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Year-end Index
for 1986

Africa

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Goal is more effective publications

**'IP' merges resources
with the 'Militant'
and 'New International'**

**Tomás Borge recalls
Bay of Pigs invasion**



Mideast
Morocco hosts
Israel's Peres

Bolivia
Dress rehearsal
for invasion

Raid violates Bolivian rights

By Steve Craine

Six military helicopters and 160 well-armed soldiers from the world's most powerful country descended on the poorest country of Latin America July 14 against the wishes of its people and government.

This invasion of Bolivia by U.S. Army troops was carried out under the guise of a "cooperative" venture against drug production. In reality it was a flagrant violation of a Latin American country's sovereignty by the colossus from the north. It was, as the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario* put it, a "dress rehearsal for invasion . . . on other terrain."

When Washington announced that its troops had landed in Bolivia to help eliminate cocaine production, it claimed it was acting at the request of the Bolivian government. However, Bolivian presidential adviser Jacobo Liebermann pointed out that his government had sought only technical and economic assistance for its own antidrug program. "Instead we got the invasion of Normandy," he said.

On July 18 and 19, the 160 U.S. soldiers, armed with M-16 rifles and Black Hawk helicopters with .30-caliber machine guns, accompanied members of Bolivia's antidrug force, the Leopards, in raids on four purported drug-processing centers. Three of the targets proved to be nothing more than ordinary ranches. The fourth had been the site of a cocaine laboratory, but its operators had evacuated before the arrival of the troops. Neither cocaine nor raw coca leaves were found there.

U.S. officials say they expect the soldiers, along with communications experts, helicopters, and reconnaissance planes, will remain in Bolivia for two to three months and carry out similar raids on an almost daily basis.

The government in La Paz complained that all this military muscle was being imposed against its wishes, and opposition forces in Bolivia denounced Washington's action as a violation of the country's sovereignty.

Leaders of the Bolivian Congress said the legislative branch had not been consulted, making the government's cooperation with U.S. forces illegal. Gaston Encinas, president of the Chamber of Deputies, commented, "No country can allow the intervention of foreign armies in its domestic matters."

The peasants' union called it a "disguised invasion" of the country. The Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) denounced the U.S. action as well.

The Federation of Bolivian Journalists (FPB) warned of U.S. intentions to establish a "permanent military base in Bolivia."

Presidential adviser Liebermann said his government had no choice but to be "resigned"

to the U.S. invasion. "We in Latin America," he noted, "especially Bolivia with all its weaknesses, have to accept certain things from the north that we might not accept if we were stronger."

Washington has been taking advantage of Bolivia's economic difficulties and its dependence on coca production to put the squeeze on the country. Since 1983, U.S. aid to the impoverished country has been conditional on its efforts to eradicate the coca crop.

In mid-June, to soften up the Bolivian government so it would accept U.S. troops on its soil, the Reagan administration suspended \$7.2 million in promised aid. The White House claimed Bolivia had not met goals set for the destruction of coca-growing land.

The U.S. Congress is now debating how much financial assistance to send to Bolivia next year. This blackmail made it hard for the government of President Víctor Paz Estenssoro to resist the imposition of foreign troops in his country.

Bolivia's per capita income is the second-lowest in the Western Hemisphere. Only Haiti is poorer. The official minimum wage amounts to \$15 per month, but close to half the potential work force is chronically out of work.

In the past five years the economy's output has shrunk by as much as 10 percent per year. Inflation has been astronomically high, some estimates ranging up to 20,000 percent last year. In August 1985 the government devalued the currency by 95 percent.

Drug sales bring in more foreign exchange — about \$600 million a year — than all legal foreign trade combined. But this illegal trade, even more so than "legitimate" commercial operations in any capitalist country, benefits only a small handful of Bolivian businessmen

and corrupt government officials. Most of the profits from rising drug use in the United States go to U.S. capitalists, while tens of thousands of Bolivian peasants who grow coca live in misery. Yet it is the exploited producers of coca and addicts victimized by the narcotics trade who are the principal targets of drug eradication programs, not the profit-hungry processors, distributors, or pushers.

The Bolivian operation was staged primarily to score political points in the United States — to create the impression that the Reagan administration is doing something about the serious problem of drug addiction.

Politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties jumped on the anti-Bolivia bandwagon. Seeing another opportunity to push their "law and order" policies, they called for removing remaining legal restrictions on the use of the armed forces in police enforcement.

Washington's hypocrisy in using drug charges to pressure the Bolivian government is underscored by the Reagan administration's military aid to the counterrevolutionary guerrillas in Afghanistan. These forces, backed by rightist Afghan landlords, are, by the U.S. State Department's own admission, "the world's leading source of illicit heroin exports to the United States and Europe."

Major U.S. news organizations, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and NBC News, withheld information available to them on the U.S. operation in Bolivia for several days in order not to undermine the effort.

But neither the Democratic and Republican politicians, nor their mouthpieces in the press, will address the underlying causes of drug addiction or the reasons drug trafficking continues to be such a lucrative business. The poverty and alienation that are endemic to capitalism breed the market for narcotics. And the laws of the profit system dictate that where there's a buck to be made "business enterprises" will flourish, regardless of the misery they spread. □

Morocco hosts Israel's Peres

By Steve Craine

On July 22 Morocco's King Hassan became the second Arab head of state to hold open, official talks with an Israeli prime minister.

Hassan's meeting in Morocco with Prime Minister Shimon Peres came nearly nine years after Egyptian President Anwar Sadat traveled to Israel to meet with Menachem Begin. That visit led to the U.S.-sponsored Camp David accord and Israel's only peace treaty with any of its Arab neighbors. Sadat's flouting of the united Arab stance of nonrecognition of Israel led all Arab governments to break relations with Egypt.

The Peres-Hassan meeting produced no new proposals or substantive decisions, at least not publicly. Nevertheless it represents another

step away from the once-solid bloc of Arab opposition to individual, direct negotiations with the colonial-settler regime in Tel Aviv.

The Moroccan summit meeting bolsters Israeli efforts to sidestep the Palestine Liberation Organization — the only body with the right to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian victims of Israeli occupation.

King Hassan has attempted to deny this. According to his account of the two-day meeting with the Israeli prime minister, he simply reiterated to Peres the proposals contained in the Fez Plan.

The Fez Plan, which was unanimously adopted by 19 Arab heads of state and the PLO at a summit meeting in 1982, constitutes a recognized minimum basis for a united Arab pos-

ition in any diplomatic discussions over ending Israeli occupation of Arab lands. It calls for the Israeli government to recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the legitimacy of the PLO as their only representative. It also demands Israeli withdrawal from the territories seized in the 1967 war and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Peres rejected these proposals out of hand. Israeli officials commented after the meeting that there is "no possibility" of an agreement on the terms outlined by the Moroccan king.

In a television address to the Moroccan people after the talks, Hassan said he had responded to Peres' rejection by telling him, "I have nothing more to say to a man who rejects the PLO and refuses the evacuation of the territories, so goodbye."

But Peres' stand could not have been a surprise to King Hassan or anyone else. Tel Aviv has never agreed to recognize the PLO or to return the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Peres has frequently said that no Israeli government could survive if it even suggested withdrawal from the territories it conquered in 1967.

Israeli government spokespeople hailed the summit meeting as a "very significant historical event." Peres said he was convinced that Hassan would continue his initiative "in the future by more meetings and in many other ways."

Abba Eban, chair of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of the Israeli Knesset (parliament), explained, "The object of the meeting is the meeting itself, the illustration of the fact that the head of an Arab state meets openly and publicly with the prime minister of Israel without any inhibitions about Israel's legitimacy as a state, and with the clear implication that he advocates such a course for others."

Washington, also, cheered the results of the meeting. Like Tel Aviv, it is pushing for as many Arab governments as possible to establish normal diplomatic relations with Israel.

Secretary of State George Shultz termed the Morocco meeting "an important step forward in creating an atmosphere in the region that will foster a broader peace."

State Department officials admitted, after the summit was under way, that they had been aware of the preparations for the meeting and had "strongly supported it." Hassan had been scheduled to travel to Washington the previous week, and both Tel Aviv and Washington suggested that Peres could meet with him there. To avoid too close a connection with Washington, Hassan vetoed this plan, and the White House accepted an official cover story concerning the king's health to cancel the trip.

Except for the Egyptian government, however, Hassan found no Arab supporters for his initiative with Peres. The same day the meetings became known, the Syrian ambassador to Morocco was recalled by Damascus. While no other Arab government has broken relations with Hassan, most have spoken out against his meeting with Peres.

In response to this isolation, Hassan an-

nounced July 27 that he would resign as chairman of the Arab League. League Secretary-General Chedli Klibi of Tunisia said he would try to convene a summit meeting of the Arab organization.

The PLO also called for a meeting of the Arab League to discuss the Hassan-Peres talks and denounced Hassan's decision to host the Israeli prime minister as a breach of Arab solidarity. PLO spokesperson Ahmed Abdel Rahman said an Arab conference was necessary to stop a policy of one-on-one solutions with Tel Aviv.

Palestinian leaders in the occupied West Bank told the *Washington Post* that they feared Peres was trying to get help from King Hassan to persuade the Jordanian government to negotiate directly with Israel, over the heads of the Palestinian people.

King Hassan's stated purpose in inviting Peres to meet with him was to "shake up" the diplomatic stalemate in the Middle East. But his agenda also included trying to impress Washington with his value as a defender of imperialist interests in the region.

The Moroccan monarch's record as a supporter of U.S. policy in the Middle East and Africa is a long one. He helped facilitate Sadat's original trip to Israel in 1977. Over a number of years, he has also organized several secret meetings in Morocco with Israeli leaders, including Yitzhak Rabin and Moshe Dayan. In 1984 he hosted a tour by 11 members of the Israeli Knesset.

Hassan's army provided 1,500 troops for a

U.S.-organized military operation in defense of the dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre in 1978, when it was being challenged by internal opposition. And in 1982 he helped scuttle a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity that was to be held in Tripoli, Libya, and would have given the chairmanship of that organization to Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi.

In August 1984, Hassan and Qaddafi signed a treaty establishing a limited political "union" between their countries. This gained Hassan his primary objective — ending Libyan support to the Polisario liberation movement fighting against Moroccan control of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara. Washington also supported this goal, and some U.S. officials at the time expressed the hope that Hassan would have a moderating influence on the Qaddafi government.

As Washington's attacks on Libya have escalated, however, Hassan's continued relations with Qaddafi appeared to be an obstacle to his traditional friendly relations with imperialism. The meeting with Peres, which the king had been working toward for nearly a year, could put him back in Washington's good graces.

Since Sadat signed the treaty with Israel eight years ago, Egypt has become the second-largest recipient of U.S. financial assistance in the world. The Moroccan government also hopes to substantially increase the financial aid it gets from Washington, which currently amounts to \$140 million per year. □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: July 28, 1986

FEATURES	492	Creating more effective publications — by Doug Jenness
DOCUMENTS	495	Remembrance of Bay of Pigs — by Tomás Borge
INDEX FOR 1986	497	

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Creating more effective publications

'IP' merges resources with the 'Militant' and 'New International'

By Doug Jenness

Intercontinental Press is merging its resources with those of the *Militant*, a socialist weekly, and *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, both published in the United States. This is the last issue of *IP*.

This move is aimed at strengthening both the *Militant* and *New International*, helping to make these publications more attractive and useful to militant workers and other fighters for social justice. The goal is to do a better job with these two publications than we were able to do with the three in serving our readers in the United States and around the world.

By combining *IP* with the *Militant* the aim is to help create an even more effective weapon for getting out the truth about the meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, who are locked in a fierce struggle with the Hormel meat company over the right to have their own union; an even stronger voice against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and in solidarity with revolutionary Cuba; and an even better fighter against apartheid in South Africa.

As part of these objectives, the *Militant* is launching a major campaign to significantly increase its circulation among class-struggle fighters and the vanguard of the social protest movements.

This will go hand in hand with a drive to increase the number of readers of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the *Militant*'s Spanish-language sister publication in the United States, which has just announced a new monthly schedule. Part of this effort is also to increase the number of Spanish-language pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press and to promote them widely.

The merger will bring to the *Militant* part of the *IP* staff. The *Militant* will publish some of the same kinds of materials that have been appearing in the pages of *IP*. Both the editor and managing editor of *IP*, Doug Jenness and Ernest Harsch, are joining the *Militant* staff. Jenness is becoming coeditor, along with Margaret Jayko, currently the *Militant*'s managing editor. The current editor, Malik Miah, is assuming the responsibilities of *Militant* circulation director. All will also be writing for and helping in the publication of *New International*.

Some of the speeches, interviews, background articles, and other politically useful features our readers have come to expect in *IP* will now appear in the *Militant*. Other materials, including debates, will be published in *New International*.

Our reporters Russell Johnson and Deb Shnookal, whose first-hand reports on the Philippines were carried in *IP* earlier this year, are again in that country, and their articles will begin appearing in the next issue of the *Militant*.

Harvey McArthur, from our Managua bu-

reau, and Margaret Jayko, whose articles from Haiti were printed in *IP* a few months ago, will be returning to that country and sending on-the-scene reports to the *Militant*.

Our readers can expect to find in the *Militant* reporting aimed at breaking through the systematic press boycott of Cuba, like our on-the-spot coverage of the Cuban Communist Party convention last February.

Our bureau in Managua, currently headed by former *Militant* editor Cindy Jaquith, will con-

To our subscribers

Intercontinental Press subscribers who do not currently subscribe to the *Militant* will now receive that publication for the time remaining on their *IP* subscriptions. As the *Militant* is a weekly, this offer represents a considerable saving. Those who already subscribe to the *Militant* will get free extensions to their subscriptions.

In addition, subscribers will be sent the next two issues of *New International*.

tinue to provide the truth every week in the *Militant* about the development of the revolution in that country and the people's effort to defend it.

The article by Nicaraguan Sandinista leader Tomás Borge in this issue (see page 495) is an example of the kind of feature that has been appearing in *IP* that will now be available in the *Militant*.

Moreover, the professional standards and high regard for accuracy that *IP* has strived to maintain will reinforce the *Militant*'s goal of offering working people a publication that presents the truth — one that they enjoy reading, will share with friends and coworkers, and are proud to help distribute and raise funds to help maintain.

In fact, what *IP* brings to the merger came originally from the *Militant*. Both Joe Hansen, who edited *IP* from 1963 until his death in 1979, and Reba Hansen, who served for many years as *IP* business manager, received their training on the *Militant*. Joe had been both a business manager and editor of the *Militant* for a number of years, and Reba served both as a writer and as business manager for a time. From their experience on the *Militant*, they brought to *World Outlook* (renamed *IP* in May 1968) journalistic know-how, expertise in promotion and circulation, and above all, professionalism.

Central publication

Since it began nearly 58 years ago, the *Militant* has been the central publication for the revolutionary workers' movement in the

United States. It has been the trunk from which other publications, including periodicals, books, and pamphlets, have branched off and the skills and experiences to publish them have come.

In November 1928, when communist fighters who were striving to continue their activities as revolutionary Marxists were expelled from the Communist parties in the United States and Canada, they immediately began publishing the *Militant* — even before they established the Communist League of America (CLA). The editorial board included prominent communist leaders from both the United States and Canada.

From its beginning, the *Militant*, which was then published twice monthly, reported on the struggles of workers and oppressed peoples in North America and throughout the world. It uncompromisingly spoke in the interests of working people and conducted special drives to increase the circulation of the paper among working-class fighters and activists in social protest movements.

From the first issue, the *Militant* also began serializing major articles and documents by international communist leaders, especially Leon Trotsky, who had been purged from the leadership of the Communist International and the Russian Communist Party by the bureaucratic leadership headed by Joseph Stalin. It also reprinted articles and speeches by Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders. All of these materials defended the revolutionary perspectives of the Communist International under Lenin's leadership during the first five years after its founding in 1919.

From the outset, the *Militant* was distributed internationally and attempted to link up with other revolutionary forces in the world.

In less than two months, the *Militant* published its first pamphlet; others soon followed.

By 1931, *Militant* supporters had gained sufficient strength and resources to launch Pioneer Publishers (later renamed Pathfinder Press). In the 55 years since, this has remained the principal publisher and distributor of books and pamphlets in English by revolutionary fighters of our time.

Today, Pathfinder Press publishes a wide range of books and pamphlets and distributes them throughout the world, as well as distributing *New International* and the *Militant*.

It has undertaken a long-term project of publishing the documents of the early years of the Communist International. Much of this material has never before been available in English or in any language in such complete form. Two volumes have come out so far.

Other recently promoting titles that Pathfinder is currently promoting include: *Cosmetics*,

Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters; *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* by Fidel Castro; and *The Struggle Is My Life* by Nelson Mandela.

Pathfinder has also published collections of speeches and interviews by Malcolm X and a 14-volume series of the writings of Leon Trotsky from 1929 to 1940. And it is beginning to put out a few Spanish-language titles.

In 1932, supporters of the *Militant* in Canada started publishing the *Vanguard*. This newspaper was a forerunner of *Socialist Voice* and *Lutte Ouvrière* put out by the revolutionary workers' movement in Canada today.

In July 1934 the supporters of the *Militant* in the United States and Canada launched the magazine *New International*, which has appeared since under the names *Fourth International*, *International Socialist Review*, and today once again *New International*.

A French-language sister publication, *Nouvelle Internationale*, is now coming out too, giving the Canadian revolutionary workers' movement a French-language magazine of this kind for the first time. This has great importance for the development of the workers' vanguard in Quebec.

When *New International* began appearing in the 1930s, it carried some of the same kinds of documents and longer political features that were run in the *Militant* in its first years, as well as materials that space limitations had prevented the *Militant* from running.

The editors, many of the writers, and above all the professional standards of this publication and its continuators originally came from the *Militant*.

Today, both Mary-Alice Waters and Steve Clark, coeditor and managing editor respectively of *New International*, are former editors of the *Militant* and of *Intercontinental Press*.

When *New International* was relaunched in 1983, its inaugural editorial stated that the magazine "aims to be part of the political discussion and exchange that must accompany progress toward building an international revolutionary leadership of the working class. That has been the goal of conscious proletarian revolutionists since 1847."

This discussion arises out of the political convergence on a world scale of forces committed to subordinating all other considerations to the struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression and toward the socialist revolution.

As part of participating in this discussion, the first five issues of *New International* have carried translations of articles and documents from working-class leaders in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Cuba. At the same time these issues have carried documents and articles that trace the continuity of the struggle to forge an international revolutionary leadership today back to the roots of the communist movement.

'World Outlook' launched

Although *IP* was marked by standards and experiences that came from the *Militant*, its

origin was different than other publications that owe something to the *Militant*. And its character has evolved over the years, making it today a different kind of publication than it was when it began as *World Outlook* in 1963.

World Outlook began as a weekly international labor press service published in Paris as a joint effort by a staff of revolutionary leaders and journalists from several countries.

It was launched in response to big world events — the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 and the Algerian revolution in 1962 — and to the beginning stages of the international youth radicalization.

In its first issue, dated Sept. 27, 1963, *World Outlook* stated that its main aim "is to provide specialized political analysis and interpretation of important events for the labor and socialist press. Factual studies and feature articles by competent observers and writers of independent views will also be a regular service."

"We will not observe any official or unofficial censorship, nor will we modify anything because of partisan considerations. Our commitment is to report the truth as accurately as we can without favor or slant."

The statement noted that "unsigned material expresses, insofar as editorial opinion may appear, the position we stand on — revolutionary Marxism."

The staff of *World Outlook* included Pierre Frank, Joseph Hansen, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel, all leaders of the Fourth International.

Among other revolutionists who contributed articles were Hugo Blanco (Peru), Kailas Chandra (India), Sirio Di Giulio (Italy),

George Novack (United States), S. Okatani (Japan), and Michel Raptis (France).

The day-to-day tasks of editing, producing, and mailing out the mimeographed weekly were handled by Joe and Reba Hansen and Pierre Frank, who in addition to writing top-notch articles on French politics served as the publication's first business manager.

Speaking at the 10th anniversary celebration of *IP* in New York on May 5, 1974, Reba Hansen described how this publishing operation worked. "Joe knew the English language pretty good," she said, "and had some experience in editing. I could make out with a typewriter so long as it had an English keyboard. Pierre Frank knew all about how to get the issue into the post office at the lowest possible rates."

"Our plan of work was simple. Joe would edit the copy. I would type it, mimeograph it, and then manage the staff of collators which consisted of Joe and Pierre."

There was a regular stream of articles from the staff and the contributors. Some of their longer articles and series were later published as pamphlets by Pathfinder Press.

In its first months, *World Outlook* especially carried news reports and analyses on Cuba and Algeria as well as speeches, articles, and interviews by Cuban and Algerian revolutionaries. This practice of making available the views of revolutionary leaders from South Africa to Grenada and Nicaragua to El Salvador has continued up through this final issue.

World Outlook also published other documents of interest to the workers' movement, including resolutions of the Fourth Interna-

Special offer for 'New International'

All five issues of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, published in New York, are still available. If *IP* readers send their order by September 15, they can receive all five issues for US\$10, which is a big saving.

The following is a partial listing of the contents of the issues:

- Vol. 1, No. 1 — Fall 1983
"Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today" by Jack Barnes
"Lenin and the Colonial Question" by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez
- Vol. 1, No. 2 — Winter 1983-84
"The Working-Class Road to Peace" by Brian Grogan
"The Development of the Marxist Position on the Aristocracy of Labor" by Steve Clark
"The Social Roots of Opportunism" by Gregory Zinoviev
- Vol. 1, No. 3 — Spring-Summer 1984
"The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictator-

ship" by Mary-Alice Waters

"Imperialism and Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean" by Manuel Piñeiro

"The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution" by Tomás Borge

- Vol. 2, No. 1 — Spring 1985
"The Workers' and Farmers' Alliance in the U.S.," articles by Jack Barnes and Doug Jenness
"Land Reform and Cooperatives in Cuba"

- Vol. 2, No. 2 — Fall 1985
"The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes
"The Future Belongs to the Majority," Speech by Oliver Tambo
"Cuba's Internationalist Volunteers in Angola," Speech by Fidel Castro

Send \$10 if you want all five issues, or \$3 each, to *New International*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include the number and date of the issues along with your name and address.

International publications in English

Intercontinental Press readers can subscribe to *International Viewpoint* and *International Marxist Review*, English-language magazines published under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, by writing to 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France.

A six-month subscription to *IV* is US\$16 by surface mail. Airmail rates are \$19 to Europe, \$22 to the Americas and Africa, and \$25 to Asia.

IMR subscriptions are three issues for

\$14 by surface mail or \$18 by airmail.

To follow the newspapers published regularly by socialist workers in Britain, Canada, and New Zealand, send for information about subscriptions to:

- *Socialist Action*, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, Britain.
- *Socialist Action*, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland, New Zealand.
- *Socialist Voice*, C.P. 280 Succ. de Lorimier, Montreal, Quebec, H2H 2N7, Canada.

tional.

Joe and Reba Hansen had been in Europe for a period before *World Outlook* was launched. They had participated in the process of reunifying the Fourth International, which had been divided by a split for 10 years. There had been two public wings of the International — the International Secretariat and the International Committee.

The political differences that had led to that rupture were receding by 1956. However, it was the enthusiastic response to the Cuban revolution and the campaign of support to defend it that demonstrated that the majority in both wings of the Fourth International stood on substantially common political positions. The reunification congress took place in June 1963.

Character changes

In October 1965 Joe Hansen became ill, and *World Outlook* suspended publication for three months. Joe's illness forced him and Reba to return to New York where they resumed publication of *World Outlook* in February 1966.

With this new situation, the character of *World Outlook* changed. It began a transition from an international news service to a weekly international news magazine.

It was no longer put out by a staff in Paris. At first it was published from Joe and Reba's apartment with the help of volunteers — proof-readers, typists, collators, translators, and artists — who were collaborators of the Socialist Workers Party. The previous staff in Europe now became contributors, which was formally registered by naming Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, and George Novack as contributing editors in the late 1960s.

About this time, major debates developed among revolutionists internationally, particularly in Latin America, over the road to revolution. Much of the discussion centered on how to repeat in other Latin American countries the overturn of capitalist rule that the workers and peasants had carried out in Cuba. The role of guerrilla warfare and the kind of revolutionary organization needed were hotly disputed.

The overturn of the hated tyranny in Portugal in 1974 brought forward further debates on revolutionary strategy.

These big events and discussions were reflected inside the whole workers' vanguard,

including in the Fourth International, where two public voices emerged, the International Majority Tendency and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

IP published many documents, speeches, and articles presenting a wide range of views on the issues under debate among revolutionists around the world. The differences among the two currents in the Fourth International were also reflected in this coverage.

This was a period of growth for the Fourth International, and increased resources and opportunities made possible in May 1974 the launching of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly magazine published in French and English in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The English-language edition suspended publication at the end of 1977. Its French counterpart and *IP* each agreed to allocate a portion of their pages to publishing some of the same articles. This agreement was reflected in the flag on both publications, where the two names were combined.

The revolutionary overturns in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979 and the establishment of workers' and peasants' governments in those countries inspired working people around the world. This stimulated discussion by revolutionists who were actively mobilizing solidarity with these revolutions. This discussion has been reflected in documents and debates in *IP*.

In early 1982 the United Secretariat was once again able to put out a fortnightly magazine in English, this time called *International Viewpoint*. The February 1985 World Congress of the Fourth International registered the fact that *IV*, along with the French-language publications, *Inprecor* and *Quatrième Internationale*, are official publications of the United Secretariat.

The World Congress also decided to publish *International Marxist Review* in English, the first issue of which recently appeared. *IMR* is published three times a year under the auspices of the United Secretariat.

Following the World Congress, *IV* was able to publish the political resolutions adopted by the congress. In the absence of an official English-language publication of the Fourth International, *IP* had published the resolutions fol-

lowing the previous three world congresses in 1969, 1974, and 1979.

Why now?

Why are we merging with the *Militant* now?

There are clear signs that there is a rise in receptivity to the *Militant*. This was demonstrated earlier this year by the sales made by teams that traveled from town to town in the U.S. Midwest. Particularly noteworthy was their success in selling at numerous factory gates. Moreover, *Militant* supporters throughout the country report more openness at plant gates and mines to sales of the paper.

A similar response — maybe even deeper and wider — has been shown in Canada, where supporters of *Socialist Voice* and *Lutte Ouvrière* have had good sales, especially around their first-hand coverage of the meat-packers' strike in Alberta and the public employees' strike in Newfoundland.

The interest in the *Militant* has also been shown by good sales at recent anti-apartheid demonstrations, abortion rights actions, and protests against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

Petitioners collecting signatures required to achieve ballot status for SWP candidates have also reported selling hundreds of copies of the *Militant*.

All of this adds up to the conclusion that a strengthened *Militant* and a big drive to promote it and increase its circulation is the road forward. □



Michael Baumann/IP

Good sales at plant gates and picket lines show potential for increasing *Militant* circulation.

Borge's remembrance of Bay of Pigs

Sandinista recalls role of Nicaraguans in Cuba

[The following article first appeared in the April-May 1986 issue of the magazine *Bocay*, published in Nicaragua. The translation from Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In the middle of April 1961 we had recently returned to Havana from the Escambray Mountains where, under the leadership of the Cuban command, for three months (November 1960 to January 1961) we had taken part in the mop-up groups fighting against the [counter-revolutionary] gangs.

Carlos Fonseca was with us in the same unit, but when the invasion at Playa Girón took place he had already left, and the only ones remaining were Daniel Herrera (Wiwilí), Pedro Pablo Ríos, Bayardo Altamirano, Tobías Gadea, Francisco Rodríguez, Iván Sánchez Iván Baca, Mauricio Boniche, Marvin Guerrero, Rodolfo Romero, Denis Barquero, Rolando Rosales, Chico Escorcía, and myself. There were also Silvio Mayorga, Modesto Duarte, and Faustino Ruiz, future founders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

At dawn the shots began

I recall that at dawn on April 15 you began to hear a lot of scattered shooting, and a little while later a tremendous, unexpected, alarming volume of firing broke out. We had been gathered at the Fifth District Militia Barracks. We were militia members ready to defend the Cuban revolution on whatever terms and under whatever conditions the circumstances required.

The firing opened up from all sections of Havana, including of course our district, but at that point we did not know why the firing was going on. I was in charge of the group and was able to make sure that the compañeros did not fire into the air as all the others were doing.

That same day we would look into what all this was about, but at that moment, as you would expect, the information was confused. However, we knew that some bombing raids had been carried out against Havana. There was talk of many deaths.

Hours later Fidel Castro's communiqué stated: "At six in the morning on April 15, 1961, U.S.-made B-26 planes simultaneously bombed points located in the city of Havana, San Antonio de los Baños, and Santiago de Cuba."

So that morning the first steps in the invasion of Playa Girón and the Bay of Pigs took place. The attack took place with the element of surprise and in a cowardly form. The attacking B-26s, with mastery of the skies, carried out their raids and their sorties as though on a

military exercise. They used machine-gun fire to attack the control tower and the airport building and made no distinction between military and civilian objectives. But the runways were still usable, despite hits from rockets and bombs.

They even fought barefoot

There were not even a dozen planes in the Cuban air force. There was a lack of every kind of resource, and the few planes they had were in pitiful condition; they were kept going thanks to the efforts and skill of the mechanics.

Some of the fighter planes were destroyed and could not be used when the air battle began on April 17.

The [invaders'] objective was dominance of the skies over Girón and to provide immediate and unrestricted support to the invading forces. The antiaircraft defense carried out its work magnificently and was a decisive factor that morning. They prevented the destruction of the few airplanes that would later defend Girón. These boys, of school age, fired up in the struggle, even fought barefoot.

The attacking planes were the same type as some of the air force's regular planes, and with their typical cynicism they had painted them with the insignias and colors of Cuba.

Part of the invasion at Playa Girón left from Puerto Cabezas [Nicaragua], called "Happy Valley." Germán Gaitán, today subcommander of the Ministry of the Interior, sent a message from Nicaragua warning of the presence of the Cuban counterrevolutionaries on our Caribbean Coast. He traveled to Puerto Cabezas a couple of weeks before the invasion and saw the crates of weapons, the supplies, the munitions, the men, the ships, and the planes, and with Julio Jérez — one of the first members of the FSLN — set off to inform the Cuban embassy in Costa Rica of all these things.

The very day of the invasion, Gaitán relates, he, together with José Benito and Inocente Escobar, Pablo Ubeda, Augusto Tercero, Guillermo Mejía Cardenal, and others, made a Yankee flag out of paper and went to the Tropical Movie Theater. They got up on the stage and in front of a supportive audience they burned the flag and chanted slogans.

Carlos Ulloa downed

Three attacks were planned for the 15th, 16th, and 17th, and they carried out the ones on the 15th and two thwarted nighttime attacks on the 17th. That same day, troops landing by sea and by air attacked various points on Cuban territory, in southern Las Villas Province, supported by planes and warships.

The Rebel Army and the mobilized Revolu-

tionary National Militia initiated combat with the enemy at all the landing points. That day the plane piloted by Nicaraguan Carlos Ulloa Aráuz was downed. We went to visit his wife to give her our support.

From the first moment, the blood of a Nicaraguan had been spilled in solidarity. We felt the wound of the loss and the pride of that heroic contribution in that supreme moment.

On the afternoon of the 15th the funeral of the victims took place in a great demonstration of the people's mourning. Fidel spoke; we were present and, with rifles raised high, heard, along with the notice of the imminent invasion, the declaration of the socialist character of the revolution.

We were there with Pedro Monet, a Cuban who continuously, enthusiastically, and selflessly aided the Nicaraguan revolutionaries. His house in Old Havana was a home for us. In 1961 Pedro Monet, a working-class activist, was already an old man. He had fought for more than 40 years for the establishment of socialism in Cuba: he suffered prisons, tortures, misery. His wife Rosita, her eyes lit by sweetness, shared his ideas.

When Fidel stated the socialist character of the Cuban revolution, both of them, filled with emotion, shed tears that perhaps for the first time were tears of joy. That moment was the culmination of a long and heroic revolutionary life: the dreams for which they had shed tears of sorrow were achieved.

We offer to take part in the action

Immediately after the immense funeral, we again gathered at the Fifth District and were at the disposal of the Cuban authorities, who temporarily gave us the mission of patrolling the capital. We offered to take part in the action at Playa Girón, but they decided not to allow us to get into direct combat and insisted that we carry out other missions. I think the idea was to preserve us for the Nicaraguan revolution.

They sent us to lead a battalion in the first line of defense of Havana. At first they thought about a unit made up entirely of Nicaraguans, a unit of two squads, led by us. Silvio Mayorga was the political officer in charge.

The night before Playa Girón, they sent us to a camp near Havana — Bacuranao, close to Santa María — and the command there incorporated us into the Cuban militia, with military responsibilities. This was due to the enormous influx of volunteers to form militia battalions and the shortage of military cadres to give them instruction. We headed up a battalion. We had received some elementary military training, on the level of individual tactics. In the Escambray we had put our knowledge into

practice.

In Bacuranao we distributed the *compañeros* among different units, and we limited ourselves to giving them close order drills, or what in more common terms is called marching, as well as firing positions, maintaining weapons (that is, how to assemble and disassemble a rifle), plan of defense against the eventual landing, individual tactics, and political work.

At that point the rifles being used were basically FALs, and they gave us some new Czech rifles, which the *compañeros* began to fire to test them.

We were completely sure that the Cuban revolution would emerge victorious from the confrontation. We had never the slightest doubt. No, we didn't even conceive of it. The idea of a defeat did not enter into the range of possibility. We were witnesses to the enormous revolutionary fervor of the masses; the revolutionary Cuban people rose up to immediately take up their battle stations, and from then on we caught that enthusiasm, independent of the fact that through our own revolutionary nature we were ready to fight, to die if necessary, for Cuba. I even think that when we joined the 1,000 men in the battalion we told them: dying for Cuba is exactly the same as dying for Nicaragua. They knew we were Nicaraguans.

I remember being in a neighboring town — I don't recall its name — when the bodies of some Cuban people's fighters arrived, burned by napalm bombs, victims of the air attacks. The presence of that martyred and blackened flesh did not demoralize anyone — not us and not the Cubans.

And regarding Fidel Castro's declaration

that the Cuban revolution had entered a qualitatively new stage, I understood the declaration more as the confirmation of a historic fact, of something that was already being carried out in day-to-day practice, and not specifically as if something different would transpire if we didn't have this confirmation from the lips of its leader.

In any event, the declaration of the establishment of a socialist society undoubtedly had an impact on the Cuban people. It filled the workers with enthusiasm, it brought the masses together. We were participants in that enthusiasm, in that emotion. That speech of Fidel's was a premonition for Latin America.

Irreversible reaffirmation of the dawn

The attack that Cuba was victim of concentrated the people's enthusiasm and energies in several days, because this was an attack that did not last long; an attack that was defeated in 72 hours. It was an obviously external attack, with ships coming from abroad, with planes coming from abroad, bearing in mind Cuba's situation as an island.

Playa Girón was a solid blow against imperialism. An unmistakable victory. The echo of the shots fired at Playa Larga, the Bay of Pigs, and Playa Girón were heard even in the farthest corners of the world. For Cuba it was a leap toward life, it was the consolidation of its visions, the irreversible reaffirmation of the dawn.

Today Nicaragua is the victim of the same sadism, the same lack of respect for world opinion and for the laws of history. The aggression against Nicaragua is something like a Playa Girón multiplied and played out in slow motion. □

'Militant' analyzes U.S. fascist outfit

A small U.S. fascist outfit headed by Lyndon LaRouche has made headlines in the United States and other countries in recent months.

Members of LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC) have been nominated as Democratic Party candidates for state and congressional office through primary elections in a number of states. Most notable was in Illinois, where two LaRouche supporters unexpectedly defeated candidates backed by Democratic gubernatorial nominee Adlai Stevenson III.

Organizations affiliated with LaRouche's International Caucus of Labor Committees are operating in West Germany, France, Sweden, Italy, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, and a few other countries. Some of them use the name Labor Party.

To help working people and other fighters for social justice understand the LaRouche group and fascism in general, the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant* published a four-page feature on the organization, entitled "The LaRouchites: Anatomy of a Fascist Outfit," in its August 1 issue.

The article, by *Intercontinental Press* editor Doug Jenness, points out that while the LaRouche outfit is small and isolated it currently plays a disruptive role in some unions and in the farm protest movement. Moreover, it, along with other rightist groups, is an incipient fascist movement that could become a large fascist movement, as the social crisis deepens.

The NDPC disavows connections with German or Italian fascism of the pre-World War II period, but builds its fascist rhetoric around "American" themes. In recent years it has focused its demagoguery against drugs, "terrorism," and AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) and for nuclear power, increased war spending, and Reagan's "Star Wars" program.

The LaRouchites have made a concerted attempt to influence the growing protest movement among exploited farmers in the United States, who face serious attacks on their livelihoods from government cutbacks, falling land values, and bank foreclosures.

To order this issue of the *Militant* send \$0.75 to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. □

10 AND 20 YEARS AGO

Intercontinental Press

Africa Asia Europe Oceania the Americas

August 2, 1976

FRANKFURT — Valentin Röder worked for the railroad before the victory of German fascism in 1933. He was fired because of his political convictions — he belonged to the Communist party of Germany. In April 1933 he was arrested by the Nazi government.

Today his son Rudi Röder also works for the railroad, which is state-owned in West Germany. According to his colleagues in Nuremberg and Würzburg, he is an "excellent locomotive engineer and a good trade unionist."

But on March 23, 1976, Rudi Röder received a letter of dismissal from the German Federal Railway for "a grave violation of duty" — namely, membership in the Communist party.

Röder is to be fired because he falls under the "extremist decree," along with five million other state employees in West Germany (20 percent of the entire labor force).

This decree, unanimously decided upon by a conference of the governors of each West German state and then-Chancellor Willy Brandt in January 1972, bars "extremists" from state employment. Not only Communist party members, but even left-wing Social Democrats have been among its victims.

According to the Ministry of Interior, 464,585 state job applicants and jobholders were investigated from January 1, 1973, to June 30, 1975. For political reasons, 594 were either denied public employment or fired from the jobs they held, thereby receiving what West Germans refer to as the "Berufsverbot" (job ban).

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

July 29, 1966

COLOMBO, July 13 — For thirty days now, since June 13, nearly 400,000 plantation workers (tea and rubber estates) have been on strike under the leadership of the Democratic Workers' Congress headed by Abdul Aziz. The workers are demanding 17.50 rupees [Rs. 4.788 = U.S. \$1] as a cost of living allowance.

Involving four out of the nine provinces of the country, this strike is easily the biggest numerically ever mounted by Ceylon's working class. In relation to the economy, the strike has affected about a third of the plantation sector, which still remains the key sector despite all the attempts at industrialization and diversification of the economy. And in the case of the tea industry, the strike has already meant the loss of 2,500,000 pounds of tea.

Index — Volume XXIV

No. 1, January 13, through No. 16, August 11

Authors

- Adler, Gordon**
Australian Fourth Internationalists meet 106
- Banda, Michael**
"Most reactionary manifestation of Healyism" 154
Michael Banda's "27 reasons" 187
- Baumann, Michael**
Meetings celebrate life of Ray Sparrow 20
- Betto, Frei**
Origins of new book "Fidel on Religion"
— Interview with Frei Betto by Paulo R. Schilling 292
- Blakeney, Kate**
300 meet on struggles in Pacific 416
- Borge, Tomás**
Hard lessons of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast — Interview 111
Church-state relations in Nicaragua — Interview 184
Speech on Nicaragua's democracy 314
Remembrance of Bay of Pigs 495
- Braxton, Bob**
Newfoundland strike was landmark 440
- Bruce, David**
"Workers Press" reviews book on Comintern 262
- Burgess, Bill**
Canadian abortion rights fight grows (with Lynda Little) 143
- Castro, Fidel**
Castro talks to unionists, peasants — Speech 79
Castro criticizes profiteering, inefficiency — Speech 342
Castro discusses abolition of farmers' market — Speech 448
- Collins, Martin**
Why Thatcher fears a united Ireland — Interview 286
A view of Republican movement's evolution — Interview 411
- Craine, Steve**
U.S. abortion rights actions scheduled 7
Witch-hunt in British Labour Party 33
Demonstrations sweep Haiti 56
Guatemalan rulers adopt a democratic facade 60
Washington steps up pressure on Libya 88
Meatpackers' strike gains support 99
British print workers forced on strike 113
Arafat-Hussein talks collapse 122
Minnesota meatpackers' strike holds firm 173
British print workers continue strike 232
Israeli terror attacks on Lebanon mount 264
Behind the sharp decline in oil prices 289
Widespread protests hit U.S. war drive 328
Tokyo summit backs anti-Libya drive 331
Millions demand end of dictatorship in Pakistan 364
Paraguayan regime moves to cut off dissent 385
Palestinians face attacks in Lebanon, Jordan 401
U.S. senator opens slander campaign against Panama 428
Washington gears up for expanded war in Nicaragua 458
Soviet writers demand more freedom 488
Drug raid violates Bolivia's rights 490
Morocco hosts Israel's Peres 490
- Daley, Mike**
Social gains of the Yemeni revolution (with Georges Sayad) 74
- Deutschmann, Dave**
"Fidel and Religion" appears in English 473
- Dorce, Moise**
Interview with a leader of the Haitian left 355
- Dugré, Michel**
Two Canadian actions hit apartheid 400
- Eleanor, Hilary**
Mass protests sweep Belgium 433
- Espiritu, Ben**
Marcos, Aquino trade charges in Philippine election 70
- Franeta, Sonja**
Activists, academics greet Comintern book 350
- Freeman, Alan**
British protests hit U.S. bombing of Libya 268
- Gasparini, Juan**
Argentina arms Nicaraguan "contras" via Honduras 360
- Good, Dave**
"Workers Press" calls for discussions 151
- Harsch, Ernest**
Mali invades Burkina, provokes war 17
CIA spy nest uncovered in Ghana 24
Libya: target of U.S. terror 26
South African unionists defy regime, employers 35
South African-backed coup topples Lesotho regime 66
Cease-fire halts Burkina-Mali war 68
Disastrous split damages South Yemen revolution 72
U.S. red carpet for Savimbi 90
Guerrilla movement seizes power in Uganda 108
French troops sent to Chad 123
Women in Burkina organize for their liberation 141
Grenadian rally protests Reagan visit 160
Reagan's Nicaraguan "contra" aid blitz 162
Protest U.S. aid to Nicaraguan "contras" 202
Spain's SP regime wins pro-NATO vote 215
South African Black workers fight "mine slavery" 224
Gulf of Sidra attack — U.S. act of war 237
"State of emergency" ends, protests mount in South Africa 247
Liberian dictatorship propped up by U.S. 250
U.S. terror bombing of Libya 266
South African activists forge new organs of struggle 274
U.S. European allies join anti-Libya crusade 300
More South African whites reject apartheid 308
Pretoria readjusts shackles on Blacks 346
May Day strike hits South Africa 349
Pretoria's terror raids against neighbors 362
The Libyan revolution
I. A country transformed by revolution, oil 376
II. Revolution runs a turbulent course 406
III. On battle lines against imperialism 444
General strike marks Soweto anniversary 396
The battle for Crossroads 397
"Boycott South Africa" 426
Pretoria meets resistance, protest 426
Rural revolt sweeps Bantustans 468
- Heathfield, Peter**
What British miners' union faces today — Interview 413
- Henderson, Alex**
Samoans protest rugby tour of South Africa 223
- Hunter, Bill**
The "bad men theory of history" 194

Iiyama, Patti 25,000 in U.S. abortion rights march	214	McArthur, Harvey Sandinistas host broad conference	132
Jaquith, Cindy Nicaragua opens debate on abortion rights	4	Managua conference hails Haitian victory	133
Nicaraguans discuss legalization of abortion	63	Nicaraguan peasants implement new land reform	178
Indian leaders sign cease-fire with FSLN	216	New wave of antigovernment protests in Haiti	210
Ortega hits use of U.S. military personnel in Honduras	236	New organizations formed in Haiti	211
Sandinistas discuss party-building in Nicaragua	302	Background to Duvalier's ouster from Haiti (with Margaret Jayko)	270
Nicaraguan workers mobilize on May Day	337	Nicaraguan demonstrations denounce U.S. war moves	296
Nicaraguan workers discuss garment strike	338	First Peasant Congress meets in Nicaragua	340
FSLN begins implementing autonomy plan	402	Central American presidents meet in Nicaragua	367
U.S. aid to "contras" approved	456	Nicaraguan cooperative members discuss defense (with Ruth Nebbia)	430
Revolution responds to new attacks	460	Nicaraguan government takes over auto firm	462
Jarden, Neil Independence forces harassed in South Pacific	312	Miah, Malik New attacks on Sri Lanka's Tamils	368
Kanak struggle, Vanuatu accused of terrorism	417	Mickells, Kathy British Coal Board presses drive to close pits	114
Jayko, Margaret Haitian masses drawn into political life	239	Misailides, Bobbis Antigovernment protests mount in Greece (with Argiris Malapanis)	303
Background to Duvalier's ouster (with Harvey McArthur)	270	Morales, Horacio Former prisoner gives view of prospects under Aquino — Interview	484
Jenness, Doug Cuba and UN terrorism debate	2	Naidoo, Jay COSATU general secretary explains union policy — Speech	386
Reagan continues nuclear tests, snubs Soviet offer	2	Navid, M. One year of Rajiv Gandhi regime in India	258
Yevtushenko and artistic freedom	12	Nebbia, Ruth Nicaraguan cooperative members discuss defense (with Harvey McArthur)	430
From Lenin to Gorbachev	42	Celebration of 1979 fight targets new enemies in Nicaragua	461
Reagan asks for more funds for Nicaraguan "contras"	58	Nebbia, Selva Life under the Duvalier dictatorship	94
What was behind the bloodbath in South Yemen?	96	Núñez, Daniel FSLN leaders discuss Nicaragua's agrarian reform	254
"Workers Press" repudiates Healy's big lie	147	Patayan, Felicísimo Struggle for land reform in Philippines — Interview	418
Two letters on Nicaragua undermine opposition to U.S. war	180	Pérez Pereira, Rafael High illiteracy plagues Latin America	291
Duvalier, Marcos overturns open doors for working people	202	Paraguay's Stroessner faces protests	313
Debate in the WRP on the Fourth International	218	Peu, Jean Kanak leader refutes Australian foreign minister — Interview	144
Reagan's hoax of Sandinista invasion of Honduras	234	Poulsen, Ron Australia's working farmers and the capitalist crisis	317
Answering Healyite myths about U.S. SWP	280	Pugh, Terry Peasants fight corporate land-grabbing in Philippines	16
Chernobyl: grim reminder of nuclear hazards	298	Ramaphosa, Cyril South African miners' leader speaks	471
No safe nuclear power	330	Reissner, Will Latin American debtor countries ask for relief	18
Polarization in Philippines	362	Background to origins of Communist Party of Philippines	28
Reagan pushes "contra" aid	394	Hurricane Cuba's "disaster of the century"	78
Protests demand purge of Duvalier officials	424	East Asian "economic miracles" fading	82
Creating even more effective publications	492	North Korea's proposal to end war games	85
Johnson, Russell Labour Party registers growth in Fiji	145	Popular upsurge brings down Haitian tyranny	92
How mass uprising toppled Marcos (with Deb Shnookal)	164	Unionists form proindependence party in Guyane	107
People mobilize to extend gains in Philippines	204	Rift in Kampuchean counterrevolutionary forces	110
Remnants of tyranny hang on in Philippines (with Deb Shnookal)	205	Marcos regime swept from power in Philippines	124
Sison discusses political situation in Philippines	208	Haitian masses press junta for real changes	129
Filipino workers strike U.S. bases	242	Haitian junta tries to reestablish "security"	170
Filipino hotel workers strike	243	Possible boycott of Seoul Olympics	175
Pathfinder books promoted in Manila	244	South Korean regime unleashes repression	176
Visit with Filipino sugar workers on Negros (with Deb Shnookal)	274	Left loses in French Assembly elections	212
Filipino sugar workers organize fight (with Deb Shnookal)	310	Loyalists stage protest in Northern Ireland	214
Keig, Nita Nicaraguan leader Miguel D'Escoto on Asian tour	15		
Australian Socialist League hears report from Philippines	325		
Krivine, Alain Election victory of the French right — Interview	356		
Kwayana, Eusi Elections and economic crisis in Guyana — Interview	482		
Little, Lynda Canadian unions discuss anti-apartheid fight	106		
Canadian abortion rights fight grows (with Bill Burgess)	143		
MacDiarmada, Mairtin Miguel D'Escoto addresses Dublin rally	405		
Maitan, Livio United Secretariat message to French LCR	54		
Malapanis, Argiris Antigovernment protests mount in Greece (with Bobbis Misailides)	303		

South Korean mass rallies demand elections	245
Bulgarian freed in "pope plot"	246
Worldwide condemnations of U.S. raid on Libya	268
Nicaraguan "contra" aid vote delayed by U.S. House	269
South Korea's long history of mass revolts	304
French LCR activist Martine Toulotte jailed	307
Three months since Marcos' overthrow	332
Shultz visit boosts South Korean regime	392
Opposition charges election fraud in Bangladesh	432
General strike rocks Chile	458
Vote upholds ban on divorce in Ireland	467
Five months of continuing protests in Haiti	474

Riddell, John

Preface to new book on Comintern	382
--	-----

Riel, Jean-Pierre

Response to Czech activists' letter on Nicaragua (with Hubert Sandor)	326
--	-----

Ring, Harry

Shultz's visit to Manila	334
------------------------------------	-----

Rossi, Carlos

Review of Comintern book	351
------------------------------------	-----

Sahand, Ali

Iranian students protest U.S. threats	120
---	-----

Sandler, Norton

U.S. Women miners discuss solidarity	479
Fight against pit closures continues in Britain	480

Sandor, Hubert

Response to Czech activists' letter on Nicaragua (with Jean-Pierre Riel)	326
---	-----

Sayad, Georges

Social gains of the Yemeni revolution (with Mike Daley)	74
---	----

Scargill, Arthur

Miners' leader: no nukes!	373
-------------------------------------	-----

Schilling, Paulo R.

Origins of new book "Fidel on Religion" — Interview with Frei Betto	292
---	-----

Shnookal, Deb

Interview with Kanak leader Jean Peu	144
How mass uprising toppled Marcos (with Russell Johnson)	164
Marcos' prisoners celebrate release	165

Filipinas protest sexual exploitation	204
Remnants of tyranny hang on in Philippines (with Russell Johnson)	205
Interview with Philippine union leaders	243
A visit with Filipino sugar workers on Negros (with Russell Johnson)	277
Filipino sugar workers organize fight (with Russell Johnson)	310
Philippine military harasses fishing town	311

Skovrind, Age

South African trade ban expected in Denmark	223
---	-----

St. Albin, E.

Return of Haitian exiles	171
------------------------------------	-----

Tambo, Oliver

ANC leader's interview with "Cape Times"	8
ANC leader on tasks facing South Africa — Speech	100

Tirado, Víctor

FSLN leaders discuss Nicaragua's agrarian reform	254
--	-----

Wagner, Candace

100,000 march for abortion rights in Washington, D.C.	200
---	-----

Walkington, Julie

Australian forum hears speakers on Philippines	416
--	-----

Warren, Mac

Managua meeting calls anti-intervention actions	131
---	-----

Waters, Mary-Alice

Cuban Communist Party congress opens	98
Cuban CP congress discusses economic battle	134
Cuban CP congress renews leadership	139
Reporter's notebook on Cuban CP congress	166

Weisleder, Barry

New Canadian socialist group founded	119
--	-----

Williams, Brian

Biggest anti-apartheid rally ever	399
---	-----

Wongsam, Mike

Paper on Labour Party and South Africa	390
--	-----

Yevtushenko, Yevgeny

Soviet poet opposes concealment, hush-up	14
--	----

Zhang Kai

Critique of new five-year plan	420
--	-----

Countries

Angola

U.S. red carpet for Savimbi — by Ernest Harsch	90
--	----

Argentina

General strike shuts down country	112
Government arms Nicaraguan "contras" via Honduras — by Juan Gasparini	360

Asia

East Asian economic "miracles" fading — by Will Reissner	82
For a South Asia free of nuclear arms	86

Australia

Nicaraguan leader Miguel D'Escoto on Asian tour	15
Australian Fourth Internationalists meet — by Gordon Adler	106
Split of Australian SWP from Fourth International	116
Working farmers and the capitalist crisis — by Ron Poulsen	317
Socialist League hears report from Philippines — by Nita Keig	325
300 meet on struggles in Pacific — by Kate Blakeney	416
Forum hears speakers on Philippines — by Julie Walkington	416
"Fidel and Religion" appears in English — by Dave Deutschmann	473

Bangladesh

Opposition charges election fraud — by Will Reissner	432
--	-----

Belgium

Cops raid POS offices	81
Mass protests sweep country — by Hilary Eleanor	433

Bolivia

U.S. drug raid violates sovereignty — by Steve Craine	490
---	-----

Brazil

Brazil, Cuba restore diplomatic ties	429
--	-----


Britain

Witch-hunt in Labour Party — by Steve Craine	33
Print workers forced on strike — by Steve Craine	113
Coal Board presses drive to close pits — by Kathy Mickells	114
"Workers Press" repudiates Healy's big lie — by Doug Jenness	147
WRP leaders hit Healyite agent-baiting	151
"Workers Press" calls for discussions — by Dave Good	151
WRP condemns agent-baiting	154
"Most reactionary manifestation of Healyism" — by Michael Banda	154
Michael Banda's "27 reasons" — by Michael Banda	187
The "bad men theory of history" — by Bill Hunter	194
Debate in the WRP on the Fourth International — by Doug Jenness	218
Print workers continue strike — by Steve Craine	232
Protests hit U.S. bombing of Libya — by Alan Freeman	268

Why Thatcher fears a united Ireland — Interview with Martin Collins	286
Miners' leader: no nukes! — by Arthur Scargill	373
Blacks in Britain discuss South Africa	388
Paper on Labour Party and South Africa — by Mike Wongsam	390
What miners' union faces today — Interview with Peter Heathfield	413
U.S. women miners discuss solidarity — by Norton Sandler	479
Fight against pit closures continues — by Norton Sandler	480
Burkina	
Mali invasion provokes war — by Ernest Harsch	17
Cease-fire halts Burkina-Mali war — by Ernest Harsch	68
Women organize for their liberation — by Ernest Harsch	141
Canada	
Unions discuss anti-apartheid fight — by Lynda Little	106
New socialist group founded — by Barry Weisleder	119
Abortion rights fight grows — by Bill Burgess and Lynda Little	143
Montreal rally on abortion rights	143
Two actions hit apartheid — by Michel Dugré	400
Meatpackers in Alberta on strike	439
Newfoundland strike was landmark — by Bob Braxton	440
Toronto antiwar rally	480
Caribbean	
Managua meeting calls anti-intervention actions — by Mac Warren	131
Sandinistas host broad conference — by Harvey McArthur	132
Managua conference hails Haitian victory — by Harvey McArthur	133
Central America	
Central American presidents meet — by Harvey McArthur	367
Chad	
French troops sent to Chad — by Ernest Harsch	123
Chile	
General strike rocks country — by Will Reissner	458
China	
Critique of new five-year plan — by Zhang Kai	420
Cuba	
Cuba and UN terrorism debate — by Doug Jenness	2
Fidel Castro book published in Iran	11
Spain protects thief who robbed Cuba	19
Hurricane Cuba's "disaster of the century" — by Will Reissner	78
Castro talks to unionists, peasants — Speech	79
Communist Party congress opens — by Mary-Alice Waters	98
CP congress discusses economic battle — by Mary-Alice Waters	134
CP congress renews leadership — by Mary-Alice Waters	139
Reporter's notebook on CP congress — by Mary-Alice Waters	166
Castro: Cuba ready to boycott Olympics	175
"New York Times" on proposal to close down Radio Marti	241
Origins of new book "Fidel on Religion" — Frei Betto interviewed by Paulo R. Schilling	292
Cuba condemns U.S. bombing of Libya	301
Fidel Castro visits North Korea	306
Fidel Castro criticizes profiteering, inefficiency — Speech	342
Brazil, Cuba restore diplomatic ties	429
Castro discusses abolition of farmers' market — Speech	448
"Fidel and Religion" appears in English — by Dave Deutschmann	473
Remembrance of Bay of Pigs — by Tomás Borge	495
Czechoslovakia	
Czech activists criticize Sandinistas	183
Response to activists' letter on Nicaragua — by Jean-Pierre Riel and Hubert Sandor	326
Denmark	
South African trade ban expected — by Åge Skovrind	223
El Salvador	
Unions reject austerity, war	253
Europe	
U.S. allies join anti-Libya crusade — by Ernest Harsch	300
Fiji	
Labour Party registers growth — by Russell Johnson	145
France	
United Secretariat message to LCR — by Livio Maitan	54
French troops sent to Chad — by Ernest Harsch	123
Left loses in Assembly elections — by Will Reissner	212
LCR activist Martine Toulotte jailed — by Will Reissner	307
Election victory of right — Interview with Alain Krivine	356
LCR member released from jail	392
Government to sell public TV	434
Germany, West	
Nuclear leak spurs protests	438
Ghana	
CIA spy nest exposed — by Ernest Harsch	24
Mercenary plot against government uncovered	309
Greece	
Antigovernment protests mount — by Bobbis Misailides and Argiris Malapanis	303
Grenada	
Rally protests Reagan visit — by Ernest Harsch	160
Guatemala	
Rulers adopt a democratic facade — by Steve Craine	60
Peasants denounce regime's terror	62
Guyana	
Elections and economic crisis — Interview with Eusi Kwayana	482
Guyane	
Unionists form proindependence party — by Will Reissner	107
Declaration of new anticolonial party	294
Haiti	
Demonstrations sweep country — by Steve Craine	56
Popular upsurge brings down tyranny — by Will Reissner	92
Life under Duvalier dictatorship — by Selva Nebbia	94
Masses press junta for real changes — by Will Reissner	129
Managua conference hails Haitian victory — by Harvey McArthur	133
Junta tries to reestablish "security" — by Will Reissner	170
Return of exiles — by E. St. Albin	171
Solidarity with the Haitian people! — Statement of the Fourth International	172
Duvalier, Marcos overturns open doors for working people — by Doug Jenness	202
New wave of antigovernment protests — by Harvey McArthur	210
New mass organizations formed — by Harvey McArthur	211
Masses drawn into political life — by Margaret Jayko	239
Background to Duvalier's ouster — by Harvey McArthur and Margaret Jayko	270
"Pressure for fundamental change" — Interview with Moise Dorce	355
Protests demand purge of Duvalier officials — by Doug Jenness	424
Five months of continuing protests — by Will Reissner	474
India	
For a South Asia free of nuclear arms	86
One year of Rajiv Gandhi regime — by M. Navid	258
Iran	
Fidel Castro book printed in Farsi	11
Students protest U.S. threats — by Ali Sahand	120
Ireland	
Loyalists stage protest in North — by Will Reissner	214
Why Thatcher fears a united Ireland — Interview with Martin Collins	286
Miguel D'Escoto addresses Dublin rally — by Mairtin MacDiarmada	405
A view of Republican movement's evolution — Interview with Martin Collins	411
Vote upholds ban on divorce — by Will Reissner	467
Israel	
Terror attacks on Lebanon mount — by Steve Craine	264
Morocco hosts Israel's Peres — by Steve Craine	490
Italy	
Bulgarian freed in "pope plot" — by Will Reissner	246

Jordan	
Arafat-Hussein talks collapse — by Steve Craine	122
Police attack student sit-in	372
Palestinians face attacks in Lebanon, Jordan — by Steve Craine	401
Kampuchea	
Rift in counterrevolutionary forces — by Will Reissner	110
Korea, North	
Government proposes to end war games — by Will Reissner	85
North Korean troops on alert	177
Fidel Castro visits North Korea	306
Korea, South	
Possible boycott of Seoul Olympics — by Will Reissner	175
Castro: Cuba ready to boycott Olympics	175
Regime unleashes repression — by Will Reissner	176
Mass rallies demand elections — by Will Reissner	245
Long history of mass revolts — by Will Reissner	304
Shultz visit boosts regime — by Will Reissner	392
Latin America	
Debtor countries ask for relief — by Will Reissner	18
Fidel Castro talks to unionists, peasants	79
Managua meeting calls anti-intervention actions — by Mac Warren	131
Sandinistas host broad conference — by Harvey McArthur	132
Managua conference hails Haitian victory — by Harvey McArthur	133
High illiteracy plagues continent — by Rafael Pérez Pereira	291
Lebanon	
Israeli terror attacks mount — by Steve Craine	264
Palestinians face attacks in Lebanon, Jordan — by Steve Craine	401
Lesotho	
South African-backed coup topples government — by Ernest Harsch	66
Liberia	
Dictatorship propped up by Washington — by Ernest Harsch	250
Libya	
Libya: target of U.S. terror — by Ernest Harsch	26
Washington steps up pressure — by Steve Craine	88
Gulf of Sidra attack: U.S. act of war — by Ernest Harsch	237
U.S. terror bombing — by Ernest Harsch	266
British protests hit U.S. bombing — by Alan Freeman	268
Worldwide condemnations of U.S. raid — by Will Reissner	268
U.S. European allies join anti-Libya crusade — by Ernest Harsch	300
Cuba condemns U.S. bombing	301
Tokyo summit backs anti-Libya drive — by Steve Craine	331
U.S. bombing of Libya — Selections from the Left	352
The Libyan revolution — by Ernest Harsch	
I. A country transformed by revolution, oil	376
II. Revolution runs a turbulent course	406
III. On battle lines against imperialism	444
Mali	
Invasion of Burkina provokes war — by Ernest Harsch	17
Cease-fire halts war with Burkina — by Ernest Harsch	68
Middle East	
Arafat-Hussein talks collapse — by Steve Craine	122
Behind the sharp decline in oil prices — by Steve Craine	289
Palestinians face attacks in Lebanon, Jordan — by Steve Craine	401
Morocco hosts Israel's Peres — by Steve Craine	490
Morocco	
Regime jails activists	139
King Hassan hosts Israel's Peres — by Steve Craine	490
New Caledonia	
Interview with Kanak leader Jean Peu — by Deb Shnookal	144
Independence forces harassed — by Neil Jarden	312
300 meet on struggles in Pacific — by Kate Blakeney	416
Kanak struggle, Vanuatu accused of terrorism — by Neil Jarden	417
Nicaragua	
Debate opens on abortion rights — by Cindy Jaquith	4
Miguel D'Escoto on Asian tour — by Nita Keig	15

Reagan asks for more funds for "contras" — by Doug Jenness	58
Nicaraguans discuss legalization of abortion — by Cindy Jaquith	63
Hard lessons Atlantic Coast — Interview with Tomás Borge	111
Managua meeting calls anti-intervention actions — by Mac Warren	131
Sandinistas host broad conference — by Harvey McArthur	132
Managua conference hails Haitian victory — by Harvey McArthur	133
Text of new agrarian reform law	155
Reagan's "contra" aid blitz — by Ernest Harsch	162
Peasants implement new land reform — by Harvey McArthur	178
Two letters on Nicaragua undermine opposition to "contra" war — by Doug Jenness	180
"Third way" against interventions proposed	182
Czechoslovak activists criticize Sandinistas	183
Church-state relations in Nicaragua — Interview with Tomás Borge	184
Protest U.S. aid to "contras" — by Ernest Harsch	202
Indian leaders sign cease-fire with FSLN — by Cindy Jaquith	216
The war's toll in Nicaragua	217
Reagan's hoax of Sandinista invasion of Honduras — by Doug Jenness	234
Ortega hits use of U.S. military in Honduras — by Cindy Jaquith	236
FSLN leaders discuss agrarian reform — by Daniel Núñez and Víctor Tirado	254
"Contra" aid vote delayed by U.S. House — by Will Reissner	269
Nicaraguan demonstrations denounce U.S. war moves — by Harvey McArthur	296
Sandinistas discuss party-building — by Cindy Jaquith	302
Tomás Borge on Nicaragua's democracy — Speech	314
Response to Czech activists' letter on Nicaragua — by Jean-Pierre Riel and Hubert Sandor	326
Workers mobilize on May Day — by Cindy Jaquith	337
Workers discuss garment plant strike — by Cindy Jaquith	338
First Peasant Congress meets in Managua — by Harvey McArthur	340
Visiting farmers back Nicaragua	341
Argentina arms "contras" via Honduras — by Juan Gasparini	360
Central American presidents meet — by Harvey McArthur	367
Reagan pushes "contra" aid — by Doug Jenness	394
FSLN begins implementing autonomy plan — by Cindy Jaquith	402



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**University
Microfilms
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Interior Ministry official on Río Coco kidnappings	403	Workers strike at U.S. bases — by Russell Johnson	242
Swiss Farmers solidarize with Nicaragua	404	Hotel workers strike — by Russell Johnson	243
Miguel D'Escoto addresses Dublin rally — by Mairtin MacDiarmada	405	Interview with union leaders	243
Cooperative members discuss defense		Statement of KMT union federation	244
— by Harvey McArthur and Ruth Nebbia	430	Pathfinder books promoted in Manila — by Russell Johnson	244
"Contra" war endangers environment	437	A visit with sugar workers on Negros	
U.S. aid to "contras" approved — by Cindy Jaquith	456	— by Russell Johnson and Deb Shnookal	277
Washington gears up for expanded war — by Steve Craine	458	Sugar workers organize fight	
Revolution responds to new attacks — by Cindy Jaquith	460	— by Deb Shnookal and Russell Johnson	310
Celebration of 1979 fight targets new enemies		Military harasses fishing town — by Deb Shnookal	311
— by Ruth Nebbia	461	Australian Socialist League hears report from Philippines	
Government takes over auto firm — by Harvey McArthur	462	— by Nita Keig	325
Town meetings discuss women's rights	463	Three months since Marcos' overthrow — by Will Reissner	332
Recalls role of Nicaraguans in Cuba — by Tomás Borge	495	Shultz's visit to Manila — by Harry Ring	334
		Polarization growing in Philippines — by Doug Jenness	362
		Nuclear plant mothballed	373
		Australian forum hears speakers on Philippines	
		— by Julie Walkington	416
		Struggle for land reform — Interview with Felicísimo Patayan	418
		Former prisoner gives view of prospects under Aquino	
		— Interview with Horacio "Boy" Morales	484
		Philippine CP reviews boycott stance	486
Norway		Poland	
Oil strike halts all production	290	Police arrest Solidarity activist	438
Labor Party devalues krone	366		
		Puerto Rico	
Pakistan		Independence activists held in U.S. jail — Interview	370
Millions demand end of dictatorship — by Steve Craine	364		
		South Africa	
Panama		ANC leader Oliver Tambo's interview with "Cape Times"	8
U.S. senator opens slander campaign — by Steve Craine	428	Unionists defy regime, employers — by Ernest Harsch	35
		Resolutions of COSATU union federation	36
Paraguay		SACTU hails new union federation	39
General Stroessner faces protests — by Rafael Pérez Pereira	313	South African-backed coup topples Lesotho government	
Regime moves to cut off dissent — by Steve Craine	385	— by Ernest Harsch	66
		ANC leader on tasks facing South Africa	
Peru		— Speech by Oliver Tambo	100
Military detains 38,000 in three months	360	South African "Women's Charter"	140
		Workers back U.S. unionists	177
Philippines		Black workers fight "mine slavery" — by Ernest Harsch	224
Peasants fight corporate land-grabbing — by Terry Pugh	16	Communiqué of South African unionists, ANC	230
Background to origins of Communist Party — by Will Reissner	28	"State of emergency" ends, protests mount — by Ernest Harsch	247
Left groups urge election boycott 31 Marcos, Aquino trade charges		Activists forge new organs of struggle — by Ernest Harsch	274
— by Ben Espiritu	70	More whites reject apartheid — by Ernest Harsch	308
Marcos regime swept from power — by Will Reissner	124	Pretoria readjusts shackles on Blacks — by Ernest Harsch	346
Left debates election policy	126	May Day strike hits country — by Ernest Harsch	349
How mass uprising toppled Marcos		Pretoria's terror raids against neighbors — by Ernest Harsch	362
— Deb Shnookal and Russell Johnson	164	COSATU general secretary explains union policy	
Marcos' prisoners celebrate release — by Deb Shnookal	165	— Speech by Jay Naidoo	386
Duvalier, Marcos overturns open doors for working people		Blacks in Britain discuss South Africa	388
— by Doug Jenness	202	Paper on Labour Party and South Africa — by Mike Wongsam	390
People mobilize to extend gains — by Russell Johnson	204	General strike marks Soweto anniversary — by Ernest Harsch	396
Filipinas protest sexual exploitation — by Deb Shnookal	204	The battle for Crossroads — by Ernest Harsch	397
Remnants of tyranny hang on		ANC's "Call to the People"	398
— by Deb Shnookal and Russell Johnson	205	"Boycott South Africa" — by Ernest Harsch	426
Sison discusses political situation — by Russell Johnson	208	Pretoria meets resistance, protest — by Ernest Harsch	426
Huge mobilizations force Marcos out		Rural revolt sweeps Bantustans — by Ernest Harsch	468
— Statement of Fourth International	209	Speech by miners' leader Cyril Ramaphosa	471
		South Pacific	
		Independence forces harassed — by Neil Jarden	312
		300 meet on struggles in Pacific — by Kate Blakeney	416
		Kanak struggle, Vanuatu accused of terrorism — by Neil Jarden	417
		Soviet Union	
		Reagan continues nuclear tests, snubs Soviet offer	
		— by Doug Jenness	2
		Yevtushenko and artistic freedom — by Doug Jenness	12
		Soviet poet opposes concealment, hush-up	
		— Speech by Yevgeny Yevtushenko	14
		From Lenin to Gorbachev — by Doug Jenness	42
		Lenin's program for Communist Party	46
		Chernobyl: grim reminder of nuclear hazards — by Doug Jenness	298
		No safe nuclear power — by Doug Jenness	330
		The Chernobyl accident — Selections from the Left	374
		Vanuatu, Soviet Union establish ties	478
		Writers demand more freedom — Steve Craine	488

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Spain		
Government protects thief who robbed Cuba	19	
SP regime wins pro-NATO vote — by Ernest Harsch	215	
Sri Lanka		
New attacks on Tamil minority — by Malik Miah	368	
More than 3,000 political prisoners on island	369	
Switzerland		
Farmers solidarize with Nicaragua	404	
Tahiti		
Independence forces harassed — by Neil Jarden	312	
Tunisia		
"Solidarity with Tunisian workers"		
— Statement of the Fourth International	71	
United States (domestic)		
Abortion rights actions scheduled — by Steve Craine	7	
Meetings celebrate life of Ray Sparrow — by Michael Baumann	20	
Meatpackers' strike gains support — by Steve Craine	99	
Inaugural editorial of "Against the Current"	158	
Lowest U.S. wage gain since 1968	159	
Minnesota meatpackers' strike holds firm — by Steve Craine	173	
100,000 march for abortion rights in Washington, D.C.		
— by Candace Wagner	200	
25,000 in abortion rights march — by Patti Iiyama	214	
Answering Healyite myths about U.S. SWP — by Doug Jenness	280	
Widespread protests hit U.S. war drive — by Steve Craine	328	
Puerto Rican independence activists held — Interview	370	
Biggest anti-apartheid rally ever — by Brian Williams	399	
Women miners discuss solidarity — by Norton Sandler	479	
Meatpackers' struggle against Hormel		
— Selections from the Left	481	
United States (foreign policy)		
Reagan continues nuclear tests, snubs Soviet offer		
— by Doug Jenness	2	
Spy nest exposed in Ghana	24	
Libya: target of U.S. terror — by Ernest Harsch	26	
Reagan asks for more funds for Nicaraguan "contras"		
— by Doug Jenness	58	
Washington steps up pressure on Libya — by Steve Craine	88	
Red carpet for Savimbi — by Ernest Harsch	90	
White House submits \$311 billion war budget	105	
Iranian students protest U.S. threats — by Ali Sahand	120	
Grenadian rally protests Reagan visit — by Ernest Harsch	160	
Reagan's Nicaraguan "contra" aid blitz — by Ernest Harsch	162	
Two letters on Nicaragua undermine opposition to U.S. war		
— by Doug Jenness	180	
Protest U.S. aid to Nicaraguan "contras" — by Ernest Harsch	202	
Reagan's hoax of Sandinista invasion of Honduras		
— by Doug Jenness	234	
Ortega hits use of U.S. military personnel in Honduras		
— by Cindy Jaquith	236	
Gulf of Sidra attack: U.S. act of war — by Ernest Harsch	237	
"New York Times" on proposal to close down Radio Martí	241	
Filipino workers strike U.S. bases — by Russell Johnson	242	
Liberian dictatorship propped up by U.S. — by Ernest Harsch	250	
U.S. terror bombing of Libya — by Ernest Harsch	266	
British protests hit U.S. bombing of Libya — by Alan Freeman	268	
Worldwide protests of U.S. raid on Libya — by Will Reissner	268	
"Contra" aid vote delayed by U.S. House — by Will Reissner	269	
U.S. European allies join anti-Libya crusade — by Ernest Harsch	300	
Cuba condemns U.S. bombing of Libya	301	
Tokyo summit backs anti-Libya drive — by Steve Craine	331	
Shultz's visit to Manila — by Harry Ring	334	
U.S. bombing of Libya — Selections from the Left	352	
Shultz visit boosts South Korean regime — by Will Reissner	392	
Reagan pushes "contra" aid — Doug Jenness	394	
Nicaraguan demonstrations denounce U.S. war moves		
— by Harvey McArthur	296	
Senator opens slander campaign against Panama		
— by Steve Craine	428	
U.S. aid to "contras" approved — by Cindy Jaquith	456	
Washington gears up for expanded war — by Steve Craine	458	
Nicaraguan revolution responds to new attacks — by Cindy Jaquith	460	
Raid violates Bolivian rights — by Steve Craine	490	
Uganda		
Guerrilla movement seizes power — by Ernest Harsch	108	
Vanuatu		
Kanak struggle, Vanuatu accused of terrorism — by Neil Jarden	417	
Vanuatu, Soviet Union establish ties	478	
Vatican		
Bulgarian freed in "pope plot" — Will Reissner	6	
Vietnam		
Government outlines conservation policy	435	
Western Samoa		
Rugby tour of South Africa protested — by Alex Henderson	223	
Yemen, South		
Disastrous split damages revolution — by Ernest Harsch	72	
Social gains of the Yemeni revolution		
— by Mike Daley and Georges Sayad	74	
What was behind the bloodbath in South Yemen?		
— by Doug Jenness	96	

Subjects

Anti-apartheid movement		
Canadian unions discuss anti-apartheid fight — by Lynda Little	106	
South African trade ban expected in Denmark — by Åge Skovrind	223	
Samoans protest rugby tour of South Africa — by Alex Henderson	223	
Blacks in Britain discuss South Africa	388	
Paper on Labour Party and South Africa — by Mike Wongsam	390	
Biggest U.S. anti-apartheid rally ever — by Brian Williams	399	
Two Canadian actions hit apartheid — by Michel Dugré	400	
"Boycott South Africa" — by Ernest Harsch	426	
Documents		
ANC leader Oliver Tambo's interview with "Cape Times"	8	
Soviet poet opposes concealment, hush-up		
— Speech by Yevgeny Yevtushenko	14	
Resolutions of new South African union	36	
SACTU hails new union in South Africa	39	
Lenin's program for Communist Party	46	
United Secretariat message to French LCR — by Livio Maitan	54	
Guatemalan peasants hit government terror	62	
Fidel Castro talks to unionists, peasants	79	
For a South Asia free of nuclear arms	86	
ANC leader on tasks facing South Africa — Speech by Oliver Tambo	100	
New Canadian socialist group founded — by Barry Weisleder	119	
Philippine left debates election policy	126	
South African "Women's Charter"	140	
WRP leaders hit Healyite agent-baiting	151	
"Workers Press" calls for discussions — by Dave Good	151	
WRP condemns agent-baiting	154	
"Most reactionary manifestation of Healyism" — by Michael Banda	154	
Nicaragua's new agrarian reform law	155	
Inaugural editorial of "Against the Current"	158	
"Third way" against interventions proposed	182	
Czechoslovak activists criticize Sandinistas	183	
Church-state relations in Nicaragua — Interview with Tomás Borge	184	
Michael Banda's "27 reasons" — by Michael Banda	187	
The "bad men theory of history" — by Bill Hunter	194	
Communiqué of South African unionists, ANC	230	
Statement of Philippine union federation	244	
Salvadoran unions reject austerity, war	253	
"Workers Press" reviews book on Comintern — by David Bruce	262	
Origins of new book "Fidel on Religion"		
— Interview with Frei Betto by Paulo R. Schilling	292	
Declaration of Guyane's anticolonial party	294	
Cuba condemns U.S. bombing of Libya	301	
Tomás Borge on Nicaragua's democracy — Speech	314	

Response to Czech activists' letter on Nicaragua	
— by Jean-Pierre Riel and Hubert Sandor	326
Fidel Castro criticizes profiteering, inefficiency — Speech	342
Review of Comintern book — by Carlos Rossi	351
Political repression in Sri Lanka	369
COSATU general secretary explains union policy	
— Speech by Jay Naidoo	386
Blacks in Britain discuss South Africa	388
Paper on Labour Party and South Africa — by Mike Wongsam	390
ANC's "Call to the People"	398
Nicaraguan official on Río Coco kidnappings	403
Vietnamese government outlines conservation policy	435
Fidel Castro discusses abolition of farmers' market — Speech	448
South African miners' leader Cyril Ramaphosa speaks	471
Elections and economic crisis in Guyana	
— Interview with Eusi Kwayana	482
Former prisoner gives view of prospects under Aquino	
— Interview with Horacio "Boy" Morales	484
Philippine CP reviews boycott stance	486
Remembrance of Bay of Pigs — by Tomás Borge	495
Farmers	
Peasants fight corporate land-grabbing in Philippines	
— by Terry Pugh	16
Nicaragua's new agrarian reform law	155
Nicaraguan peasants implement new land reform	
— by Harvey McArthur	178
FSLN leaders discuss Nicaragua's agrarian reform	
— Speeches by Daniel Núñez and Víctor Tirado	254
A visit with Filipino sugar workers on Negros	
— by Russell Johnson and Deb Shnookal	277
Filipino sugar workers organize fight	
— by Deb Shnookal and Russell Johnson	310
Australian working farmers and capitalist crisis — by Ron Poulsen	317
First Peasant Congress meets in Nicaragua — by Harvey McArthur	340
Visiting farmers back Nicaragua	341
Philippine struggle for land reform continues	
— Interview with Felicísimo Patayan	418
Features	
East Asian "economic miracles" fading — by Will Reissner	82
"Workers Press" repudiates Healy's big lie — by Doug Jenness	147
Two letters on Nicaragua undermine opposition to U.S. war	
— by Doug Jenness	180

Debate in the WRP on the Fourth International — by Doug Jenness	218
Answering Healyite myths about U.S. SWP — by Doug Jenness	280
Behind the sharp decline in oil prices — by Steve Craine	289
Activists, academics greet Comintern book — by Sonja Franeta	350
Preface to new book on Comintern — by John Riddell	382
'IP' merges with the 'Militant', 'New International'	
— by Doug Jenness	492

Foreign debt crisis

Latin American debtor countries ask for relief — by Will Reissner	18
Fidel Castro talks to unions, peasants on debt	79

Nuclear power

Chernobyl: grim reminder of nuclear hazards — by Doug Jenness	298
No safe nuclear power — by Doug Jenness	330
Miners' leader: "No nukes!" — by Arthur Scargill	373
Philippine plant mothballed — by Will Reissner	373
The Chernobyl accident — Selections from the Left	374
Nuclear leak in West Germany spurs protests	438

Statements of the Fourth International

Solidarity with Tunisian workers	71
Split of Australian SWP from Fourth International	116
Solidarity with the Haitian people!	172
Huge mobilizations force Marcos out	209
"Shut down all nukes!"	438

Women's Liberation

Nicaragua opens debate on abortion rights — by Cindy Jaquith	4
U.S. abortion rights actions scheduled — by Steve Craine	7
Nicaraguans discuss legalization of abortion — by Cindy Jaquith	63
South African "Women's Charter"	140
Women in Burkina organize for their liberation — by Ernest Harsch	141
Canadian abortion rights fight grows	
— by Bill Burgess and Lynda Little	143
Montreal rally on abortion rights	143
New book on exploitation of women from Pathfinder Press	146
100,000 march for abortion rights in Washington, D.C.	
— by Candace Wagner	200
Filipinas protest sexual exploitation — by Deb Shnookal	204
25,000 in U.S. abortion rights march — by Patti Iiyama	214
Nicaraguan town meeting discusses women's rights	463
Irish vote upholds divorce ban — by Will Reissner	467
U.S. women miners discuss solidarity — by Norton Sandler	479

Selections from the Left

Bandera Socialista (Mexico)	
Nuclear accident at Chernobyl	374
La Brèche (Switzerland)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	352
Nuclear accident at Chernobyl	375
Guardian (United States)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	352
Indies Times (Grenada)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	353
Internationalen (Sweden)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	352
U.S. meatpackers' struggle	481
International Viewpoint (France)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	353
Nuclear accident at Chernobyl	375
U.S. meatpackers' struggle	481

Klassekampen (Denmark)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	353
Militant (United States)	
Nuclear accident at Chernobyl	374
Rouge (France)	
Nuclear accident at Chernobyl	374
Socialist Action (Britain)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	352
Nuclear accident at Chernobyl	375
U.S. meatpackers' struggle	481
Socialist Action (New Zealand)	
U.S. bombing of Libya	353
Socialist Voice (Canada)	
U.S. meatpackers' struggle	481
Was Tun (West Germany)	
Nuclear accident at Chernobyl	374