

Nicaraguans mobilize to defend their country from U.S. threats

Unions, youth, women organize in Managua

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The workers and peasants of this country are mobilizing to show their determination to defend Nicaragua's sovereignty and its revolution from U.S. aggression.

In the wake of Washington's provocative threats to take military action if Nicaragua received Soviet-built MIG jet fighters, the Sandinista government has mobilized thousands in defense preparations.

Speaking to reporters at the International Press Club here on November 10, government leader Daniel Ortega refuted Reagan administration charges that Nicaragua is constantly "crying wolf." He said that sounding the alarm about the danger of a direct military attack, and mobilizing the people to defeat it, can be decisive in preventing such an escalation of the U.S. war of aggression.

"If the Nicaraguan people do not have an attitude of determination to confront this military intervention and persuade the United States of the cost of that intervention," Ortega said, "and if there is not a firm attitude on the part of international public opinion, on the part of the governments of the world, then we will see ourselves at any moment involved in a situation of direct military confrontation with the United States."

Ortega also denounced the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, which claims the right to decide what armaments Nicaragua may or may not have, at the same time that it is attacking Nicaragua through CIA-organized mercenaries and is threatening to use its own armed power against the country.

He pointed out that the list of military equipment the United States government considers "offensive" includes the weapons that have proved most effective against the CIA bands, such as the Soviet-made BM-21 multiple rocket launchers.

He reiterated Nicaragua's position that it has the sovereign right to obtain all the military equipment it needs. "We will continue to defend at any cost our right to ob-

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Behind U.S. support for 'contras'

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Nicaraguan working people in the capital city of Managua have mobilized in recent weeks to defend their country against U.S. aggression. The U.S. government and media say there is no need for such mobilizations; that there is no threat to Nicaragua; rather, the Sandinistas are the ones threatening peace and security throughout Central America.

Washington says the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) is turning Nicaragua into a giant Soviet military base, endangering the whole region. To stop them, say U.S. officials, the U.S. government needs to rapidly increase military aid to "our friends" in Central America, including the CIA-organized army of Nicaraguan exiles called *contras*. These "freedom fighters" — as President Reagan has called them — are simply trying to liberate Nicaragua from Sandinista "totalitarianism."

What are the facts?

In 1979 a revolution took place in Nicaragua that overthrew the dictatorship of

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Hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans attended wrap-up campaign rally for Sandinista National Liberation Front. Contrary to image given in U.S. big-business media, the Nicaraguan government is a popular government which enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants.

Massive Black revolt rips S. Africa

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Massive Black protests have rocked South Africa the last several months. This rebellion has been the largest and broadest revolt against the apartheid regime since 1976. Protests against a constitutional "reform" by the South African regime, outrage at the government's crackdown on opponents of apartheid, anger over increased rents and utility rates, and other grievances have fueled the rebellion.

A successful two-day general strike by Black workers on November 5 and 6 highlighted the current upsurge. It was the largest political strike in South Africa in decades.

The general strike was the culmination of weeks of protest by Africans, Indians, and Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry). Twenty-four million Africans, 2.8 million

Coloureds, and more than 800,000 Indians make up South Africa's Black population. One of the significant characteristics marking the present upsurge is the increased unity among the different Black sectors.

Since May elementary and high school students have been boycotting classes off and on to protest the regime's racist educational system. By October some 220,000 African students were on strike.

Along with the student protests there was increased strike activity by Black trade unions, which have undergone phenomenal growth since 1976. While tens of thousands of Black workers were organized into unions at the time of the last Black revolt, hundreds of thousands are now organized — a larger number of organized Black workers than at any time in the country's history.

Coupled with this, the South African regime also faced continuing rebellions in the Black townships. Looking for a way to sow divisions among South African Blacks and undermine international opposition to the apartheid system, the South African rulers pushed through a constitutional "reform" that made superficial changes in their government. The "liberalized" constitution set up three houses of parliament — one each for whites, Indians, and Coloureds. Only the whites had decisive vote. Africans weren't allowed to vote in the September elections.

The overwhelming majority of Coloureds and Indians rejected this hoax and boycotted the elections. Only 18 percent of the eligible Black voters showed up at the polls.

The apartheid regime responded with a brutal crackdown on all Black protest. The repression became more and more massive throughout October. On October 23 at least 7,000 cops and soldiers swept through Sebokeng and other Black townships. In their house-to-house search of Sebokeng — a town of 162,000 Blacks — the South African armed forces grinded 120,000 people and arrested 349.

Meanwhile, South African government officials were travelling around the world garnering new support in the imperialist capitals. South African Pres. Pieter Botha toured Western Europe. And recently the regime's foreign minister, Roelof Botha, arrived in Israel for several days of talks with Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

South African cops and troops have killed at least 160 Blacks since September. Among the hundreds arrested were leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), a broad coalition of anti-apartheid groups.

The UDF, formed in August 1983, has more than 600 member organizations, including trade unions, student groups, community groups, women's organizations, and others. The combined membership of the groups in the UDF numbers more than 2 million.

One of the UDF's affiliates, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), has played a central role in the African student protests that followed the elections. COSAS, which organizes several hundred thousand African elementary and high school youth, links the students' demands to the broader fight for Black majority rule.

On October 27, COSAS put out a call for a two-day general strike in Transvaal province on November 5 and 6. COSAS joined with the Release Mandela Committee, the Federation of South African Women, and several trade unions to form the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, which organized the strike.

The demands of the strike were for withdrawal of the army and police from the townships; a stop to rent and bus fare increases; resignation of all community councilors; release of all political prisoners and detainees; reinstatement of all dismissed workers, and an end to unfair taxation.

This strike marked the first time in the current upsurge that major unions — including the Council of Unions of South Af-

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Campaign mounts to scuttle Boston school desegregation

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — The long-running campaign to dismantle court-ordered school desegregation here took an ominous step forward on November 5 when the *Boston Globe* slammed the current busing plan as "unworkable" and called for its complete restructuring.

The *Globe* editorial capped months of activity aimed at taking apart the desegregation plan, which was ordered in 1974. The plan was won in sustained struggle by

The recent events included secret meetings of a variety of school department, Boston School Committee, and Black community figures who have been converging around a belief that "desegregation" has been a "failure."

In late October, Larry Johnson, an attorney for some Black parents who serve as plaintiffs in the desegregation case, and lawyers for the Boston School Committee stated they are now "closer to a meeting of the minds than either party previously thought possible."

This "closeness" is based on a rejection of court-ordered busing by Johnson — who favors a "community control" plan based on "freedom of choice" — and by the Boston School Committee, which has always opposed busing when used to achieve equal

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the Boston Black community in defiance of racist mobs, as well as political opposition which ran from the White House to local elected officials.

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — The workforce in many of the garment shops here organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) is largely Spanish-speaking. But last week a socialist sales team at one ACTWU shop sold more copies of the *Militant* than of the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"One woman who spoke only Spanish simply pointed to the *Militant* headline, 'U.S. gov't prepares military attack against Nicaragua,' and bought it," reported one team member. Whether she would work on it with a dictionary or have someone translate it, that worker was eager to get that issue of the *Militant*.

There was a new interest, explained another team member. "It is no longer just socialists or Nicaraguans talking about the

war. It is much more of reality to people."

Not every Spanish-speaking worker, of course, supports the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Salvadoran rebels. "Spanish-speaking workers are the target of the same U.S. propaganda as everyone else," explained Miguel, who sells the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at a complex of garment shops in Brooklyn.

Miguel described one Nicaraguan who buys every issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. "Sometimes he has questions about how much Soviet aid the Nicaraguans are getting. Other times he is very pessimistic about the chances of Nicaragua's survival. But we talk and he buys *Perspectiva Mundial*."

Sales at garment shops pose some unusual difficulties. The language barrier is difficult for some teams. While English-speaking teams can sell *Perspectiva Mundial* and distribute Spanish-language literature, it is harder to

have long discussions unless at least one team member can speak Spanish.

In addition, many of New York's garment shops are small and scattered. The teams sell at relatively larger and union-organized shops.

In cases where the owner hangs out in front of the factory before work, or the shop is particularly small and isolated, teams have decided it would be unnecessarily provocative to sell right in front of the door. They sell at a nearby corner, still focusing their sales and discussions on workers from the shop.

Teams are trying to work out these language and logistical difficulties, though. Plant-gate teams at garment shops are an important way to reach this super-exploited layer of the workforce with socialist ideas.

Diane Wang is a laid-off garment worker.



Workers in Brooklyn garment shop. New York *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* teams sell at several ACTWU- and ILGWU-organized shops.

Campaign against Boston school desegregation mounts

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educational opportunities for Blacks.

Johnson's stance, announced as early as a couple of years ago, is a reflection of big pressures exerted on Black students in Boston, who since the buses began to roll have been the target of the unrelenting attacks on desegregation.

The racist resistance — which continues to this day — of foes of Black equality at all levels of city government and the school system, has prompted some in the Black community to hope such problems facing Black youth can be eased by backing away from desegregation.

Federal District Judge W. Arthur Gar-

rrity, who first ordered desegregation and then took over enforcement of it because of the openly obstructionist role of the school committee, announced he was releasing two of the 12 aspects of administration of the school system from under his authority. Garrity said he would like to be out of the school system entirely by the end of the current school year.

But such a withdrawal, Boston NAACP attorney Thomas Atkins stated, "would likely be perceived as a victory for those who have either refused or failed to comply [with the court order] as a crushing defeat for the children who were the intended beneficiaries of the original orders."

Likewise, Atkins, the central leader of the 1970s battle to desegregate the schools here, opposes the "freedom of choice" scheme raised by attorney Johnson.

While the *Boston Globe's* frontal attack on desegregation restated in a sharper fashion its laments about the "failure" of busing, it also gave currency to the standard argument of those who opposed the plan in 1974, as racist mobs stoned buses bearing Black students.

This national voice of liberalism stated, "A substantial rethinking of how to meet the ultimate goals of the original desegregation order — quality education for all Boston students — is required."

The real aim of the desegregation order, however, was to achieve equality in education for Black students, who, for a century of public education in Boston, had been illegally and unconstitutionally deprived of this right by a school system shown to be guilty of racist discrimination.

"Quality education" was the polite codeword used by racists to conceal the real message of their movement, one organized and led from City Hall chambers by Democratic Party officeholders: "Keep the niggers out."

The *Globe*, however, fails to mention Black students once in its editorial.

With the gang-up on desegregation mounting, news reports indicate an agreement may be announced soon on the first stages of dismantling the busing program.

The 1984 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Christine Gauvreau, sounded the alarm at the close of her campaign in speeches to students at Harvard University and an election night rally at her campaign headquarters, as well as in a special campaign statement circulated to the media across Massachusetts and to local Black and Latino community leaders.

"Today," Gauvreau, a member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201, stated, "more than ever, what is needed is an effort to get out the truth, to counter the arguments of the federal government, the city administration, and the *Globe*, to explain what desegregation really is, why it remains necessary, and how it has benefited Blacks and all students."

"This kind of campaign," she told supporters on election night, "can clarify the issues and prepare defenders of desegregation to respond to the drive of those who want to turn back the clock in Boston and around the country on the Black community's fight for equality."

Massive Black rebellion rips South Africa

Continued from front page

rica and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) — carried out a political strike.

"Our members wanted to demonstrate their discontent and it was impossible for the union to just stand by any longer," said Alec Erwin, a spokesperson for the 150,000-member FOSATU.

The November 5-6 general strike was a great success, with at least one million Black workers staying home. They were joined by hundreds of thousands of students who boycotted classes.

Demonstrations took place in Black townships throughout the Transvaal, the industrial heartland of South Africa. Some Blacks expressed their anger over their oppression by destroying any symbol of white domination they ran into — taverns were burned, and Black cops and other collaborators with the apartheid regime were

punished.

Rev. Frank Chikane, a UDF official, said the group was "overwhelmed by the success" of the strike.

The government's response to the strike came immediately in the form of rubber bullets, tear gas, and buckshot that cops used against Black demonstrators. Twenty-four people were killed in the two days of cop violence.

The apartheid regime cracked down in other ways too. The state-run oil-from-coal operation, Sasol, fired its 6,000 workers for their participation in the strike.

On November 8, cops raided the offices of the UDF, COSAS, and FOSATU. The cops rifled through files, seized documents, and arrested several leaders of the general strike. Among those arrested were Thami Mali, chairman of the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee; Moses Mayekiso, a leader of the Metal and Allied

Workers Union; Themba Nonhlantane, an official of the Municipal Workers Union; Peter Mogopa, regional chairman of COSAS; and Obed Bapela, also from COSAS.

A key aspect of the government's attacks is the smear campaign it's waging against organizers of the protests. Government officials constantly claim the mass ferment is the result of "outside agitators" or "subversives" sent into the country by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South African Communist Party, which is allied with the ANC. The South African rulers have hinted that the UDF is simply a front for the ANC.

Since the ANC, which is the major national liberation organization fighting for Black majority rule, is banned in South Africa, government assertions that the UDF is an ANC front amount to a threat to ban it also. Such a move would mark a qualitative deepening of the regime's crackdown.

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Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

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

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U.S. workers condemn war on Nicaragua

BY PATTY HIYAMA
AND JERRY FREIWIRTH

MIAMI — At an emergency news conference on November 11 at Miami airport, industrial workers from the United States and Canada who had just returned from a two-week tour of Nicaragua denounced Washington's war moves against that Central American nation.

The press conference was attended by the NBC, CBS, and ABC television affiliates in Miami, as well as an independent TV station and two radio stations. It received substantial coverage on the evening news here.

The tour of 38 North American workers was sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc. Most tour members were industrial workers, members of such major unions as the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers of America, International Association of Machinists, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The press focused on the fact that the tour had been able to go to two out of the three major war zones in Nicaragua.

Dick McBride of Houston, a former transit worker and one of the two coordinators of the tour, commented, "What we saw in Nicaragua was a country at war. Not a civil war but a war directly led, financed, and organized by the U.S. government.

"We saw the damage that the U.S.-backed *contras* [counterrevolutionaries] have been able to inflict on schools, factories, and farms. We attended funerals for civilians killed by the *contras*. We saw mortar fire in the mountains at night and heard gunfire.

"Virtually everyone we talked with has a relative or knows someone who has been killed or wounded in this ongoing war. For instance, we were told that over 1,000 *campesinos* [peasants] in the Matagalpa region near the Honduran border have been killed in the last year.

"But the Nicaraguan people are not taking this lying down. Just the opposite. Almost to a person they are determined to

fight to defend their country and their revolution. And they are organized — massively — to do just that.

"And in spite of the terrible damages that have been inflicted on the people, workers and farmers in Nicaragua continue to make great progress."

McBride pointed to such gains as free medical and dental care, available even in remote rural areas; free education that has cut the illiteracy rate from over 50 percent under the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza to less than 12 percent; the legalization of trade unions so that 87 percent of all workers are now union members, and the giving of land to the peasantry, along with machinery and credit. The small amount of resources that are available are being used to meet the needs of the workers and peasants.

Ellie Garcia, a steelworker and former Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from St. Paul, Minnesota, explained that "in the midst of this war, and threats of greatly increased war, Nicaragua held an enormously successful election. We got to see this up close, talking freely to anyone we wished. These elections were the most free and democratic elections any member of our tour had ever personally witnessed."

Pat Silverthorn, a transit worker from Miami and National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, told reporters that tour members had pledged to return to their respective cities and "tell the truth about the war and the Nicaraguan revolution."

"Most of us plan to give reports to our union locals or to coworkers in the factories where we work," she said. "We will hold more news conferences. We will speak to Black and women's groups. We want to present the real picture of what the working people and peasantry in Nicaragua have accomplished. And we want to explain to workers and small farmers in the U.S. why we have no interest in supporting Washington's war against our brothers and sisters there."



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Unionists from United States talk to Nicaraguan coffee workers earlier this year on a farm formerly owned by Somoza. North American workers who visit Nicaragua are able to see gains workers and farmers have made through their revolution.

'Militant' gets out truth on war

BY TOM LEONARD

Although November 17 marks the final date of our five-week campaign to sell 15,000 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials*, we continue to get reports of increased sales, which bode well for distribution of the revolutionary press beyond November 17.

Now is the time to push *Militant* and *PM* sales to help answer the U.S. government lies about Nicaragua and to get out the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution. Working people are open to discussions and are looking for some answers.

An Atlanta Saturday sales team reported that 47 people bought the *Militant*, largely because of interest in the recent escalation of the U.S. war against Nicaragua. In response to this interest, Atlanta sales people increased their *Militant* order to 150.

We had a similar response from Phoenix, where 11 people bought the *Militant* on one street sale because of the headline on the U.S. threat against Nicaragua.

Los Angeles socialists sold out their *Militants* last week for the same reason. Even though this long weekend is the Thanksgiving holiday, they raised their *Militant* and *PM* order to 250 so as to reach more readers.

Reports from industrial workers who distribute the *Militant* and *PM* on the job say that more workers are concerned and want to discuss the war. They seem to be especially interested in learning why the U.S. government wants to destroy the Nicaraguan government and the revolution it is leading.

One coal miner reported that when the fake reports first broke that Soviet-built MIG jet fighters were on their way to Nicaragua, a number of young miners on her job spoke out against the idea of being sent to fight and die in Central America. One worker went out of his way to ask where he could learn more about Nicaragua. She started him out by selling him a copy of the *Militant*.

Members of the International Association of Machinists in Portland, Oregon, said that some union members who had worn Mondale buttons before the elections tended to have a cynical response to the escalation. On the other hand, many young workers want to talk about the war. Socialists in Portland said that when they went out on street sales, 61 people bought the *Militant* because of its Nicaraguan coverage.

The Houston branch of the Socialist Workers Party sold 165 *Militants* and 34 *PMs* in the past week, including 19 at plant gates. In addition to the increased interest in Nicaragua, they also sold 29 at Texas Southern University, a Black campus in Houston. The students were interested in the *Militant's* Grenada coverage, especially because of the recent arrest by Immigration cops of Dessima Williams, former

Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States.

A team from St. Louis traveled to the town of Boss, Missouri, to talk to workers at a United Auto Workers-organized solidarity meeting for 1,200 lead miners who are members of the United Steelworkers Union. Most of the unionists there were striking miners who have been on the picket lines for more than six months.

They were also interested in what is going on in Central America. A supporter of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador addressed the meeting, appealing for backing to a Salvadoran teacher, Marta Alicia Rivera, who is seeking political asylum in this country. After the meeting, 120 union members signed a petition for Rivera. In addition, five of them bought subscriptions to the *Militant*.

At a Rivera support meeting at the University of Missouri at Kansas City, 10 *Militants* were sold to student members of the newly formed campus Committee Against Intervention in Central America, which helped build the meeting.

We have some reports of good sales at emergency antiwar demonstrations called in response to the latest U.S. government threats against Nicaragua. Among the most successful were at an emergency picket line of 150 in Salt Lake City. Socialists sold 61 *Militants* and 5 *Young Socialists* there. In San Francisco a sales team quickly sold out the 17 *Militants* they had brought with them to the action.

International harvest brigades to aid Nicaragua

The Nicaragua Exchange, a project of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, is organizing brigades of U.S. citizens to aid in the Nicaraguan coffee and cotton harvests. They will be joining thousands of others from throughout the world as part of an international response to the emergency situation facing Nicaragua brought on by U.S. aggression.

The brigades are scheduled to begin late this month and continue through the end of January. The brigades will vary in length from two and three weeks to a full month.

Volunteers are expected to pay their own way. Approximate cost for the full month program is \$700 from Miami, including airfare.

Across the country local Nicaragua and Central America solidarity committees and former *brigadistas* are helping to publicize the brigades, raise funds, and recruit applicants.

For more information on the brigades, promotional brochures, and information on how to apply, call or write the Nicaragua Exchange, 239 Centre St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 219-8620.

Protests denounce new U.S. threats

BY TOM LEONARD

In response to the U.S. government's recent escalation of its threats against Nicaragua, several emergency public protests were held across the country. They were organized by a wide variety of solidarity, antiwar, and peace groups.

In addition, a few meetings and actions by trade unionists, especially those who have recently visited Nicaragua, took place. A high percentage of the participants in all these activities were young people.

On November 10, the Bay Area Labor Network on Central America (BALNCA) sponsored a meeting in San Francisco attended by 250 people, the majority of whom were union members.

In addition to a slide show, trade unionists who had just returned from Nicaragua gave favorable reports on their visit. They included George Popyack, international vice-president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Luisa Blue, president of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 390/400; Juan Lombard, president of SEIU Local 616; and Amado David, chairperson of BALNCA. The Labor Network has organized a similar meeting for San Jose on November 17.

A number of union members also understand that the war in Central America is union business, requiring action and belonging on the agenda at union meetings. In Portland, Oregon, for example, Local 10 of the International Brotherhood of Painters invited Nita Brueggerman of the Portland Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean (PLCCAC) to speak at their November 11 membership meeting. Brueggerman was part of the same recent tour of U.S. unionists to Nicaragua that the speakers at the San Francisco meeting participated in.

Markie Wilson, another member of PLCCAC, was also present for this point on the local agenda. She reported that "the 40-minute report and discussion with the 20 members present received rapt attention — you could have heard a pin drop. Finally the meeting chairperson had to remind the members that they had other points on the agenda."

A member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), also from Portland, told the *Militant* how workers in her garment shop responded to the recent escalation of Washington's anti-Nicaragua propaganda and war threats. "The shop had been discussing the Nicaraguan revolution for a month and a half, because the union business agent had gone on a delegation to Nicaragua and had reported to the local on the gains the workers have made there," she said.

Right after the story broke that Washington was threatening some kind of military strike against Nicaragua if they had Soviet-built jet fighters, she continued, "the workers listened to news reports all morning. We decided at first break to send a telegram to Reagan. We put together the wording at the lunch table: 'As ACTWU members we demand that you stop U.S. attacks and war plans against Nicaragua. Workers there and here want peace.'"

"Then we called the local's business agent, who agreed to call up other ACTWU locals in the area to do the same thing."

Emergency demonstrations took place in a number of cities.

In both Los Angeles and San Francisco, there were demonstrations of more than 500. In New York City, 300 people participated. In Albany, New York, 200 demonstrated in front of the armory in a snow storm.

Boston reported a noon time demonstration on November 8 of 300, and Denver had a similar one of 200.

In Washington, D.C., more than 200 people demonstrated in front of the White House, and in Salt Lake City 150 demonstrated in front of the Federal Building.

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—YSA CAMPAIGNS FOR SOCIALISM—

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

The U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean, and its relation to the U.S. presidential elections were the main topic young people wanted to discuss with me on my recent trip to Europe.

I attended the congresses of youth organizations affiliated to the Fourth International in Denmark, West Germany, and Sweden as a representative of their sister organization in the United States, the Young Socialist Alliance. The Fourth International is an international revolutionary socialist organization.

In Denmark, I also did a public speaking tour sponsored by the Socialist Youth Alliance. People there had many questions about U.S. politics, the situation in Central America, and what kind of activities socialists in the United States are involved in.

The Nicaraguan revolution was very popular among the young people I met. Many were worried about what impact the U.S.-financed counterrevolutionary war was having on Nicaragua.

I told them that I believed Washington will directly intervene with its own troops at some point

in Central America. This statement took a number of people aback.

"But doesn't Washington run a big risk in invading Central America? After all, they were defeated in Vietnam. Won't they pay a big political price? European workers would be very angry about such war moves. Are U.S. working people for or against Washington's foreign policy?" These were some of the questions I was asked.

I explained that it has been the goal of the U.S. capitalist class to overturn the Nicaraguan revolution ever since the workers and farmers triumphed in July 1979. The revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada were an inspiration to working people around the globe. This is what accounts for the U.S. government's invasion of Grenada and war against Nicaragua.

The U.S. has been financing the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, or *contras* as they are called in Spanish. But these mercenaries have not been able to win a base of support among Nicaraguan working people. It's because the *contras* are losing the war that the U.S. government must eventually

invade Nicaragua.

Washington's defeat in Vietnam did not cause the U.S. ruling class to conclude that they should never wage war to stop revolutions. In fact, just the opposite. The stakes in Vietnam were very high because there also it was a question of an advancing socialist revolution, just as in Central America today.

The U.S. rulers believe it was correct to have waged war against Vietnam — they just wish they had won. And they intend to do the same thing again — this time, in Central America.

The fact that Washington will pay a big political price, both at home and abroad, for such a war will not prevent them from doing it anyway — because they must.

I described the intensifying pro-war propaganda campaign the ruling class is waging inside the United States to convince working people that the war in Central America is in their interests.

My tour took place before the U.S. elections. I was often asked what it would mean if Reagan were reelected. Would this signify mass support for his war policies? A number of people I talked with

believed that Mondale was more for peace, while Reagan was clearly for war.

First, I pointed out that there was no fundamental political difference between these two capitalist candidates or their parties. They are both owned and run by the capitalists, and both carry out the policies of the ruling rich.

I described how Mondale had recently endorsed the U.S. invasion of Grenada and threatened to "quarantine" Nicaragua.

Most working people who vote for Reagan, I predicted, would do so because his administration had presided over an upturn in the economy. A reelection of Reagan, I said, would not signal mass support by U.S. workers for war.

Several people wanted to know if an antiwar movement existed in the United States today.

I told them that although an antiwar movement did not yet exist, many important solidarity and antiwar actions have taken place, including with some initial involvement by the trade unions. This can help prepare the way for the future movement that will arise to help Central American workers and farmers beat back U.S. im-



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

YSA leader Judy Stranahan

perialism. I expressed confidence that workers, especially Blacks and Latinos, will be in the forefront of that movement.

Judy Stranahan is a National Committee member of the YSA.

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

British miners launch new solidarity campaign

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

SHEFFIELD, England — The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) Special Delegate Conference, meeting in Sheffield on November 5, unanimously voted to launch a new campaign to reach the rank and file of the labor movement. The delegates were also unanimous in endorsing the stand of union Pres. Arthur Scargill, General Secretary Peter Heathfield, and Vice-pres. Michael McGahey in the negotiations with the National Coal Board (NCB), which broke down again last week.

Speaking on ITN "News At One" the

following day, Scargill explained, "We are fighting to save our jobs. We're fighting to save our communities. There is no more noble aim than that."

"My appeal to all trade unionists, at rank-and-file level, is to give the same support to the miners' union that the CBI [Confederation of British Industry], the Institute of Directors, and the Tory [Conservative Party] government are giving to the Coal Board. If they give that same kind of support to us, we can't lose this battle."

Coal miners here have been on strike for nine months over a government plan to

close down 20 of Britain's nationalized mines, a move which would throw 20,000 miners out of work. One key section of workers to whom miners are looking to for solidarity met in Doncaster on November 3. The National Joint Shop Stewards Power Workers Committee, representing 85,000 manual workers in electricity supply, demanded their national unions call actions in support of the NUM.

According to Scargill, Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) members at 14 power stations are now backing the Trades Union Congress (TUC) policy

adopted in September of refusing to handle scab coal or oil.

In the aftermath of the breakdown in negotiations, the NCB has renewed its "back to work" offensive, with promises that £1,400 (approximately \$1,750) wages, tax free, can be earned by Christmas by scabs returning to work right away.

The NUM recently organized five major rallies in Edinburgh, Sheffield, Newcastle, Aberavon, and Birmingham to reach into the mining villages and communities to counteract the propaganda drive by the Conservative government and NCB.

The miners executive had invited Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock to address each meeting. This he refused to do, with the unanimous support of the Labor Party parliamentary leadership. Kinnock claimed that he had "prior engagements," which could not be broken. Instead, Kinnock proposed that a Labor Party meeting be organized for the end of November and that at least two members of the party's parliamentary leadership attend each of the NUM rallies.

The miners' determined struggle to defend jobs and stop mine closures is inspiring other sectors of workers to fight back. The car industry is currently witnessing a wave of militancy that hasn't been seen for five years.

At Vauxhall, a General Motors subsidiary, workers waged a victorious two-week strike. They won a substantially improved one-year pay deal worth 13 percent. Seven thousand workers at the recently privatized Jaguar cars went on strike October 30 for a £25 (approximately \$31) increase. At Austin Rover, 28,000 workers struck on November 5 after rejecting a 4.5 percent wage offer. The 41,500 Ford workers are in the final stage of their wage negotiations.

The employers have reacted by taking court actions under the 1984 Trade Union Act. This requires a ballot one month before any industrial action. At Jaguar and Austin Rover the unions organized mass meetings to decide whether to strike.

OCAW local strikes over sex discrimination

BY TERRY HARDY

PLAQUEMINES PARISH, La. — It was no surprise to the management of the Mississippi River Grain Elevator here that their secretarial staff was fed up with sexual harassment, job discrimination, and completely arbitrary work rules and disciplinary policies. The 11 secretaries had complained about these things for years.

What did surprise them was what these women did to change their situation. They organized themselves into a unit of Local 4-447 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). Local 4-447 is an amalgamated local which represents

workers in several major plants in the New Orleans area.

A few more jolts were in store for the employers at Mississippi River Grain Elevators, which is part of a shipping firm with headquarters in Ravenna, Italy. The women workers, angry from nine months of company stonewalling in negotiations, walked off the job late in the afternoon on October 26 and set up a picket line.

The response from the predominantly Black work force of 90 production workers — all men — was immediate. These workers, part of another unit of Local 4-447, honored the picket line and pledged their full support to the strike. In addition all the workers on the plant's loading docks, members of the International Longshoreman's Association, refused to cross the line.

The facility was completely shut down. After two weeks the huge storage areas and loading machinery remained relatively inactive despite frantic attempts by management to acquire scabs. This is a busy season for area operators as great quantities of summer wheat and bean crops come down the Mississippi to New Orleans for transfer to ocean-going vessels.

The women have set up two round-the-clock picket lines — one by the land entrance to the plant, the other on the river entrance.

"Support from men from other plants has been tremendous," said Dot Boudreaux, chairwoman for the union. She had put in a 12-hour shift picketing on the cold, rainy night before. A few hours' rest and she was back on the line. "Dozens of workers from Chevron Chemical, American Cyanamid, National Gypsum, and other places have come out to picket with us," she said.

"The company acted immediately to find ways to limit the effective picket lines. The male production employees were told that any who walked the line with the women would be fired. The production workers now play a supportive role by 'standing the area' of the picket line and keeping a strike

headquarters staffed 24 hours a day.

The company called in surveyors who painted a broad yellow line across the plant entrance road. With several Plaquemines Parish sheriff's deputies waiting to swoop down, the women were forbidden to step over this division between plant property and public property. State officials then got into the act by informing the women and their supporters that they didn't have the right to picket on state property and would only "temporarily allow" the picketers to carry on their activity.

Further attempts to intimidate the women, including the brandishing of automatic weapons by deputies and use of sophisticated spying equipment, have all failed. The women are more determined than ever to stay out until they get a contract and the company agrees to treat them with the respect they have fought so hard for.

They want an end to the employers' sexist practices. One of the key demands is that seniority rights be established so that they can fight on clear grounds management's divisive and arbitrary promotion practices. This would help protect the women from the bosses' sexual harassment.

In addition, they have exposed racist hiring policies. The strikers point out that there is not even one Black worker on the regular office staff.

The women want full recognition of the union they have established to protect their rights. Picket captain Valerie Bourgeois told the *Militant* how she really missed her five-year-old child whom she hadn't seen in three days. "But no way am I going back to work with conditions as they were before." Then she quickly excused herself to intercept and turn back a telephone company repair truck that had just come off the highway.

Terry Hardy is a member of OCAW Local 4-522 at the Tenneco refinery in Chalmette, Louisiana.



OCAW pickets in front of Mississippi River Grain Elevator.

Woman's Evolution

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Behind the U.S. support to 'contras'

Continued from front page

Anastasio Somoza. The Somoza family had ruled the country ever since it was installed in power by Washington in the 1930s.

Somoza's rule guaranteed the profits of U.S. corporate owners with investments in Nicaragua. It also guaranteed poverty, disease, and exploitation for the workers and peasants of the country.

Under Somoza, more than half the population could not read. The infant mortality rate was nine times that of the United States. Life expectancy was about 50 years.

In Managua, 87 percent of the population lacked either running water, electricity, or paved streets. Only 6 percent of the workers had unions. Unemployment ranged from 30 to 50 percent.

In the countryside, a few wealthy families owned almost half the land. The poorest 50 percent of the peasants owned only 3.4 percent of the land. In 1972, their average family income was \$35.

Hospitals and doctors were out of reach for most working people. In the mid-1970s, only 5 percent of the population had completed elementary school.

Somoza maintained this social and economic inequality through his National Guard. The National Guard had been set up and trained by U.S. officers in 1927, when Nicaragua was under U.S. Marine occupation. The Guard terrorized the population, beating, torturing, or murdering anyone who challenged the dictatorship — from workers trying to form unions, to peasants seeking land, to students demanding their democratic rights.

1979 revolution

In the late 1970s, the Nicaraguan people began to mobilize in large numbers against the dictatorship, led by the fighters of the FSLN. Somoza responded by unleashing the National Guard against the population. These thugs invaded working-class neighborhoods and peasant villages known to be sympathetic to the FSLN. Young men were kidnapped by the guardsmen, mutilated, and left in ravines. Women were raped. Peasants' crops were destroyed.

Somoza's terror tactics did not stop the upsurge against him. When it became clear the masses were going to overthrow him, Somoza ordered the Guard to bomb factories and whole working-class neighborhoods to destroy as much of the country as possible. Then he fled to Miami.

The Nicaraguan revolution triumphed on July 19, 1979. Somoza's government of businessmen and big landlords was replaced by a workers and peasants government led by the FSLN. This government set about the task of rebuilding a country torn by war and plundered by U.S. businessmen for decades.

One of the first steps the new government took was to launch a massive literacy



Barricada/Claudia Gordillo

Funeral for Nicaraguan victims of terror campaign being waged by mercenaries trained and financed by United States government.

crusade. More than 400,000 people learned how to read and write through this effort, in which Nicaragua was aided by volunteer teachers from Cuba.

The FSLN immediately helped workers to form trade unions and defend their rights on the job. The number of workers in unions shot up to 260,000, compared to 27,000 under Somoza. The government intervened in the factories to enforce laws on health and safety, union contracts, and workers' rights.

In addition to raising the minimum wage, the government instituted subsidies for basic food items and rationing, so that rich speculators could not buy up all the supplies and then charge outrageous prices for them.

Hospitals and clinics were built in remote areas of the country where people had never been able to go to a doctor before. Schools were built.

The revolution transformed the lives of peasants. The vast land holdings of Somoza, and those of other big landowners who refused to produce, were taken over by the government and given to peasants without land. Some 30,000 peasant families have benefited from this land-reform program. In addition, the government cancelled the debts of the peasants, something U.S. bankers and government officials would never dream of doing for debt-ridden farmers in this country.

A revolution for democracy

The revolutionary government guaranteed freedom of speech and association, the right to organize unions, equal rights for women, freedom of religion, and the right of Nicaragua's Indian and Black

populations to advance their own cultures and languages.

Hated members of the National Guard who were captured were not executed. The Sandinistas abolished the death penalty and have never reinstated it since, despite the brutal war being waged by ex-guardsmen against the Nicaraguan people today.

To protect the gains the people were making, the government armed the people and set up militias and neighborhood defense committees, something only a popular government that does not fear its citizenry can do.

But the new government was not popular with everyone. National Guard members who escaped the country, and others associated with the old regime, scurried to Miami, where they were welcomed with open arms by the U.S. government, unlike Sandinista officials today who are denied visas by Washington. Other guardsmen fled across the border to Honduras.

Washington feared the example Nicaragua was setting of what a small, impoverished country could do once workers and peasants took power.

In 1980-81, as the revolution advanced further, Washington began organizing the ex-National Guardsmen into military units. In late 1981, the CIA was given \$19 million to directly train and finance a mercenary army, which became known as the contras. In early 1982, the "Nicaraguan Democratic Force" (FDN) announced its existence — the product of the CIA's work.

This "democratic" outfit launched raids into Nicaragua from its bases in Honduras.

What were the targets of these "freedom fighters"? They gunned down Nicaraguan

and Cuban literacy workers. They burned down child-care centers. They blew up grain storage centers. They assassinated peasants who supported the land reform and technicians sent to help the peasants improve their crops.

Washington's support to the contras became more and more open. In Honduras, the U.S. Army began building military bases that could be used to train soldiers, receive troop-transport planes, and supply the mercenaries. The El Aguacate base has been used to direct the war and airlift food and weapons to the contras. The U.S. government also increased its military presence in Costa Rica, where mercenaries were also based. Portraying themselves as "engineers," U.S. personnel built a 2,000-meter airstrip in Los Chiles, Costa Rica, for use by contras led by Edén Pastora.

Washington began organizing huge "military maneuvers" right across the border in Honduras. Some 30,000 GIs have gone through these maneuvers since 1981, aimed at intimidating the Nicaraguans. Honduras itself has been turned into a giant U.S. military base — six new airfields have been built there in the last two years. The Honduran army has flown provocative flights over Nicaragua and Honduran troops have fired into Nicaraguan territory to back up contra raids.

Mining of ports

Last spring, the U.S. government admitted to mining Nicaragua's ports, which resulted in damage to several freighters bringing supplies to that country. U.S. spy planes are making more and more frequent runs over Nicaraguan territory, producing sonic booms that sound like bombing attacks and are aimed at inducing panic in the population.

Meanwhile, the mercenary army has been steadily increased and its firepower upgraded. More than \$150 million in U.S. aid has gone to the contras. Nicaraguan officials now estimate there are as many as 15,000 contras in the CIA's army.

Nicaragua is a country of about 3 million people. What would this kind of war be like in the United States, with a population of 230 million? It would be like an invasion of more than a million troops!

Daniel Ortega, who has just been elected president of Nicaragua in a landslide vote, pointed out last summer that over 7,000 Nicaraguans had been killed in the war by that time. He explained what that meant in U.S. terms:

"The annual proportion of deaths suffered by Nicaragua in three and a half years has been four times greater than the proportion of deaths suffered by the American people in eight and a half years of imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people."

When the Nicaraguan people say they are preparing for a Vietnam-type war — and Washington calls them "paranoid" — it is well to remember that Nicaragua has already been invaded. The U.S. war is on and has been for several years.

Washington's goal is to overthrow the popular government in Nicaragua. The strategy is for the contras to seize a piece of Nicaraguan territory, declare a "provisional government," and send out the call to Washington and neighboring countries for "help."

But the CIA's mercenaries, in over three years of trying, have never been able to take and hold a single town. The armed workers and peasants of Nicaragua have pushed them back each time.

The increased campaign of lies from Washington about a "Soviet arms buildup" in Nicaragua comes now because the Sandinistas have successfully defended their revolution. The U.S. government must escalate the war, and it is trying to prepare the climate of public opinion to do so. Ultimately, Washington will send in U.S. ground troops in an attempt to bring the Sandinista government down. But they are by no means guaranteed victory.

The Nicaraguan people want no return of the National Guard that used to torture them. And they want no return of the Uncle Sam that picked their presidents, stripped their forests of lumber and their mines of precious metals. The Nicaraguans have conquered independence and freedom and they're not about to give that back.

Cops arrest socialist in Toledo

BY GARY BOYERS

TOLEDO — A broad and spirited meeting was held here November 10 to mark the first anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

The nearly 60 people present represented a wide cross section of activists from Toledo's Black community, labor movement, and solidarity committees. The meeting issued a stinging criticism of the continued occupation of Grenada by U.S. troops and denounced the arrest and threatened deportation of former Grenadian ambassador Dessima Williams.

Sponsors of the protest included Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) Pres. Baldemar Velasquez; leaders of Central American and Irish solidarity groups; the National Organization for Women; and Black, church, and peace groups. The event was cochaired by FLOC Secretary-Treasurer Ray Santiago.

The meeting began with a special appeal by Rev. Floyd Rose, Toledo NAACP president, on behalf of Mark Friedman. Friedman, a member of United Auto Workers union Local 12 at Jeep, was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for state assembly

in the recent elections and was one of the chief organizers of the protest meeting. He was arrested by Toledo police earlier in the day on phony "disorderly conduct" and "resisting arrest" charges while publicizing the meeting and distributing the *Militant* on a public sidewalk.

It was through Reverend Rose's intervention that Friedman was released and was able to attend the meeting. Rose protested the arrest, called for solidarity with Friedman, and urged people to attend Friedman's November 20 hearing to see that the charges are dropped.

A news conference protesting the arrest is scheduled for November 19.

The regular program began with a videotape of a June 1983 interview with former Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop on PBS TV.

The first speaker was veteran labor attorney Ed Lamb. Lamb had met a number of leaders of the Grenada revolution including Bishop and Jacqueline Creft. He described several letters he had received from Bishop which outlined some of the New Jewel Movement's plans for Grenada's future. which, Lamb said, "would appeal to any decent human being."

Lamb was involved in a project to build a new TV station in Grenada. He reported that one of the first actions of the U.S. occupation forces was the destruction of that station.

The second speaker was Reverend Rose, pastor of the Family Baptist Church, which hosted the meeting. He began by pointing out that while there remains widespread confusion and disorientation among U.S. workers, including many Blacks, about the invasion of Grenada, they will eventually come to see that their interests are the same as Grenada's workers and farmers rather than those of the U.S. government. He pointed out that the Grenadians in the four and a half years of their revolution had accomplished things that we desperately need here in the United States, such as free health care.

The final speaker was Socialist Workers Party member Melvin Chappell. Chappell is also a member of the National Black Independent Political Party. Chappell discussed the inspiring example that Grenada represented to all working people, especially Blacks and those in the colonial world. It was this example that Washington feared and sought to crush.

U.S. 'brigadistas' see gains Nicaraguans won through revolution

BY BOB MILLER

SOMOTO, Nicaragua — Marvin José López is the name that 52 volunteer workers from the United States took for their reforestation brigade, which spent a month in Nicaragua beginning September 9.

Three months earlier on June 1, 650 U.S. organized and financed counterrevolutionaries, mostly people who had been members of Somoza's hated National Guard, attacked the northern city of Ocotol. At 5 a.m. they killed Marvin José López, the coordinator for IRENA, the Nicaraguan Institute of Natural Resources and the Environment, on his way back to work. By the end of that day, the heroic people of Ocotol would kill 85 *contras* and repel the attack.

Seventeen members of the Marvin José López Brigade spent a month working in Somoto, near Ocotol. We returned to the United States with a better understanding of the determination of the people of Nicaragua as well as the price they are being forced to pay by U.S. imperialism to defend their revolution.

Deforestation

Why is the United States organizing a war against Nicaragua, and what are the changes brought about by the Nicaraguan revolution that Nicaraguans are fighting to defend? A month at the war front in Nicaragua supplied many answers to U.S. brigadistas.

We were working under the direction of IRENA planting trees. Jaime Lacaya, the coordinator for IRENA in Estelí, explained that before the revolution, the lumber export industry, dominated by U.S. corporations, devastated the environment. Now only 10 percent of the land in the area is covered by forests.

The degree of deforestation immediately around Estelí raises the temperature in the city by several degrees. The irrational exploitation of the past has also led to soil erosion due to decreased water retention, degraded cultivation areas, a lack of shade, and dust storms without trees as wind breakers.

In addition, more trees must be planted because they are needed for firewood by most people. IRENA's work, therefore, is to rescue and preserve forests as well as to preserve Nicaragua's sovereignty.

For the brigadistas and IRENA workers as well, work was severely restricted by the war. Over 3,000 *contras* were reported to be between Ocotol and Somoto. There was heightened *contra* activity around Estelí. We could not work where it was most im-

portant and we couldn't leave a city without some armed Nicaraguan coworkers.

Gains of revolution

Outside Estelí, a peasant woman working with the brigadistas explained the positive changes since the revolution. Her wages are higher. Workers now get paid when they can't work because of sickness. There is paid maternity leave as well. There is also better health care, especially for the children.

Improved health care was frequently mentioned as an important change following the revolution. A truck driver in Estelí explained that before 1979 there was no union. Now there is a union, disability payments, sick days, enforcement of wages, and most importantly, no repression.

For Calixto Hernández, the coordinator of UNAG (National Union of Farmers and Ranchers) in Somoto, the most important change after the revolution was the literacy campaign. This campaign, he said, was like cleaning the dust off the mirror that peasants were looking into, totally changing the image that they had of themselves.

According to Hernández, who is 46 and just finished 6th grade, the effect of the literacy campaign was tremendous. "Peasants," he said, "had thought of ourselves as no better than garbage, with no self-assurance or self-respect. Now we have self-assurance and confidence. We had tears in our eyes when the students who had come to teach us left."

Hernández said before the revolution, "a peasant would never speak before a group like this. Before I would shake. Now see how I talk."

Guaranteed prices for peasants

There were other important changes for the peasants, he explained. Under Somoza, prices were organized to keep peasants in eternal debt. They were paid little and had to buy from company stores.

Prices are now guaranteed for crops, and loans are readily made available. Workshops in agricultural skills are available, as well as technicians. Hernández said you can now see the day when the children of peasants will become technicians themselves.

The war has had a big effect on the peasants and ranchers as well, he said, with the *contras* targeting especially the 3,000 cooperatives which belong to UNAG. "Imperialism sees peasants working together as a crime," Hernández said. Frequently men and women work in the fields with guns on their backs.



Militant/Susan Baus
Banner of international brigade named for Sandinista official killed by U.S.-backed *contras* last June in city of Ocotol. People of Ocotol repelled the attack.

Big changes have also taken place in the situation of women in the country. Women are now doing more work in the fields, including driving tractors, because so many men are in the army. Hernández said, "You used to hear 'I'm the only one wearing the pants in this family — do what I say.' Now we consider women equal."

Brigadistas could also see the effect of the war where we worked most frequently, in the settlement Hermanos Martínez. It is a resettlement village of 180 families who had lived close to the Honduran border. Too many were killed there by mercenaries, so the entire community was resettled outside Somoto.

At the Martínez settlement the families live closer together than they had before, so they are better able to defend the village. They are provided with technical training, technical advisers, and can receive better medical attention.

There is a library. They have classes from kindergarten to sixth grade. Adult education is also organized for this com-

munity, where 1 out of 100 could read before.

A kitchen in the village provides meals for the children three times a day. Doctors visit every two weeks, and nurses and social workers once or twice a week.

The families were given domestic animals and livestock. Arms and training have been provided to all. The brigadistas were planting trees for shade, the environment, and the appearance of the community.

Very few men live in the village. Most are in the army or have been killed in combat. A 12-year-old had walked to the village one morning with his AK-47. He had volunteered for the frontier guard. His entire immediate family had been killed by the *contras*, and he was visiting other relatives in the settlement.

The draft begins with those who are 17, but younger men can join voluntarily. Our Nicaraguan coworkers explained that several young fighters, around 12 years old, had just killed five *contras* by the Río Coco.

Brigade members visit prison

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — On the outskirts of this city, not far from the mountain where 17 North American brigadistas were planting trees, lies the Chacarra prison. To better explain the truth about the Nicaraguan penal system, brigade members requested a tour of the prison. It was quickly arranged.

The 300 prisoners were classified in three categories, — general, common, and special, who are considered the most dangerous. Among the prisoners were people convicted of common crimes, as well as counterrevolutionaries. They were serving from 1 to 30 year terms. Thirty years in jail is the maximum penalty under Nicaraguan law.

According to prison officials, their aim is to rehabilitate the prisoners so they can earn a decent living and contribute to soci-

ety, rather than being parasites. To that end both practical and basic educational programs are organized.

Practical education includes work in agriculture, work with livestock, cabinet-making, and furniture building. Sewing workshops are organized for the 13 women prisoners.

All of the prisoners who work are paid the minimum wage. Their money is sent to their families.

Ninety percent of the inmates participate in educational classes. Half are in "basic education," which is classes for the illiterate. The rest are in "basic adult," which includes the first to sixth grades.

There is political education, as well, for the counterrevolutionaries in order to make clear what the Nicaraguan revolution is. The majority of the prisoners arrested for counterrevolutionary crimes are peasants, officials explained, many of whom have been the object of an imperialist-inspired campaign to confuse and deceive them.

The political education takes into account that after the 1979 revolution, peasants who could not read were given a completely false picture of the revolution by the CIA-paid mercenaries. The *contras* offered money and power as a hook, as well.

Prison officials reported that those who leave the prison, like the 39 who had been recently released after 19 months, can reintegrate themselves into production, often cooperatives, and no longer be susceptible to *contra* propaganda.

When the prisoners return to their homes, their communities usually resent them for their crimes. For that reason, the Ministry of the Interior now organizes political ceremonies when the prisoners return. It is explained that they are no longer a part of the counterrevolution and the community will have to decide if they are complying with the law.

The prison facility includes a health clinic with two nurses, a dining room, a library, and a pavilion for conjugal visits. The four-hour conjugal visits occur every two weeks, month, or two months, depending on the prisoner's category.

Ulysses González, a prisoner who was working as a librarian, had a message for us before we left. "Even though we are prisoners we are never going to submit to North American imperialism." — B.M.

Nicaragua union resolutions in 'IP'

In the midst of the escalating U.S. war against Nicaragua's workers and farmers government, union leaders from around that country met in Managua in early September. They discussed how best to defend the gains that Nicaraguan working people have won through the Sandinista revolution.

The November 26 *Intercontinental Press* carries the full texts of several major documents from this union conference. They will be of special interest to *Militant* readers.

Unlike the situation facing union activists in countries where the capitalists still rule, those in Nicaragua face different tasks: defending their government to the utmost. Reflecting this priority, the delegates, through their discussion and resolutions, focused on the twin obligations of the Nicaraguan union movement today — mobilizing the energies of the working class for military defense of the country and increasing production in the plants to strengthen the economy, which has been badly hurt by the U.S. aggression.

According to one of the resolutions published in *IP*, "This demands of us workers a greater degree of discipline, spirit of sacrifice, and willingness to fight than we needed to overthrow the Somozaist dictatorship."

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Nicaragua Mobilizes Against U.S. Military Provocations



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Lessons from the debate on World War I

What stand should workers take toward 'their own' imperialist government?

(Second in a series)

BY CINDY JAQUITH

At the center of the debate among socialists during World War I was the question of war as part of the revolutionary struggle for power. The book *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* is a documentary record of the fight against social chauvinism in the Second International, which led to the formation of a new, communist international under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party.

When the imperialist powers launched World War I in 1914, the Second International collapsed. The majority of socialist

parliamentary deputies to calling for mobilizations of the working class, which he feared would jeopardize the legal standing of the party.

French Socialist Party leader Jean Jaurès called for making the central demand of the movement an "international court of arbitration," which he said could resolve inter-imperialist conflicts before they turned into a full-fledged war.

While most delegates stated that a war between the capitalist powers could in no way be in the interests of workers, German SPD delegate Georg Vollmar presented an open challenge to the internationalist traditions of the International. If war broke out, he declared, he would defend his "fatherland": "I know why socialism must be international, but my love for humanity cannot prevent me from being a good German."

Class framework for discussion

Much of the discussion on war at the congress failed to take the interests of the working class as its starting point, falling either into open defense of imperialist governments or abstract pacifist condemnations of war and militarism.

It was a small group of revolutionaries at the congress who got the debate onto the right track, explaining that war cannot be separated from the class struggle, and that the working-class road to struggling against war must have as its end goal the overthrow of capitalist rule.

Lenin; Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of the revolutionary wing of the SPD; and Russian Social Democrat Julius Martov submitted a series of amendments to the congress' "Resolution on War and Militarism." The amendments — which were accepted — reaffirmed the Marxist view that the fight against war is inseparably linked to the struggle of the working class to take political power out of the hands of the capitalist class.

The final amendment, which became the last paragraph of the resolution, stated that if war broke out it was the duty of socialists "to intervene for its speedy termination and to strive with all their power to utilize the



Russian soldiers celebrating overthrow of czarist government in February 1917

economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist rule."

At later congresses of the International prior to World War I, the revolutionary wing successfully fought to maintain a proletarian line on the war question in congress resolutions.

But when the war broke out in August 1914 — with British French, and Russian imperialism lined up on one side, and German and Austrian imperialism on the other — the majority of leaders of the socialist parties rushed to back "their" government.

The opportunist misleaders called for "defense of the fatherland," urging workers in each country to become cannon fodder for their bosses. They defended their government's claims to be fighting for "peace" and "democracy." They attacked the colonial policies of their government's rivals in the war, while remaining silent about their own ruling class's brutal colonial exploitation. Most socialist members of parliament voted for war credits and, in some cases, even joined the war cabinets, as they did in France.

On the domestic front, the leaders of the Second International sought to discourage strikes and other actions that workers took to defend their standard of living in the face of the economic ravages of the war.

Scope of war

World War I was the most devastating war known to humanity up to that time. The workers and peasants were forced to bear the burden of the slaughter, destruction, and economic deprivation. In one single battle in 1916 at Verdun, over 600,000 French and German soldiers were killed.

In his 1915 article "The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War," Lenin described how the war disoriented some layers of the population, while clarifying for the most class-conscious layers of workers the need for a revolutionary solution.

"The war cannot but evoke the most turbulent sentiments," he wrote. "What are the main currents of these turbulent sentiments? They are:

Continued on Page 13

LENIN'S STRUGGLE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

parties backed "their" imperialist government in the conflict, betraying the interests of the working class.

But it was also out of World War I that a revolutionary situation developed. This led in Russia to the first successful overturn of capitalist rule.

Stuttgart congress

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International opens with the debate over war and related questions at the Second International's congress in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1907. From its founding in 1889, the Second International had included both revolutionary and opportunist wings. By the time of the Stuttgart congress, the majority of parties in the International more and more counterposed reform of capitalism to leading the struggle of workers and peasants in a revolutionary fight for power. This was especially true of the largest and most authoritative party in the International, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD).

At the time of the Stuttgart congress it was already clear that a major war was looming among the imperialist powers in Europe which were competing for profits, particularly from the colonial world. But right-wing and moderate delegates at the congress sought to downplay the escalating war drive and dilute calls for antiwar protests directed at their own governments. Many argued that antiwar sentiment was so strong, and support for the socialist movement so great, that the capitalists would not dare go to war.

August Bebel, the central leader of the SPD who had sought to hold together in one party both right-wing and revolutionary currents, argued at the congress that "No one in German ruling circles wants war. This is in large part due to the existence of the Socialist movement. Even Prince Bülow [the German chancellor] himself admitted to me that the governments know what would be at stake for the state and society in a great European war, and therefore would avoid it if possible."

While agreeing that the International must fight to prevent the outbreak of war, Bebel preferred protests through the SPD's

Zinoviev on offensive and defensive wars

BY DON DAVIS

Many of the opportunist socialists in the Second International who supported their own imperialist governments in World War I justified their stance of "defending the fatherland" by pointing to the approach of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels toward national wars in the nineteenth century.

To counter this argument, Russian Bolshevik leader Gregory Zinoviev, while in exile in Switzerland in 1916-17, wrote an essay entitled "Wars: Defensive and Aggressive." He collaborated with V.I. Lenin on the article.

The essay was published in English in 1939 in *New International*, a theoretical journal edited by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. After being unavailable for decades, it is now reprinted in the *Study Guide to Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* as supplementary reading for those studying the Lenin book. (See ad on this page to order both the guide and *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*.)

From 1789 to 1871 there were numerous wars in Europe that helped to destroy feudalism and created unified national states that promoted capitalist development. As capitalism was a step forward historically from feudalism, in these wars Marxists supported the countries that represented the forces of capitalist progress.

"The slogan of the 'defense of the fatherland' . . . arose in the epoch of the national wars," Zinoviev wrote. "At that time the defense of the fatherland meant at the same time the defense of national unity against foreign oppressors, it meant the struggle for the possibilities of developing a superior social order: capitalism, which was to replace feudalism."

However, Zinoviev continued, defense of the fatherland "signifies today, in the imperialist epoch, the support of finance capital, which . . . seeks to prevent by violence the transition from capitalism to the meanwhile matured higher stage of development, socialism."

By the late 1870s, the epoch of progressive national wars in central and western Europe was giving way to the epoch of imperialism. The next several decades witnessed many brutal wars by European capitalist governments — joined toward the end by the U.S. and Japanese capitalists — to subjugate the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and plunder their resources.

Zinoviev's article explained why Marxists supported the anticolonial wars against imperialism by Cubans, Ethiopians, Chinese and others. He took up why Marxists backed the Boers in South Africa in their war against British imperialism at the turn of the century.

Wars also increasingly broke out between imperialist powers for control of colonies. While each side invariably claimed that it was attacked by the other, Zinoviev explained that Marxists supported neither side in these interimperialist wars.

"In the imperialist epoch," he wrote, "wars are conducted by a whole series of consummate thieves and robbers for the division of the wealth (and lives) of third persons. There is nothing for honest people to do in this case but to find the shortest way of rendering harmless all the thieves, the whole gang."

"Can 'just' wars in general still take place in the imperialist epoch?" Zinoviev asked.

"Yes, but only in two cases. The first case would be the war of a proletariat which has triumphed in some country, and which defends socialism against other states which represent the capitalist regime. The second — a war of China, India, or similar countries which are oppressed by the imperialism of other lands and are fighting for their independence against these imperialist Powers."

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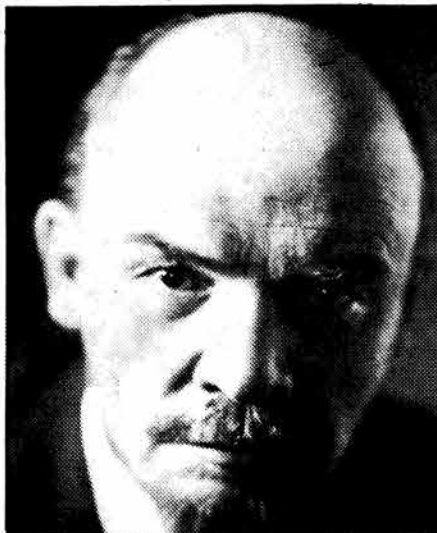
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Nicaraguan unions, women, youth mobilize

Continued from front page

tain all" the means necessary for Nicaragua's defense said Ortega.

In a widely publicized speech on November 8, Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock explained that "the Reagan administration does not want there to be sovereignty or national dignity, either in Nicaragua or in any other country of the world." He reiterated that "we can never renounce any armament that would be effective for the defense of the homeland." Rifles, he said, would soon be passed out to the Managua population.

Nicaragua's armed forces were placed on full alert on November 13.

Antiaircraft batteries and artillery pieces were deployed in strategic locations; dozens of tanks and armored personnel carriers cruised highly traveled streets and guarded key points throughout the city.

Leticia Herrera, head of the Sandinista Defense Committees, held a news conference to announce steps these neighborhood associations should take.

The most important tasks, Herrera said, include building or refurbishing air raid shelters; first aid training and laying in of medical supply stocks; structuring civil defense brigades, for example for fighting fires; redoubling revolutionary vigilance of key economic and military installations; and keeping an eye on known enemies of the revolution in the different neighborhoods.

Unions, mass organizations mobilize

Parallel instructions are being handed down through the unions and other mass organizations. For example, FETSALUD, the union of health workers led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), issued a detailed communiqué over the government radio station, the Voice of Nicaragua.

The statement explained that health workers have a special responsibility to the population in case of military attack; that plans have to be made for evacuating health-care facilities, for alternative places to treat patients, and so on.

In the factories of the Carretera Norte, Managua's industrial zone, air raid and other defense drills are being held. So that production is not affected, at EMENEC, a metal workshop, workers are staying past quitting time to dig trenches for defending the building.

In a November 7 statement by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which organizes industrial workers, the CST alerted workers "to be ready to respond to the call of our National Directorate and Government Junta of National Reconstruction to the military mobilization of the defense of the homeland against the threats of a direct aggression by Yankee marines."

The statement called for "all resources to be used for the defense of the revolution" and urged workers in all factories to update civil defense plans, revitalize workplace militias, and strengthen revolutionary vigilance.

"It is a patriotic duty to respond to the call of the National Directorate of the FSLN to defend the conquests of the working class," said José Hernández Dávila of the MAYCO factory. Jaime Baltodano, of the same factory, said Managua "is the heart of our economic conquests, and that is why we have to defend it as such."

Women ready to defend country

The Nicaraguan women's organization, AMNLAE, held an emergency leadership meeting on the morning of November 9, at which they made plans to incorporate women as fully as possible into the country's defense. "We women are ready to defend our conquests," said AMNLAE leader Glenda Monterrey, adding that they were appealing to the revolutionary government to give a rifle to every woman who wants one.

Meanwhile the top leaders of the high school students federation, university students federation, and the July 19 Sandinista Youth, who together make up the general staff of the Student Production Battalions,

announced November 9 that all members of the battalions and all students who wanted to join them should meet at their schools on the morning of November 10 to discuss their tasks in the defense of the capital.

Some 20,000 high school and college students who had volunteered to go and get out the coffee crop from the mountainous war zones in the north of Nicaragua were asked instead to stay in Managua to take part in preparing the defense of the city. The students, organized in battalions by school, began receiving military training November 10 and will function as part of Managua's territorial militias. A large number of the students already had military schooling, and some are experienced veterans of combat against the CIA mercenary bands that operate from sanctuaries in neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica.

'Macabre deception'

In a special appeal to North American youth, Carlos Carrión, general secretary of the Sandinista Youth, asked them not to be taken in by "the macabre deception" prepared by the Reagan administration.

"Let the youth of the United States listen to our appeal. There is no reason why we should be taken to a war between us," Carrión said.

"North American youth do not represent a danger to us," Carrión added, "but if they come with their rifles pointed... we will give no quarter in the defense of the homeland."

Alma Nubia Baltodano, head of the high school students federation, explained that "in defending the country, students are defending their own revolutionary gains." She said that before the revolution there were 98,000 high school students. Today there are 186,000. The number of teachers has tripled, from 2,000 to 6,000. The education budget has grown six times over.

Vigilance redoubled

The Sandinistas are also taking steps to bring in the coffee harvest, which is one of the main exports Nicaragua relies on for its foreign currency.

FSLN wins 67% of vote for assembly

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA — In addition to scoring a landslide victory in the presidential election here November 4, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) will also have a strong majority in the National Constituent Assembly elected at the same time.

On the basis of official results for regions of Nicaragua accounting for about three-fourths of the voters, and on preliminary figures for the rest of the country, the FSLN daily *Barricada* published a detailed breakdown showing the FSLN had won 67 percent of the votes for Constituent Assembly and 61 of the 90 seats in that body. The FSLN presidential ticket won roughly the same proportion of votes.

Three capitalist parties won 26 seats: the Conservative Democratic Party, with 14 percent of the vote and 13 seats; the Independent Liberal Party with 9.7 percent of the vote and eight seats; and the People's Social Christian Party, with 5.7 percent of the vote and five seats.

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party; Communist Party of Nicaragua; and People's Action Movement, Marxist-Leninist each got one seat. Their votes ranged between 1.0 and 1.5 percent.

More than 75 percent of the eligible voters participated in the election, whose stated purpose was to institutionalize — that is, further strengthen, consolidate and develop — the five-year-old Sandinista revolution.

In addition to proportional representation of the various parties, Nicaraguan law provides for unsuccessful presidential candidates to also be seated as full members of the Constituent Assembly, provided they receive a minimum of about one percent of the vote. All six losers qualified.

This means that the assembly will have a total of 96 members, 90 elected by popular vote and the six defeated presidential candidates.



Youth in Plaza of the Revolution in Managua rally to defend city.

Barricada

In a November 11 rally in Matagalpa, a major city in the coffee-producing region, Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge made a special appeal to residents of that region to make up for the students who are remaining in the capital.

"Every Nicaraguan must decree in his heart the order to be ready for combat," Borge said. "Are we going to allow the coffee to fall?" Borge asked, and was answered by a roaring "No!"

"Are we going to allow them to invade us?" he asked.

"No!"

"The people have spoken the last word," Borge said.

In addition to moving to prepare its defenses, Nicaragua has also moved on the diplomatic front to alert world public opinion and try to slow down the U.S. war drive. At a November 8 news conference immediately following Wheelock's speech, to which foreign ambassadors were also invited, Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto announced that Nicaragua had called for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council.

In his comments to reporters, D'Escoto

emphasized that Nicaragua considered the situation to be "extremely grave," and denounced the U.S. government as "an international outlaw." He said Nicaragua believed the efforts of the Contadora group to negotiate a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis had been "mortally wounded" when the Reagan administration torpedoed the plan drafted by Contadora nations after extensive negotiations.

He pointed out that the Reagan administration had refused to obey a World Court decision demanding an end to the secret war against Nicaragua and that bilateral U.S.-Nicaraguan talks being held in Manzanillo, Mexico, are stalemated. Thus the Nicaraguan government has no recourse but "the mobilization and arming of our people."

Despite Washington's threats, the atmosphere among Nicaragua's working people is calm. There is no panic, only a commitment to struggle to the death, if necessary, to defend the gains of the revolution. And there's confidence that, even against the vastly superior firepower of the Pentagon, the Nicaraguan revolution will be victorious.

Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez were elected president and vice-president of Nicaragua. Ortega has been one of the central leaders of the FSLN since well before the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship; he is now coordinator of the three-member Junta of Government of National Reconstruction. Ramírez, a prominent writer and

intellectual, has been a long-time member of the FSLN and has been a member of the governing junta since the victory of the revolution.

The president, vice-president, and National Constituent Assembly will be inaugurated on January 10, 1985, and will hold office for six years.

British miner receives solidarity

Continued from back page

cops were used in his hometown of Armthorpe. They tried to open the mine there to strikebreakers.

"They attacked the miners, smashing doors and windows," he said. "They sealed off all the roads, occupied the village, imposed a curfew. All this in the little village of Armthorpe, where we've never had more than six police."

Despite cop attacks, Shukla reported the strike is still solid in Armthorpe, thanks in large part to wives support committees.

"But we need your support," he told Canadian workers. "It is not just a struggle for us and our families but for the whole trade union movement, in Britain and around the world."

Other speakers at the Vancouver meeting echoed Shukla's call for international solidarity. Carolyn Lee, secretary-treasurer of the Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers told the audience that "the example of the NUM is having a tremendous impact on the struggle of CUWP" and that her union was determined to prevent the government from destroying thousands of postal jobs in Canada.

"Employers and governments have reached across oceans to mount their offensive against workers. It is now high time that the labor movement join hands across oceans to ensure that the National Union of Miners successfully defeats that offensive," said Lee.

Shukla's solidarity tour received the same enthusiastic response from workers in French-speaking Quebec, whose people suffer national oppression. He spoke to one meeting there of 400 shipyard workers who have been on strike for three months against the Marine Industries in Sorel. The strikers' main demand is a 35-hour work-week.

"You are fighting the same battle we are," Shukla told the strikers, who gave him a standing ovation.

He also spoke to a meeting of 75 members of the women's strike committee, most of whom were wives of strikers. Shukla explained how miners' wives in Britain were organized and actively participating in the miners strike.

During his visit to Quebec, Shukla also spoke at a meeting of young Québécois organized in the Autonomous Regroupment of Youth, which is running a candidate in the Montreal by-elections.

In Toronto Shukla spoke at a meeting organized by the International Women's Day Committee.

Shukla's tour helped lay the groundwork for even more successful solidarity tours having wider support from the trade unions. One example is the tour now under way for NUM miner Fred Clark, who was invited to tour Canada under the sponsorship of the Alberta Federation of Labor (CLC).

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British railroad workers back miners

Unions rally to defend members victimized for refusing to move scab coal

BY KIPP DAWSON

COALVILLE, England — Rail workers from across Britain gathered in this Leicestershire rail depot town for a November 4 rally in support of union brothers victimized for supporting the coal miners strike.

Both of the major rail workers unions in Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF), have called on their members to refuse to move coal as part of the rail unions' solidarity with the striking National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Rail workers under attack

British rail workers face the same attacks as their brothers and sisters throughout the capitalist world.

The rail industry in Britain has been nationalized since 1947. But it operates under the capitalist system's rules — profits first.

Rail workers, and those who depend on rail transport, are being made to pay for the crisis currently afflicting British Rail (BR).

In 1950 the railways employed 497,000 men and women. By 1981 BR employed only 166,000, with plans to lay off more.

Along with other British workers, rail workers have suffered a net decline in real wages since 1975, and also a relative decline compared to other industrial workers in Britain. Working conditions have deteriorated as well. In 1979 rail workers worked an average of 54½ hours per week (14½ hours of which were overtime), compared to an average in British industry of 46 hours per week, with 6.3 hours of overtime.

The British ruling class has already begun to sell off sections of BR's operation as part of a master plan to privatize the railways. The unions oppose the privatization drive as a threat both to their members and to the general public.

Coal and coke accounted for 61 percent of BR's freight in 1981. In many ways, therefore, the miners' fight for jobs and against privatization of the mining industry is also a fight for rail workers' needs.

Refuse to move coal

Roy Butlin, a central Coalville NUR leader, opened the miners solidarity rally here. He reported that Coalville is the major coal depot in the Leicester area, where only 30 miners (fondly known by many British workers as "the Dirty Thirty") are participating in the NUM's strike. Twenty-five hundred NUM members are scabbing here.

Under normal circumstances, 135,000 tons of coal would move through the Coalville depot every week, supplying the power stations throughout the Trent Valley. This amount of coal could seriously undermine the NUM strike nationally.

But, Butlin reported, since April, 60 union railway men at the Coalville depot have refused to move any of that coal. This simple act of union solidarity has pushed them into the front lines of the miners strike here.

Butlin reported that BR management has threatened that if the rail workers don't immediately begin moving coal, the depot will be closed permanently. Already parts of the roadway nearby have been converted to allow for trucks to be loaded with coal that had previously been shipped by rail.

In addition, Butlin reported, on September 28 BR raided the homes of seven of the rail workers, looking, they claimed, for items stolen from the company. They fired

Belgian coal miners fight mine closures

On October 31, 19,000 Belgian coal miners struck for 24 hours in opposition to a mine closure and the loss of 3,000 jobs in the northeastern region of Limburg. Roads and railways were blocked in the opening of a rotating five-week strike in the five Belgian coal mines. The state-owned Kemtense Steenkoolmijnen is threatened with a total shut down if the closure is not withdrawn.



Tony Donaghue (left), a member of the National Executive Committee of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR), with Roy Butlin, NUR leader from Coalville in South Yorkshire, at November 4 rally in London. Butlin told rally of importance of support of rally participants for union brothers coming under attack from British Rail for refusing to move scab coal. Kipp Dawson (far right), member of United Mine Workers of America, told rally she would help get out truth about British miners' fight in the United States.



three of the union men on the pretext of finding stolen items — in one case about \$5 worth of soap and rags.

Butlin explained how the 60 rail workers and their families, and the 30 striking miners and their families, are living in a community hostile to their strong unionism. And they take seriously the threats to close the depot. With the approach of winter and the higher demand for coal at the power stations, the pressure will get worse, he noted.

Everyone must back us up

There are now 14.3 million tons of coal at the Central Energy Board, which is the nationalized power industry, and there are 22 million more tons at the pitheads above ground in the mine yards, Butlin reported.

"The government is left with two options. They must move that coal. They can bust the railmen, especially at Coalville, or they can use the military. We here in Coalville are now in the front line of this.

"The NUR executive came out with a directive which we're carrying out — and now everyone on British Rail must back us up," Butlin declared.

Butlin thanked the rail workers there from London and the other depots who had sent financial help.

Tommy Taylor is the secretary of ASLEF at Shirebrook in Nottinghamshire, another area where a majority of the NUM is scabbing. Normally, 400,000 tons of coal move through this depot every week. But only 20 percent of this amount is now moving, despite the opposition to the rail workers solidarity from nearly half of the Shirebrook rail workers. BR management has also threatened reprisals against Shirebrook rail workers.

Tommy Doyle is NUR secretary at the Tinsley Freight Depot. He brought greetings to the rally from 3,000 South Yorkshire railwaymen, an area where the NUM strike is solid.

Doyle described how rail workers had gotten their union leaderships to call a 24-hour strike, set for September 27, in support of the Shirebrook men. This strike call forced BR to back down from their attacks on the Shirebrook union members.

"We have to fight for support," Doyle commented. "We have to take up the lies and distortions of the press. This intimidation must be answered nationally. It is the responsibility of all members — we must respond as if the pressure were on us."

Miner speaks

Malcolm Pinnegar is a striking miner and a leader of the "Dirty Thirty" in Leicester. Along with Butlin, he has travelled extensively across Britain seeking support for the miners and rail workers.

Pinnegar thanked the rail workers for their "fantastic" support. He warned that the government wants to shut down mines all over Britain, leaving only those in

South Yorkshire and Leicestershire working — but only after they've been privatized. "You'd be left with a scab coalfield," he said.

Pinnegar reiterated the promises the NUM leadership has been making to its supporters throughout the strike.

As an NUM flyer puts it, "After the dispute all transport arrangements in the coal industry will revert to trade union labour. The transport of coal by rail will be restored, irrespective of arrangements made by the NCB [National Coal Board]. We will not work with scab firms. Any transport workers victimized during the dispute for their solidarity, will have the full support of the NUM. We have told the Coal Board that all of our members dismissed during the dispute must be reinstated. The same must apply to dockers, rail workers, seamen and drivers. Your solidarity will never be forgotten."

Much of the discussion period was taken up with questions and challenges to Tony Donaghue, a member of the National Executive Committee of the NUR, who brought the rally the fraternal greetings from the NUR and ASLEF officialdom.

"It is important that these workers are not left alone," Donaghue commented. "They have carried out the decisions of the NUR and are not moving coal."

"The union is behind you and doing ev-

everything we can to support you, both at the national and district level."

Many of the rail workers present challenged this last contention. Doreen Weppler, an NUR steward from London, reported that the NUR local leadership had discouraged her local leadership from taking action to protest the Coalville firings.

Rail workers threw out suggestions for more support, including calling a one-day regional or national strike to back the Coalville men, headline articles in the NUR's paper *Transport Review*, holding more support meetings, and generally seeking to inform and involve the membership.

Toward the end of the meeting, I was introduced as a special speaker, and given a warm welcome. I urged all of the men and women there to see themselves as part of the new leadership the miners' strike is pushing forward, not only in the NUM but in the rail unions as well. I promised to do my best to get the word out on their fight to workers in the United States.

Roy Butlin closed the meeting, urging the rail union members there to take pride in their accomplishments. "The miners strike is about solidarity, comradeship, sticking together. We are doing it. And nothing will stop us."

Kipp Dawson is a laid-off Pennsylvania coal miner and a member of the United Mine Workers of America.

Arizona unionists hear Salvadoran

BY ANDY ENGLISH

PHOENIX — "I was kidnapped and tortured for 32 hours for nothing other than being a member of the teachers union. And the kidnapping and torture continues. The situation in my country get worse every day."

This was the message brought to hundreds of Arizona trade unionists during a September 29–October 9 speaking tour by Marta Alicia Rivera, a representative of the Salvadoran teachers union, the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES).

The speaking tour was sponsored by the Arizona Federation of Teachers Unions for the purpose of building solidarity with Salvadoran teachers. Since 1979 more than 350 members of ANDES have been murdered by government security forces.

During her stay in Arizona, Rivera was able to address meetings of the United Auto Workers, Communications Workers of America, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Arizona Education Association, Arizona Farm Workers Union, the Central Arizona Labor Council, and the Miami, Arizona, local of the United Steelworkers. More than 400 union members heard Rivera speak during her tour.

Rivera also spoke to 110 people at a public meeting sponsored by the Arizona Fed-

eration of Teachers, to solidarity groups, and feminist activists.

Rivera received a warm reception at all of these meetings, but especially when she spoke to a meeting of striking copper miners and their supporters organized by the Clifton-Morenci Labor Unions Unity Council and the Copper Unions Women's Auxiliary. Copper strikers, who have suffered police brutality and military strike-breaking by the Arizona National Guard, readily identified with the struggles of Salvadoran workers.

During the meeting (which was conducted entirely in Spanish) Rivera received two standing ovations. The meeting was chaired by Bobby Romero and Tony Medina, both officers of the International Association of Machinists in Clifton.

The Arizona copper miners have been on strike against Phelps Dodge corporation for 16 months. Phelps Dodge owns a copper wire fabrication plant in El Salvador. Its Salvadoran employees receive 35 cents per hour.

Rivera explained that the massive bombing and napalming of the population ordered by Pres. José Napoleón Duarte is resulting in hundreds of deaths per week.

"The message I'm bringing is that the people here should help us stop the war in El Salvador denounce the killing that is going on."

Oregon unionists report on Nicaragua trip

BY CAROL SHOLIN

PORTLAND, Ore. — What is the state of trade union rights in Nicaragua? What is the impact of the U.S.-sponsored war on Nicaragua's working people?

These are some of the questions that the West Coast Trade Union Delegation went to Nicaragua to find answers to. Delegation members Roger Auerbach, past president of the Oregon Federation of Teachers; and Nita Brueggerman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Pacific Northwest Joint Board, reported on their findings to a meeting of 60 unionists and solidarity activists sponsored by the Portland Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean.

Auerbach began his presentation with some statistics on union growth since the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution. Before 1979, only 6 percent of the work force was organized. There were only two legal unions, both of them company unions. Only 160 collective bargaining contracts had been negotiated in the country's history. Grievances went unanswered, and contract negotiations won essentially no benefits. Attempts to organize were met with brutal repression by the government's National Guard, who would pull leaders off their jobs and "beat the living hell out of them where the other workers could see and understand that there was no right to organize."

By 1984, 60 percent of the work force was organized — as compared to 20 percent in the United States. Eighty-seven percent of industrial workers are unionized. There are 1,100 collective bargaining contracts currently in effect.

A highlight of the tour, Auerbach explained, was a visit to a brewery where a strike had taken place only a week previously.

The Department of Labor sent representatives to the brewery, the workers went back to work, and an agreement was later reached.

Auerbach concluded by detailing the benefits Nicaraguan workers have won. These include sick leave, funeral and education leaves, and subsidized lunches. Free medical and dental care, equal pay for women, and paid maternity leave are mandated by law. Additionally, child care centers are being built at job sites for the children of working parents.

Nita Brueggerman described the gains made by women in Nicaragua. Women, she explained, were an integral part of the revolution. Many hold high union or government positions. If both spouses work, men are required by law to participate in all domestic duties.

Auerbach detailed efforts to establish a sister-city relationship between Portland and Corinto. Both cities are port towns, and Corinto has been subjected to repeated bombings and minings by U.S.-backed *contras*. The United States has imposed a virtual economic blockade against Nicaragua. While 80 percent of Nicaragua's ship-

ping passes through Corinto, forklifts and other equipment stand idle due to lack of spare parts made by Portland-based companies such as Heister. Worse still, many U.S. companies have accepted money only to send defective or useless parts.

Much of the discussion centered on the question of trade union rights. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has denounced Nicaragua for its supposed lack of free trade unions. Auerbach explained that Nicaraguan workers have the right to organize, elect their own leaders, bargain with both private and public employers, and to strike. "I found all those things, so I say there are free trade unions in Nicaragua."

Calling on participants at the meeting to become active builders of solidarity with the struggles in Central America, Auerbach and Brueggerman repeated conversations they had held with Nicaraguans about what has been achieved since the revolution. While the delegation found some criticisms, when they asked people if they would prefer to go back to the way things were under the Somoza dictatorship, the response was invariable, "¡Ni loco! [That would be crazy!] We'll never go back to that. We're ready to fight against anyone who wants to again make this anything but a free country."

West-Coast Trade Union Delegation to Nicaragua



Militant/K.C. Ellis

Members of West Coast Trade Union Delegation to Nicaragua, Nita Brueggerman and Roger Auerbach, spoke to meeting of unionists and solidarity activists sponsored by Portland Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean. They described gains Nicaraguan working people have won since overthrow of Somoza.

Detroit rally caps antiwar week

BY TIM CRAINE

DETROIT — On October 27 nearly 100 people participated in a spirited march and rally to commemorate the anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Grenada and to protest the continued U.S. military occupation of that island. This event was the culmination of a week of protest actions against the invasion and the U.S. war in Central America.

The march and rally took place along Dexter Avenue in the heart of Detroit's Black community, an area that has not seen any visible antiwar activity in recent years. About half of the participants were Black, and marchers got a good response from bystanders on the sidewalks and porches along the two-mile route. Among the more popular chants were "We won't buy Reagan's lie — U.S. out of Grenada" and "Stop the war on the poor — U.S. out of El Salvador."

The rally at the end of the parade route was chaired by Lamont Crenshaw from the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP). Speakers included James Boggs from the National Organization for an American Revolution, Richard Reyes from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Naomi Craine from Students Against War, John King from Teamsters for a Democratic Union, and Juli Horowitz from the National Lawyers Guild. A message of support was read from Congressman George Crockett, who also condemned the recent arrest in Washington, D.C., of Dessima Williams, former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Ignacio Meneses, a General Motors worker and member of the Socialist Workers Party, linked the employers' anti-imports campaign to the U.S. war against the people of Central America. Amy Goode from the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee reported on her recent trip to Nicaragua with the Witness for Peace program. She reported that Nicaraguans living in the Costa Rican border region are prepared to take on a full-scale invasion and look to the U.S. people as allies in their struggle for national independence.

The rally was sponsored by the Detroit organizing committee for the Grenadian Martyrs Foundation and endorsed by a number of groups including the NAACP, the Republic of New Africa, the Nation of Islam, the Wayne State University for Black Studies, and the Shrine of the Black Madonna.

This coalition also held a memorial service at the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church on October 19. At that service 50 people heard tributes to Maurice Bishop, the central leader of the Grenada revolution who was killed on this date last year, and the accomplishments of the revolution. Nhanda Omwali from the AAPRP discussed the gains women had made during

the revolution. Gary Trabue of the SWP pointed to the continued attacks by Washington against the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Donald Telesford, a Grenadian and chair of the organizing committee for the Grenada Foundation, spoke of the gains of the revolution and the growing resistance to U.S. occupation forces on the island. A representative from the Pan African Student Organization linked the struggle in southern Africa to the revolutions of Grenada and Central America. The film *The Future Coming Toward Us* was also shown.

On October 25, the actual anniversary of the invasion, 150 people attended a forum at Wayne State University. Sponsored by the Young Republicans, this event was supposed to feature Congressman William Broomfield, ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Michael Shulte, one of the North American

medical students "rescued" by U.S. troops one year ago.

Instead of celebrating the invasion, however, the vast majority of the audience condemned it and forced Shulte into a situation where he had to debate Donald Telesford. Congressman Broomfield, who for the past two years has been avoiding invitations from solidarity groups to debate the U.S. war in Central America, quickly left the room.

Telesford, who had recently returned from a visit to Grenada, effectively countered the lies perpetrated by the government and encouraged the audience to get the truth about Grenada out to the U.S. people.

Solidarity activists felt that the activities of this week, while modest, represented a significant step forward in organizing opposition to the occupation of Grenada and the U.S. war in Central America.

Nicaraguan leader tours San Diego

BY RICK REAVES

SAN DIEGO — Nicaraguan leader Francisco Campbell spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of 400 on October 19 at San Diego's Balboa Park.

Campbell is the counselor in charge of political affairs for the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C. His tour was sponsored by several solidarity groups including the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Chicanos in Solidarity with the People of Central America, and Friends of Nicaraguan Culture.

His talk focused on Nicaragua's desire for peace and took up the various slanders leveled against the Sandinista government by Washington.

"The U.S. intervenes whenever and wherever Latin American people rise up against oppression," said Campbell.

Campbell ridiculed the idea that Nicaragua is a threat to U.S. security. "We are three million people trying to overcome years of oppression and somehow we are a threat to number one."

"We are the threat of a good example," he said. "When a peasant in El Salvador is chased off his land or a mother in El Salvador sees her child die of malnutrition and disease, they look to Nicaragua and say 'Let's imitate.' That's the only 'threat' we pose."

Campbell condemned Washington's use of state terrorism against the Nicaraguan people and explained that Washington's refusal to accept the Contadora pact showed their real intentions. "The U.S. is not interested in peace in Central America, only war," he said. "U.S. policy is leading to a new regional war in Central America, a new Vietnam. And the grave danger of a regional war would be painful for both the

people of Latin America and the U.S."

Several workers from Teledyne-Ryan Aeronautical, where army helicopters are built, attended the meeting. Three of them are Vietnam veterans. I talked with a Black veteran named Tim. He was particularly impressed with Campbell's talk and said now he wants to take a trip to Nicaragua to see the revolution for himself.

"I was very impressed because I didn't realize the situation in Nicaragua is the way it is," said Tim. "Campbell said nothing to make me believe he wasn't telling the truth."

"I guess the most important thing that stuck in my mind was how Campbell freely invited people to come to his country and speak to the everyday working person about the situation they live in," he said. "When people tell the truth they have nothing to hide. The statement he made about welcoming everyone first hand touched me," Tim explained.

Another speaker at the meeting was Russel Andalcio, a Grenadian student. He spoke about the significance of the 1979 Grenada revolution for the Caribbean and Central America. He also explained how the threats and eventual U.S. invasion of Grenada didn't start with Ronald Reagan.

"Aggression against Grenada started with the Carter administration. We must be clear in identifying the source of imperialist aggression. It is not simply a man, it is a system."

Andalcio said that Washington is just as ready to invade Nicaragua as they were to invade Grenada.

Campbell's tour also included speaking engagements at San Diego State University and the University of California at San Diego.

Professors sign ad condemning U.S. war

A full-page ad condemning the U.S. war against Nicaragua appeared in the October 21 Sunday *New York Times*.

The ad, taken out by the Faculty for Human Rights in El Salvador and Central America, urged readers to "Join us in opposing U.S. intervention and helping the people of Nicaragua."

The ad was signed by over 1,200 individuals. Most of the signers were faculty members from campuses across the country and were joined by a good number of unionists, students, and peace activists.

The ad warns, "As each escalation fails to defeat the Sandinistas, the U.S. expands the scale of destruction, as in Vietnam. In the end, this must lead to regional war, intervention by U.S. combat troops, tens of thousands dead, and the risk of superpower confrontation."

Signers call on Congress to "cut off all aid to the *contras*, CIA covert actions and the military build-up in Honduras." And they urge local governments, unions, and other groups to adopt anti-U.S. intervention resolutions and step up education on the real situation in Central America.

Fight against disruption suit continues

Los Angeles federal judge refuses to rule on Healyite frame-up of SWP

BY DOUG JENNESS

October 24 marked one year since the last hearing was held on a lawsuit filed more than five years ago against the U.S. Socialist Workers Party — and still no ruling has been made.

The suit, filed in July 1979 by Alan Gelfand, a lawyer for Los Angeles County in California, is a major part of an international disruption campaign against the SWP and the Fourth International. This campaign has been the principal activity of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and its U.S. branch, the Workers League (WL), for nearly a decade.

Gelfand, who entered the SWP in 1976 to disrupt it from within, was expelled from the party in January 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP is a front for the FBI. This slander is at the heart of the WRP-WL disruption operation against the SWP.

After Gelfand's expulsion, the WRP-WL initiated the lawsuit against the SWP, asking a federal judge to remove the party leadership and reinstate Gelfand into membership. The spurious grounds for this demand is the claim that Gelfand was expelled by U.S. government agents who had taken over the SWP. He claims that his constitutional rights were violated, and the WRP-WL presents the suit as a significant civil rights case.

If the court were to rule in favor of Gelfand, it would mark a big blow against the constitutional right of freedom of association and the fundamental right of a political party to determine who its members are and to freely choose its own leadership. It would mean that the government can dictate to a political party whether its activities are in conformity with its stated program and historic goals. It would open the door to the government intervening in the decision-making process of unions, civil rights groups, and all other similar organizations.

For four years U.S. District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer rejected every effort by the SWP to have the case thrown out of court. She asserted that Gelfand was entitled to his "day in court."

While Pfaelzer delayed setting a trial date, the SWP was forced to divert big financial and personnel resources to defend itself. For example, Gelfand's attorneys, the Los Angeles law firm of Fisher & Moest, subpoenaed many SWP members in order to take more than 350 hours of depositions. In addition to draining SWP resources, this harassment was designed to produce an "official court record" that can be selectively published at a future date.

No ruling at trial

The case finally came to trial in March 1983 in Los Angeles. During the days leading up to and during the trial, a nationwide campaign supported by unionists, civil rights activists, and civil libertarians demanded that Pfaelzer halt the intervention

by the courts into the SWP's functioning and throw Gelfand's case out of court. This public pressure contributed to Pfaelzer's admission at the conclusion of the trial that Gelfand had never produced "one shred of evidence" to support his slanderous charge that the SWP's elected leaders are FBI agents.

She declared to Gelfand and his attorneys: "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing. . . . I can only assume that there was a motive somewhere in here to paralyze the Socialist Workers Party. I don't know how much the rival political party [the WRP-WL] paid for your attorneys fees. I suppose in another forum that will come up as an issue. . . ."

"The whole aura of facts in here leads me to question the motivation for the lawsuit. If I had been presented with one single piece of evidence that [the SWP leaders] are agents of the Government, that would be an entirely different matter. *I haven't a single piece of evidence given to me.*"

Despite these statements, Pfaelzer made no decision on the case.

At a federal court hearing a couple of weeks after the trial, she stated that she would give favorable consideration to a motion by the SWP that she require Gelfand and his attorneys to pay the SWP's legal fees and expenses. The SWP subsequently filed such a motion.

But Pfaelzer still has made no ruling on Gelfand's suit or on the SWP's motion for legal fees and expenses. In spite of her admission that Gelfand produced no evidence, she refuses to rule.

Government seizes opening

One critical aspect of the Gelfand suit is the attempt by the U.S. Justice Department to get Pfaelzer to issue a sweeping ruling that would give the FBI unrestricted legal rights to use informers and provocateurs against the SWP and other working-class organizations.

To bolster its claim that the Gelfand suit is aimed at government agents, the WRP-WL named the FBI and CIA as defendants. But they were only nominal defendants. The government lawyers sat for four years with their hands folded. They were satisfied that Gelfand, with the aid of Fisher & Moest and the connivance of Pfaelzer, was doing a good job of harassing the SWP. But after the March 1983 trial, when the disruption operation seemed to be coming to an end, the FBI and CIA mouthpieces jumped right into the situation.

They filed a document requesting that Pfaelzer issue a legal opinion affirming that the use of informers within political parties like the SWP "does not constitute a violation of individual rights," and "may not be enjoined." They asked her to rule that "the identities of informants who have conducted activities within the Socialist Workers Party are protected from disclosure by the informant privilege." More than a year later Pfaelzer has not issued an opinion on the government's requests.

In spite of their claim to be defending "constitutional rights" and their protests about government agents in the SWP, Gelfand and the WRP-WL have not condemned this attack on democratic rights.

The legal issues the government has put before the judge are exactly the questions at the heart of the SWP suit against the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other federal agencies. That case, known as *SWP vs. Attorney General*, has been pending since 1973. The trial in that case was held before Judge Thomas Griesa in 1981. Griesa has not yet issued his ruling and will not say when he intends to do so.

During the March 1983 trial, Gelfand admitted on the witness stand that he had collaborated with leaders of the WRP-WL for at least seven months before his expulsion from the SWP. He testified that Workers League leader David North promised to raise money for the suit. The WRP-WL also has been promoting the Gelfand case in its press.

Several decades ago the WRP, then called the Socialist Labor League, led by Gerry Healy, was a Marxist organization



Militant
Alan Gelfand (left) with his attorney Robert Moest during March 1983 trial. Gelfand entered Socialist Workers Party in 1976 to carry out wrecking operation from within. After his expulsion, anti-working-class organizations behind Gelfand filed lawsuit against SWP.

that belonged to the Fourth International. How did it degenerate into the antiworking class formation that it is today?

Cuban revolution is touchstone

Key to understanding the WRP's degeneration is its repudiation of the Cuban revolution in 1959. Healy and his grouping contended then, and still do, that the team of leaders around Fidel Castro were not revolutionaries. They did not lead the Cuban revolution to overturn capitalist property relations; rather they established a capitalist regime like those of Chiang Kai-shek in China and Jawaharlal Nehru in India.

The Healyites maintained that socialist revolutions are only possible if they are led by Trotskyist parties. In other words, when the living class struggle turned out different from the Healyite schema — they solved the contradiction by denying reality.

The SWP and the Fourth International, in contrast, hailed the Cuban revolution and its revolutionary leadership as a historic step forward for the working class internationally.

The sectarian stance of the Healyites toward Cuba soon led them to sectarian positions on the Algerian revolution in the 1960s and the colonial revolution in general, the Labor Party in Britain, and the rise of revolutionary Black nationalism in the United States.

Their repudiation of the Cuban revolution was at the heart of their rapid degeneration. Opposing a genuine workers revolution cannot but throw a party claiming to speak for the interests of working people off the rails. By not correcting their erroneous position on the Cuban revolution and its leadership, but rather sticking to it over the years, the Healyites wandered further and further from Marxism.

Healy frames up Joseph Hansen

From the early 1960s the Healyites attempted to cover their break from Marxism by waging a vitriolic polemical campaign against the SWP and the Fourth International.

This campaign took an insidious new turn in 1975 when the WRP asserted that Joseph Hansen, a longtime leader of the SWP and the Fourth International, was complicit in the 1940 assassination of Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky. Hansen was the author of many of the SWP's principal resolutions and public articles on the Cuban revolution.

He was serving as a secretary for Trotsky in Mexico at the time of the assassination, which was incontestably proven to be the work of Joseph Stalin's secret police. Assassination has long been one of the Stalinist methods for dealing with political opponents in the workers movement.

The Healyite charge paralleled the accusation the Stalinists made at the time of the assassination. In order to direct attention away from their own guilt, they asserted that Trotsky was killed by one of his own followers.

When George Novack, another longtime SWP leader, wrote an article defending Hansen, he was also labeled an "accomplice" of the Soviet secret police.

The Healyites later added to their slander campaign the charge that Hansen was an FBI agent.

The Healyite presses rolled out article after article and pamphlet after pamphlet presenting "documents" and "evidence" to bolster their frame-up. But there was not one bit of truth to any of it. It was entirely a concoction of lies.

The WRP-WL's operation is based on the notion that if a lie is repeated over and over and broadcast wide enough some fools will be persuaded that there must be something to it. Yet when they presented their entire case in the courtroom, even Judge Pfaelzer had to concede that they had not presented her "with one single piece of evidence that these people are agents of the government."

From the beginning, the SWP has waged a counteroffensive against this slander campaign. Hansen wrote several major articles refuting each lie and exposing the entire frame-up nature of the operation.

These articles as well as many statements and articles by other leaders and sympathizers of the Fourth International and by leaders of other groups considering themselves Trotskyist were published as a pamphlet, *Healy's Big Lie — The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International*. (This pamphlet is still available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. \$4.00 plus \$.75 for postage.)

A meeting of 1,200 was organized in London in January 1977, where Fourth International leaders and other speakers condemned the Healyite slander campaign.

When Hansen died in early 1979, the Healyites proceeded to charge that Hansen had recruited and trained a younger group of government agents and had "elevated" them into positions of leadership responsibility in the SWP. With this frame-up the Healyites have been able to keep their slander campaign against the SWP up to date. There has been no let-up in their barrage of lies. Their disruption operation against the Fourth International, the SWP, and others remains their reason for existence.

One of their methods of disruption against the Fourth International has been to tailor their slanders so as to echo and distort political discussion and debates going on among Fourth Internationalists.

For example, the extension of the Cuban revolution to Nicaragua and Grenada and the emergence of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador brought a new acid test for revolutionists. This has led to an ongoing discussion — and new divisions among revolutionists — on the lessons to be learned from these revolutions and the orientation to take to their leaderships.

These lessons were the subject of a speech given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes in December 1982 entitled "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Con-

Continued on Page 13

Contributions to political rights fund needed

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing the effort to halt the court's unconstitutional interference in the functioning of the Socialist Workers Party and to get the Gelfand slander suit thrown out of court.

It has organized dozens of meetings and hundreds of messages protesting the violation of democratic rights posed by this case, not only for the SWP but for all working-class organizations.

PRDF has raised tens of thousands of dollars for court costs and attorneys fees, and as long as this case continues many more dollars will be needed.

Messages of support and contributions can be sent to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Safe as Marcos — The Philippine government has sunk \$2.5 billion, so far, in a Westinghouse nuke plant being built on the side



Harry Ring

of a dormant volcano close to an earthquake fault 60 miles from Manila. International inspectors say the plant has some 4,000 defects. A government official re-

sponded these concerned such trivialities as "loose bathroom tiles."

Some spackle will do it — A former Philippine official disclosed two engineers were fired at that nuke plant for reporting that X-rays revealed a potentially dangerous crack in the building. Responded Westinghouse: "Preposterous."

Try another martini — "To grow, you have to have a lot of tries, a significant portion of which will be failures. If you try to escape failures, you won't have

successes. If failures are not accepted, there will be less learning and ... a higher probability of more failures. You have to have failures to have successes." — Chris Whittle, chairman of *Esquire*, addressing an American Magazine Conference in the Bahamas.

Pink slips getting expensive — A persistent poverty pleader, Western Union attributes its financial difficulties, among other things, to "costs associated with workforce reduction."

And cheap at half the price — "Even the most elegant foods are

available by mail," advised a recent *New York Times*. For instance, Balducci's in New York will mail you a porcelain box of foie gras, including a layer of duck fat. About 20 oz., \$175 plus shipping. Or, if you prefer making your own chopped liver, a New York farm will send you a fresh duck liver. \$48 a pound.

Nice for camp fires — If the preceding item suggests that the *Times* recommends things without regard for cost, it should be noted that the same issue was somewhat critical of a shop which offers marshmallow-filled chocolates for \$30 a pound.

The march of civilization — Since 1916, people have had to buy nail polish in bottles. Now they'll have a choice: The old bottles, at \$1 to \$1.50 a throw, or a cylinder with a fiber-tipped pen-like dispenser. \$3.50.

Thought for the week — NEW YORK, Nov. 6 — The New York Stock Exchange opened for business today for the first time ever during a presidential election, but the stock market was more interested in interest rates than in politics. After all, the market knew who was going to win. — News item.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

U.S. Concentration Camps: Japanese-Americans Fight Against Racism. Speakers: Don Tamaki, National Coalition for Redress and Reparations; Ernie Iiyama, executive board member, Northern California-Nevada-Western Pacific District Council, Japanese-American Citizens League. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

U.S. Out of the Philippines. Speakers: representative of Socialist Workers Party and representative of the Philippine Study Group. Sun., Nov. 18, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The National Black Independent Political Party: A Report on the Baltimore Conference. A panel discussion. Sun., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, Rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Speak-out Against the Death Penalty. Speakers: Marion Spencer, member of city council; Dr. Elizabeth Farians, People Against the Death Penalty; Sarah Gardner, Jobs, Peace, and Freedom Coalition; Shirley Rosser, Women's Equality Action League; Mark Rahn, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

OREGON

Portland

The Freedom Struggle in South Africa. *South Africa Belongs to Us*, film produced by African National Congress. Speaker: Connie Allen, representative of Socialist Workers Party; member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 128. Sat., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

Forums on Nicaragua elections and U.S. war threats

COLORADO

Denver

The Elections in Nicaragua: an Eyewitness Report. Fri., Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12 Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Elections in the United States and Nicaragua: Who Won and Who Lost. Speaker: Jim Little, representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 8455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Stop U.S. War Moves on Nicaragua — How Blacks Can Lead Fight Against U.S. War Drive. Speaker: Omari Musa, member, National Committee of Socialist

Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Nicaragua Elections: Why the U.S. Lied. Slide show and presentation. Speaker: Brenda Brdar, member Socialist Workers Party, toured Nicaragua in July during massive voter registration drive. Sun., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

OHIO

Cleveland

Nicaraguan Elections. Slide show and eyewitness report of November 4 election. Speaker: Stephanie Williams, member, Socialist Workers Party recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

TEXAS

Dallas

Democratic Elections in Nicaragua. Sham Elections at Home. Speakers: John Rubinstein, representative of Socialist Workers Party, member, United Auto Workers Local 276; Alex Johnson, Dallas Young Socialist Alliance. Both eyewitnesses of recent Nicaraguan elections; and Steve Iverson, recent SWP candidate for Congress, 24th C.D. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

Houston

Nicaraguan Elections Strengthen Workers and Peasants Power. U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua! Slide show and presentation by eyewitness to recent Nicaragua elections. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

India — Religious Strife or Class Struggle? What Working People Should Know About the Current Political Situation. Speaker: Bill Osteen, representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A Proper Reply to Improper Conduct. The Importance of the Cuban Revolution for U.S. Workers and Farmers. Speakers: Peter Anastos, member, Young Socialist Alliance and International Association of Machinists Lodge 1784; Nancy Brown, member SWP and United Steelworkers of America Local 3185. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Make \$10.5 billion, pay no tax

Were your taxes too high last year? Then you are obviously not one of the owners of the Grumman Corporation. Or Lockheed, General Electric, General Dynamics, or Boeing.

These five war contractors netted a cool \$10.5 billion in profits from 1981 to 1983. Yet they paid no taxes at all. They were not alone. Twelve other major corporations also paid zero in tax over the three-year period.

General Electric, General Dynamics, and Boeing received refunds and other tax benefits worth \$1.2 billion!

This information was released by the research group, Citizens for Tax Justice, which is financed by labor and consumer organizations. The group reported that the five tax cheats accounted for more than \$15 billion in Pentagon contracts in 1983 alone.

The top 12 U.S. military contractors (ex-

cluding ninth-ranked Hughes Aircraft which is not required to report its profits and tax payments) reaped \$19 billion in profits over the three-year period. The 12 paid a total of \$296 million in federal income taxes. This figures out to an average tax rate of 1.5 percent on reported profits.

"The federal tax code," the citizens group's report stated, "says that corporations must pay 46 percent of their income over \$100,000 in income taxes."

War continues to be good business for big business.

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

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-8555.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA,

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

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

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O.

Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Lessons from the debate on World War I

Continued from Page 7

"1. Horror and despair. Hence a growing religious feeling. Again the churches are crowded, the reactionaries joyfully declare: 'Wherever there is suffering, there is religion.'"

"2. Hatred of the 'enemy,' a sentiment that is carefully fostered by the bourgeoisie (not so much by the priests), and is of economic and political value *only to the bourgeoisie*."

"3. Hatred of one's *own* government and one's *own* bourgeoisie — the sentiment of all class-conscious workers who understand... that 'a war against war' is a banal phrase unless it means a revolution against their *own* government."

Lenin pointed out that the working class was the least vulnerable to the chauvinist campaigns of the bourgeoisie. In fact, when the war first broke out, German SPD members had poured into party headquarters expecting to be told where the protest demonstrations would be held. To their shock they learned the party leadership was supporting the war.

'Class struggle in peacetime'

As the war dragged on, socialist workers were more and more repelled by the grovelling of the most openly proimperialist leaders of the Second International. But many still looked to centrist forces in the International whose prowar line was more cleverly disguised in Marxist phraseology. Chief among these was German SPD leader Karl Kautsky, long considered the leading Marxist theoretician in the International.

Kautsky posed as an "oppositionist" to the right-wing leadership in the International but sought to downplay the depth of that leadership's betrayal. Claiming that international working-class solidarity remained the goal of all socialists, he argued that in the current war it was correct for workers in each country to defend "their fatherland" from "aggression" by the other side.

Kautsky said the international workers movement cannot really hope to unite workers across national borders during times of imperialist war. The world class struggle against capitalism had to take a back seat under these conditions, until "peace" was restored. He put forward the slogan: "Struggle for peace; class struggle in peacetime."

Kautsky's perspective was that of bourgeois pacifism. He claimed that imperialism could transform itself into an "ultraimperialism" in which the contending capitalist powers would agree to divide up the world peaceably and stop going to war. Helping bring this about, as opposed to organizing to overthrow capitalism, should thus be the goal of the working class.

Bolsheviks' perspective

Among revolutionaries who opposed the war and the capitulation of the Second International, only the Russian Bolsheviks presented a clear antiwar line. Lenin saw from the beginning the seeds of revolution developing in the course of the war. From the start of the conflict the Bolsheviks sought to mobilize Russian workers in antiwar activity directed first and foremost against their own employers and government. The defeat of Russia in the war, they argued, was a lesser evil and would bring the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist rule in Russia that much closer. "Convert the imperialist war into a civil war!" became their slogan.

The Bolsheviks explained that this defeatist position should be the line of revolutionary socialists in each of the warring imperialist countries. They also called for the formation of a new, revolutionary international, which meant breaking not only with the right-wing social chauvinists but also with their centrist backers, like Kautsky.

Other revolutionaries, stunned by the collapse of the Second International and the grotesque betrayal it was carrying out, did not immediately share the Bolsheviks' outlook. While courageously speaking out against the war at the risk of imprisonment, they were more susceptible to pacifist propaganda and shrank back from forthrightly calling for the defeat of their own governments. They were reluctant to break with "left" forces influenced by the centrists and held onto the hope of a reunified

International after the war was over.

Readers of *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* can study the initial antiwar propaganda of the German revolutionaries, for example, and see the difference between their appeals to the working class and those made by the Bolsheviks. They will also follow the exchange between Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky and the Bolsheviks on use of the "peace" slogan.

Trotsky, who was to join the Bolsheviks in 1917 and become a central leader of the party, was at this time still attempting to mediate between Menshevik forces — who didn't want to break from Kautsky — and the Bolsheviks. He strongly disagreed with the Bolsheviks' slogan of defeat for the tsarist regime in the war, counterposing such slogans as "an immediate cessation of the war" and "neither victory nor defeat." Trotsky argued that by refusing to focus their demands on "peace," the Bolsheviks were dismissing the importance of protests that had begun against the war by workers, pacifists, and others. (Trotsky was later won over to the Bolsheviks' stance on defeatism. In World War II, it was Trotsky who most clearly explained the need for communists in the warring imperialist countries to favor defeat of "their" government.)

Gregory Zinoviev, replying to Trotsky in the Bolsheviks' exile paper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, said, "Social Democracy certainly must not ignore the movement to end the war now taking shape. Social Democrats will participate in a peace demonstration. But they should raise their own slogans there, and proceeding from the masses' simple desire for peace, they will call for revolutionary struggle."

The slogan of "peace" is not inherently revolutionary, he continued. That's why everyone from a wing of the bourgeoisie to church officials, pacifists, and social chauvinists can raise it. The "peace" slogan "only becomes revolutionary when it is linked to our explanation of a policy of revolutionary struggle, and accompanied by a call to revolution, and a revolutionary protest against the government of one's own country."

To clarify the differences among revolutionary forces and advance the discussion, Lenin and Zinoviev wrote the pamphlet *Socialism and War* in 1915.

The world war, they explained, was

being waged by imperialism for three reasons:

"To increase the enslavement of the colonies by means of a 'more equitable' and subsequent more concerted exploitation of them";

"To increase the oppression of other nations within the 'Great Powers';"

"To increase and prolong wage slavery, since the proletariat is split up and oppressed while the capitalists are the gainers, making fortunes out of the war, fanning national prejudices, and intensifying reaction...."

The war, said Lenin and Zinoviev, was creating "revolutionary moods among the masses. It is our duty to help the masses become more conscious of these moods, deepen them and give them shape. This finds correct expression only in the slogan: convert the imperialist war into a civil war; *all* consistently waged class struggles in wartime and all seriously conducted 'mass action' tactics inevitably lead to this."

The pamphlet went on to explain why the slogan of defeat of one's own government was so important. Those who say, "neither victory nor defeat," Lenin and Zinoviev explained, are not making a clean break with social chauvinism, since they cling to the idea that victory for their capitalist government could somehow be progressive.

"A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its own government in a reactionary war," they wrote, "and cannot fail to see that the latter's military reverses must facilitate its overthrow."

Zimmerwald conference

The Bolsheviks printed the pamphlet for a conference of socialist opponents of the war called for Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in 1915. Those gathering for the meeting included revolutionaries, centrists, and some socialists still voting for war credits in parliament. The Bolsheviks sought to advance a revolutionary wing at the conference, participating in what became known as the Zimmerwald Left. Even within this current, the Bolsheviks were a minority on some questions, including their call for defeat of one's own imperialist government and their stand in favor of self-determination for oppressed nations.

The Zimmerwald Left's resolution at the conference did not receive a majority. Rather a compromise draft submitted by Leon Trotsky and Dutch socialist Henriette

Roland-Holst was adopted after modification.

The Bolsheviks decided to sign the manifesto adopted by the conference despite its weaknesses. As Lenin wrote, "this manifesto is a *step forward* towards a real struggle against opportunism." He said it would be "sectarianism" to refuse to sign it. At the same time, he explained, the Bolsheviks would continue to express their own point of view and deepen the debate and discussion among revolutionaries in the Zimmerwald Left.

Disarmament

One such debate took place around the issue of disarmament. Among the important forces the Bolsheviks were seeking to win over were leaders of the Socialist Youth International. While among the most militant against the prowar stand of the Second International, the youth had adopted the demand for disarmament. This position was reflected in the youth press in Europe. The Norwegian socialist youth group, for example, wrote in its paper:

"We are against every war!... We therefore demand opposition to all tendencies toward war, rejection of all funds for war and war preparations, abolition of all armies, and abolition of everything used for military purposes. We therefore demand disarmament!"

In his article "The 'Disarmament' Slogan," Lenin replied to these arguments. "Socialists cannot be opposed to all war in general without ceasing to be socialists," he explained.

Noting that the bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth against the workers, Lenin pointed out that to demand disarmament "is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate, and disarm the bourgeoisie...."

"Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able to consign all armaments to the scrap heap, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before."

Another major question linked to war policy divided revolutionaries in the Second International — the national question and its place in the socialist revolution. Next week's article will take up this discussion.

(To be continued)

Fight against disruption suit continues

Continued from Page 11

tinuity Today." It was subsequently published in the fall 1983 *New International*, a magazine published by leaders of the SWP and the Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International. A diverse range of opinions about Barnes' speech was expressed by members of the Fourth International, including some that were critical.

The WRP-WL, for their own antiworking-class purposes, immediately intervened by orienting their smear campaign to this discussion among revolutionaries, seeking to disrupt it. The Healyite political arguments are designed to superficially echo some of the positions raised in the discussion by those who disagree with the SWP. But the WRP-WL twists its accusations to lead to the conclusion that the *reason* the SWP leaders are wrong is that they are FBI agents.

The Healyites published a pamphlet on the Barnes speech, *A Provocateur Attacks Trotskyism*, which charges that:

"An unbridgeable political chasm separates the present-day Socialist Workers Party from Trotskyism. Not a single programmatic conception upon which the founding of the Fourth International was based is still accepted by the SWP: not that of the permanent revolution, of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism and the necessity for the political revolution, of the decisive historical role of Trotskyism. In its present form, the Socialist Workers Party is the antithesis of the party that was founded 45 years ago by James P. Cannon in closest collaboration with Leon Trotsky."

Their assertion that the SWP has substi-

tuted "Castroism for revolutionary Marxism" is a central axis of the pamphlet.

The conclusion reached by the Healyites is that "the political line of the SWP leaders does not contradict their role as government agents but confirms it."

It chides revolutionaries who disagree with the views of the SWP for being "unable to explain the political evolution of the SWP."

The fight to defend the SWP from the Gelfand lawsuit, which is presently at the center of the Healyite disruption operation, continues. At any time Pfaelzer could rule in favor of both Gelfand and the U.S. government, thus giving the green light to the courts and the Justice Department to step up their disruption of the SWP and other working-class organizations.

The SWP, aided by the Political Rights Defense Fund and other defenders of the Bill of Rights, is waging a campaign to defend its constitutional rights and to help deter similar lawsuits against other working-class organizations.

In the period around the March 1983 trial, broad protest rallies were held in 50 cities in the United States, demanding the judge halt the unconstitutional intervention by the courts into the functioning of the SWP and throw Gelfand's suit out of court.

Scores of union officials, civil rights leaders, farm protest figures, women's rights fighters, civil libertarians, and representatives of political organizations spoke or sent messages.

Among the union officials who stated their support for this First Amendment principle were Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union; Victor

Reuther, retired director of United Auto Workers International Affairs Department; and David Dyson, national staff representative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and secretary to the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Georgia State Representative Julian Bond and U.S. Congressman Ronald Dellums also joined the defense effort.

Ring Lardner Jr., one of the 10 Hollywood writers who were jailed during the witch-hunt of the 1950s, also declared his support.

In July of this year, William Smith, a Los Angeles attorney, sent a letter to a number of lawyers urging support for the SWP's fight.

"Chances are," Smith wrote, "you may not have heard of [the Gelfand case]. And even if you have, if you are like I was, your reaction may have been to dismiss it as irrelevant. Or simply another unimportant struggle between sectarian groups. But I decided to take the time to look more deeply into this case. As I did I became convinced there are some very significant issues at stake."

After describing the case, Smith explained, "Gelfand had behind him some very powerful backers. Armed with seemingly unlimited funds, he was able to use the power of the court in an attempt to destroy a legitimate political organization."

Getting out the word about this case and the stakes involved remain a necessity if this attack on democratic rights is to be defeated and the Healyite disruption operation dealt a sharp blow.

From Intercontinental Press

Defend school desegregation!

Recent attacks on busing to achieve school desegregation in Boston (see story on front page) are part of a series of attempts across the country to beat back gains made in the fight for equal rights for Blacks.

Blacks, of course, have a vital interest in defending school desegregation. As an oppressed nationality, Blacks are denied an equal education as well as equal rights in areas such as employment and housing. Desegregated school systems have resulted in significant improvements in the quality of Black education. That's because the better schools are in the white neighborhoods. Given segregated housing patterns, busing programs provide the best means of achieving school desegregation.

But it's not just Blacks who have a vital interest in defending school desegregation. The entire labor movement has a stake in this fight. Blows against desegregated education not only deny Blacks equal education, but are the cutting edge of further attacks on the education of all working-class youth.

Who benefits from denying Blacks equal education? The bosses. It's the bankers and other fat cats who make money when the city, state, and federal governments cut back on spending for education. It's the real estate sharks who profit from the high rents Blacks are forced to pay for dilapidated, uncared-for housing. It's the bosses who reap billions off the lower wages they pay Blacks. It's the

employing class that benefits from the racist oppression of Blacks — not the working class.

The capitalists are on a drive against the wages, working conditions, and standard of living of all workers. They attack Black workers — the most militant and combative workers — first and hit them the hardest in order to divide our class and weaken our ability to fight back.

The capitalists claim that white workers have more in common with them than with Black workers. They sow racist prejudices among workers, and try to mobilize them against other workers fighting for Black equality.

The labor movement should reject this procapitalist perspective. For working people to effectively resist the capitalist onslaught we need a united, fighting labor movement. We need solidarity. It's illusory to think that working people can defend ourselves from the employers' offensive without defending the most oppressed and exploited layer of workers. Every ruling-class success in pushing back Black rights is a blow to the democratic rights of all working people. It emboldens the anti-Black bigots, who are also virulently antilabor.

By mobilizing the potential power of the trade unions behind the demand for school desegregation and other Black rights, a fighting unity between Black and white workers can be forged — a unity that is essential to winning Black civil rights and ending the exploitation of all working people.

New attack on right to bail

The government has made its first move to implement the so-called Bail Reform Act that guts the constitutional right to bail.

The law is a sharp blow to the democratic guarantee that one is presumed innocent until proven guilty. It gives judges the power to lock up and deny bail to anyone they label "extremely dangerous to the community" or who poses "a substantial risk of flight."

The government chose carefully the case to begin implementing this restriction on the democratic rights of all working people.

On October 18, 400 heavily-armed New York City police and FBI agents stormed homes in Brooklyn and Queens and a restaurant in Manhattan and arrested nine people they claimed were "connected to the Black revolutionary group that committed the Brinks armored-car robbery three years ago." The capitalist press was full of sensational headlines about "urban guerrillas." They painted the defendants as dangerous criminals whose rights didn't deserve consideration.

With the stage thus set, the prosecution demanded that the new anti-bail law be implemented and that the defendants — who have not been charged with committing any crime, but rather with "conspiring to commit armored-car robberies" — be denied bail. The judge did agree to jail without bail one of the defendants, Coltrane Chimurenga.

On what grounds?

The judge claimed that Chimurenga was likely to flee if released.

In a tried and true method, the ruling class chose a case they hope will not spark a public outcry in order to establish a dangerous precedent that will then be used more broadly. In this case, the defendants were called "urban guerrillas" to make denying their democratic rights more palatable.

The ruling class hopes that if they can get away with violations of democratic rights in "unpopular" cases of

defendants branded as "dangerous" criminals, terrorists, spies, or communists, the way is opened to cast their net more broadly.

This recent case in New York is not the first time the government has denied bail in political trials recently.

Framed up as a "spy," a Bulgarian trade official stationed in New York has been held in jail without bail for more than a year. *He has been convicted of nothing.* The precedent has been set, and further damage done to the principle of innocent until proven guilty.

Then there was the case of Brink's defendant Kathy Boudin. She was kept in jail for *more than two and a half years* without bail before ever coming to trial. She was also subjected to brutal treatment and denied the right to a fair trial.

The *Militant* campaigned in defense of Boudin's democratic rights and urged other supporters of civil liberties to do the same. "They [government officials] aim to take advantage of the pariah status they have imposed on her — and the lack of vocal support on her behalf — to establish precedents that can be used more broadly to take away the democratic rights of other indicted individuals." That's what we said last April. And that's exactly what has happened.

And now under the Bail Reform Act, it's "legal."

It isn't hard to imagine striking workers, fighters for Black and women's rights, or antiwar protesters framed up for violence on demonstrations or picket lines imprisoned indefinitely because some judge claims they're "dangerous."

As the rulers deepen their war in Central America and the Caribbean and their drive against our living standards, they must attack our democratic rights as well.

During the Boudin trial, the *Militant* urged others to speak out. We urge the same thing now in this latest Brink's trial. The labor movement, fighters for the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women, and all supporters of civil liberties should take a stand and defend the right to bail.

"incident to military service."

So now the veterans and the families of veterans who got cancer as a result of the tests can't sue the corporation owners and can't sue the government.

The government that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has no concern for the lives and health of working people in this country either.

Just like the vets who were victims of Agent Orange, the atomic veterans and others exposed to radiation from atomic tests are casualties of the employers' wars.

This callous legislation is one more example of how it is working people that pay the price — the full price — for the wars of the capitalist class. This bill is also preparation for the future, as far as the ruling class is concerned.

They are waging war today in Central America. They intend to escalate that war, and eventually use U.S. troops. So this is their message to the next generation of vets as well.

Gov't shafts atomic veterans

New legislation was quietly snuck through Congress in September by the Democrats and Republicans that makes it impossible for veterans or their relatives who got cancer as a result of exposure to atomic weapons tests to win any compensation.

The new law gives atomic testing contractors who participated in these tests complete immunity from liability for harm done to the victims.

And there were lots of victims. Between 1945 and 1980, the U.S. government conducted nearly 700 atomic tests in Nevada and the Pacific Ocean. It is estimated that close to 1 million civilians and military personnel were exposed to radiation.

The more than 1,000 lawsuits against atomic testing contractors like the Sandia National Laboratory and the University of California are now transferred to the government. About 100 of these lawsuits were brought by veterans or their families.

But there's a catch. In 1950 the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government cannot be sued for injuries

Revolutionaries in World War I: 'enemy is at home'

When World War I broke out in 1914, opportunist leaders of the Second International called on workers to back their "own" governments in the war. Revolutionaries in the International, however, condemned the war as a struggle between the imperialist powers over markets and colonies. They sought to mobilize workers against the war and their governments which were waging it. (See article on page 7.)

In this week's column, we are reprinting antiwar leaflets put out by revolutionaries in Germany and Russia, whose imperialist governments were on opposite sides of

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

the war. The text of the leaflets comes from *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, a 604-page volume available for \$10.95 by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Printed first is a May 1915 underground leaflet put out by revolutionaries in the German Social Democratic Party.

The leaflet was written on the occasion of the Italian imperialist government joining the war on the side of Germany and Austria. The Italian Social Democrats came out against the war and their government.

* * *

The senseless slogan "Hold out to the end" is bankrupt and only leads deeper into the genocidal maelstrom. The task of the hour for Socialists is the international proletarian class struggle against international imperialist slaughter.

Every people's main enemy is in their own country!

The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism, the German war party, and German secret diplomacy. Here in our own land is the enemy that the German people must combat. We must wage this political struggle alongside the proletariat of other countries, as they struggle against their own imperialists.

We know we are one with the German people. We have nothing in common with the Tirpitzes and Falkenhayns [German military officials] or with the German government of political repression and social enslavement. Nothing for them; everything for the German people! Everything for the international proletariat, for the sake of German workers and of downtrodden humanity!

The enemies of the working class count on the masses' forgetfulness — we must prove they are mistaken! While they wager on the patience and leniency of the masses, we raise the fervent cry:

How much longer will the imperialist gamblers abuse the patience of the people? Enough and more than enough of the slaughter. Down with the warmongers on both sides of the border!

End the genocide!

Proletarians of all countries, follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers. Unite in international class struggle against the conspiracies of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against the war, and for a peace in the socialist spirit.

The main enemy is at home!

* * *

The following leaflet was circulated in Petrograd, Russia, by the Bolshevik Party at about the same time.

Who is it that threatens the Russian people? Who should we combat? They say it is the Germans...

But it is the landlords, the factory owners, the big proprietors and merchants who steal from us; it is the police, the tsar, and his hangers-on who rob us. And when we have had enough of this robbery, and call a strike to protect our interest, then the police, the soldiers, and the Cossacks are unleashed upon us. They beat us and they throw us in prison; they deport us to Siberia, persecute us, and treat us like mad dogs. These are our real enemies — enemies who fight against us ruthlessly and irreconcilably...

Now they try to mislead us and make us believe that our enemy is "the German" whom we have never seen. They want to incite us against Germany. Now when they need our fists, they sing a song of "unity." They try to lull us to sleep, saying we should forget every internal conflict and all unite into one patriotic stream. They say we must forget our own working-class cause and instead make their cause our own and march off to conquer new lands for the tsar and his landlords.

But will we Russian workers really be so stupid as to take these lying phrases seriously? Will we really give up our own fight? No! If we must sacrifice our lives, we will do so for *our own* cause and not for that of the Romanovs and their rustic landlords. They put guns into our hands. Good. We will show our courage and use these guns to fight for better living conditions for the Russian working class.

Guatemalan Indian woman tells her people's story

I ... Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala, by Rigoberta Menchú with an introduction by Elisabeth Burgos-Debray. London, Verso Editions, 1984, 251 pages, \$8.95 paperback. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

BY LEE MARTINDALE

"Our experience in Guatemala has always been to be told: 'Ah, poor Indians, they can't speak.' And many people have said, 'I'll speak for them.' This hurt us very much. This is a kind of discrimination. But we have understood that each one of us is responsible for the struggle..." explains Rigoberta Menchú in this book.

In the last 10 years, the Indian majority in Guatemala, which speaks 22 native dialects, has made itself heard in massive struggles against the capitalist landlords and the U.S.-backed dictatorship. Organized in the Peasant

Costa where there's coffee picking and also weeding out the coffee plants, or further down the South coast where there's cotton."

Rigoberta, her family, and her neighbors were all transported to the plantations in trucks, like animals, and paid starvation wages for the labor of whole families, including small children. Rigoberta started work in the fields at the age of eight.

"A very few families owned the vast areas of land which produce these crops for sale abroad. ... Where we live in the mountains, that is, where the land isn't fertile, you can barely grow maize and beans. The land isn't fertile enough for anything else."

After Indian families settled on wilderness land in the mountainous Altiplano and spent years clearing it, big landowners and timber companies moved in to take it away. As the elected village leader, Rigoberta's father had to travel to the capital, petitioning courts and government agencies to try to save the land. This meant constant humiliation and discrimination in a racist system where the Indians' language and customs mark them as second-class citizens.

In time, Rigoberta's father went to trade unions in the city for help. This made him a target of the dictatorship's repression. He was arrested and thrown in prison several times, once as a political prisoner. "He was in prison for fifteen days," explains Rigoberta. "Then he came home. He was very proud and happy because in prison he'd met another prisoner who really was a political prisoner. He was someone who defended the peasants and he told my father the peasants should unite and form a Peasants' League to reclaim their lands. He said it wasn't our problem alone: our enemies weren't the landowners but the whole system."

Convinced of this perspective, the whole Menchú family became involved in the struggle. Rigoberta and her mother traveled as CUC organizers, recruiting new members and helping other villages organize armed self-defense based on their traditional tools and their knowledge of the land.

Rigoberta describes community meetings to discuss and plan ambushes of army troops. When the villagers captured Indian soldiers who had been forcibly recruited into the army, they held the men until they had convinced them to desert by reminding them of their pride and duty



Rigoberta Menchú, Guatemalan Indian leader.

as Indians. Many Indians, including Rigoberta's two younger sisters, joined the armed struggle in the mountains led by the Guatemala Revolutionary National Movement (URNG).

I ... Rigoberta Menchú is a participant's account of the workers' and peasants' struggle in Guatemala from the mid-70s to the present. Rigoberta's father, Vicente Menchú, was one of the peasant leaders massacred by the Guatemalan army and police on January 31, 1980, after they had peacefully occupied the Spanish embassy to protest repression. The army attacked the embassy with flame-throwers, incinerating 30 people. Rigoberta's mother and brother were captured, tortured, and killed by the regime's troops.

In the face of these painful losses, Rigoberta deepened her involvement in the CUC and in Christian groups fighting the repression. She explains through her own experiences the role of women in the movement, the problems in overcoming the divisions between Indians and Spanish-speaking allies, the encouragement and training of new leaders from among the Indians themselves, and the way in which defending the Indian culture is both a goal and an inspiration for their struggle.

Her account provides a unique insight into the power of the struggle against national oppression, and an inspiring example of what workers and farmers are capable of doing and becoming in the struggle for justice and a new society.

BOOK REVIEW

Unity Committee (CUC), Indians have joined with Spanish-speaking trade unionists in the cities, led general strikes of agricultural workers, and organized armed self-defense of their communities. These workers and peasants, like their brothers and sisters in El Salvador, are fighting against imperialist-imposed poverty and repression and for real national liberation.

Indian leaders like Rigoberta Menchú, a peasant woman from the province of El Quiché, have learned Spanish in order to tell the world about the struggle of their people. This book, the result of a series of interviews with Menchú by Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, is a great way for workers in other countries to learn about the struggle in Guatemala.

Told simply, in the form of an autobiography, the book contains a great deal of information on the Indians' culture and way of life, and the oppression and exploitation they face.

"Most of what I remember is after I was five," recounts Menchú. "We spent four months in our little house in the Altiplano [the Guatemalan highlands] and the rest of the year we had to go down to the coast, either in the Boca

LETTERS

Auto parts workers

Early last summer General Motors notified its plants that the number of parts suppliers it will use needed to be reduced from 4,000 to 300-400. Quality standards based on a Japanese model are to be applied to weed out the inefficient parts suppliers.

I work at Dura Corp., a United Auto Workers-organized "incentive" shop in Toledo, Ohio. It is located down the street from AP Parts where the UAW has been on strike since May 2 against union-busting.

Under the spur of GM's quality campaign, Dura launched an attack on its employees. The first step was to call departmental meetings in which we were told that if quality was not improved, layoffs would begin. We work on an incentive system and the pressure is always on to increase production.

One perceptive coworker questioned the incentive program, asking how management could reconcile quantity with their demands for increased quality. Workers are expected to inspect parts after they are done working on them and at the same time increase the number produced! Under a contract agreed to last January, production rates were increased by 3 percent.

A few weeks later another quality meeting was held, this time in the plant superintendent's office with only the newly hired workers attending and without a union representative. In September a company-wide meeting was held at a nearby banquet hall at which top management stated that GM felt there was an "attitude problem" at Dura.

The next day coworkers discussed the meeting. The general response was if the company wants quality they can lower production rates.

The attacks on parts workers is another challenge for the unions. The overall strategy by the big

auto makers is to reduce wages of parts workers and weaken the unions. Unionists need to ensure that all workers' rights are protected, and that the union is not split with assembly-line workers pitted against parts workers. We must stand in solidarity with workers abroad too and help in their fight against GM, Datsun, Honda, etc.

Nancy Boyasko
UAW Local 16
Toledo, Ohio.

Sandinista revolution

I have just read [Arnold Weissberg's] pamphlet, *Nicaragua: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution*. I bought the pamphlet at an art exhibit in Brixton, South London.

From this and other sources, I have come to the conclusion that the Sandinista revolution is something worth defending... and offers the greatest hope for all the Third World, which is probably why Washington and Whitehall don't like to shout about it that much.

I am a poor worker aged 21. I have a job in a bread factory which involves working long hours for low pay. I would dearly love to visit Nicaragua, in fact to live there as there is nothing for me in this country.

Craig Stewart
Bromley Kent, England

Rehire PATCO members

At the end of October in Seattle, air traffic controllers were praised by federal officials for averting a mid-air collision over the city. The two planes involved were a single-engine plane and Air Force II carrying George Bush.

As it turned out, however, the air traffic tower only alerted the pilots when the planes were between two miles and then 100 feet apart as they headed into Boeing Field next to Boeing Plant II, where thousands of members of

the International Association of Machinists work.

This incident came on the heels of the October Senate Transportation Subcommittee hearings on air traffic control. At the hearings, the president of the Airline Pilots Association, Henry Duffy, told the Senate that they had better hire the fired Professional Air Traffic Controllers' Organization (PATCO) members back to train inexperienced and overworked people in the towers.

Duffy stated, "As controllers are denied sick leave, vacations, and are fatigue-ridden, it increases the pressure on our pilots. New planes are being built to be run by radar — we are told to keep our eyes down. We say — give us back PATCO and put some bigger windows in the cockpit."

Instead, the solution of the Federal Aviation Administration is 1) reduce the separation of aircraft in the air 2) allow more stacked planes above the airports and 3) add more "midnight" flights.

The bipartisan Senate committee suggested hiring back PATCO union controllers who retired or quit before the 1981 PATCO strike, along with military personnel who controlled during the strike. "We need controllers without the taboo of a strike over them," said Democratic Senator Exon from Nebraska.

At least 40 percent of the 11,700 PATCO strikers would choose to come back to the towers if the work ban were lifted, according to USATCO — the U.S. Air Traffic Controllers Organization. Some 600 PATCO controllers are already back on the job, and another 800 of the strikers are being considered, stated USATCO Pres. Gary Eads. Both the pilots and controllers' associations agreed that the PATCO ban remains for "political reasons only."

Janet Post
Seattle, Washington

Study Malcolm X

I am in prison in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and at this time I'm back up in the hole.

I'm looking for books on Malcolm X — the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* and also *The Assassination of Malcolm X*.

We talk so much about him here, and I would like to study him myself because Malcolm X was one of the best Black leaders in our history.

In your paper you also had something on Ché Guevara, and how he was a great freedom fighter. I would also like to read the book, *Che Guevara Speaks*.

A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Show both sides of issues

I respect the socialist cause and enjoy reading the *Militant*, but I have a discrepancy about your newspaper. The format seems to show only one side of the issues.

Show the fallacies of socialism as well as the good points. I have not been a subscriber for very long, but I am yet to hear anything about the French socialist government or the bureaucratic socialism of the Soviet Union. Both of these governments are having a multitude of problems with socialism.

If you want to turn the heads of readers and voters you must show both sides of the issues, so a more informed decision can be made. Give the non-socialist reader a chance to decide for himself.

Take a chance on the intellect of your reader.

G.P.
Ft. Collins, Colorado

Unionists sentenced

Members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Toledo who were arrested and charged with felonies after their participation in a May 21 demonstration at AP Parts have begun to be sentenced. At that demonstration, the police

rioted and attacked 3,500 auto workers, arresting 41 and charging them with misdemeanors and "aggravated riot."

AP Parts had forced the UAW out on strike May 2 when it imposed a \$5.84 hourly wage cut and the elimination of seniority. Four hundred workers were thrown onto the street and the company has been using hundreds of scabs since then.

One of those arrested May 21 and charged was AP striker James King. While on picket duty in September he was shot with a pellet gun by a Nuckols security guard (hired by AP). King was convicted by the court, fined \$500, and given a suspended jail sentence.

On November 1, UAW member Dan Smith was convicted and ordered to spend nine days in jail. He was also fined \$1,000, given a one year suspended prison sentence, and placed on two years' probation. Smith is a UAW member at Jeep and was one of 1,500 Jeep workers who demonstrated May 21 at AP Parts to show their solidarity with striking Local 14 members.

These new convictions are an escalation of the company's union-busting drive at AP Parts.

Mark Friedman
Toledo, Ohio

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Abortion rights victory in Canada

Jury acquits doctor who defied restrictive abortion law

BY JOAN CAMPANA

MONTREAL, Canada — In an important victory for women and all working people, a Toronto jury in the trial of Dr. Henry Morgentaler brought in a unanimous verdict of "not guilty" on November 8.

Morgentaler, along with his associates, Drs. Robert Scott and Leslie Smoling, were on trial in the province of Ontario's Supreme Court on charges of conspiracy to perform illegal abortions. The charges, which carry a maximum penalty of life imprisonment, resulted from a police raid on the Toronto abortion clinic Morgentaler had set up in June 1983. He had decided to open the clinic, even though such a move was illegal under Canada's restrictive abortion law, because there was no place for women to obtain safe abortions.

Abortion restrictions

According to federal law, abortions are illegal in Canada except under certain highly restrictive conditions. Abortions may be performed only in hospitals that have been specially accredited to perform them, and then only after approval by a special committee of doctors. To obtain approval, a woman must prove to the committee that her health or life is endangered by the continuation of the pregnancy.

On top of this outright denial of a woman's right to abortion, women's rights supporters point out that the committees are arbitrary and discriminatory. For example, hospitals can appoint physicians to the committees who oppose abortion, thus ensuring that few abortions are approved.

The upshot is that thousands of women each year are unable to obtain safe, legal abortions.

This is a federal law, but its enforcement and application is left up to the governments of Canada's 10 provinces.

The acquittal is "a victory for all women across Canada," a jubilant Morgentaler said in a posttrial press conference. "We have achieved a tremendous moral victory. I hope it will reverberate across this city, this province, and this country and maybe help others fighting for women's rights and reproductive freedom in other countries and encourage them to continue in their struggles."

Some 600 supporters demonstrated their approval and support to the ongoing struggle two days later in a spirited demonstration in Toronto.

At the press conference, Morgentaler said he would reopen the clinic within a month. He offered its use to the Ontario provincial government as a pilot project to train doctors to perform abortions. That way, he said, a network of clinics could be set up in Ontario.

Fourth acquittal

Speaking in the Ontario legislature November 9, New Democratic Party (NDP) leader Robert Ray added his voice to the call for a provincial network of abortion clinics. The NDP is Canada's union-based labor party.

The trial marks the fourth time Morgentaler has been acquitted by juries for performing clinic abortions. In 1969 he opened his first clinic here in Montreal, which is located in the oppressed, French-speaking Quebec. Three times over the next seven years he was dragged into court. Each time Quebec juries said he should go free. Finally the Quebec provincial government threw out the charges.

Since that time, and in spite of the law, eight government-funded abortion clinics have operated in Quebec.

In 1983 Morgentaler took his challenge to the abortion law a step further by opening clinics in the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba.

Turning the Toronto courtroom into a political platform, Morris Manning, the doctors' lawyer, put the abortion law itself on trial.

Manning centered his case on an unequivocal defense of women's rights. It was necessary to break the law and provide abortions, he said, because so many women needed them. Witness after witness testified to the long delays in getting abortions in Ontario. Each year hundreds of women are forced to go to the United States or Quebec for abortions.

"Why should the country's politicians keep women enslaved" by such a law, Manning asked. "Think about it. If you haven't got reproductive freedom to decide whether to have a child or not, what have you got?"

Such a situation only exists "because of the continued desire to keep women subjugated," he told the press conference.

Appearing as a witness at the trial, Morgentaler explained his motives to a hushed courtroom. "I decided to technically break the law to provide necessary services for women, to protect their life and health and dignity," he said.

At the press conference Morgentaler reiterated the message: "The law is unjust; it is cruel to women; it unnecessarily creates a lot of suffering; it endangers the life and health of women; it oppresses women."

The law is "obsolete in Quebec. Now it has been shown to be obsolete in Ontario and by extension across Canada." He called on the new Conservative government to change the law.

Government wanted conviction

A clear counter line was presented at the trial. Anarchy would result if the doctors were allowed to go free, argued the lawyer for the Ontario government. He said the jury could not even consider pronouncing a verdict on the law, but only on whether it had been broken or not. "Breaking the law in order to change it is like plunging a knife into the heart of democracy," he said. "It is just an invitation to anarchy."

The judge agreed. "You are not here to judge the law and you have no right to do so," he lectured the jury. When the jury discounted this and read out their "not guilty" verdict, the clearly dismayed judge told Morgentaler, "I guess I'll have to excuse you. Get going."

The judge's strong desire for a conviction reflected the wishes of Canada's rulers. In response to this fourth acquittal in a decade, federal Justice Minister John



Dr. Henry Morgentaler (center) and other supporters of a woman's right to abortion demonstrating outside Ontario Supreme Court last summer. Jury freed Morgentaler and other doctors who opened clinic to provide safe abortions to women, even though this violates Canada's reactionary laws.

Crosby said the Conservative government would not repeal the existing federal law.

Labor support

The jury verdict reflects the broad support that exists for abortion rights in English Canada and Quebec. Majorities in the polls taken have time and again demonstrated that support.

Over the past years, abortion has become a lively issue in the labor movement. Bodies like the Ontario Federation of Labor and several of its component unions have discussed the issue and defended the Morgentaler clinic. They have become a powerful addition to the abortion-rights movement. It is this broad support the government must confront to turn back the clinics fight.

This support — especially its union component — infuriates the foes of abortion rights. The enraged president of the reactionary "Right to Life," Laura McArthur, denounced the jury as "unionists and transients," contrasting them to "the steady, solid people of society" like the "professionals and executives" she would have liked to see on the jury.

Six men and six women were on the jury. It included a cashier, a mail clerk, a postal worker, a sausage inspector, an unemployed company manager, and an electrical engineer.

The Right-to-Life spokespeople reacted

to the decision with a scarcely veiled call for violent revenge. Such threats have to be taken seriously. Morgentaler was attacked last year by a man wielding garden shears. The Toronto clinic was fire bombed. In the United States, a sharp ideological attack by the ruling class on women's right to abortion has been accompanied by a dramatic rise in the bombing and burning of abortion clinics by right-wing terrorists.

The decision does not mean the foes of abortion rights will give up. On the contrary, the real fight to secure the clinics is still to be fought. The Ontario government can appeal the decision. When Morgentaler reopens the clinic, new charges can be laid. Charges still stand in the province of Manitoba. The federal law is still on the books.

In closing the press conference, Morgentaler not only thanked his many supporters, but asked them "to continue to support us in the battles ahead." That support — including active backing from the labor movement — will be vitally necessary in the months to come.

But the prowomen forces have been strengthened going into the next round. There was a clear message from the trial: all the charges against Morgentaler and his associates should be dropped. No more should be brought. Safe, legal abortion should be provided across English Canada and Quebec. All restrictions on the right to abortion should be repealed.

British miner wins solidarity in Canada

BY TOM LEONARD

The recent tour across English Canada and Quebec by a striking British coal miner, Steve Shukla, was a resounding success. He built solidarity with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and raised financial support for the strikers in Britain.

Shukla had previously toured the United States talking to unionists and others. When he tried to come back to this country at the conclusion of his Canada visit, he was denied the right to re-enter the United States by U.S. Customs agents. Supporters of Shukla's right to enter the United States have been sending messages to Secretary of State George Shultz protesting this political exclusion.

Shukla's Canadian tour included public meetings as well as appearances in front of unions, women's organizations, and a youth group. He also got substantial media coverage.

His success in reaching unionists was

undermined by a letter sent out by Dennis McDermott, president of Canada's national labor federation, the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). The letter to CLC affiliates was sent out on October 3, just as the tour was beginning.

McDermott wrote, "... whereas Steve Shukla could very well be a number [sic] of the N.U.M. and authorized by a branch of the union, he is not known to the N.U.M." McDermott also raised a question mark over where funds raised on the tour were being sent.

Shukla's tour was authorized by the Armthorpe branch of the NUM, which organizes miners in the Yorkshire area of England. Twenty-five-year-old Shukla is a member of that branch. He is one of thousands of young miners who are emerging as leaders in the NUM's struggle against the Conservative Party government of Margaret Thatcher.

McDermott's letter failed to prevent the success of the tour.

A public meeting in Vancouver drew 300 people and got substantial union endorsement. This included the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUWP), Vancouver local; Carpenters and Joiners Local 452; George Hewison, secretary-treasurer, United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union; Steve Watson, chairperson, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CBRT-GW) Local 326; and Dave Forsyth, president CBRT-GW Local 400.

On his tour, Shukla got out the truth about the miners strike. "It was the Thatcher government which provoked the strike with its plan to close down 'uneconomic' pits [mines]. And it is the Thatcher government which has been responsible for the violence that has taken place."

He explained how Thatcher has mobilized 10,000 cops to try to crush the strike, and gave the example of how 2,000

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