



On the presidential elections

Down with the Republicans and Democrats!

For class struggle against the Reaganite offensive!

In an obscene orgy of super-patriotism and dollar-worship, Reagan is stumping for four more years. Reagan and the Republicans are stumping for four more years of assault on the working people. Four more years for the rich to get richer and the poor poorer. Four more years of growing racism and the buildup of the police state. Four more years of expanding military adventures against the peoples of other lands and of feverish preparations for nuclear slaughter.

But that's only half of it. The other half is that Mondale and the Democrats are promising the people four years of the very same thing.

The Democrats pose as the "party of labor and minorities," the "party of peace" and the alternative to the cruel Reagan policies. But the Democrats are campaigning against Reagan on Reagan's platform. Mondale and the Democrats have pledged to their capitalist bosses that whichever candidate wins the November 6 election the Reaganite assault on the working people will get a second term.

Tens of millions are looking for a way to meet the challenge of the Reaganite offensive. But for the workers and jobless, for the blacks and other oppressed nationalities, for the opponents of militarism and war, the capitalists' electoral circus is offering no alternative.

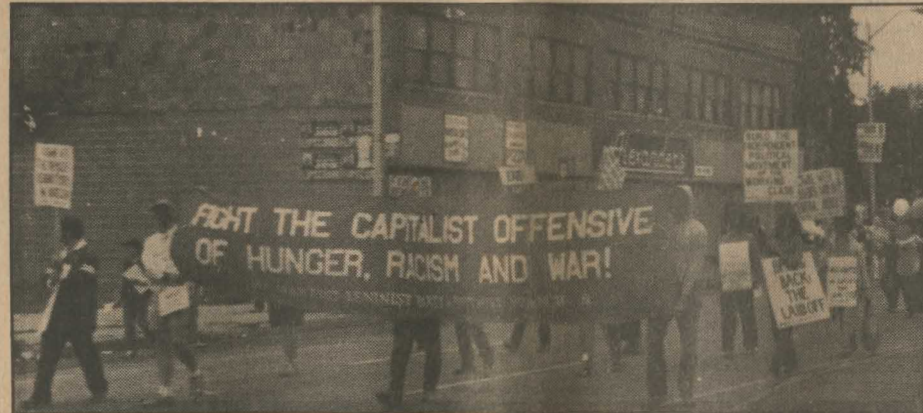
Both Candidates Pledge to "Stay the Course" of Reaganomics

Where do the candidates stand on the issues? Just look at the themes of their campaigns.

The Republicans are calling for "staying the course" of Reaganomics. This is the course of "expanding opportunity" through brutal strikebreaking and productivity drives against the workers — cutting wages, tossing millions into the street, and driving the rest like slaves; "creating jobs" with a subminimum wage for youth and stripping the workers of even the weakest wage, health and safety protections; "restoring the work ethic" by slashing the meager relief programs for the unemployed and poverty-stricken; and "ensuring prosperity" with a tax policy of robbing from the poor to give to the rich.

There is a grain of truth in Reagan's promise of four more years of "prosperity"...if you happen to be a capitalist or a millionaire living off Wall Street dividends. But for the ten million jobless, or for the millions of employed workers sinking below the official poverty level, "staying the course" means four more years of hell.

But what does Mondale offer? He is promising a "realistic" and "tough" policy. In his Deficit Reduction Plan Mondale pledges that he won't spend a penny more than Reagan on social



At the Labor Day march in Detroit, the MLP denounced both the capitalist parties and called for fighting the capitalist offensive, while the labor bureaucrats boosted the Democratic ticket.

programs, and if anything he will cut Medicare and other necessities for the poor still deeper. (*New York Times*, September 11, 1984) And he has sworn himself to hitting the people with more tax increases. In short, Mondale is campaigning as the man capable of making the "hard choices" to turn the screws on the working people — that he is the man best suited to "staying the course" of the capitalist offensive against the masses.

Both Candidates Stand for Racism and Building Up the Police State

Reagan continues his racist crusade against the black people, the Latinos and immigrants and other oppressed nationalities. He dreams of turning

back the clock to the days of Jim Crow segregation. The Reagan appointees on the Civil Rights Commission speak in the jargon of the open racists and fascists, alleging that blacks and other oppressed nationalities have too many privileges, supposedly creating "reverse discrimination" against

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As the politicians debate about recovery

The rich get richer and the poor get poorer

Today one can hardly open a newspaper or turn on the TV without hearing about the "great recovery," the "unprecedented" rebound. What caused it? Will it last? Is it due to Reagan? Questions abound. The Republicans crow while the Democrats say it won't last.

A better question would be: where is it? The official unemployment statistics have improved somewhat from the worst depths of the misery of 1981-82 up to — up to what? Up to the situation prevailing at the miserable close of the Carter administration. And, in fact, long years of depression have resulted in millions more "discouraged workers" who aren't counted in the unemployment figures. Indeed, according to government statistics, the number of poverty-stricken workers — both those unemployed and those employed at jobs that pay so little that one cannot hold together body and soul — is higher today than in the economic low point of 1981-82.

What has happened? There has been a slight upturn in the midst of a continuing economic depression. The 1980's are proving to be a decade of stagnation and depression. But even in a depression, there are ups and

downs. What is "unprecedented" is not the slight upturn, the "recovery," but the extent to which the capitalists have proved capable of making profits in a depression while the masses suffer more than ever.

What has rebounded is profits. This is why the capitalists are in ecstasy. In the second quarter of this year, profits were running a full 26% higher than the previous year. Presidents of the Fortune 500 companies are giving themselves million-dollar bonuses while slashing the wages of their blue-collar employees. American business is "standing tall" — gorging itself on wealth while millions wonder where their next meal will come from.

The rich are getting richer, while the poor get poorer. This is the fundamental feature of the so-called "recovery." This is the "secret" of Reaganomics, the "secret" that explains why all the politicians who serve the wealthy — whether Democrat or Republican, whether Mondale or Reagan — accept the basic premises of Reaganomics. And this is the "secret" that explains why the masses are seething with discontent despite all

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The black people will never accept apartheid racism

A Storm of Struggle Rocks South Africa



The black people rebel against rent hikes and apartheid racism in Sharpeville township, September 6.

The last six weeks have seen a powerful outbreak of militant struggle by the blacks and other oppressed people of South Africa. A countrywide upsurge is taking place, the most intense since the famous Soweto rebellions of 1976. Every county in South Africa has been touched and a broad section of the masses are involved in the fighting. The upsurge has included entire townships rising up in protest, students boycotting schools across the country, and miners out on strike. The racist white minority regime has set upon the masses with characteristic brutality — with whippings, arrests and murder. But the repression has only affirmed the determination of the black people to fight on. Not a day passes without reports of new outbreaks of struggle in South Africa.

The blacks and other oppressed people are rising up once again to fight the inhuman system of apartheid racism. This is a system spawned by capitalism in which the black population, the overwhelming majority, has been reduced to the status of convict prisoners

in their own land. They are denied all social and political rights. They are forced to live in ghettos and must carry ID passes at all times. They have to slave at starvation wages and live in great poverty.

The death-defying struggle of the black masses of South Africa shows that the oppressed people will never reconcile themselves to apartheid slavery. This struggle is a great inspiration to the oppressed masses throughout the world. It shows that, even in the belly of one of the most brutal countries, the people can take things into their own hands and rise in struggle. The Marxist-Leninist Party, USA stands in solidarity with the fighting blacks and other oppressed people in South Africa in the struggle to overthrow apartheid racism.

The Fraud of Constitutional Reform

The immediate cause of the recent upsurge was the inauguration of a new constitution which was touted as a major democratic reform by the apartheid

rulers and its Western imperialist supporters, including Reagan and Thatcher.

This new constitution creates a new parliament of three segregated chambers — one chamber for the whites, one for the so-called "coloreds" (those of mixed race), and one for the people of East Indian descent. The whites make up 15% of the population, while the coloreds and Indians together total 42% — there are 2.5 million coloreds and 870,000 Indians.

But for the 23 million blacks, who constitute 73% of the population there is not even a token attempt to offer franchise rights. The new constitution, in effect, represents a racist provocation against the black majority and is a clear attempt to split their non-white allies away from them.

For the colored and Indian people there is no real representation. The constitution merely gives some limited and strictly token rights to certain politicians from these communities, who choose to collaborate with the racist

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GM Contract: Job cutting in the name of 'job security'

Defeat the new auto concessions deal!

The first round of auto contract talks concluded September 21 when the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW) signed a tentative pact with GM.

The agreement is being praised as a "model" contract which supposedly creates an "innovative" approach to job security. But, in fact, the key features of this deal are that it grants GM an unlimited license to eliminate jobs and that it gives the capitalists the right to violate the national contract in a new drive for plant-by-plant wage cuts and other concessions.

The UAW leaders claim that the era of concessions are over. But what does this new contract show? It demonstrates that the workers must step up the struggle against the concessions offensive of the capitalists.

Even before the contract talks began, GM officials made it clear that they are not satisfied with the more than \$6 billion in profits they are raking in this year. At the cost of hundreds of thousands of jobs and enormous takebacks from the workers, GM and the other auto monopolies are making the greatest profits in their history. But the auto giants complain that they must be "more competitive" and, therefore, the workers must pay.

The head of the slave drivers, Ronald Reagan himself, declared that the auto workers must "show restraint" in their demands.

Now that the main provisions of the tentative contract have been revealed it is clear that the UAW leaders have gotten down on their knees before Reagan and the capitalists' concessions drive.

It is up to the rank-and-file auto workers to resist this new assault on their jobs and livelihood.

The GM workers are not alone in this battle. The new contract has been made the pattern for talks with Ford and, later, with Chrysler. What is more, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirk-

land has said the "unprecedented" pact should be followed in negotiations in other industries and capitalist spokesmen have proclaimed the deal to be a "model" of "restraint" which workers everywhere must follow. GM workers must resist this new concessions deal to defend themselves. But more than that, resistance is important to help workers everywhere who desire to mount a struggle against the concessions drive of the capitalists.

Guaranteeing GM's Right to Eliminate Jobs

It is claimed that the new GM contract guarantees job security. This is a lie. What it guarantees is GM's right to eliminate jobs.

The *Wall Street Journal*, a leading mouthpiece for big monopolies, emphasized this point in their praise for the new contract: "It is especially good because of the productivity improvements that GM could achieve under the pact. In internal documents that leaked out earlier this year, GM indicated that it hopes to reduce its work force by 60,000 to 120,000 workers in the next two years. The new contract gives GM the flexibility to do that — at a \$1 billion price." (*Wall Street Journal*, September 24, 1984, emphasis added)

Of course \$1 billion over six years is small change for a company raking in

The "Job Opportunity Bank": An Orderly Way to Eliminate Jobs

With such an enormous job elimination program, GM could expect major explosions as the workers get organized for a determined battle to defend their jobs. But the new contract provides GM with an orderly system of job elimination.

In the first place, the contract splits the workers up into their individual plants and puts the UAW bureaucrats on the committees that will organize job elimination plant by plant. The September 27 *Detroit News* points out that the contract "sets up local, area and national committees to run the banks and study ways to improve efficiencies at GM plants, even if that means waiving or changing parts of the national contract." (emphasis added)

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As the first anniversary of Reagan's invasion nears

Down With the U.S. Occupation of Grenada!

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Portuguese workers fight police state laws of the 'socialist' government

The essence of social-democracy in power was starkly exposed recently in Portugal. In June the "socialist" government of Mario Soares introduced in Parliament a fascist "security law" aimed at all-round repression of the masses. With the help of the pro-Moscow revisionists of the "Communist" Party of Portugal, who refused to fight it, the Socialist Party, in coalition with the Social-Democratic Party, succeeded in passing it. (The government is led by the Socialist Party, which is affiliated to the social-democratic Socialist International; it rules in coalition with the Social-Democratic Party which, despite its name, is a bourgeois center-right party.)

In opposition to this fascist legislation a broad protest movement arose in which the Communist Party (Reconstructed) of Portugal played an active and militant role. Through June, July and August the CP(R)'s central organ, *Bandeira Vermelha* (BV) carried numerous articles on the struggle. The following account is based on excerpts from those articles.

Restoring the Police Laws of the Old Dictatorship

On June 20, the day when the Portuguese Parliament began debate on the Security Law, the police launched a large-scale attack on a number of left forces under the pretext of fighting the

"terrorist urban guerrillas" of an organization called the Popular Forces of April 25th. The police raided and sacked political offices and arrested over 80 people. This included retired Lt. Colonel Otelo Carvalho, a popular figure in the Armed Forces Movement which took part in the April 1974 revolution which overthrew the fascist Caetano dictatorship, and members of Carvalho's political party.

Denouncing the repression by the "socialist" government, BV wrote: "This action recalls, in fact, the methods used by the PIDE in the period of fascism [the PIDE were the hated political police during the decades of the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships prior to April 1974]. Moreover, the entire security law and the new police policy being prepared, which the government is putting up for discussion in Parliament, are in their essence based on the same principles and activities that guided the PIDE.

"The methods that the PIDE used to extort information about opponents of the fascist regime are, in part, identical to those that are now being prepared to be approved, but with only a slight difference — now these methods, they say, are for 'defense of the democratic regime.'

"The package of measures being prepared — some of which, as we have seen, were already put into

practice — are, without any doubt, real measures of repression and attack on freedoms. This is the case with household searches without a warrant, preventive detention of suspects, telephone taps and violation of mail, suspension of meetings, demonstrations or public gatherings, surveillance of people and buildings for an indeterminate length of time, etc., etc....

"It is also public knowledge that the PIDE had working for it thousands of stooges in the work places and in the government bureaus, in order to better keep watch on possible opponents of fascism....

"When the police say that for three years they have been compiling various facts and data relating to the so-called case of the April 25 Popular Forces, one can conclude that a data-collecting center on the citizens is openly under way.

"This data center, contemplated in the Information Service Law, and which is inherent in the Security Law, is a form whereby information is compiled on citizens, thus depriving them of their privacy and accumulating a compact dossier. It is going to allow the development of a 'prison file' by the continuous accumulation of information on people over a long period of time, which will serve for repression and attack on the freedoms and rights of the



On July 12, outside the Portuguese parliament, nearly 2000 people protested against the repressive security law introduced by the social-democratic government.

workers."

Repression to Enforce IMF Austerity

On the question of why these fascist laws are being imposed at this time, BV points out: "The government and the newspapers friendly to it have tried to create the idea that terrorism is a great threat in Portugal, endangering the security of the state and of the citizens themselves." To highlight this

point and attempt to create public opinion in favor of the Security Law, the state timed its raid against "terrorists" to coincide with the parliamentary debate on the legislation.

But in reality, the Security Law is a measure to put down resistance to new austerity measures being imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In July the IMF reached an agreement with the Portuguese government mandating more austerity measures against the masses, measures which are worsening an already dire situation for the working people. BV analyzes that the law "has, as its final objective, repression against the workers' and popular movement, its most militant organizations and sectors, in the face of the inevitable increase of struggle against the hunger and unemployment imposed by the government at the order of the IMF."

"The SP/SDP government and the big bourgeoisie are betting on having the law passed. The new price increases, the new laws on firings, strikes and strike pickets, on rent increases, the growth of hunger and unemployment, are going to make a wave of worker protest and revolt explode with greater force. Therefore, the government and capitalists need to create at this moment legal mechanisms of repression to frighten the working class and impede the proletariat from getting organized and making its revolt more effective."

Denouncing "socialist" Prime Minister Mario Soares and his party for their services to the big bourgeoisie, a speaker from the CP(R) declared: "Soares and the SP thus show once again that social-democracy knows very well how to carry out the dirty work of capitalism in a period of crisis, that it knows how to make its bed with fascism and the extreme right."

Mass Actions Against the Security Law

To fight the fascist laws, the CP(R) has been mobilizing the workers and broad masses for various types of actions against the legislation, and particularly stresses the importance of mass actions in the streets.

The coalition Movement Against the Security Law, in which the CP(R) participated, held a mass demonstration July 12. BV reported that:

"This past Thursday, July 12, when the draft Security Law of the SP/SDP government was being discussed in the Parliament, nearly 2,000 people assembled in S. Bento, protesting and denouncing in the street this law which represents a frontal attack on the rights and liberties of the citizens.

"This rally, called by the Movement Against the Security Law, assembled in less than two weeks the support of thousands of workers and toilers, artisans, anti-fascists and democrats of diverse sectors.

"In the resolutions, petitions and manifestoes that circulated in the factories and workshops, contributing decisively to the calling of this rally, were denunciations of the danger to liberties and rights of the workers that will occur with the approval of this law.

"The fact was also emphasized that the government has so far failed to use that the Security Law — the new PIDE — is approved so as to thus contain the repudiation and revolt by the workers' and people that is growing day by day."

Revisionists Sabotage the Struggle

In this situation of escalating attack on the masses by the capitalists and their social-democratic fascist government, the pro-Soviet revisionist "Communist" Party of Portugal once again showed that it stands on the side of the bourgeoisie. It shook its head at the law, but sat in its hands, opposed the

The ugly face of social-democracy in Australia

The August 1984 issue of *Workers' Voice*, a publication from Melbourne, Australia, describes the crisis in the left in Australia.

The *Workers' Voice* began by describing how the revisionist "left" parties in Australia are deteriorating because of their reformist policies. Last April, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), a Eurocommunist type party, was ravaged by resignations. These elements were not satisfied with the level of class collaboration displayed by the CPA and wanted its dissolution. The Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), the main pro-Soviet party, recently expelled a number of its leading cadres in the trade unions. These people were so rightist that they would not even agree to the facade of opposition the SPA seeks to maintain against the Prices and Incomes Accord (a wage-control plan) of the present Labor Party government. The Maoist Communist Party of Australia (ML) has for years been mauled by splits and resignations.

Meanwhile, reports in the U.S. Trotskyite press indicate that the Socialist Workers Party of Australia, the main Trotskyite group, has officially given up its Trotskyite label and is involved in unity maneuvers with the pro-Soviet SPA.

The *Workers' Voice* points out that the source of the crisis in the revisionist parties is their longstanding reformism and negation of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. And in the face of their crises, the revisionists have stepped up their efforts to seek refuge in the arms of the major reformist force in Australia, the official standard bearer of social-democracy, the Australian Labor Party. Some, like the CPA and CPA (ML), openly support the Labor Party and its policies, while others keep a small distance.

Today the ALP is the ruling party in the country. It came to power with all sorts of demagogy but it has once again shown its colors as a party running a typical capitalist govern-

ment. But the revisionists continue to promote illusions in the ALP, especially by working to bolster the ALP's impotent "left" wing, the Socialist Left faction. The *Workers' Voice* exposes the real character of the ALP and punctures the illusion peddling of the "left" social-democrats and their revisionist buddies.

The situation in the Australian revisionist circles reminds us of the reformism of and crisis in the revisionist and Trotskyite circles in the U.S. Just as the Australian revisionists hover around the Labor Party, the U.S. opportunists trail behind the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucracy associated with the Democrats.

Below we reprint excerpts from the article "Revisionist Parties and Labor Party Have Common Ideological and Political Positions That Are Used to Serve the Interests of the Bourgeoisie" in the August 1984 *Workers' Voice*.

Nothing Socialist About ALP

The Labor Party is a capitalist party with a program strictly contained within the limits of capitalism. It is totally committed to capitalist methods of struggle, i.e., parliamentary democracy. In times of crises and heightened class struggle by the workers the Labor Party has used the army and police to smash the workers' organized resistance. This party is neither based in the working class (most of its membership is derived from the petty bourgeoisie, the trade union bureaucracy, and the labor aristocracy) nor has it any scientific socialist aims.

The "socialism" espoused by the ALP is bourgeois reformism that is oriented towards extending the power of the state capitalist apparatus to serve the monopolies. It poses no threat to the existence of the capitalist system in Australia. The Labor Party leaders are openly united with the monopoly capitalist class (as so vividly witnessed at the Economic Summit on the Accord) and serve that class both when in opposition or in government.

Hawke Government Administers State to Serve Monopolies

The Hawke Labor Government exhibits all the reactionary and imperialist features of social-democracy in parliamentary power. It administers the monopoly capitalist system to suit the maximum profit requirements of the big local companies and multinationals. Through its Prices and Incomes Accord it has lacked in the obedient support of the labor traitors from the Australian Congress of Trade Unions (ACTU) and individual trade union bureaucracies to police the working class so as to ensure that the profits of the capitalists rise at the expense of wages and jobs. In the period from April 1983 to March 1984, company profits have risen by 51% while real wages have fallen. (*The Age*, June 6, 1984)

Hawke's timid national chauvinism — the bourgeois press enthusiastically trumpets his calls for national unity, class harmony, patriotism, and national reconciliation — seeks to dope

the working class into making "sacrifices" (read: job cuts, lower wages, acceptance of job destroying new technology, etc.) to make Australian monopolies more competitive in the cutthroat international trade wars between capitalist countries.

In international relations and "defense" the Labor Party in government has been a strong supporter of U.S. imperialism. Hawke's foreign minister Hayden promotes him as a "trusted friend" of the arch-warmongering imperialist Reagan.

Continuing on from its predecessor the Hawke government welcomes U.S. warships at Australian ports and defends the presence of U.S. nuclear war bases on Australian soil. It also carries out strategies that serve the expansionist plans of the Australian monopolies in the South Pacific and Southeast Asia.

Revisionist Accommodation With ALP

The revisionists have already achieved a great deal of unity and reconciliation with this reactionary party that displays all its capitalist colors when in government.

The revisionists attempt to disguise their treachery and class collaboration by claiming that the "progressive" forces inside the ALP have moved further to the left. Nothing could be further from the truth. The reality is that the revisionists have moved further to the right and in the process accepted many of the reformist positions of the ALP.

While some of the "left" parties openly support certain actions of the Labor Government (such as the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) endorsing the Accord and a housing one of its leading cadres, Carmichael, to be involved in its formulation and implementation) others, like the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), are more contented in working class with the ALP's Socialist Left faction.

This faction, in tandem with the revisionists and other opportunists who support them, continually sow illusions about the possibility of bringing about change to serve people's needs from within the confines of capitalism.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology shows how the struggle between classes is the driving force for social development. Marx pointed out that in creating modern industry capitalism has created its own gravedigger, the working class. Under conditions of capitalist exploitation, where the minority class of capitalists exploit the collective labor power of the working class for private profit, the conditions arise from this fundamental contradiction for the workers to unite and rebel as a class to overthrow capitalism and replace it with the much more advanced social order of socialism, the first phase of communist society. Lenin further developed the principles of Marxism in the conditions of monopoly capitalism, imperialism. It was Lenin, who proved both in theory and practice, the necessity for the working class to have its own revolutionary Communist Party. Being the organized vanguard detachment of the workers the Communist Party is the instrument through which they establish and maintain their political power after the overthrow of capitalism.

Because the Marxist-Leninist ideology makes the working class conscious of its social position in capitalist society and shows the working class how to realize its historic task of emancipating itself from capitalist exploitation the ruling class has launched intense attacks against it. One of its chief instruments to attack the communist ideology from within the labor movement is revisionism.

By distorting and attacking the Marxist-Leninist ideology the revisionists and their offshoot splinter groups do a great service to the bourgeoisie. The revisionists blunt the class consciousness of the workers, split their ranks, feed their reformist illusions about peaceful transition to socialism, and thwart their independent class actions and initiatives. These amalgams of Marxists work in such a way so as to prolong the life of capitalism.

It is with this aim in mind that the various "left" groups preach unity and reconciliation with right-wing social-democracy, represented in the country by the Australian Labor Party (ALP).

MAP/ML Communiqué on the Nicaraguan elections

For struggle against the bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism

The Movement of Popular Action/Marxist-Leninist, the Marxist-Leninist party of Nicaragua, considers it of importance to declare before the workers, before the people and especially the Nicaraguan proletariat, our views on the present electoral process.

In the first place, the economic crisis the country is going through and which is bearing down heavily on the workers has continued to worsen. Nevertheless the electoral struggle has been made into a smoke screen to hide all the problems which face the workers. And the problems which cannot be hidden are made light of with the aim of having the workers forget about their problems. Meanwhile the division of power is worked out in Manzanillo, in Contadora, etc. [Negotiations for a so-called "regional peace plan" are being conducted by the reactionary and pro-U.S. imperialist governments of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama — the Contadora group. The internal political situation in Nicaragua has been made part of these negotiations. The Contadora group first met on the Panamanian island of Contadora, from where it gets its name. Manzanillo, Mexico was the site of recent talks between U.S. and Nicaraguan officials, where the U.S. side demanded concessions to the bourgeois reaction inside Nicaragua.]

The workers' wages continue to be much below the cost of living. Health, housing, transportation, are problems which continue to worsen, making living conditions for the workers ever more difficult. On the other hand, incentives amounting to 48 million cordobas to cotton producers are



Nicaraguan masses show their determination to fight to the end should U.S. imperialism launch a full-scale invasion.

announced for the next harvest. Evidently these incentives will come out of the sweat and toil of the workers. The workers who demand higher wages are called "counterrevolutionary." Meanwhile, these concessions [to the capitalists and landlords] continue to be given against a background of the military aggressions carried out by imperialism, which each day grow more violent.

In the second place, we have pointed out from the beginning of the process of institutionalization (the formalization of the electoral process and the

legal system), that without the participation of the masses and within a bourgeois framework, this institutionalization was going to be a green light for the bourgeoisie to gradually accumulate forces in the political and economic arenas. In this direction, the electoral process has been unfolded without the participation of the masses. Therefore the electoral process was born dead.

Meanwhile, all the other parties have begun to say that the electoral struggle has been exhausted, that it will not solve a single problem, that

room has to be made for the participation of the Sacaza-Guerrero Coordinating Committee [the reactionary bloc of the big capitalists and landlords]. In other words, in order to try to save the credibility of the elections, [these parties] bow to the pressures of imperialism, of Contadora and of social-reformism, so that the most reactionary bourgeoisie of this country may take part in the electoral process.

Nevertheless, the masses have gone out to the streets to demonstrate, not against Arturo Cruz [the presidential candidate of the right-wing bloc] as an individual, but to protest against the intentions of the bourgeoisie to construct an internal counterrevolutionary front. This attitude of the masses must be organized. It must not be allowed to take the course of spontaneity. It must be guided in the direction of repudiating the program of "national unity," "mixed economy" and "political pluralism" which is pushed by the Sandinista Front (FSLN) and with which the other parties agree, including the parties of the Sacaza Coordinating Committee.

In the third place, the Movement of Popular Action/Marxist-Leninist rejects and condemns all foreign interference in the solution of Nicaragua's internal problems. Why are they attempting to solve the problems in Manzanillo? Why with the interference of Contadora? What are the Cubans and Soviets doing? Why accept the mediation of Belisario Betancur? [Colombian president Betancur has been playing an active role in the "Contadora process."] We don't accept the interference from the Americans, from the Russians, nor from anybody.

The problems affecting Nicaragua must be resolved by the Nicaraguan workers, the more so when the negotiating parties do not represent the interests of the workers. The Sandinista Front, by accepting foreign interference, is accepting Yankee imperialism's thesis that the internal problems of Nicaragua are a reflection of the East-West confrontation. Our Party holds that we must base ourselves only on the forces of the proletariat, on the revolutionary forces, or the forces of the workers, and we demand that this support come in all forms and levels. We don't accept demagogical communique or the palace intrigues of the UN as the only way of supporting the Nicaraguan workers in their struggle against imperialism.

In the fourth place, the people have seen how all of the parties, with the exception of the MAP/ML, hold that these negotiations will bring peace. But this will be peace for the exploiters, peace for the bourgeoisie. Imperialism will not allow us to develop the revolution in peace. If negotiations with the Coordinating Committee will bring peace, this only means that the counter-revolution like CIA-backed *contras* and the Coordinating Committee are the armed wing and the political wing of the imperialist aggression. The revolutionary process must not be regressed. The revolution must be defended and not negotiated. Any concession to the bourgeoisie goes against the workers.

All the other political parties have declared that the revolutionary principles must be put aside in the interests of peace. Has imperialism put aside its interests in these negotiations? No. Then why does the FSLN, without consulting either the masses or the parties, agree to sign the Declaration of Contadora, when we all know that bourgeois character of this pact. The workers, the revolutionaries must reject all surrender, all negotiations. The workers must repudiate to accumulate forces and not wear them out.

In the fifth place, we must say that the bourgeoisie has been increasing its level of organization, has been increasing its capacity for maneuvers and blackmail basing itself on the political and economic pressures of imperi-

Behind-the-scenes funding for the dirty war against Nicaragua

The Reagan administration is continuing to escalate the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. The CIA has organized the remnants of the army of the deposed dictator Somoza to invade Nicaragua. Thousands of these *contras* have been unleashed from U.S.-supported bases in Honduras to murder and burn their way through the villages of Nicaragua. This year alone Congress has provided Reagan with \$24 million to help the *contras* reverse the revolution and restate a U.S.-backed dictatorship in Nicaragua. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues its huge military buildup in Honduras in preparation for a direct U.S. invasion.

But this is far from the whole story of U.S. support for the *contras*. In addition to the aid given directly by the U.S. government, the Reagan administration has been stepping up their use of other channels to assist the Somocista bands. These "supplemental" means of aid are by no means small. Indeed the bourgeois press estimates that this aid totals as much as \$20 million in 1984, approaching the level of official U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan counter-revolution.

Using Reactionary Regimes As an Aid Conduit

The Reagan administration has solicited a number of reactionary pro-U.S. regimes to aid the CIA/*contra* effort, including Israel, Guatemala, Taiwan, Honduras, Argentina and Venezuela. The Israeli regime alone has sent some \$4.5-million in cash and arms this year. Also notable is the \$70 million in rifles, ammunition and spare parts from Argentina over the last two years; the so-called "democratic" regime of Argentine president Raul Alfonsín, in giving this aid, is honoring commitments made by the former regime of fascist general B.

These governments are playing the role of middlemen for the U.S. intervention. Administration officials privately admit that they simply tell their allies to give aid to the *contras* and in return the U.S. gives a like amount of economic aid to the country involved. With this method, U.S. imperialism attempts to tie much of its assistance to the CIA-backed mercenaries.

The Reagan Administration Recruits Fascist U.S. Mercenaries Into the War Effort

The Reagan administration is also busily organizing alternate aid sources in the home front. Recently a graphic example of Reagan's use of private organizations in the U.S. came to light when a helicopter (manned by two U.S. mercenaries) was shot down while marauding inside Nicaragua.



Wreckage of the helicopter of the U.S. mercenaries which was shot down by the Nicaraguan people during a *contra* air raid on September 1.

The U.S. mercenaries were participating in a September 1 *contra* air raid on a military training school in Santa Clara, near the Honduran border. This raid resulted in the death of three young Nicaraguan girls and another civilian.

These U.S. mercenaries were members of a paramilitary organization called Civilian Military Assistance (CMA). The CMA draws its recruits from the ranks of the capitalist police and armed forces. One of the men killed in the helicopter was a police detective in Huntsville, Alabama who was also a captain in the special forces of Alabama's National Guard. Also in CMA are some murder-hungry Viet Nam veterans who still long for another chance to participate in U.S. aggression overseas. The leader of these fire-killers is a produce distributor capitalist in Alabama.

The participation of the two CMA mercenaries in the September 1 attack by the *contras* was not an isolated event. For some time the CMA has been active in Central America. According to CMA leaders, more than a dozen CMA members work with *contra* forces, training pilots and even planning missions. The CMA has also been sending military supplies to the filibustered generals in El Salvador.

After the U.S. mercenaries were shot down the Reagan administration proclaimed "We had absolutely no association with the mission." But this is a lie from beginning to end. The facts of the matter are that every step of CMA activity in Central America has been made with the help and guidance of the U.S. government.

The connection of the CMA with the Reagan administration is also shown by the CIA's aid to the counter-insurgency operations in El Salvador.

It was through the U.S. embassy in El Salvador that the CMA was introduced to the general staff of the Salvadoran army. U.S. military officers even translated into Spanish a letter from CMA to the chief of staff of the Salvadoran army explaining what aid CMA would provide. Major Charles A. McAnaney, chief U.S. logistics officer in El Salvador, served as the main go-between for CMA and the Salvadoran army. U.S. military officers even translated into Spanish a letter from CMA to the chief of staff of the Salvadoran army explaining what aid CMA would provide. Major Charles A. McAnaney, chief U.S. logistics officer in El Salvador, served as the main go-between for CMA and the Salvadoran army. U.S. military officers even translated into Spanish a letter from CMA to the chief of staff of the Salvadoran army explaining what aid CMA would provide.

U.S. officials are also responsible for hooking up CMA and the *contras* operating out of Honduras. CMA was put in touch with then-commander of the Honduran armed forces General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez and other Honduran senior officers. The Honduran military then escorted a CMA delegation to a *contra* camp near the Nicaraguan border.

It is clear that far from CMA being "no association," the CMA mercenaries are nothing but unofficial soldiers organized directly by the Reagan government.

Moreover how can the administration claim "no association" with the September 1 raid itself? The CMA members participated in a coordinated mission with several *contra* manned planes. And who but the CIA directs the activity of the *contras*? How could the U.S. military not have known about the mission when the air forces in Honduras used for *contra* raids are staffed with U.S. military personnel? Even the

planes flown on this mission were provided by the CIA. In these conditions it is obvious that the Reagan administration is completely responsible for the participation of the CMA thugs in this murderous attack.

The CMA is not the only private fascist organization assisting Reagan's war effort in Central America. The notorious *Soldier of Fortune* magazine has been sending dozens of "trainers" to the Salvadoran army forces according to the editor of that rag. And the arch-fascist Veterans of Foreign Wars is trying to raise funds for the *contras*.

Leading us none returned, the Reagan administration has also resorted to bookkeeping tricks to get

Solidarity with the Workers and Peasants of Nicaragua!

Contribute to the Campaign for the Nicaraguan Workers' Press!

Today the Nicaraguan revolution is under siege from U.S. imperialism and the U.S.-backed counterrevolution. This calls for the workers and progressive people in the U.S. to link arms with the revolutionary masses of Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan revolution has been created by the workers and poor peasants. It is they who suffered most under Somoza, who mounted the barricades of the insurrection, and who today form the bulwark in the war against the U.S.-backed *contras*. It is the workers and toilers who have a great stake in carrying forward the revolution against the exploitation and poverty they suffer at the hands of the rich exploiters.

The party of the working class, MAP/ML, which played an important role in the workers' struggle against the Somoza tyranny, is today organizing the working masses as an independent class force to carry forward the revolution.

The workers' press plays an important role in the struggle inside Nicaragua. It shows how to build up the strongest defense against the U.S.-organized aggression. It shows how to combat the treacherous big bourgeoisie. And it works to free the masses from the illusions fostered by the petty-bourgeois Sandinista government.

The Marxist-Leninist Party is organizing a political and financial campaign to support the Nicaraguan workers' press. It calls on all workers and anti-imperialist activists to participate in this concrete act of solidarity with the Nicaraguan working masses.

Please send your contributions to:

CAMPAIGN FOR NICARAGUAN WORKERS' PRESS
P.O. Box 30272 • Jefferson Station • Chicago, IL 60630

Campaign to support the Nicaraguan workers' press Off to a good start

The Workers' Advocate is pleased to report that the Campaign for the Nicaraguan Workers' Press is off to a good start. The funds raised have made possible the first shipments of supplies to Managua, making a modest contribution to filling the great needs of the Nicaraguan workers' press in the face of the brutal blockade of U.S. imperialism.

Printing press supplies have made up the bulk of these first shipments. Part of these supplies have already been sent and the remainder is about to be sent. This includes 250 offset printing plates, and lithographic film and some 20 gallons of chemicals for burning and developing the plates. It also

includes fountain solution for the press. These supplies have become very difficult and expensive to acquire in Nicaragua and some have become simply unavailable. Hopefully, these first shipments will keep the workers' press at least supplied with the printing plates and chemicals it needs in the next months.

Other materials were also sent. This included such essentials as 12 typewriter ribbons, camera film and 200 sheets of photo paper, and a tape recorder and transcription equipment.

The purchase cost of these first shipments was \$1,872.32, and the shipping cost so far was \$273.29, amounting to a total of \$2,145.62.

ism's military aggression. The bourgeoisie is the class which, after five years of revolution, is most strengthened, most organized, thanks to the concessions given to it by Sandinism. Each concession is translated into better and greater opportunities for the bourgeoisie to develop itself. We are already seeing the consequences of this.

In this direction the Movement of Popular Action/Marxist-Leninist is the only party which has declared itself against entering the ceasefire for the parties of the Sacaza Coordinating Committee to register, and which is against the postponement of the elections. These decisions taken by the Sandinista Front behind the backs of the masses, have as their goal the creation of better conditions for the bourgeoisie to participate in the electoral process. The false argument of the Sandinistas, first by giving concessions to the *contras* and then by giving them to the imperialist aggression, falls under its own weight. Imperialism knows that the more it intensifies its levels of aggression, the more terrain it will win in the negotiations. If the FSLN con-

tinues on this path, it will not lose its power in a war, it will hand it over to a negotiating table.

Finally, we call on the workers, on the proletariat to mobilize themselves against the bourgeoisie, to narrow the framework on which the bourgeoisie operates that the Sandinistas are determined to open. In this mobilization the workers must put into action all of their forces, all the methods of political and ideological struggle. They must develop their organization and participation in the militias. They must demand a positive response to their demands. There is no need to wait for the formation of the popular assembly of representatives of workers, peasants, [members of the popular church], villagers, soldiers -- we have to begin forming the organs of power of the working class. We have to take away from the bourgeoisie the space it has been winning. Not one vote for the bourgeoisie, for imperialism.

Central Committee of MAP/ML
September 25, 1984

(Translated by The Workers' Advocate staff.) □

more aid to the *contras*. One example involves the planes used in the September 1 raid. Congressional officials started by sending these planes to the Reagan administration exceeded the generous \$24 million approved by Congress for the *contras*. Reagan accomplished this, they say, by having the Pentagon give the planes to the CIA free of charge. (New York Times, September 24, 1984, p. 7) In this way no extra expenditure would appear on the books.

More Empty Posturing From the Democratic Party "Opposition"

The shooting down of the U.S. mercenaries has led to a new round of

posturing by the Democratic Party as opponents of Reagan's aggression. Tip O'Neill and other congressional Democrats are waiting for the Reagan's use of private aid in violating the will of Congress. But this is the latest in hypocrisy. The Democratic-controlled House approved \$24 million for the *contras* in 1982. While the Democrats have since voted against additional aid requests by Reagan, this does not mean they have given up their support for U.S. intervention against Nicaragua. There is only another quarter over method, with Reagan dividing the aid to the *contras* between direct support and indirect conditions, and the Demo-

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