonies in the Cape and Natal, and the Boer republics in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State — as an obstacle to waging an effective fight against the native peoples.

Uprisings by the Ndebele and Shona in the 1890s were pointed to by Cecil Rhodes (British financier and prime minister of the Cape Colony) and other imperialists as examples of the "Black threat" facing a disunited white population. Rhodes spearheaded the drive for "union" — meaning British rule.

The British imperialists' persistent and escalating pressure against the Boer republics finally led to Afrikaner nationalists taking the offensive. In October 1899 they launched their independence war against the British empire.

South Africa formed

The outcome of this war between two small peasant republics and the strongest imperialist power in the world wasn't hard to predict. The British imperialists crushed the Boer rebellion in 1902 and annexed the Boer republics to the British colonies.

The British rulers quickly negotiated treaties with the Afrikaners that drew the settlers into a common system of white rule, giving land grants to farmers and loans to the Boer states.

A Zulu rebellion in 1906 spurred the drive toward union. In 1910, the Union of South Africa was established. The new state marked the consolidation of a united South African ruling class — industrial and agricultural, English and Afrikaans speaking. These South African bosses headed a strong capitalist state that could ensure the profits of the British imperialists.

The British and Boer settlers were granted independence from imperial rule only after the British rulers had successfully forged an imperialist outpost on the southern tip of Africa. The South African state simply took over from Britain the role of direct colonial power over the subject Black population — a role it still plays today.

South Africa then developed into an imperialist power in its own right, a process that is documented in Ernest Harsch's excellent book, *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt*.

Does favoring a Boer victory in the Anglo-Boer War mean backing the social system in the Boer republics? Langley implies it did, but he is wrong. Opposition to the extension of British imperialism was consistent with defense of the interests of the indigenous Africans. What would have been the most propitious outcome of the Anglo-Boer War for the native peoples? A British defeat or a British victory?



Cecil Rhodes (above), British financier and prime minister of Cape Colony, spearheaded drive of British imperialism against Boers (right). British rulers crushed Boer rebellion and annexed republics into British empire.



History has already answered this question. The British victory led to the formation of one strong, united capitalist state.

The impact of the imperialist triumph in southern Africa was a deepening of the oppression and subjugation of the indigenous toilers — including, in this case, the establishment of the racist apartheid system.

The Boer republics were indeed founded on land stolen from the indigenous inhabitants. The settlers waged bloody wars of conquest against the native peoples and drove the vanquished into virtual slavery.

U.S. resolution

In this respect, the Boer republics resembled other settler states, such as Britain's American colonies. Here, the British colonialists waged wars against the Native American peoples, seized their lands, attempted to enslave them, and built an economy based, in part, on enslaved African labor.

The British rulers established white supremacist rule in its 13 colonies. Later, the colonists, themselves politically oppressed and economically exploited by the British ruling classes, revolted against British domination.

Even though the United States came into being on land stolen from the Native Americans and with chattel slavery still existing in the South, Marxists recognize that the colonial revolution of 1776 was a historically progressive event.

Marxists look at each war as a concrete, individual case. South African society at the time of the Anglo-Boer War differed in many respects from that of the United States in 1776, most notably in the existence of an imperialist-owned industrial empire — the mining industry — worked in large measure by superexploited African labor. Yet it remains true that the struggle of all working people, white and Black, was set back by the defeat of the white settlers' independence struggle.

Langley's view of the Anglo-Boer War rips the conflict out of its historical context. He confuses the imperialist South Africa of today with independent farmer republics at the turn of the century.

Langley's analogy with the U.S. Civil War doesn't work. During that war, industrial capitalism was battling against an archaic social system based on chattel slavery.

Langley's claim that the Boer rebellion was the same as the 1965 Rhodesian "declaration of independence" is also wrong. Rhodesia was a British colony in southern Africa administered by a white-settler regime based on a colonist population of 220,000. In the 1950s and 1960s there were a series of militant strikes and large demonstrations by the Black population, which numbered 4 million. These years also saw the rise of the major Black nationalist organizations, especially the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

The Rhodesian colonists declared "independence" not against British imperialism, but against the Zimbabwean people. Despite their official opposition to the white-supremacist regime of Ian Smith, the British imperialists backed the apartheid government against the insurgent

Black masses. The Rhodesian government also enjoyed the support of the U.S. and South African imperialists.

ZAPU and ZANU launched a guerrilla war against the apartheid regime. The Zimbabwean people finally won their independence in April 1980.

Third camp in Anglo-Boer War?

At the time of the Anglo-Boer War there was no nationalist movement fighting for a Black republic in South Africa. Marxists, claims Langley, "didn't support either the British imperialists or the Boer settlers. This war was an inter-imperialist one. Revolutionaries called for the overthrow of both the British and the Boer oppressors through a national liberation war by the oppressed Blacks."

Who were these Marxists who raised this slogan? Langley can't name them because they don't exist.

Such national liberation wars aren't "called for," but arise out of the actual struggles of nations and nationalities. The Black nationality in South Africa had yet to be forged. As it came into being, so did the national struggles against white minority rule.

In the early years of this century, such struggles spread across Asia and into Africa. The Bolsheviks were in the forefront of the fight to win the Socialist International to support them. The congresses of the Communist International show that the revolutionary workers movement rallied to this nationalist movement when it did arise.

There's another problem with Langley's position. When he claims that the Afrikaners "are, and remain today, the most brutal oppressors of the African people," he gives credence to the idea that British imperialist rule was better than Boer rule.

The imperialists have long promulgated the myth that apartheid is the creation of backward Afrikaner farmers. They spread a similar myth regarding the creation of the Jim Crow system of segregation that used to exist in the South of this country, claiming it was the invention of poor, white farmers.

South African apartheid, however, is the creation of the British imperialists and South African capitalists. They set it up to increase their exploitation of Black labor and, therefore, their profits — just as the U.S. capitalists set up Jim Crow to ensure their superexploitation of workers in the South.

The Boers in South Africa and the whites in this country were used as ruling-class agents to subjugate the respective Black populations. While they received some privileges for their services, the main beneficiaries were the capitalist ruling classes.

With the rise of imperialism, revolutionaries in the workers movement correctly saw the imperialists as the main enemy of both the world working class and the oppressed nations. All struggles by the colonies against the imperialist classes are progressive — even when the colonies or semi-colonies are ruled by layers who oppress and exploit others. Revolutionary socialists support such struggles. To do otherwise — even in the name of some mythical third camp — is to give aid and comfort to the imperialists.

For further reading...



South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt, by Ernest Harsch, \$7.95

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International — Documents 1907-1916, the Preparatory Years, \$10.95

Study Guide for Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, \$1.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Continued from ISR/3

Cuba's progress in nearly all social and economic fields "stands in contrast to what is happening in the rest of Latin America," Pérez said. "However, we must make clear that the gains made so far should not lead us to mistaken self-satisfaction. They have been obtained with import levels which are beyond our means, with expenditures of energy and means of production that go beyond acceptable limits of economic efficiency, and with little dynamism regarding the vital need to increase and diversify our exports of goods and services."

Economic plan revised

Leaders of the Communist Party Political Bureau and Secretariat, of the People's Power Assembly, and of the mass organizations met for three days at the end of November to discuss the economic situation. They concluded, in agreement with Castro, that it was essential to substantially revise overall planning through the year 2000, beginning immediately. To the extent possible, taking into account the projects already under way, the plan for 1985 was extensively redrafted in the final weeks of 1984.

Castro outlined the shift in economic priorities in a speech a few days later, December 4, at Cuba's First National Forum on Energy.

"In the first place," he said, "we must strengthen the country's production. . . . absolute priority must be given to all those investments which result in savings on imports from the hard currency area or which generate exports to that area. . . . exports to the hard currency area must be rapidly increased, at least to the amount of 500 million dollars a year."

He continued: "There is a second point which has maximum priority. . . . Priority attention must be given to production for the socialist area and to investments which generate exports to the socialist area."

In the past, when production has not met goals, Castro recalled, "deliveries to the socialist area have been reduced in order to send them to the hard currency area. This formula must be totally eradicated."

From now on, "we will first meet the commitments to the socialist countries and then we'll export the rest to the hard currency area. This is simply a principle that we must rigorously establish, and it is for this reason that we must develop other sources of hard currency income."

The intent, Castro said December 28, is "to move forward with this policy without affecting what the population already receives." But, he added, "we must begin with what we have and not think about increases beyond what we have, at both the personal and social levels."

As immediate steps, the originally projected 1985 budget increase for housing and other construction was cut by 320 million pesos, and the projected increase in funding for local government agencies was cut by 389 million pesos (one peso = \$1.19).

Additional measures will be taken to conserve the use of gasoline and to cut back on the amount of electricity used by the state. To maintain current supplies of non-rationed foodstuffs to the general population, food supplies to factory and school dining rooms are to be cut back as much as 10 percent. Also scheduled to be cut back from 1984 levels are the production of shoes and some articles of clothing.

The cutback in the construction of housing, in particular, will be keenly felt. This is an area of social need where, because of the enormous expenses involved, Cuba has had the most difficulty in making progress. Despite a housing construction program, there remains an acute shortage of apartments in the capital of Havana and other cities — a shortage the government does not have the resources to resolve. In these circumstances, a new law approved in late December 1984 removes several previous restrictions on building one's own home, and allows homeowners to rent out rooms at whatever rate is set by the going market price.

Sugar, debt, and Soviet aid

As a result of decades of imperialist oppression and exploitation, the Cuban revolution inherited a one-crop economy — sugar. And despite significant steps toward diversification and industrialization, sugar is and will remain for the foreseeable future Cuba's most important export crop. Sugar today accounts for about 80 percent of Cuba's foreign trade.

Sugar is also presently one of the most depressed commodities on the world market. Tariffs, quotas, and subsidies for domestic sugar production in many imperialist countries have driven the world market price down to a little over three cents a pound — sugar's lowest price in more than a century.

Cuba, the world's biggest sugar exporter, is to an extent protected from this artificially low price by long-term agreements with the Soviet Union and other members of the CMEA which exchanges Cuban sugar for goods with a value many times higher than the going world market rate for sugar. But about 15 percent of Cuba's foreign trade is conducted on the imperialist-dominated market. And here major problems have originated.

Cuba is being pressed by private foreign banks to



Militant José G. Pérez

Fidel Castro speaking at opening of Victory of July sugar mill in Nicaragua on January 11. Sugar mill was almost entirely financed by Cuba. Despite its own economic hardships, Cuba cancelled Nicaragua's debt and made mill a contribution of Cuban people to Nicaraguan revolution.

repay loans that were contracted when sugar prices were relatively high (at one point in the mid-1970s, sugar reached 64 cents a pound).

Cuba's hard-currency debt is relatively modest. It owes a little over \$3 billion — the lowest debt in Latin America — about \$300 per capita. Costa Rica and Panama, by comparison, owe hard-currency debts that are proportionally nearly seven times higher — about \$2,000 per capita.

Cuba's special problem is first, that pressure from the U.S. ruling class on the private banks involved has greatly hindered efforts to reschedule debt payments. The net result of "the growing hostility of the U.S. government," the Cuban weekly *Bohemia* noted in a recent article on the economy, was an "extremely tense financial situation" in the spring of 1982. In a matter of months more than half a billion dollars in hard currency was withdrawn from Cuba as international banks called up their loans and refused to grant new ones. At one point, *Bohemia* reports, Cuba's foreign currency reserves fell as low as \$130 million.

Secondly, it takes 20 tons of sugar today to generate income equal to that of one ton of sugar at the time the debt was contracted (at current world prices it would take all of Cuba's sugar production for the next five years to repay the \$3 billion in full).

Third, there is evidently no prospect of timely and sufficient additional assistance from the Soviet Union.

In the past, as Castro noted, when problems related to hard currency have come up, Cuba has had the alternative of reducing its exports to the Soviet Union and redirecting the products to hard-currency markets. This, Castro repeatedly made clear, is no longer an option.

"If we need hard currency," he told the People's Power Assembly, "then we must find it some other way than through the easy, comfortable — and I might add somewhat irresponsible — procedure of taking part of the sugar earmarked for the Soviet people and exporting it to

the hard currency area. That is not the way to solve hard currency problems."

Nuclear power

One of the limited possibilities Cuba does have for immediately increasing its exports to the world capitalist market is economizing in the use of oil, and exporting or "reexporting" what is left over.

Here is how it would work. Oil consumption in Cuba currently runs about 10 million tons a year. More than 90 percent of this must be imported from the Soviet Union. Cuba's own small deposits of oil at present yield only 770,000 tons a year.

About two-thirds of the oil now used is processed in Cuba's own refineries. A new refinery, being built with Soviet aid and scheduled for completion in the late 1980s, will add 3 million tons to Cuban refining capacity. Another refinery of similar size is scheduled for construction in the 1990s.

Any "extra" oil Cuba can come up with — for the most part by cutting back on domestic consumption of Soviet oil — can be refined in Cuba and "reexported" abroad. "Through an agreement between the Soviets and ourselves," Castro reported at the energy forum December 4, "the savings we make on the quantities of fuel committed [by Moscow] translate into hard currency."

Economy measures on the use of electricity and public and private transportation can help save fuel. But savings on a scale sufficient to make a dent in the hard currency debt must be obtained another way.

"Our country," Castro explained, "is now using almost three million tons of fuel to produce electricity. . . ."

"We have no other abundant energy resources to speak of to produce electricity. We have no coal and we have no large gas or oil deposits. Given the land mass and geography of our country, we have no large rivers to provide us with hydraulic energy to meet the basic demands for electricity."

This means, Castro concluded, "in the future our electric development will have to be fundamentally nuclear, based on nuclear power."

The four conventional oil-fired power plants currently under construction will be completed, Castro said, but "we expect them to be the last ones we'll build." The first nuclear plant, in Cienfuegos, is already under construction. Two other nuclear power plants are scheduled for future construction.

Castro acknowledged the dangers inherent in nuclear power, such as the "risk of contamination" and the "problem of what to do with the waste." He pointed out that such problems are exacerbated in the capitalist countries, where reactors are built according to "strictly commercial criteria seeking to cut corners and costs, investments, materials and, accordingly, safety standards." Cuba's plants, he stressed, would be built with "all the responsibility the socialist state can muster."

Internationalist example

Despite the tighter economic constraints within which it must now operate, Cuba continues to set an example in internationalist aid to other, even harder-pressed peoples. Cuba, an island nation of only 10 million people, has more doctors serving as volunteers abroad than the entire United Nations World Health Organization.

And when work was completed earlier this year on Nicaragua's modern new sugar mill — almost entirely Cuban financed — Cuba canceled the debt and declared it the Cuban people's contribution to the Nicaraguan revolution.



As one of many immediate necessary steps, Cuba will be forced to cut its projected 1985 budget increase for much-needed housing and other construction by 320 million pesos (approximately U.S.\$380 million).

James Cannon: 'Soviet Union — fortress of world revolution'

BY MIKE TABER

The accompanying article on the Russian revolution was originally published in the first issue of the *Militant* on Nov. 15, 1928. It is contained in *The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-31*. This collection of writings and speeches by James P. Cannon can serve today's generation of working-class fighters in tracing the continuity of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party in the United States and internationally. Later this year, Monad Press will publish another volume of Cannon's writings and speeches, covering the years 1932-34.

Six decades in workers movement

Cannon's life and political experience spanned more than six decades of activity in the workers movement. A former organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World and member of the left wing in the Socialist Party before World War I, Cannon became a founder and central leader of the Communist Party (CP).

Over the next several years, he served as national chairman of the Workers Party (a public organization initiated by the CP for several years when it functioned underground in the face of stiff government repression); spent more than a year in Moscow as a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Comintern); and was national secretary of the International Labor Defense, where he played a major role in organizing the defense of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian immigrants framed up on murder charges and executed in 1927, despite international protests.

In 1928, Cannon became convinced that the leadership of the Comintern and of the U.S. CP were diverging on fundamental political questions from the revolutionary course they had originally set out upon. He was won to the political fight being waged by Soviet leader Leon Trotsky to maintain the program and strategy that had been forged by the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin.

When Cannon raised these views in CP leadership bodies, he was expelled from the party, together with other leading CP members — simply for their political views. Cannon then helped form the Communist League of America, later to become the Socialist Workers Party. *The Left Opposition in the U.S.* recounts the early years of that political struggle.

Defense of the Russian Revolution

The first issue of the *Militant* published the article in defense of the Russian revolution reprinted here. This was appropriate for the inaugural issue. The fight to build a communist movement in the United States began with the victory of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. That revolution was not only a historic world event — the first time the workers and peasants of any country took and held state power — it also showed the working-class vanguard around the world that they could do the same in their own country. This perspective of organizing the workers and farmers with the goal of taking political power had been lacking in the pre-1917 workers movement in the United States and elsewhere.

The fight Cannon took up in 1928 was a defense of that same perspective. "The present Opposition fought for the Russian revolution since 1917 and for the Communist International since the first day its banner was raised," Cannon and the other expelled CP leaders wrote in 1929. "Our fight today is a continuation on the same line and for the same basic principles."

After 1923, the revolutionary internationalism of the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern — led by Lenin — had been replaced by the anti-internationalist perspective of Joseph Stalin. This perspective subordinated workers' struggle around the world to the perceived diplomatic interests of the bureaucratic caste that had usurped power in the Soviet Union, thereby weakening the defense of the Soviet workers' state. Many leaders of the U.S. CP were losing their revolutionary bearing under the influence of the Stalin-led majority in the Comintern.

The interconnection between the defense of the revolutionary heritage of the Comintern and of the U.S. CP was stressed by Cannon and other expelled CP leaders in 1929. "Our fight as a part of the International Opposition for the Leninist line on a world scale," they wrote, "is at the same time a fight to preserve the Communist movement in America and to build it into a working-class power able to fulfill its great historic mission."

In the period after their 1928 expulsion from the CP, the Communist League of America members devoted much of their work to convincing CP members and supporters that they should wage a political fight to maintain

the party's continuity with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It was toward this end that Cannon and others launched the *Militant* in November 1928. Many of Cannon's articles from the *Militant* are included in this first volume of his writings.

Also in this book are some of Cannon's articles discussing problems facing communist militants in the trade union movement. His articles on the struggles of southern textile workers and New York garment workers will be of interest to socialist workers active in these unions today.

Consolidating a communist nucleus

Above all, *The Left Opposition in the U.S.* is the story of the battle to build and hold together a tiny nucleus of communist workers who were swimming against the political stream.

This was an extraordinarily difficult period for a communist vanguard. The Great Depression began in 1929, causing massive unemployment, drastic wage cuts, and an all-out offensive by the rulers against the rights and living standards of working people.

Yet, there was no significant working-class response to these attacks until 1933. Workers were at first stunned by the blows they were receiving and lacked the confidence to fight back. A new leadership had not yet emerged to challenge the entrenched conservative trade union bureaucracy, which refused to organize a serious fightback.

In a July 1931 article Cannon examined this situation: "Will the workers fight back? Will they take up the defensive struggle on a wide front within the year? There are a few signs of such a development, but they are isolated and sporadic as yet. It must be admitted that a serious defensive struggle, involving masses of workers, has not yet begun."

On top of this, the degeneration of the CP had led to demoralization among many vanguard workers, who were losing faith in the possibility of building a revolutionary party.

These enormous pressures could not fail to have an impact on the small vanguard of 100 or so revolutionists grouped in the Communist League of America. As Cannon wrote in early 1931, "The weight of objective circumstances pressed down upon us, and our movement seemed to progress at a snail's pace." Recruitment fell way off, there was little possibility for participating in the mass movement, and the Communist League was beset by dire financial difficulties that even threatened the continued publication of the *Militant*.

Yet, even amidst these adverse circumstances, Cannon fought to maintain the organization's proletarian orientation. The Communist League took advantage of every available opening to participate in the unions and other working-class organizations. And it spared few efforts to reach left-wing workers who looked to the Communist Party for leadership.

It was this orientation that enabled the Communist League to survive through this period. As the working class finally began to respond in subsequent years to the capitalist attacks in a massive way, the Communist League was in a position to participate in these struggles which led to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations — and make important strides in building a revolutionary workers party.

The Left Opposition in the U.S. chronicles this important chapter in the struggle to maintain the continuity of the communist movement in the United States. It is available for \$8.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage and handling.

It is copyright © 1981 and reprinted by permission of Anchor Foundation, Inc.

James P. Cannon

Eleven years have gone by since the Russian workers took the hammer of revolution in their hands and broke the chain of world imperialism at its weakest link. The

history of the whole intervening period represents on the one hand the efforts of the imperialists to forge the chain together again and bind it tighter around the enslaved masses and, on the other hand, the struggle of the proletariat to tear it apart from the whole of humanity.

The Russian revolution was not merely a national event — it was the beginning of and signal for the international proletarian revolution. Herein lies its true meaning, its great historic significance. From this standpoint the revolutionary workers of the world hail the cause of Soviet Russia as their cause on the eleventh anniversary of her October.

The Russian revolution broke forever the unity of the world and divided it into two hostile camps — the camp of imperialist exploitation and the camp of social revolution. At one polar extreme stands America, the strongest imperialist world power. At the other stands the USSR, the land of the workers' rule. The antagonism between them, and the systems they represent, is irreconcilable. They cannot live together permanently side by side. The victory of the Soviet system on a world scale means the liberation of enslaved humanity and its ascent to heights of culture and achievement beyond our dreams — to socialism and beyond that to communism. The victory of imperialism would hurl civilization into the abyss. Such is the issue of the epoch of wars and revolutions in which we live and fight.

The Russian revolution revived the revolutionary movement of the world and inspired the proletarian masses with new confidence and hope. It lifted up the banner of socialism, trampled in the mud of social patriotism by the traitor leaders of the Socialist parties, and made it again synonymous with internationalism. Lenin, the leader of the Russian revolution, was also the leader of the Communist International, which arose out of the ruins brought about by social treason in the war. Eleven years of the dictatorship of the proletariat has confirmed everything that Lenin taught about the international significance of the revolution and the indissoluble bonds between it and the world proletariat.

Soviet Russia is the fortress of the world revolution. While it stands, the imperialist system shakes on its foundations. Every attempt at stabilization brings greater insecurity and deeper contradictions. The example and the brotherly help of Soviet Russia inspires and strengthens the movement of the workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world. The flag of our socialist fatherland is the flag of our hope. On this eleventh anniversary we again hail it as our own.

Between the Soviet republics united in the USSR and the international revolutionary proletariat there is an organic connection. They are bound together spiritually and politically. They are united by ties of mutual solidarity which no power on earth can break. Just as the Soviet republics constitute an impregnable fortress of the world revolution, so is the international proletariat the protector of the Soviet republics. The revolutionary workers see in every blow aimed at Soviet Russia a blow aimed at their own cause, and react against it as such. The defense of the Soviet Union is our own fight. It is and will be a central rallying slogan of the labor militants of the entire world. "Defend the Soviet Union!" is a slogan leading the workers to follow the example of the Russian revolution. So they must conceive it. So will the victory of socialism in Russia and throughout the world be finally secured.

The victory of the Russian proletariat grew out of the World War. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and the organization of the Communist International — two vast achievements historically linked together — are the plus signs against the slaughter of the millions and the collapse of the Second International. The imperialist warmakers and their "Socialist" lackeys unleashed forces which they could not control.

The imperialist masters of the world want to take back these gains of the workers wrested out of the bloody pit of war and revolution. Armaments are being multiplied on an unprecedented scale. War clouds darken the skies. War plans grow apace. They are aimed primarily at Soviet Russia and through it at the entire international labor movement.

The celebrations of the workers throughout the world on this eleventh anniversary of the Russian revolution must therefore be dominated above all by the solemn realization of the war danger and the steel resolve to meet it by revolutionary means; by the resolve to put all our weight and all our sacrifice in the scale for the cause of Soviet Russia, which is the cause of the oppressed and exploited.

'Women and Revolution in Viet Nam'

Women and Revolution in Viet Nam, by Arlene Eisen. London, Zed Books, Ltd., 1984, 294 pages, \$10.75 paperback. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage and handling.

BY MICHAEL PENNOCK

April 30 is the 10th anniversary of the final defeat of U.S. armed forces in Vietnam. March 8 was International Women's Day. Both are good dates to take notice of an excellent new book, *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam*. It was written by Arlene Eisen, who also wrote *Women in Viet Nam* in 1974.

Women and Revolution in Viet Nam deals with both the struggle of Vietnamese women and the struggle of all Vietnamese to defeat Washington's ongoing campaign of

BOOK REVIEW

economic sabotage, the U.S.-inspired invasion by China in 1979, and the U.S.-directed war against Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia).

All of this comes after the Vietnamese people were practically bled white by 30 years of French and U.S. aggression against Vietnam's efforts to free itself from colonial domination. It is useful to review the appalling statistics, especially since there is a new generation of workers in this country who don't remember when the war was a daily feature on television news, and who weren't one of the three million soldiers who did a tour of duty in Vietnam.

U.S. war

In the 10 years that Washington's troops waged war against Vietnam — 1965–1975 — two million in a country of 50 million, were killed. Three million were wounded. One million women were widowed and 800,000 children were orphaned.

Agent Orange, a chemical plant-killer dropped by U.S. planes in massive quantities in the south, has caused a huge increase in cancer and birth defects. Miscarriages have gone from 1 percent of pregnancies to 15 percent in some areas.

At the height of the war, there were more than half a million GIs in Vietnam. At the same time, half a million women in the south were forced into prostitution. Rape was a weapon the Pentagon consciously used and systematically encouraged in order to terrorize the population.

Women played many leading roles in the military fight for national liberation. "As producers, as organizers and as fighters, Vietnamese women have made decisive contributions to Viet Nam's independence and post-war reconstruction. And, as they contributed their harvests and fought in the ranks of the 'Long-Haired Army,' they also began to free themselves from their traditional oppression as women," explains Eisen.

Millions of women took part in farming, industrial production, and social services to keep the economy running. They ran messages, participated in demonstrations, and worked to keep up morale.

Some women were brigade commanders and anti-aircraft gunners.

Vietnam Women's Union

The Vietnam Women's Union, with more than 9 million members by 1982, plays a leading role in the struggle for women's liberation. It was formed in 1930, the first mass organization the new Indochinese Communist Party helped to organize.

Tomás Borge on role of Nicaraguan police

Continued from ISR/2

Tactics must be understood and watched over so that they contribute to, and not undermine, the revolution we are defending:

A revolution that has the stamp of approval of the majority, of the workers and peasants, of the poor.

A revolution that organizes production and distribution with an unequivocal policy of justice and democracy.

A revolution that defends the homeland we have won.

A revolution that without reservation gives land to the peasants.

A revolution that attacks economic inequality at its roots.

A revolution that ends the unequal development of the different regions, while leaving the landscape intact and seeking an understanding of the few but real national differences.



Militant photos by Diane Wang

Women in both south and north Vietnam are being drawn into all aspects of Vietnamese society. Social revolution in Vietnam has laid basis for making advances toward liberation of women possible.



"... our first goal is to have peace and independence. ... Peace and independence are necessary conditions for rebuilding our country. This is the first aspiration of women because only with such conditions can we be free to educate our children and build a better life." This is how Nguyen Thi Binh, vice-president of the Women's Union, minister of education, and former second-in-command of the armed forces in the south, described the main goal of women in the country today.

Defense of the revolution and production are high priorities, just as is defense of women's rights. Production to increase the material wealth of this impoverished country is an important goal for women. Without it there is no way to avoid being doomed to women's traditional "double shift" of work at home and in the labor force, which means little or no time for political and educational activity, or even simple relaxation and entertainment.

Women are also determined to defend their government against the current imperialist threats. They see the role of their government as one which moves the struggle for women's liberation forward. This of course is in sharp contrast to the U.S. government, which opposes and is an obstacle to the struggle of women for their liberation.

Child care

The development of child-care centers is a good example of how the Vietnamese government works to improve the condition of women. The material poverty in Vietnam cannot be overstressed. There are a great many needs and far too many shortages. Not all needs can get equal attention. Among social services, though, child care gets a very high priority. This is seen as a foundation for women's equality. It helps free more women to participate in production and defense. And it is a partial ticket out of the double shift.

About half the work force in Vietnam is female, and most women work outside the home. Nationwide, state-provided child care is available for about 35 percent of the children.

This is obviously short of what's needed, and a big burden remains for those women who cannot get their children into the facilities. But it is 35 percent and growing. By way of contrast, government-provided child care is available for 14 percent of Swedish children. And only 2 percent of working mothers in the United States have federally subsidized child care provided for their children. Of the many statistics about women in this book, I found this one especially interesting, since I worked for five years as a pre-school teacher.

Children in Vietnam are given the best this impoverished society has to offer, materially and emotionally. For example, the mansion of the wife of the former emperor, Bao Dai, is now a child-care center.

At another center in Ho Chi Minh City, the children make some of their own toys from scrap material. Not only do they learn the value of their labor, they take better care of the toys and break them less often. This is not to make a virtue out of practical necessity, however. Vietnam is only beginning to be able to once again feed its people. The life of all Vietnamese is difficult, and that of women is more difficult than men.

"We have a heritage of ... feudalism and capitalism. We have fought two revolutions. No generation could change this quickly." This is how another Women's Union vice-president, Ngo Ba Thanh, described the objective problems facing women.

Political gains being made by women are noted in *Women and Revolution in Viet Nam*. Twenty-two percent of the National Assembly is women. This is down a bit from the pre-victory percentage of the northern assembly. But there women had been moving forward in a society that began its revolution in 1945 and overthrew capitalism in 1954. The development of women in the south, under U.S. imperialist domination until 1975, lagged. Therefore, a reunified assembly reflects both forces at work.

Getting out truth about Vietnam

This is a valuable book, particularly at this time. As the anniversary of the "fall of Saigon" nears, the U.S. government and the big-business media will crank up their slanders of the Vietnamese revolution to the max. There is a flood of books being produced that attempt to justify the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Women and Revolution in Viet Nam is one of only three English-language books and pamphlets that I am aware of that accurately describe and support the reconstruction efforts of Vietnam. *Ten Times More Beautiful*, by Kathleen Gough, published in 1978, is the other book. *Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea*, published in 1984 by Militant correspondents Diane Wang and Steve Clark, is the pamphlet. The pamphlet, like Eisen's book, is available from Pathfinder Press. The pamphlet costs \$2.00 plus \$.75 postage and handling.

These items are valuable for today's fighters against Washington's new Vietnam in Central America. They answer Washington's lies about Vietnam and can inspire opponents of U.S. intervention by showing how a people determined to win national liberation can defeat the worst that U.S. imperialism throws at them, and then move on to build a better society.

UMWA local beats back Klan-style threats

BY FRED FELDMAN

PITTSBURGH — A Ku Klux Klan-style attempt to terrorize a Black unionist at the Dowty Corp.'s plant in Warrendale has been beaten back, due to the strong stand taken by United Mine Workers (UMW) Local 2-350.

Dowty Corp. is a British-based firm that takes special pride in its extensive operations in racist South Africa. It employs about 100 workers in the Warrendale plant, assembling and repairing roof supports and conveyors for longwall mining.

On February 4, Monday, a worker found a piece of toilet paper in a bathroom stall with a death threat against a Dowty worker scrawled on it.

"Mr. Nigger Al Duncan," it read, "Why don't all you commies [commies] lev [leave] Dowty before you all Die you fucken Black fucken Nigger Bastered. All you fucken Nigger should be hung you your fucken balls till dead. Ha. Ha. Ha!"

Al Duncan was hired at Dowty three years ago, the first Black employed at the plant. At the time of the death threat, there were two Black production workers. Like many other Dowty workers, Duncan is an active union member who regularly participated in picket lines during a six-month strike in 1982.

Duncan is a socialist. He was a Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in 1984.

The death threat against Duncan (and unnamed others) came several weeks after someone posted a pro-Klan magazine article on the union bulletin board. Union officers promptly took it down. At about this time, racist graffiti in the men's bathroom multiplied.

Duncan showed the death threat to Local 2350 president, Randy Deemer. The union asked for a meeting with the general production supervisor. He agreed to post a notice warning against racist threats.

No notice was posted the next day, however. And the KKK-style operation escalated.

That night another worker handed Deemer a racist death threat directed at Duncan and others, which had been found in the bathroom. This note was signed "KKK." And Deemer himself was the target of threatening graffiti signed "kkk" in a bathroom stall.

Union officers consulted and decided to put out their own statement. They proposed informing the police of the threats. And they asked for another meeting with company officials.

On Monday morning — February 11 — the company had still not posted the promised statement. In the early afternoon, the company finally posted its statement. It dissociated the company from graffiti "pointed toward discrimination, race and political beliefs," and threatened to "start the discharge procedure" against "the culprit(s)."

By this time, Duncan and union officers were agreed that stronger measures were needed. Duncan left the plant. He explained in a letter to the general production supervisor that "I fear for my physical safety at work as a result of the racially motivated threats directed against me."

A copy was sent to Robert Pitts, president of the Wilksburg, Pennsylvania, NAACP.

The fears of Duncan and union officials that the company's mild statement wouldn't deter the KKK-style threats proved well-founded: That afternoon a Black doll was found in the men's room, hanging by its neck from the sprinkler system.

The union asked the company to hold meetings for the afternoon and day shifts on the racist threats.

Yielding to union demands and fearing that its own image would be tarnished by permitting KKK-style terrorism in the plant, the company held meetings for afternoon and day shifts. This time, the general supervisor threatened those responsible for the threats with immediate firing.

Continued on Page 21



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

UMWA Local 2350 members picket during 1982 strike. Local recently beat back Klan-style attempt to weaken union by driving out Black worker.

Bolivian unions call off 16-day general strike

BY TOM LEONARD

A 16-day general strike was called off on March 24 at a mass meeting in La Paz, Bolivia, by Gonzal Viscarra, press secretary of the Bolivian Labor Confederation.

Viscarra told the meeting, "We have lost a battle, but not the war." He also reported that the occupation of the Bolivian capital by 10,000 tin miners "has been a social victory without precedent." The strike was called off three days after 2,000 troops and armed riot police were mobilized to repress that country's fifth general strike in a little over a year.

The mobilization was ordered by Pres. Hernán Siles Zuazo on the 13th day of the strike, which had paralyzed the economy. The move came after leaders of the Bolivian Labor Confederation had earlier rejected the government's conditions for a settlement. These included a wage increase of 322 percent and an offer for union officials to participate in the government.

The Labor Confederation had demanded wage increases of up to 500 percent, plus a cost-of-living allowance to offset the skyrocketing inflation that has devastated the standard of living of workers, farmers, and sections of the middle class.

The wage increases demanded by the strikers sound high until they are compared with the national inflation, which some sources claim could reach an annual rate of 115,000 percent for 1985. The official exchange rate of the Bolivian peso, for example, is now 50,000 to one U.S. dollar, and

is 120,000 to one on the black market.

The inflation is fueled by pressure from banks in imperialist countries like the United States, which are pressuring Bolivia to resume interest payments on loans totaling \$4.86 billion. Most of the debt was built during the 18 years that a U.S.-backed military government ran the country.

When the present civilian government was elected in October 1982, it inherited a nearly depleted national treasury and by the middle of 1984 was forced to declare a moratorium on interest payments to the imperialist banks.

Since that time, President Siles Zuazo, with promises of \$200 million in aid from the Reagan administration, has attempted to drive down the living standards of Bolivians as a means of raising money to resume payment on the loans.

The government has also tried to initiate an austerity program to drive down wages on four separate occasions. Each has been met by massive resistance organized by the militant tin miners union.

From October 1982 until November 1984, the Bolivian Communist Party (PCB) participated in Siles Zuazo's austerity government. This precipitated a dispute inside the PCB that led to the resignation of two PCB cabinet members from the government.

On February 16, the political dispute led to the removal of first secretary Jorge Kalle, who had headed the PCB for 18 years. He was replaced by Simón Reyes, a member of the tin miners union.

During the general strike, some 10,000 miners traveled to La Paz to lead mass meetings and demonstrations protesting the government's austerity program.

They were supported by other workers in Bolivia's capital city, La Paz, who also provided them with shelter. In addition, housewives and poor women food vendors shared scarce food supplies with the miners.

Most of the middle class also supported the strike, and nearly all of the shops in La Paz were closed.

Reports from Bolivia say the general strike was deeper and more radical than the four previous ones. After their refusal to participate in president Siles Zuazo's pro-capitalist austerity government, leaders of the Labor Confederation have been pushing for more radical solutions to the economic crisis. The Labor Confederation's general secretary Juan Lechín, who also heads the miners union, has called upon workers to "join the parties of the left and form a real alternative for the people."

With the government on the verge of collapse, President Siles Zuazo was recently pressured into calling new national elections on June 16, 1985 — a year sooner than they were originally scheduled.

Impact of Ohio banking crisis

BY MORRIS STARKY

CINCINNATI — Ohio's 71 privately insured Savings and Loan companies (S and Ls) have now reopened for limited withdrawals under a rescue plan passed by the legislature on March 21 in an emergency session.

Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste, a Democrat, had ordered the S and Ls closed on March 15 to prevent depositors from withdrawing their money.

For several days working people across the state didn't know if they would see any of their money again. It brought home the fact that workers and farmers have no control over capitalist institutions such as banks, which exist to serve the rich.

The crisis began on March 9 when Home State Savings and Loan, Ohio's largest privately insured savings institution, collapsed. Home State had 50 percent of its deposits invested in ESM Group Inc., a securities firm closed by federal court order on March 4 and currently under criminal investigation. As working people with deposits learned of this, they formed long lines around Home State to try to get their money out.

When Home State closed its doors, depositors at other privately insured S and Ls became concerned that the private insurance fund misnamed the Ohio Deposit Guarantee Fund (ODGF) would be wiped out by Home State's losses. It was to head off this concern that Governor Celeste announced the formation of a new insurance fund with \$40 million contributed by the state from taxpayers.

Despite the new fund and the governor's assurances that their money was safe, many depositors camped out all night March 20 at S-and-L branches to close their accounts.

When workers and farmers learned that the S and Ls were closed by an executive order, they were angry and disappointed. The closing of the S and Ls left millions of working people with no access to their hard earned money.

As anger and resentment spread, the governor travelled around the state trying to restore confidence in the savings institu-

tions. A toll-free number was set up where depositors could call to get "reassurances" from representatives of the governor that the banking system was secure.

As pressure mounted, the governor unveiled his rescue plan. The S and Ls could reopen as soon as they applied and proved that they qualified for FSLIC insurance. However, while FSLIC insurance was pending, withdrawals would be limited to \$750 per month.

Meanwhile there is no relief in sight for the half million working people whose money is frozen in Home State. Governor Celeste says he is trying to find a buyer for Home State that will assume liability for the depositors' money. But he hasn't had any offers. Home State depositors may never get their money back and they are angry.

At Dayton, a public meeting of Home State depositors drew 2,500 people. A similar meeting held in Cincinnati drew 5,000. One speaker at the Cincinnati meeting demanded that Home State deposits be guaranteed by the state.

Several hundred Home State depositors from Cincinnati and Dayton held a demonstration at the capitol in Columbus. They carried signs demanding their money and reminding Celeste that their deposits were supposed to be guaranteed in full. The protestors demanded to meet with the governor, but he would only talk to a handful of delegates. One woman told the media that the S and Ls and the elected officials were not concerned about the ordinary depositors, just the big investors.

With their life savings frozen, Home State depositors were rightly angered by the news that the owner of Home State, Marvin Warner, withdrew \$37 million from ESM before it collapsed. To add insult to injury, a federal court in Florida allowed the owner of ESM to withdraw \$300,000 of the frozen assets of that company to pay personal expenses, like maintaining his home, farm, and vacation places.

Several class-action suits have been filed by Home State depositors against Warner, the ESM owners, ODGF and state officials.



Bolivian woman hunger striker in La Paz with sign supporting Bolivian Confederation of Labor.

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

YSA builds April 20, sets nat'l convention

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Members of the Young Socialist Alliance are preparing for the organization's national convention, which will be held in Chicago Memorial Day weekend, May 25-27.

The gathering will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the organization.

In an interview, two leaders of the YSA discussed the convention.

Peter Thierjung is the YSA's national secretary and editor of the paper, the *Young Socialist*. YSA staff member Ellen Haywood is a member of the organization's National Executive Committee and a writer for the paper.

Thierjung first joined the YSA in 1976 as an at-large member in DeKalb, Illinois. He was going to college there and also working in a local restaurant.

"I was involved in a union organizing drive where I worked," he said. "And on campus, we were in a big fight against budget cutbacks.

"The YSA in Chicago heard things were happening and they began coming out to the campus. They would set up a literature table and talk to the students.

"I was interested and began reading the *Young Socialist*, and the *Militant*, which they were also selling.

"I asked them to do a campus class on socialism. One result of the class was that I joined."

Later Thierjung was a factory worker in upstate New York and a member of the Sheet Metal Workers union. In 1982, he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New York.

Ellen Haywood first met the YSA during the big fight in defense of school busing in Boston in the mid-1970s.

Just out of high school, she wanted to fight the racists and joined the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Members of the YSA were actively involved in the organization. In discussions, Haywood became convinced that capitalism was the root source of racism, and a lot of other social evils, and she joined the YSA.

Later, as a member of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party, she worked as a coal miner and then a steelworker in Alabama.

Then, before joining the YSA national staff, she was a garment worker in New York and a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. "Local 23-25," she said. "The biggest local in the union."

Building April 20

At the time of the interview, Haywood had just returned from Washington, D.C. For more than a month she had been relieved of her assignment in the YSA national office to serve as a full-time volunteer worker at the Washington office of the April 20 coalition.

The YSA convention had originally been scheduled for the first weekend in April. But, Thierjung explained, "With the April 20 action getting off the ground, it was clear that this had to be the number one priority for the YSA. We felt that our entire membership had to go all out in building the demonstration and we decided that in order to do that it would be necessary to postpone the convention.

"I certainly don't think we lost anything by doing that," he added. "Coming on the heels of the April action will make this a really exciting convention. One of the most important things the convention will have to do is think through where we go from here in building the antiwar movement. We'll be assessing the present U.S. and world political situation, particularly the government's moves to escalate the war in Central America. In that framework we can better discuss where we're at in building the movement."

Also, he continued, the YSA has been working to help deepen organized labor's opposition to the war. The convention, he said, "will give us a chance to measure what we were able to accomplish on this, as well as in the important work in the Black and Latino communities, and among students."

Haywood added that, in addition to being unstinting activists in the antiwar movement, YSAers had a particular contribution to make by way of their political perspective. "We're a revolutionary



Young Socialist Alliance leader Ellen Haywood presenting women's liberation report to 1983 YSA convention in St. Louis.

socialist organization," she explained, "and we work to win people to the idea that the war and all the other things we're fighting against — racism, sexism, unemployment — are products of capitalism, and in fighting against them, if you're finally going to get rid of them, you have to go beyond capitalism."

An uninterrupted history

Discussing the 25th anniversary of the founding of the YSA, Thierjung noted that the YSA is the only radical youth organization in the country with an uninterrupted history going back that far.

"And we have the right to say we've been consistent," he added. "We stood by our principles, what we're fighting for. It's interesting today when we're building April 20, fighting to get this government off Nicaragua's back. Well, the YSA was established in 1960 out of the fight to defend Cuba. The Cuban revolution was then only a year old and it was facing U.S. armed might, as well as the blockade which they've maintained until this day. Right from the beginning, the YSA was a champion of the Cuban revolution in this country, like today it's also a champion of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Returning to the question of the April ac-

tion, Haywood talked of her experiences in the Washington coalition office.

"There's been a real pickup in activity among young people," she observed. "I think they've been ready for a this a long time. For some kind of a big national protest activity. What I noticed in discussions is that people are saying, 'Finally. Finally somebody called a national action.'

"I think it's one of the things that's attracting people to the YSA," she added. "The fact that we've been very excited, superoptimistic about this action."

Young Socialist

Thierjung agreed. "Another indication," he said, "is the sale of the *Young Socialist*. The last issue had a press run of 4,000 and we sold it out completely. I think we have one copy left in the office."

The new issue of the *Young Socialist* will be off the press April 4 and Thierjung was confident that it will also enjoy a good sale.

The reason, he explained, is that YSA members are now also involved in helping to carry through the sales campaign of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Both publications reflect the views of the Socialist Workers Party, and the YSA stands in political solidarity with the party.

Opponents of draft face new attacks

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — The Supreme Court's March 19 decision that the federal government did not violate the Constitution when it prosecuted young men who publicly refused to register for the draft is a blow to the political rights of all working people. It is aimed at intimidating all opponents of the U.S. war in Central America.

The decision resulted from an appeal of a California federal district court's decision to dismiss the case against one nonregistrant, David Wayte, on the basis that he had been selectively prosecuted for his vocal opposition to draft registration. Wayte, after deciding not to register for the draft, had written letters to the Selective Service and the White House explaining his opposition.

Over one million young men between 18 and 26 years of age, born after Jan. 1, 1963, refused to register for the draft after registration was reinstated by President Carter in 1980. In an attempt to terrorize these youths, the government initiated its "passive enforcement" policy, indicting those youths who had, through letters or other means, publicly expressed their opposition to registration for the draft. Under this policy, 18 young men have been indicted.

In its decision, the Supreme Court said that no selective prosecution was involved in this process because of what the Court called the government's "beg policy." According to Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., who wrote the decision, under this policy a federal agent visited the youth and begged him to change his mind and register.

Gillam Kerley, one of the 18 youths indicted, told the *Militant* that the agents who visited nonregistrants didn't beg. "It was more of a threat — more like, 'unless you change your mind you will be prosecuted.'"

A visit from a federal agent does not change the fact that these young men were singled out simply because they exercised their democratic right to publicly disagree with and protest government policy. "The decision is a go ahead for the government to single out activists opposed to government policy for prosecution," Kerley said.

Peter Thierjung, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in a statement condemning the decision said, "The Supreme Court's decision comes at the same time that Washington is waging a war to overthrow the workers' and farmers' government of Nicaragua. It is part of the government's preparation for direct intervention with U.S. troops in Central America and Caribbean when Washington decides such a step is necessary.

"Draft registration today is a step toward the conscription of thousands of working-class youth tomorrow to fight and die in Central America to defend Washington's imperialist grip on the region," Thierjung said.

As part of the decision, the Supreme Court upheld the government's right to carry out whatever "incidental limitations on First Amendment freedoms" are justified by the need "to insure its own security." The decision continued, "Unless a society has the capacity and will to defend itself from the aggressions of others, constitutional protections of any sort have little meaning."

This can only be interpreted as a threat to anyone opposed to the U.S. war in Central America, which the government tries to justify by claiming that it is a question of defending national security.

Bill Smith, one of David Wayte's attorneys, told the *Militant* that the decision reflected "the court's willingness to go along ... [and] find justifications for any federal

"What's interesting," Thierjung commented, "is that when we get out selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the sales of the *Young Socialist* tend to go up too. It's a kind of concrete case of how our political ties with the SWP have always been mutually beneficial.

"One of the things we find is attracting young people to the YSA today," he continued, "is seeing that we're part of the labor movement. A majority of our members are in the industrial unions. And people see we're getting a hearing among workers for our ideas, that we're part of the debate that's going on in the labor movement. And also the fact that we're showing you can carry out antiwar activity within the unions, and make progress."

He told of a class on socialism Boston YSA members are now conducting at a New Hampshire college. It began when a student there was in Boston and bought a copy of the *Militant* during a community street sale.

He liked it enough to subscribe. After reading several issues he came back to Boston and visited the YSA and SWP headquarters. He asked if the YSA could lead a class for himself and some of his friends who were interested in socialism.

He and another of the participants in the class now want to organize a YSA chapter.

"It was interesting," Thierjung said. "One of the things that attracted him about the *Militant* was the weekly column on selling the paper at the plant gates. He liked the idea of a socialist paper that was serious about reaching workers with its message."

Who will be attending the YSA convention?

Members of the organization will be there as delegates or guests. Members of the SWP will also be attending.

And very important, Haywood and Thierjung stressed, is that in line with the YSA's internationalist outlook, members of socialist youth organizations in other countries will be there.

Finally, the YSA leaders emphasized, the convention will warmly welcome all those who are interested in the YSA's ideas and activities and want to learn more about it.

government action" to victimize opponents of U.S. foreign policy.

Thierjung, speaking for the YSA, called on "all those opposed to draft registration and the U.S. government's war in Central America and the Caribbean — especially the young workers and farmers who will become the cannon fodder — to attend and help build the April 20 demonstrations for Peace, Jobs and Justice that have been called for Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Houston.

"These actions are a needed response to the rapidly escalating U.S. intervention in Central America and the increased attacks on the rights of working people here at home."

Come to the YSA Convention in Chicago, May 25-27, 1985

— Please send me more information on the YSA and the convention.

— I would like to join the YSA. Contact me.

— Please send me a catalogue of socialist literature.

— Enclosed is \$3.00 for six issues of the *Young Socialist*, the newspaper of the YSA.

— Enclosed is \$1.50 for the Organizing the YSA handbook.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Union/school/org. _____

Mail to: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

'Revolution can neither be exported nor avoided'

Fidel Castro's speech in Nicaragua

By ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

On January 11 Cuban president Fidel Castro spoke at the inauguration of the Victory of July sugar mill in Nicaragua. This mill, the most modern in Central America, was built with the financial and technical aid of the Cuban government and Cuban workers.

During his speech he announced that Cuba had decided to cancel Nicaragua's debt for the mill. Castro emphasized that the government-owned mill "belongs to the Nicaraguan people. All that is produced, saved, and all profits are for the Nicaraguan people."

In this same speech Castro explained many important points including: internationalism, the tasks of a workers and farmers government, the recent Nicaraguan elections, and the responsibility, difficulties, and rewards of being a revolutionary.

Castro developed two points of special importance to workers in the United States. He explained the causes of the conflict in Central America, exposing the U.S. government's slanderous charge that Nicaragua is "exporting" revolution. And he proposes ways to achieve real peace.

This speech is published in full for the first time in English in the April 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. (To obtain a copy of this issue, or to subscribe to *IP*, see ad on page 6.)

Revolutions can't be exported

"Revolution can neither be exported or avoided," Castro said. Reviewing the history of Latin America from the 19th century wars of independence to the Mexican revolution that began in 1910, Castro asked, "Since the October Revolution [in Russia] had not yet occurred, who would they blame?"

Castro pointed out that when Nicaraguan national hero, Augusto César Sandino, was fighting the U.S. Marines occupying Nicaragua in 1927, Castro was not yet one year old. "Can the Cuban revolution be blamed for Sandino's struggle?"

"In the 1930s" Castro said, "before the Cuban revolution and long before the Nicaraguan revolution, there were uprisings and great struggles in El Salvador."

Turning to the experiences of the Cuban revolution, he said, "if we had wanted to import our revolution, we had nowhere to place an order."

Poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment, and repression, Castro said, are "the sources of the peoples' struggles." "Who," he asked, "can export these conditions?"

Just as it is ridiculous to believe revolution can be exported, Castro said, it is equally ridiculous to "think that a revolutionary country would carry out a military adventure against its neighbors."

Such action, the Cuban leader said, "is contrary to the ideas of any revolutionary party in our hemisphere." Any such adventure Castro pointed out, would be used as a pretext by the U.S. government to invade their country.

Castro reminded his audience that for 25 years the U.S. has occupied a part of Cuba's national territory, Guantánamo Bay, against the will of the Cuban people. All Cubans know that this territory is being occupied illegally, but, Castro said, never has anyone thought to recover it by force. To try to do so, Castro explained, would be to give the U.S. government an opening to invade Cuba.

'Our people want peace'

"Our people want peace. . . . It is an honest attitude. What can we gain from war? War, for what?" But, Castro continued, "we will defend ourselves." He explained that this is what Nicaragua is doing today, defending itself from the most powerful imperialist country, the United States.

"The world needs peace," Castro said.

But "the enormous foreign debt, the high interest rates, . . . protectionist measures, unequal trade, and exploitation against our people are creating unbearable conditions for our countries. These are the surefire factors of revolution." They, Castro explained, are caused by imperialism.

To begin to resolve these problems, and find the road to peace, Castro said, the foreign debt must be cancelled. "This is not an absurd demand. It is the only possible solution to begin to resolve the Third World's present problems." He pointed to the United States that spends on arms each year a sum almost equal to the entire Latin American debt. Therefore, he said, "it is not impossible for the economies of the rich industrialized countries to assume that debt."

Peace "would not only be in the interest of the countries of the region and the continent but also in the interests of the American people," Castro said. Because, "our people are not at all defenseless. An intervention in Nicaragua would give rise to an endless people's war . . . that the world would consider intolerable, a war which the invaders would have to pull out in the end."

Castro continued, "our peoples do not want these victories, this glory, that would cost many U.S. lives on the one hand, and



Fidel Castro speaking at the opening of the Victory of July sugar mill in Nicaragua.

countless Latin American lives on the other. No one wants that bloodshed, no one ever wants this kind of war to begin. This is why we can say with profound conviction — not only realistic but with political and revolutionary conviction — that our peoples, and this includes the American people, want peace, need peace."

End dirty war against Nicaragua

Therefore, Castro explained, the Cuban government and the Nicaraguan government are "willing to cooperate" in any effort for peace.

A peaceful outcome requires a negotiated political solution in El Salvador. "It would be a tremendous mistake to think that the Central America problem, particularly in El Salvador, can be solved through the extermination of all Salvadoran revolutionaries. These revolutionaries have demonstrated their ability to fight, their courage, and their morale in combat for five years, and they are unbeatable."

For there to be peace in Central America, Castro said, "we must have agreements

to guarantee Nicaragua's integrity and security against direct aggressions or dirty war. This is essential."

"It is possible to have peace," Castro said. "This will require the good faith of all, and all will have to make concessions of one type or another. We cannot have peace if some make concessions while others make none. Peace based on the demands of the other party is not peace, but rather shameful surrender. And no revolutionary country either sells itself or surrenders."

In publishing this speech, *Intercontinental Press* provides an important tool in the fight against the U.S. war in Nicaragua. It also provides a weapon for those interested in studying the revolutionary process in the region.

* * *

The original Spanish text of Castro's speech is available in the April 1, 1985, issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. It can be ordered from 408 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 for \$.75.

Communist International book hailed

BY DON DAVIS

Since the publication last August of the first volume of a new series on the Communist International in Lenin's time, Pathfinder Press has organized an effort to assure its broadest possible distribution.

While the most important readership for the book are fighters from the socialist movement in the United States and other countries, Pathfinder is also seeking to bring the series to the attention of students of socialist history, commercial bookstores, university libraries, and others who may be interested in it.

The series will make available in English for the first time the proceedings of the first four Comintern congresses, as well as other important material from this period of exceptionally rich experiences and discussions in the international workers' movement.

The first book, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, deals with the 1907-16 preparatory years of the Comintern, centering around the collapse of the Second International with the outbreak of the first inter-imperialist world war in 1914.

The first volume has already begun to receive favorable comments from academic specialists in the field of Soviet Russian history and politics.

A recent comment came from Prof. Robert Daniels of the University of Vermont, who has edited the two-volume *A Documentary History of Communism*. Daniels said that the first volume of the new series "brings together an excellent choice of important and revealing documents, hitherto difficult to come by, that illustrate step by step the split in the Second International and Lenin's efforts to turn the anti-war movement into a base for world revolution. . . ."

"This collection and the entire series," he wrote, "will be important resources for any library of twentieth-century history."

Ronald Suny, a professor at the University of Michigan, called the first volume "an extraordinary debut for what promises to be a distinguished series of books."

"If the remainder of the series maintains the high standards of this initial volume," he said, "this publication will be used with confidence by scholars and students interested in the experience of the Third International."

Such favorable comments will help get the book placed in libraries and used in

classrooms, as well as expand the readership among radical circles on university campuses.

As part of its effort to promote this volume, Pathfinder Press has also placed full-page ads in publications such as *New Left Review*, *Science and Society*, and *Slavic Review*.

In addition, Pathfinder has recently put out a new commercial catalog prominently featuring the Comintern series. It has been mailed to 30,000 bookstores, librarians, and professors in North America and around the world.

Pathfinder has also published an Education for Socialists bulletin to serve as a study guide for the first volume. A number of branches of the Socialist Workers Party around the country have now begun organizing classes around the book as part of their study of the works of Lenin.

A second volume in the series is due out in August. It will include the most complete account in any language of the March

1919 congress that founded the Communist International. Debates on the question of bourgeois democracy versus worker and peasant power that took place, both at the congress and elsewhere in the working-class movement of the day, form an important part of the book.

It will also include speeches and writings by Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and Karl Kautsky on the German revolution of November 1918 and the founding of the German Communist Party the following month. The writings of Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders such as Leon Trotsky and Karl Radek on the German revolution will also be featured, in many cases appearing for the first time in English.

In addition to the full-time translation and editorial staff working on the series, an international team of individuals from 16 countries is participating in the massive effort to collect and then translate — especially from German and Russian — documents and background material from this period.

Nicaraguan farmers tour Wisconsin

BY MINDY BRUDNO

MILWAUKEE — Farmers and other residents of the economically hard-hit area of western Wisconsin had the opportunity to hear Nicaraguan ranchers Juan and Piedad Tijerino during their tour here March 11-13. About 150 people attended three meetings in the towns of River Falls, Clayton, and Spring Valley.

The tour here was sponsored by the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance. The Alliance has been mobilizing farmers to fight for government relief and against foreclosures.

The Tijerinos, who are leaders of the Nicaraguan Union of Farmers and Ranchers, explained that the U.S.-financed *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) are using terror tactics against the civilian population. In the course of the war, they explained, some 800 farmers and ranchers have been killed by the *contras* nationally.

Referring to the crisis facing U.S. farmers, Juan Tijerino said, "The painful thing is that the money that could be used to help U.S. farmers is being used to kill Nicaraguans."

The Tijerinos defended the record of the Sandinista government in relations to the

farmers. They explained that the government had pardoned the debts built up under the Somoza dictatorship and extended long-term, low-interest loans.

The current emphasis is on technical and material assistance to the farmers, they said. Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans have received title to land through the agrarian reform that began in 1979. By now, most Nicaraguans who need or want land have it.

Juan Tijerino, who was elected to Nicaragua's national assembly in the recent elections, explained that even though he is not a member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, he ran on their slate because he supports their policies, as do a majority of the Nicaraguan people.

The Tijerinos repeatedly emphasized that Nicaragua's people and government want peace. "The Nicaraguan government has invited any member of the U.S. Congress to tour our military bases without restriction to see that all of our equipment is strictly for defense."

"We are a very small country and will never be a threat to our sister nations."

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

The Farm Crisis: What Future for U.S. Farmers? A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

Oakland Socialist Mayoral Campaign Barbecue. Sun., April 14, afternoon. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

COLORADO

Denver

Still No Justice: Kiko Martínez, Chicano Victim of Federal Prosecution, Speaks Out. Fri., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 25 W 3 Ave. Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA

Miami

Socialist Educational Weekend.

Classes on revolutionary continuity: 1. "Marxist Leadership in the United States; the Early Years 1848-1917." Sat., March 30, 12 noon. 2. "Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-22." Sat., March 30, 3 p.m. 3. "Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International." Sun., March 31, 3 p.m. Speaker: Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Translation to Spanish and Creole. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Cuba Today: A U.S. Socialist Reports on the Country Reagan Doesn't Want Us to See. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

Freedom Struggle Benefit. Featuring jazz singers, entertainers, and poets. The Ojeda Penn Experience, Alice Lovelace, Woodie Neal Parsons, and Lee Heuermann. Sat., April 13, 7 p.m. Atlanta Junior College Auditorium, 1360 Stewart Ave. Tickets: \$4 in advance, \$5 at the door. Children free. Ausp: National Black Independent Political Party. For more information call (404) 622-4120 or 624-4331.

No More Vietnams in Central America and Caribbean! Down With Apartheid in South Africa! Join NBIPP on April 20 in going to Washington, D.C., for the march against war and oppression. For more information call (404) 622-4120 or 624-4331.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Union Maids. Film documentary about women and the labor movement in the 1930s. Discussion to follow led by Jeanette Tracy, member Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 496. Sun., March 31, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Nicaragua: What's Behind Reagan's Lies? Speaker: John Holloway, recently returned from international coffee brigade. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (410) 522-4120.

mation call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Cuba: A Force in the Caribbean for Peace. Panel to be announced. Sun., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore "T"). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

Building a Coalition for Jobs, Peace and Justice: Join the April Actions — March on Washington April 20! A panel of speakers. Sun., April 7, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Paul Robeson's Civil Rights Activities in the 1940s and '50s. Speaker: Paul Robeson, Jr. Tue., April 2, 12:30 p.m. John Jay College, room 1321 South Hall, 444 W 56 St. (btw. 9th and 10th aves.). Ausp: John Jay College. For more information call (212) 489-3585 or 489-3547.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Crisis in Lebanon: The Role of Israel and the United States. Speakers: Michael Italic, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council and member Young Socialist Alliance and United Auto Workers; representative of UC Arab Student Organization. Sun., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Speak Out Against Toxic Chemical and Radiation Poisoning of Environment. Speakers: Dr. Shane Que Hec, Department of Environmental Health, UC Medical Center; Will Gates, Citizens Alliance for Responsible Benzene Operations Now (CARBON); Joe Lombardo, Socialist Workers Party, founding member of Citizens Active Against a Radioactive Environment; Elizabeth Meyers, member United Steelworkers of America. Sun., April 14, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

The True Story of the Vietnamese Revolution. Speaker: Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

Toledo

Lessons of the British Miners Strike. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, member Socialist Workers Party National Committee, recently returned from tour of British coalfields. Wed., April 3, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

Family Farmers Struggle for Survival. Speakers: John Burkett, executive board member, Ohio Family Farm Movement; John Gaige, member, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., April 13, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON

Portland

What Strategy to Fight Union-busting, War, and Racism? A Socialist Perspective. Speaker: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 2732 N Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Puerto Rico: Struggle Against U.S. Colonialism. Speaker: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York and Militant staff writer. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

South Africa: Women and the Resistance. Film: *You Have Struck a Rock.* Fri., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

British Miners' Strike: Lessons for U.S. Workers. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Mine Workers Local 1197. Sat., March 30, 7 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave., Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

The Fight for Abortion Rights Worldwide. Film showing: *Abortion Stories From North and South*, an award-winning Canadian documentary. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Leonard Peltier and the Fight for Native American Rights. Speaker: Nudrat Sedigh, leader, Leonard Peltier Support Group and member Young Socialist Alliance. Translation

Vietnam 10th victory celebration set

Continued from back page

part of its escalation of the war in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Washington hopes to demoralize Central American revolutionaries by showing how severely it punishes its enemies. At home the propaganda blitz tries to rewrite history and claim that the massive movement against U.S. war in Vietnam was futile and misguided.

In fact, the April 30, 1975, Vietnamese victory was a victory for U.S. working people also.

Despite the U.S. blockade, Chinese invasion, and attacks by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, Vietnam has made progress in reconstructing the country and extending health care, education, and social benefits.

On the international arena the April 30 victory shifted the balance of forces between U.S. imperialism and the world's oppressed. For years after, the Vietnamese victory and legacy of the U.S. antiwar movement made it more difficult for the United States to use direct military intervention in Angola, the Caribbean, and Central America.

The experience of the Vietnam War taught millions in the United States that it could not trust its own government. The antiwar movement showed that working people could make a difference by mobilizing their own, independent political power.

Workers and farmers in the United States have every reason to mark and celebrate the April 30 victory. Reviving the lessons of Vietnam and explaining what was won is a powerful contribution to the fight against the new Vietnam-style war being waged in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

to Spanish. Sat., March 30, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Nicaragua: Workers and Farmers Mobilize Against U.S. Aggression. A grand opening Militant Forum. Speakers: Pearl Christy, member Laborers Local 1353 and Socialist Workers Party. Recently participated in Nicaragua harvest brigade. Sat., April 13. Open house, 6 p.m.; forum, 7 p.m. 422 Shrewsbury St., suite 210. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Miners Fight Union-busting: Solidarity Needed in Strike Against A.T. Massey. Speaker: Joan Radin, member Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers Local 2271. Sat., March 30, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Socialist Educational Weekend: With the Cuban Women. Sat., March 30. Classes: "The Origins of Women's Oppression," 1 p.m. "The Struggle for Women's Liberation Under Capitalism," 3 p.m. Film: *With the Cuban Women* 7 p.m.

Speaker: Chris Breihan, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers Local 438. Travelled to Cuba in 1981. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

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, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-1018.

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.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

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

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

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

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

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

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 2219 E. Market. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: 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.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Road, Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **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.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 422 Shrewsbury St. Zip: 25301. 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.

A real stumper — "WASHINGTON, March 19 — Federal officials and public health experts are asking why, in an age of med-



Harry Ring

ical miracles, the decline in the infant mortality rate has slowed perceptibly." — News item.

Another stumper — Why is it that in revolutionary Cuba, where

there's full employment, racial equality, and free pre- and post-natal care, the infant mortality rate continues to decline steadily?

Maybe a Gremlin agent? — The Pentagon accused the press of twisting a remark by war secretary Weinberger that U.S. missile launchers might be based in Canada. A transcript of his remarks was then issued. Missing were 11 words which confirmed he had been correctly reported. In Canada a perspiring U.S. aide said the missing words were "inadvertently" dropped by an office typist, and that it was "weird" that the omission covered only the controversial point.

Aw shucks — He has big blue eyes. He's shy, warm, generous, and neither smokes nor drinks. He has great common sense and he's dead honest. That's how friends and underlings describe Thomas S. Murphy, as reported, with straight face, by the *New York Times*. Murphy heads Capital Cities Communications, which plunked down \$3.5 billion for ABC. A golfing crony confides, "I think he bought ABC because he thought he could make it better."

Rattling the skeletons — Former EPA director Anne Burford wants the government to pay \$211,000 in legal fees she incurred in a congressional probe. The

environmental agency had been looking the other way while administration business buddies neglected to clean up poisonous waste dumps. On White House instruction, Burford had stonewalled on producing relevant documents. On March 18, she threatened to sue for the money, tersely declaring, "If I sue it's going to be ugly, I promise you that."

Got the message — The next morning, the prez said he thought Burford should be paid.

Equal pay for equal worth — CIA director Casey has put in for a raise to bring him from \$75,000 to \$86,000. It's a matter of principle

as well as money for the cloak-and-dagger chief since he's already a millionaire. The thing is he has cabinet rank and cabinet members get the higher amount. The raise, it's reported, would give him "status."

Bad medicine — *Medical Economics* warns doctors not to leave the mag around where patients might peruse it. It explains: "The housewife wondering if she has enough cash with her to handle the \$40 payment ... isn't apt to be one of medicine's biggest boosters if she learns ... that the typical orthopedic or neurosurgeon grossed nearly a quarter of a million dollars last year."

'Schools not prisons' — socialist answers Koch

By ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The New York City public school system is a failure. It fails to educate our children.

A whopping 70 percent of the students drop out. The 30 percent that graduate will, in their majority, be without even the basic job skills. The schools, the buildings

AS I SEE IT

themselves, are falling apart. Classes are overcrowded. In some schools, there aren't enough classrooms. Classes are held in corners of the hall or in the cafeteria.

This situation has made public education a top priority for working people.

Public education, however, is not a top priority for Mayor Edward Koch, who calls for more prisons instead of schools. Speaking before the New York State Committee on Sentencing Guidelines last month, Koch said, "The two top priorities for us are education and law enforcement. If I had to make a choice, it would be to punish criminals."

Koch explained that he was for the construction of an unlimited number of prisons throughout the city and the state.

Prisons, not education, are Koch's top priority. His

opponents for the Democratic Party's nomination in the New York mayoral race — Carol Bellamy, current City Council president, and Manhattan Assemblyman Herman (Denny) Farrell — do not challenge this attack on working people's right to an education. They were and remain silent.

As the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for mayor, I was not surprised by Koch's remarks. They were just a statement of the policy he has been carrying out against the city's working people for the last eight years. Neither was I surprised that Bellamy and Farrell did not attack Koch's priorities. These so-called anti-Koch candidates in the Democratic Party support Koch's antilabor policies. They join Koch in calling for more cops as the top priority in the city. With more cops, of course, come more prisons.

As a working-class candidate, my campaign has different priorities. I begin with the right of the children of the city's working class to receive an education. My campaign calls for building the classrooms that we need, not prison cells.

The socialist campaign calls for more teachers, not more cops, and supports smaller class sizes — so that teachers can teach, and children have the best opportunity to learn. My campaign calls for all-day kindergarten and after-school and summer programs to advance children's education and help provide child care for working parents.

My campaign defends programs that provide equal education for the oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the city. I support bilingual education for children who don't speak English so they, too, can receive an education.

The socialist campaign defends busing to desegregate the schools to guarantee that Black and Hispanic children receive an education equal to that received by white students. My campaign calls for affirmative action for Blacks and Hispanics in the hiring of teachers, administrators, and all school personnel.

To provide an education for the city's children, we call for taking the billions of dollars that the city and the state pay for prisons and putting it into public education. We demand an end to the tax break for real-estate "developers" who convert formerly low and moderate income housing into luxury cooperatives and condominiums. These millions of dollars should be used for education, instead. My campaign calls for taxing 100 percent of the profit of these "developers" and other big corporations in the city.

And we demand that the federal government's war budget be abolished. The U.S. war machine is used to murder workers and farmers in Nicaragua and to destroy schools and child-care centers there. Those massive funds should be spent to provide public education, child care, and other services, not only in New York City, but throughout the country.

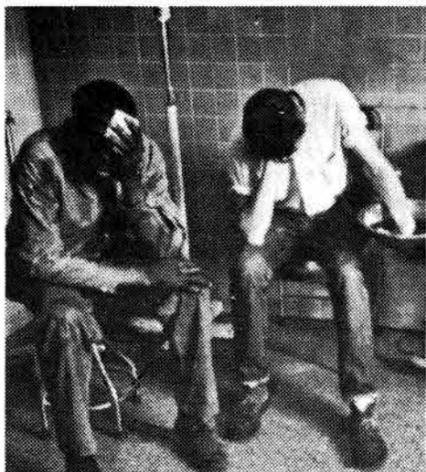
Health care in U.S. — only the rich can afford it

The following article appeared in the February 17 English-language issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, which is an official organ of the Cuban Communist Party. The article is written by Inocente Bueno and appears in the column "From the 'American Dream.'"

Judging by the information, it isn't certain whether Rafael Guzmán is still alive at the time this article is being written. Where can he be? What has become of him? His case will in all likelihood never come up again, since he's no longer news.

But if he is still alive in his hopeless agony, no one would dare speak about the excellences of capitalism, particularly in regard to public health, which in that sordid world — far from being a right to which everyone is entitled — is a piece of merchandise.

Rafael Guzmán, 38, from the Dominican Republic, experienced this in his own flesh when his two kidneys ceased to function properly one day in April 1984.



People waiting many hours in hospital emergency room before seeing doctor is typical of U.S. medical care.

Perhaps at that moment Guzmán still had hopes, for after all, he was not one of the dispossessed, like countless others in his native country.

He could have been described as a member of the middle class, a more or less established businessman. He owned a two-story home, he managed his own enterprise dealing with the sale of spare automobile parts. That well-off petite bourgeoisie to which Rafael Guzmán belonged in his native Santo Domingo seemed solvent and promising enough.

When his two kidneys ceased functioning, he had 30,000 dollars in the bank. Renal dialysis in Dominican hospitals costs a fortune and he had to have it done twice a week so that the toxins accumulating in his body wouldn't kill him.

Rafael Guzmán didn't hesitate. The only solution that could save his life was getting a kidney transplant in the United States. And rather than spending all his money in Santo Domingo on the costly treatment, he decided to go to the United States, accompanied by his wife María, and was admitted to Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami.

Given the bad shape he was in, he received emergency treatment as soon as he entered the hospital. Then the matter of a kidney transplant came up. The hospital would charge him 50,000 dollars, — no more, no less! — for the operation. And since health care in the USA is a commodity, he would have to shell out half of the money immediately, or else.

But by then Rafael Guzmán didn't have enough money, despite his relative wealth. He offered to pay 12,000 or 13,000 as down payment and the rest in easy installments, but Jackson Memorial Hospital stood its ground: either pay up 25,000 dollars now or out you go.

Guzmán's brother-in-law, Marcos Fermín, dramatically told the Miami press: "Rafael wants to pay. He could make that first payment and it wouldn't be difficult

for him to continue paying in the future. But they say we must do it their way or not at all."

Well, Rafael didn't do it at all. So he wiped his tears while his family packed his bags. The records at Jackson Memorial Hospital read: "Patient Rafael Guzmán ... involuntarily discharged."

Woody Davis, assistant director of the hospital, tried to justify the monstrous system by saying that such decisions were hard to make. Hundreds, thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of persons in the Caribbean Basin and Latin America are in need of intensive medical care which they can't get in their own countries, he

added, and we can't take on that responsibility.

Rafael Guzmán returned to Santo Domingo. He continued to be the same middle class businessman, a relative winner when compared with thousands of his poor, dispossessed compatriots. But no sooner did his two kidneys cease to work that he became just one more poor devil like the rest.

If he is still alive, in his hopeless agony, no one would dare speak to him of the greatness of capitalism. He knows capitalism only too well, since he was kicked out of Jackson Memorial Hospital when he lacked the money to go on living.

Union beats back Klan-style threats

Continued from Page 17

The company also got calls from the NAACP and the Anti-Klan Network expressing concern about the situation.

The next day (Wednesday), the union posted a statement signed by all the elected officers. It read:

"As members of UMW of America, we all have pledged to uphold the basic principles of our union.

"One of the principles being never to discriminate against a fellow workers on account of creed, color, or nationality.

"The recent activity of harassment and threats directed at members of our local union will not be tolerated.

"Any person(s) found responsible for these activities and found to be guilty will be discharged immediately without union representation."

Once all the workers were informed about what had been going on, the few who hinted at any sympathy for the racist threats were quickly isolated. A significant number expressed their concern at the threats and their desire that Duncan be able to return to work.

On Wednesday morning, Duncan returned to work. He reports that his coworkers are very friendly and there has been no new harassment.

Local 2350's reaffirmation of the UMW's opposition to racist terrorism was a victory for the union.

The Klan-style operation took place in an atmosphere of tension created by stepped-up attacks on the union by the company. Five union members were fired some months ago on various unproven charges. The company based its action on testimony of a cop that the company had briefly planted among the workers. The elected vice-president of the union was one of those who lost his job.

The company then tried to fire the current vice-president of the local as well. The union grieved the firing, and an arbitrator ordered the union officer reinstated.

If the KKK-style operation against Dowty workers had succeeded, the union membership would have been deeply divided and the company's hand would have been strengthened. Swift and decisive action by Local 2350 headed off that danger.

A dangerous 'espionage' ruling

A blow to democratic rights of working people was struck when a federal judge ruled that government employees can be prosecuted for espionage for disclosing "classified" information to the media.

In a decision made public March 14, Judge Joseph Young denied a motion to dismiss espionage charges against Samuel Morison, a Navy civilian employee. Morison provided photos of Soviet shipbuilding to *Jane's Defence Weekly*, a London military magazine.

Judge Young acknowledged the Morison case didn't involve "a foreign agent or the classic spy scenario." But, he asserted, "the danger to the United States is just as great when this information is released to the press as when it is released to an agent of a foreign power."

He further suggested that at most a prosecutor need only prove such information was "potentially" harmful to the United States.

If convicted, Morison faces up to 40 years in jail and a \$40,000 fine.

A military analyst, Morison moonlighted as a part-time editor for *Jane's* with the Navy's knowledge and approval.

The photos he provided them were "classified." A mountain of government documents are so stamped.

Most government information is marked "classified" in order to keep it not from "foreign powers," but from the working people of this country.

Occasionally the media has obtained classified information damaging to an administration. Government employees have been fired or otherwise victimized for such leaks. But, with a single exception, none has ever been prosecuted for espionage for such leaks.

The exception was Daniel Ellsberg. In 1971, he and Anthony Russo made the Pentagon Papers available to

the media. The documents shed damaging light on Washington's dirty war in Vietnam.

Russo and Ellsberg were prosecuted for espionage, but the case was thrown out before it ever got to a jury. The issue of whether they could be brought to court under the spy statute was never decided.

Commenting on the current ruling in the Morison case, Morton Halperin of the American Civil Liberties Union pointed to the real issue involved.

"If this opinion is upheld," Halperin warned, "we have an official secrets act in this country. Any government employee who gives any classified information to any newspaper will have broken the law and any newspaper that publishes it will have also broken the law."

A good idea of where this can lead is the recent case of *New York Times* reporter Leslie Gelb. He authored a report on secret U.S. contingency plans to place nuclear weapons in Puerto Rico, Iceland, Canada, and other countries. The plan was drawn without bothering to consult the countries affected.

True, Gelb was not prosecuted for espionage for doing this, even though he drew on classified information. But he was the target of a nasty State Department smear attack.

Responding to the State Department attack, *Times* editor A.M. Rosenthal noted that Gelb's article "contained no information that had not already been published and debated in the countries named in the story."

Rosenthal added, "The only people from whom this information had been withheld were the American people."

Exactly. And that's precisely the point behind the drive for "broader" application of the Espionage Act — to suppress information that will fuel public opposition to the rulers' attacks on workers and working farmers at home and abroad.

Reagan's new antilabor sec'y

President Reagan's nomination of William Brock to serve as secretary of labor was greeted by words of praise from national trade union officials. Brock will replace Raymond Donovan who resigned the post to face trial on criminal charges of crooked business activities.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland responded to Brock's nomination saying, "We have worked with him in many areas over the years. While we have not always agreed, he has earned our respect."

There is nothing in Brock's political record deserving respect from unionists, Blacks, Latinos, women, or anti-war fighters. On the contrary!

In his 18 years as a congressman and U.S. senator from Tennessee, Brock was a firm supporter of antiunion "right to work" laws. He voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act and was a hawk during the Vietnam War.

As secretary of labor and a member of the Reagan cabinet he will promote Washington's war in Central America, and support arming the counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua.

To his credit, Kirkland has spoken out against provid-

ing more government funds to the mercenary bands in Nicaragua. This comes in the context of thousands of trade unionists who are organizing themselves to participate in the April 20 demonstrations against the war.

Why then his praise for an antilabor hawk?

Kirkland himself answered this question on March 20 saying, "We have a two-party system and that's the way it is. It's fruitless to deplore it. The job is to try and make it more effective."

This policy of subordinating the interests of working people to the employing class has been a criminal default by the AFL-CIO officialdom since the merger of the two federations in 1955. It is a key reason for the present weakened condition of the trade unions.

On this, the 30th anniversary of that merger, the AFL-CIO needs a class-struggle orientation to fight the bosses' offensive, not more capitulation to their capitalist parties.

Instead of praise for Brock, the labor movement needs to be politically rearmed with a perspective of breaking with the capitalist parties and building a labor party based on the trade unions.

Blacks' stake in antiwar fight

Continued from front page

people in this century. The Civil Rights, Voting Rights, housing, and other acts that have been passed since are a direct result of those social and political struggles.

It was through his participation in these giant class battles that King came to see the organic connection between the oppression and exploitation of Blacks in the United States, and U.S. imperialist domination of the great mass of the world's peoples.

"You know whether we want to be or not, we are caught in a great moment of history. It has reached the point where you are part of this movement or you are against it. It is bigger than Montgomery. The vast majority of the people of the world are colored. Up until four or five years ago most of the one and one-quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West . . . India, China, Africa. Today many are free. And the rest are on the road. We are part of that great movement," King explained.

King, however, never became a revolutionary himself. He believed that the capitalist system, through mass pressure and a series of reforms, could become responsive to the needs of Blacks and become a force for progress — instead of reaction — in the world.

In this he was mistaken.

Malcolm X was also an ardent opponent of the war in Vietnam and the racist policies of the U.S. rulers. But Malcolm X was a *revolutionary internationalist*. He saw that the road to liberating Blacks ran through forging a fighting alliance of the exploited and oppressed masses with the aim of overturning capitalism and imperialism.

In their opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, both King and Malcolm X reflected the fact that millions

of working people who are Black had learned, through their experiences in fighting against national oppression, that they had a stake in ending U.S. aggression in far-away Vietnam.

Today, as we commemorate not only the inspiring example of King the fighter, but the 20th anniversary of some of the biggest battles and turning points in the civil rights movement, Washington is once again waging a war of aggression to defend private profits and the imperialist system against the freedom struggle of peoples of color. This time the center of the struggle is right in our own hemisphere.

In Nicaragua after decades of U.S.-imposed repression and poverty the workers and peasants have taken the reins of government and are building a new society.

Washington's response? Arm, organize, and finance a mercenary army, led by the torturers of the old regime, to make the Nicaraguan people cry "uncle," as Reagan so arrogantly put it.

In El Salvador, Washington is propping up a brutal, proimperialist government that is the object of an armed popular rebellion led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

On April 20 in Washington, D.C., and several other cities around the country, demonstrations are being organized to protest this war, as well as to condemn Washington's backing for the apartheid regime in South Africa and inequality at home.

An all-out effort to maximize union and Black rights participation in the April 20 march will help lay the political basis for building a massive struggle against war and for social justice, a struggle which Black working people will be central leaders of.

Lenin on how workers fund revolutionary press

BY PAT GROGAN

In 1912 the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) began publishing *Pravda* as a daily newspaper in St. Petersburg. It was financed in large part by direct contributions from Russian workers.

V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik Party and the October 1917 Russian revolution wrote of this accomplishment. "By founding a workers' daily newspaper, the workers of St. Petersburg have accomplished a major feat, one that without exaggeration can be called historic."

Lenin understood the crucial role of the revolutionary press in educating and organizing the working class and the revolutionary party.

And he attached special importance to *how* the campaign to finance the press was organized politically.

The funds for a daily newspaper came as a result of a six-month fund drive from January to June of 1912. In an

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

article entitled, "The results of six months' work," written in July 1912, Lenin assesses the drive.

On March 15 we launched the Socialist Publications Fund to help raise funds for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and other socialist publications and books. (See article on page 3.) Lenin's article, written more than 70 years ago, can teach us fresh lessons today.

More important than the total sum collected, Lenin said, are such questions as, "What was the role which the workers themselves and groups of workers played in collecting this sum? . . . Did the workers themselves show in this case a personal and active concern for the working-class press and make up a large sum out of donations from a large number of workers' groups?"

"What we are interested in at the moment," Lenin wrote, "is the contributions made by the workers themselves — moreover, not by individual ones, who may have come across a collector by chance, . . . we mean groups of workers, who must no doubt have discussed beforehand whether they should donate any money, whom they should give it to, and for what purpose."

Lenin thought the most important feature of the fund drive was the 504 donations that came from groups of workers.

"It was the effort of the workers that brought the workers' paper, *Pravda*, into being," Lenin wrote. "There can be no doubt as to the closest connection between the general upswing of the working-class movement (not in a narrow guild, narrow trade union sense, but with a scope of affecting *all the people*) and the founding of a daily newspaper of the St. Petersburg worker democrats. We need something more than trade union publications, we need a political newspaper of our own — this is what the masses realized more and more . . . we need a newspaper not only to promote our working-class struggle, but also to provide a model and a beacon for the whole people."

"Workers' groups made 504 contributions to their press," Lenin wrote. "The workers had absolutely no other aim in view except the founding and maintenance of their workers' press. . . . The five and ten kopek [in Russian currency, 100 kopeks equal a ruble] pieces collected and marked 'from a group of workers of such and such a factory' have made it possible also to appraise the workers' sentiments, their class-consciousness, their unity, and their readiness to promote the working-class cause."

Lenin pointed out that efforts to expand the circulation of the press go hand in hand with the commitment to finance it, and that the supporters of *Pravda* "do not limit themselves to subscribing to the paper, but pass it on or send it on to others as a sample, to make it known at other factories, in neighboring flats or houses, in the countryside, and so on."

"There is a workers' paper in America, *Appeal to Reason*, [a widely circulated socialist weekly] that has over a half-million subscribers," Lenin wrote. "That Russian worker . . . is a poor worker indeed if he does not overtake and surpass his American fellow workers."

Lenin proposed expanding the practice of mass collections from workers as the best and surest way to raise the funds for the workers' press.

"What is very much more important, however, is not the financial aspect of the matter, but something else," he said. "Let us assume that a hundred workers in different shops of a factory contribute *one kopek* each day on payday to the workers' newspaper. That will add up to two rubles a month. Let us assume on the other hand, that ten well-paid workers meeting by chance collect ten rubles. The former two rubles are worth more than the latter ten."

"May the custom of a workers' kopek for the workers' newspaper develop and gain strength!" he concluded.

ACTWU members write to Nicaraguan union

BY BECKY ELLIS

PORTLAND, Ore. — There's one political issue that really hits hard with women I work with in a local garment shop organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). It's the U.S. government's intervention in Central America.

None of them want the U.S. government to send troops to fight our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua. We

UNION TALK

know that the government is already intervening "secretly," and we also know that President Reagan is just looking for an excuse for an all-out invasion. And most of us have brothers, sons, and husbands who would have to fight in an escalated war in Nicaragua.

Last fall, we found out more about the Nicaraguan revolution from one of our union officers who was part of a labor delegation that toured that country in September.

When she returned, she gave a report about her visit to members of our union local. From her report, many of us began to realize that workers in Nicaragua were beginning to have control over their lives and working conditions — something we certainly wish we had! We heard about union contracts in Nicaragua that gave full pay for sick

leave, subsidized lunches, and maternity leave benefits.

Later we had a lot of discussions on the job about Nicaragua and when the U.S. government threatened to escalate the war over the "MIG crisis" last November, we decided we needed to do something. One of the things we did was to put together a telegram to Reagan demanding he halt the attacks against the workers of Nicaragua.

In Portland there is a project under way to officially recognize Corinto, Nicaragua, as our sister city, and our union local thought it would be a good idea to plug into that effort. We decided to draft a letter to workers at a textile plant in Nicaragua inviting them to recognize our union as their sister union in the United States.

Then we passed the letter around our shop so everyone could read it and add their ideas. Later, the letter was read aloud at the next union meeting and discussed again. After it was agreed to and typed, we passed it around the shop so everyone could read and sign it.

We also thought it would be great to send a picture of the workers in our shop to the Nicaraguan textile workers. So we arranged for the husband of a union member to meet us at lunch time to snap our picture.

The morning of the day we decided to take the picture, the owner of the company got wind of what we were doing. She confronted the union president and said she had heard that "the union was coming out to take pictures" and that it would not be allowed on company prop-

erty. We passed the word around the shop and decided to take pictures at a nearby park if the company prevented us from doing it on company property.

When the lunch bell rang, we ran outside and found the shop owner and her top antiunion man in the parking lot waiting to stop our picture-taking, so we just went to the park.

Some of the women wondered what the big deal was — why the owner was so upset over a picture. But of course the owner, like other capitalists was upset about union activity — and they become particularly upset about union activity in solidarity with Central American workers.

Our letter and picture were personally delivered to the Nicaraguan textile workers by a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) who went on a tour of that country. When he returned, he was able to show some of us a slideshow he had taken of Nicaraguan workers. It made everything we had done seem real.

Our local is part of the Pacific Northwest Joint Board of ACTWU that recently met and decided to endorse and participate in the April 20th Peace, Jobs, and Justice march and rally in Seattle, Washington. Several women from my shop are already planning to go.

I think our union is stronger because of what we've done so far to oppose the war in Central America. All of us seem to have more confidence in dealing with the problems we face every day at work.

CIA secretly pushes law to muzzle gov't workers

BY HARRY RING

The CIA has secretly proposed to the White House that it recommend a new law making it a crime for government employees to disclose "classified" information to the press.

Violators would face five years in jail and a \$25,000 fine.

A legal memo accompanying the CIA proposition says such legislation is needed because there is no law presently on the books under which someone can be prosecuted for disclosing classified government information.

This flatly contradicts the stand taken by the Justice Department in obtaining the indictment of Samuel Morison, a navy employee, for giving classified photos to a British military magazine.

The judge in that case has agreed with the Justice Department that Morison can be prosecuted as a "spy" under the Espionage Act. (See editorial page 14.)

The apparently contradictory moves by the CIA and Justice Department seem to indicate that they've decided to work both sides of the street in the continuing drive to bottle up information.

If using the Espionage Act for this purpose doesn't hold up in the courts, have Congress enact a law specifically aimed at

those government employees who divulge the wrong secrets.

The proposal for such a law should help to clarify the fact that the government's concern is not about classified information falling into the hand of a "foreign power." The concern is about politically damaging information falling into the hands of the working people of this country.

The CIA legislative proposal is itself a first-class example of what constitutes "classified" information.

It was disclosed that the proposal itself has been classified by the CIA as "secret"!

MARCH 27 — Officials announced today that the CIA secrecy act proposal was being shelved. They said this did not preclude it being reintroduced later. Meanwhile, if Samuel Morison is convicted under the Espionage Act, there will already be an official secrecy act in place.

A while back, Reagan peevishly complained he'd had it "up to my keister" with unauthorized leaks. A number of moves have been made to stem them. Various government officials have been required to sign lifetime censorship agreements. There's been stepped-up use of lie-detector tests in tracking down leak culprits. And it's safe

to assume that more telephones of government workers are being illegally tapped.

This has been accompanied by a rash of "spy" prosecutions, some of them strongly smacking of entrapment and frame-up. All are designed to have a chilling effect on free speech, and silence critics of the government's domestic and foreign policies, especially its intervention in Central America.

Moves to get a law like the one now proposed by the CIA were first made in the early 1970s under the Nixon administration, which surely had plenty to hide. But there was enough public opposition at the time to kill the proposal.

Since then, the government's need for keeping workers and farmers misinformed and uninformed has increased, not lessened. That need stems directly from the crimes committed by the government, at home and abroad, on behalf of the businesspeople and bankers who rule the country.

To get an idea of the real meaning of a secrecy law like the one favored by the CIA, it's worth looking at the notorious and basically similar Official Secrets Act long used by the British government to choke off the flow of information.

Recently, Clive Ponting, a ranking British war ministry official, was prosecuted

under the act for disclosing information about the British sinking of the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano* during the Malvinas War in 1982.

The Thatcher government had persistently claimed that the ship had to be torpedoed for the safety of British ships and crew members in the area.

The information released by Ponting confirmed that the *Belgrano* had been steaming toward Argentina for 11 hours when it was attacked. The murderous sinking claimed the lives of 368 Argentine sailors.

A London jury refused to convict Ponting. But, with his security clearance yanked, he was forced to resign his post.

In another recent case there, a former British "domestic security" employee was the subject of a TV documentary. She described how, for years, the agency she worked for had tapped the phones of trade unionists, antinuke campaigners, and civil libertarians.

So far, she hasn't been prosecuted. But the TV documentary was scrapped because station members feared they would be indicted under the Official Secrets Act.

That's precisely the kind of fear the proposed CIA statute is designed to generate here.

LETTERS

AIM leaders our brothers

Roberto Vargas, an official representative of the embassy of Nicaragua in Washington, D.C., spoke here on February 22 at a meeting attended by some 200 people. The event, called "An Evening of Eyewitness Reports and Entertainment on Nicaragua," was sponsored by the Minnesota Trade Union Coalition for Peace.

American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt, who visited Nicaragua last November to observe the elections there, and Bill Means also attended the meeting, though they did not speak. Vargas recognized them during his talk, saying, "Reagan wants the Nicaraguan people to call the *contras* our brothers. . . . These AIM leaders are our real brothers, not the rapists, murderers, and assassins attacking Nicaragua."

Richard Metcalf, who is manager of the Twin Cities Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, spoke about the need for solidarity between U.S. workers and working people throughout Central America. Metcalf visited Nicaragua as co-chair of the U.S. delegation to the International Trade Union Conference for Peace held in Managua in April 1984.

The meeting was chaired by Sue Mauren who visited Nicaragua in January 1984. Mauren is a steward for Local 320 of the Teamsters, and vice-president of the Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women. Mauren explained that the Minnesota Trade Union Coalition, which was formed recently, has the support of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. Mauren said that peace is important for trade unionists because, "If we become involved in a war in Central America it's working class children who will die."

Maggie Perrier
Minneapolis, Minnesota

World War II

The 40th anniversary of the end of WWII is approaching and already this is leading to discussions of the war in general and the role of the Soviet Union in particular.

I would like to suggest a way that readers of the *Militant* can get into the discussion. The British (Thorne EMI) series called *The World at War* is available on videotape and can be rented at video outlets. The episodes dealing with the Soviet Union are number 5, Barbarossa; number 9, Stalingrad; and number 11, Red Star.

No doubt there is much more to

be said, but I found the series excellent. It is gripping, dramatic, and certain to provoke discussion.
K.H.

Windsor, Canada

Violence of oppressed

On May 5, 1984, Karen Norman, who was viciously attacked and raped in her Detroit home, stabbed and killed her assailant. She was charged with first degree murder!

In response to the continuous attacks on women's rights, we need to wake up and realize what this is really about: making the victim the criminal.

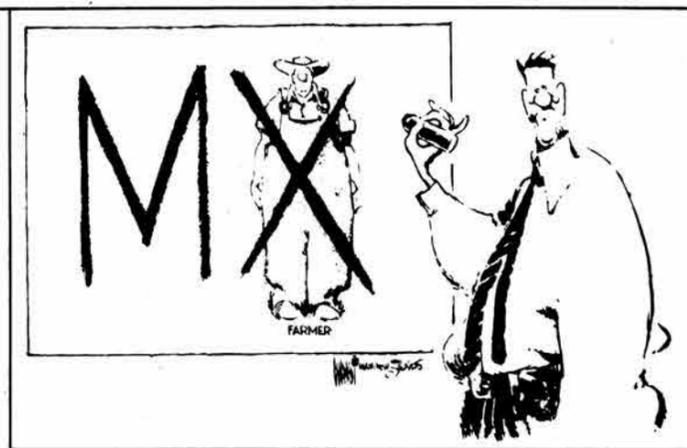
There is a fundamental distinction between the violence of the oppressed and the violence of the oppressor.

A prisoner
Auburn, New York

Political prisoner

As a citizen in these United States, and a prisoner of the state of Texas, I now declare my plight as a political prisoner.

Every important aspect of the Black man's life in this nation-state has been the result of a political decision, over which he has had little or no direct input or control — political decisions that have been made by someone other than his own race, who has no respect



for his culture or heritage, and who has made him a prisoner in a never-ending quest for the political power, a power that always eludes the Black man.

It is only through the political power process that he can gain reparations for the wrongs perpetrated against him, including the wholesale killings and incarcerations of Black youth. It is politics that keep the Black man a prisoner in this nation and its penal institutions.

A prisoner
Houston, Texas

Pass it on

I have received my first and second issue of the *Militant* and I am very grateful for them. As you

know, I am a prisoner being held at Comstock correctional facility and I find the *Militant* very helpful in my studies.

And, of course, I'm passing my copies to other individuals so they can be aware of what's taking place in the Third World countries.

A prisoner
Comstock, New York

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.

Brazil, Ecuador aid Nicaragua

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The governments of Brazil and Ecuador have offered to help Nicaragua resolve its fuel oil shortages and to expand commercial ties with the Sandinistas.

Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega announced these new agreements March 23 after a successful nine-day visit to Brazil. These agreements represent the latest series of diplomatic and political victories by Nicaragua in Latin America.

Ortega was invited to Brazil for the inauguration of Tancredo Neves, the new president. On his return, Ortega told reporters in Managua that he had found "great solidarity" in Brazil with the Nicaraguan revolution. Although Brazil has given Nicaragua some \$50 million in credit since the 1979 revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, these credits have been primarily to permit Nicaragua to buy Brazilian-made buses.

The latest agreement represents a qualitative increase in the Brazilian government's assistance for Nicaragua. It includes plans to aid Nicaragua in finding alternative energy supplies. Nicaragua wants Brazil to consider building several small gasohol refineries to convert sugar-cane products into fuel. Gasohol is a mixture of gasoline and ethyl alcohol, which is made from sugar cane among other things.

The Ecuadoran government's offer to provide Nicaragua with oil represents a major breakthrough for the Sandinista government. Previously the Ecuadoran government had been reluctant to supply fuel to Nicaragua. Ecuador will now join Mexico and the Soviet Union in providing



Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega's successful tour to other Latin American countries dealt a blow to U.S. government's attempts to politically and economically isolate Nicaragua.

most of Nicaragua's fuel oil.

The U.S. government is seeking to pressure Latin American capitalist regimes to help it isolate the Sandinistas politically and economically. The imperialist pressure campaign is not going so well, in part due to the political counteroffensive by the Nicaraguan government.

The impact of the Nicaraguan political moves was seen in the United States during the visit of Argentine president Raúl Alfonsín to Washington.

Reagan used the visit by the Argentine president to denounce and slander Nicaragua. Reagan said, "The free people of this hemisphere must not stand by and watch

the communist tyranny imposed on Nicaragua spread to the free lands of the Americas."

Alfonsín refused to endorse Reagan's line. Instead he stressed the need for "dialogue" and opposed any intervention in Latin America as a violation of international law.

In his speech before a joint session of Congress, Alfonsín explained that the solution to the conflict in Central America must be based on "nonintervention".

Alfonsín, who has withdrawn all Argentine advisers from the CIA-backed counter-revolutionary terrorists in Honduras, has joined all the recently elected civilian pres-

idents in Latin America in urging a negotiated settlement to regional disputes in Central America.

Ortega's visits to Latin America have served to galvanize anti-imperialist sentiments and to popularize the Sandinista revolution among workers and peasants.

The extent of the popular support for the Sandinista revolution among Latin American working people and the opposition to the U.S. war was seen March 1 when 200,000 people turned out to cheer Ortega in Montevideo, Uruguay. Ortega had come to Uruguay to participate in the inauguration of Pres. Julio María Sanguinetti — the country's first civilian president after 12 years of military rule.

In contrast to the enthusiastic welcome Ortega received, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was greeted by a crowd shouting "Yankee murderer." Sanguinetti has announced plans to open up diplomatic relations with Nicaragua for the first time since the 1979 revolution.

Ortega's visits have also registered important gains for the Nicaraguan government's efforts to politically isolate the U.S. government in Latin America. The *New York Times* reports one diplomat as saying there was a "Greek chorus" in Latin America calling on the United States to resume talks with Nicaragua, which the U.S. government had broken off in January.

Working people in the U.S. can add their voice to the opposition to the U.S. war against Nicaragua and solidarize with the workers and farmers there by participating in the April 20 national antiwar actions in Washington, D.C. and other cities.

N.J. Puerto Ricans demand: Prosecute killer cop

BY PACO SÁNCHEZ

PATERSON, N.J. — Roberto Rosa, a 17-year-old Puerto Rican youth, was killed by the police on March 19.

The killing — more accurately called a summary police execution — was described to *Perspectiva Mundial* (the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*) by María García, an eyewitness.

The cop, Victor Crespo, gun in hand, chased Rosa into a nearby courtyard, threatening to kill him. Rosa surrendered. While he was lying on the ground, García continued, he was crying, "Please don't kill me, I don't have anything." A short while later, aiming at the youth's neck, Crespo shot him in cold blood.

The cops said Rosa and two other persons were allegedly taking part in a drug deal. No drugs were ever found.

"Many people saw the killing," another witness told us. "When they arrest one of us, they know all of us are going to see it." This, the witnesses explained, was part of the terror tactics used by the police to intimidate everyone.

The cop tried to cover up the murder, witnesses told *Perspectiva Mundial*. Although there was blood all over his head and the ground and he was obviously dead, García said, "they were going to handcuff him." Another witness said, "They took him away as if he was alive, as if nothing unusual had happened."

Even with testimony like this, Crespo's attorney Joseph Afflitto described the shooting as accidental resulting from the cop stumbling while his gun was drawn. Crespo was jailed only briefly. He was released after paying the first \$1,000 of the \$10,000 bail that had been set.

More than 3,000 people attended Rosa's funeral mass at St. Joseph's Church. Hundreds of students from Eastside High School, which Rosa had attended, as well as youths from other nearby schools, left school to attend the funeral.

In the courtyard where Rosa was killed

the residents of the community set up a small memorial. Some of the signs on the memorial read "Why did they kill an innocent youth?" and "Killed in cold blood." A Puerto Rican flag was also raised in the courtyard.

Paterson is located a few miles north of Newark. Like many other Black and Latino communities in the United States, Paterson's Latino neighborhood has been and continues to be the object of police brutality.

Some of the residents explained that in some areas you can't stand on a corner in groups of two or three. "The police don't leave us alone. Sometimes they search us; other times they disperse us and other times they detain us and we have to pay a \$25 fine to go free."

The funeral has been the only organized protest by the community, but the indigna-

tion continues spreading and growing throughout the city.

The Democratic and Republican politicians like Manny Martínez, who spoke "in the name of" the *barrio* at the burial, called on people to be "calm and to have confidence that justice will triumph." Father Noonlan told the 3,000 gathered for the funeral that "we would not honor Roberto if we do something negative in his name."

But the *Perspectiva Mundial* team and a group of socialist campaign activists found a different response.

The real sentiment was expressed by some of the nearly 200 people who signed petitions to put Mark Satinoff, the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for governor of New Jersey, on the ballot.

"Some signers wanted to discuss the U.S. war in Central America and to denounce the racism in South Africa,"

Vietnamese 10th anniversary celebration set

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — The 10th anniversary of the victory over U.S. military intervention in Vietnam will be celebrated here at a May 5 rally to be held at Washington Irving High School. A Vietnamese representative, spokespersons for Nicaragua and the Salvadoran freedom fighters, and Dave Dellinger are among those scheduled to speak.

The Vietnam 10th Anniversary Committee is holding the event to demand an end to U.S. hostilities against Vietnam, to build solidarity and friendship between U.S. and Vietnamese people, and to draw the lessons from the Vietnam War for the current fight against the U.S. war in Central America.

The committee also plans to build a contingent at the April 20 march for peace, jobs, and justice in Washington, D.C. The group is collecting signatures for greetings to the Vietnamese people and hopes to pre-

pare educational literature and other activities.

When the Vietnamese National Liberation Forces entered Saigon on April 30, 1975, it brought to an end a 30-year battle against French and U.S. invaders. In that war the U.S. dropped three and a half times as many bombs as were used in World War II. U.S. troops destroyed 40-45 percent of southern Vietnam's forests with Agent Orange. The war toll included 2 million Vietnamese killed, as well as more than 50,000 U.S. GIs.

The U.S. did not stop its war against Vietnam after 1975. Washington had promised to normalize relations with Vietnam and pay \$3.5 billion in development aid. Instead the U.S. government organized a diplomatic and economic blockade of Vietnam. It engineered China's 1979 invasion of Vietnam and threw its full support behind the right-wing Kampuchean coalition headed by Pol Pot.

Satinoff said. "But almost everyone signed my petition when I told them that as a candidate and worker I demanded that the cop be jailed for killing Roberto."

The rest of the team found the same response. Almost all the Blacks and Puerto Ricans that were asked signed the petition. For them it was a way of expressing their anger at the killing that was called a "cold blooded and unjustifiable crime." The show of solidarity from Blacks towards the Puerto Rican community was expressed many times.

Richard González, a friend of Roberto Rosa's, summed up the feeling of many: "They accuse us of this and that but they never help us improve our lives. . . . They kill us without reason and afterwards the politicians many of us call leaders come to sympathize with us. . . . Nevertheless they do nothing for us all year."

Washington has made every effort to isolate Vietnam and keep the truth about the country's problems and progress from U.S. working people. The U.S. State Department does not allow Vietnamese representatives to the United Nations to go beyond 25 miles from New York to speak.

Just this month the State Department refused to grant visas to Vietnamese who had been invited to address the National Lawyers Guild convention in Atlanta. While refusing to put anything in writing, government spokesmen said granting the visas would contradict Washington's policy of isolating Vietnam.

The U.S. government has given a green light to Vietnamese rightists who have terrorized the Vietnamese community here, and who have ambushed, firebombed, and assassinated supporters of the revolution.

The U.S. ruling class has stepped up its propaganda barrage against Vietnam as

Continued on Page 20