

## N.Y. actions hit cop killing of Black woman

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

NEW YORK — Blacks and other opponents of racist cop terror here have staged several protests in recent days blasting the cop killing of Eleanor Bumpurs. Cops stormed into Bumpurs' Bronx apartment October 29 in order to evict the 66-year-old woman, who was four months behind in her rent.

Cops claim Bumpurs attacked their six-man squad with a kitchen knife. One of the cops, Stephen Sullivan, shotgunned Bumpurs to death.

On November 17, around 200 demonstrators marched in the Bronx from Fordham Road and the Grand Concourse to the 46th Precinct police headquarters at Ryer Avenue and 181st Street. The cop unit that killed Bumpurs is part of this police precinct. The protest, called by the Justice for Eleanor Bumpurs Committee, demanded an independent investigation of the killing, the dismissal of all the cops involved in the eviction, and an end to police brutality.

Other protests included a November 18 memorial service at Brooklyn's House of the Lord Church, a November 19 early morning demonstration on Wall Street, and an afternoon rally on the same day at the courthouse building at 161st Street and the Grand Concourse in the Bronx.

Cop violence against this city's Black and Latino communities is rampant. Outrage at the increasing cop terror forced a congressional investigation into the charges of police brutality. The congressional committee, headed by Rep. John Conyers from Michigan, found that "racism appears to be a major factor in alleged police misconduct specifically and police-community relations generally" in New York City.

Mayor Edward Koch responded that "Certainly no one can deny that vestiges of racism remain in our society and therefore may remain among some members of the police department as well. To suggest that racism is a 'major' factor in police-community relations, however, is not supported by the facts."

Koch toned down his remarks a bit when he spoke at a "town hall" meeting in Harlem on November 20. "I know," he said, "there will always be the question of whether, if she [Bumpurs] were white, would she have been subject to the same acts."

"No!" some of the nearly 400 Blacks shouted back.

"We will never know," responded Koch.

"We know," replied many Blacks.

Koch has tried to undercut the growing protest against the city's cops by making scapegoats of a few government workers. Bumpurs had lived in a city housing project and had been assigned to social workers in the city's Human Resources Administration (HRA).

Stuart Leibowitz, vice-president of Social Services Employees Union Local 371, said, "The mayor is castigating HRA employees for this tragedy while the police whose procedures and personnel were responsible for the death of Mrs. Bumpurs are exonerated."

Mary Bumpurs, daughter of the slain woman, said that cop Sullivan is responsible for her mother's death. "He was the one that took her life. I would like him brought up on charges," she said.

A Bronx grand jury is currently considering the case and may hand down indictments. Meanwhile, Black rights activists and others have announced plans to mount a protest campaign to win justice in this case.

## D.C. protests: 'No U.S. support to S. Africa'



South African miners. Protests are demanding release of 13 South African union leaders jailed following November 5-6 strike.

BY NANCY BROWN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Protests demanding an end to Washington's complicity with the racist South African government and an end to apartheid have continued here for a week. Actions have included sit-ins at the South African embassy — followed by arrests of protesters — and daily picket lines outside the embassy.

The immediate demand is the release of 13 South African labor leaders who have

not been heard from since South African cops arrested them following the two-day strike in that country on November 5-6. Others whose release is being demanded include Black South African leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, who have been in prison since the early 1960s.

The protests began on November 21, when Walter Fauntroy, Washington's non-voting delegate to Congress; Mary Berry, a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commis-

sion, and Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, the Black lobby for Africa and the Caribbean, were arrested by uniformed Secret Service agents for refusing to leave the South African embassy. The three had gone to the embassy to meet with Ambassador Bernabus Fourie to demand the release of South African union leaders who were jailed without charges in early November. When they refused to leave they were arrested.

The three were released after spending the night in jail and pleading innocent to charges of unlawful entry. A pretrial hearing has been set for December 20.

At a November 23 news conference, Robinson, Berry, and Fauntroy announced the formation of the "Free South Africa Movement" — a coalition of labor, church, and political groups — aimed at pressuring the Reagan administration to change U.S. policy toward South Africa.

"The action already taken and those planned have been arrived at reluctantly," Robinson said. "But the circumstances in South Africa and the support of this country have demonstrated that a direct action is necessary, meaning any measure that will focus American attention to this problem and cultivate an American understanding and sympathy for those who suffer much in South Africa. Black leadership . . . has reached a point where it is willing to return to those measures that produced results in the past."

Robinson, Berry, and Fauntroy called for daily demonstrations starting on

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## Nicaragua steps up Managua defense

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In the wake of the escalation of U.S. government threats and military provocations since the beginning of November, Nicaragua has launched a major campaign to qualitatively strengthen the defenses of Managua, the nation's capital.

Members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), leaders of the neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), and other activists are carrying out a campaign of door-to-door visits to make sure every possible resident of the city is integrated in one way or another into the defense of the country.

"What we are stressing the most is military defense, fundamentally through the militias," explained Enrique Urbina, a member of the executive committee of the CDSs for region III, which includes the capital and surrounding towns and rural areas in the department of Managua.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Urbina detailed the political campaign and concrete plans that the FSLN National Directorate and the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction have laid out to deter aggression by being prepared to meet a possible direct U.S. military attack.

In addition to the house-to-house visits, all kinds of meetings and assemblies are being held so that the people can discuss the character of the danger facing the revolution. These include union and workplace assemblies; meetings with CDS activists from the different zones into which Managua is subdivided; and general assemblies of all the people in a given neighborhood, as well as of each individual CDS, which as a general rule covers an area of 20-30 homes.

The National Directorate of the FSLN has made a special appeal to the youth to

place themselves in the vanguard of those organizing the city's defenses, especially the militia units. The nearly 20,000 students who had volunteered to go pick the coffee crop have instead been asked to stay in the city and become the motor force of the defense effort.

The central goal of this campaign is to head off a U.S. attack by convincing the U.S. government that the cost of a direct intervention will be too high. Central to this calculation is the projection that the peoples of the world — and especially working people in the United States — will mobilize against such aggression and that these protests will mushroom as the U.S. Army becomes bogged down for a prolonged period of time in what will become a regional war.

### Four main areas of work

Urbina explained the four main areas of work that are being stressed in preparing the defense of Managua.

First, he said, "Our CDS structures must supply the officers for the militias as well as promote people joining them." Some 43 militia recruitment centers have been opened in the capital, and the goal is to have 40,000 or more members of the militia by early December.

In many cases, these will be people who had previously participated in militia activity but had fallen away for a number of reasons. Until recently many militia battalions in Managua have been relatively inactive as thousands of the most dedicated *milicianos* have gone instead to the front lines in the north, and the direct military threat to the capital city seemed remote.

The 40,000 militia members will be organized territorially to defend Managua in case of attack. Each neighborhood or couple of neighborhoods will have its own

battalion and command post.

"In promoting integration into the militias," Urbina said, "what's basic is the house-to-house visit." He cited as an example a neighborhood where the revolution is building a school. "We have to go house-to-house to explain to the neighbors that they have to defend their school."

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Children in Managua climb on tanks deployed around capital.



BY DAVID SALNER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Socialist workers here have begun regular plant gate sales to introduce the *Militant* to union members in Charleston's Kanawha River Valley.

This area is sometimes called the chemical or cancer valley because Dupont, Union Carbide, Monsanto, and FMC all have major plants here.

Chemical workers and area residents have the highest rate of certain kinds of cancer in the nation. The issue of dioxin poisoning on the job has been raised by retired Monsanto workers who are members of the United Steelworkers of America. They currently have a lawsuit against the company. The International Association of Machinists also organizes some of the chemical workers in the area.

When we first started to sell at plant gates in the Kanawha River Valley, we met some hostility and indifference. But by showing up regularly, workers are beginning to know the *Militant*. One worker who was unfriendly to us eventu-

ally came over and bought a *Militant*. He let us know he would give us a hard time if he found any lies in it.

On another occasion, a young Black worker stopped to buy the *Militant* and to ask if any right-wingers were giving us trouble.

With regular sales we began to get more friendly greetings and to have more discussions.

At the Monsanto plant we sold two *Militants* the first time, and three the second time we went there. We were also able to distribute a lot of socialist literature during the presidential election campaign. We've gradually raised our weekly *Militant* sales to nine papers a week in the Monsanto industrial park area.

We have also had good discussions and sales at an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union-organized plant in Huntington, West Virginia.

Through our *Militant* sales we've had an opportunity to present our socialist program to these unionists and, in return, learn from them the problems of indus-

trial workers there. In addition to war, union-busting, pollution, and racist and sexist discrimination, workers here face the highest statewide unemployment rate in the country.

This includes thousands of coal miners who have been idled by mine shutdowns and cutbacks. In addition, during recent contract negotiations, several locals of the United Mine Workers were forced out on strike in defense of seniority, the right to refuse Sunday work, and other hard-won union rights now under attack by the coal operators.

On election day, we went to the Sundial Number 10 mine of the Peabody Coal Co. to sell the *Militant* and campaign for coal miner Joan Radin, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. Senate. Coal is still being mined there even though Radin is one of 100 miners who have been laid off by Peabody.

Radin's coworkers were interested in talking, and many stopped their vehicles for a friendly visit in front of the busy mine entrance at

the afternoon shift change.

"Did you vote?" Radin asked one miner on his way into the mine. He responded that it was a waste of gas to drive to the polls.

The day before the elections, Republican candidate for governor, Arch Moore, had campaigned at Number 10. He was supported as a "friend of labor" by many union officials. One miner, however, told us he had stayed home from work sick so he could avoid Moore's electioneering.

On our Peabody visit we sold four *Militants* and gave out a lot of campaign literature to the 100 miners on both shifts.

We also ran into hostility to capitalist politicians among other UMW-organized miners. At a successful sale two weeks before the elections, for example, at a large surface mine, a miner got into a discussion with us on the farm program of the Democratic and Republican parties. Pointing to the crisis facing family farmers, he said that if he could make it farming he wouldn't be working in a coal mine. He bought the *Mili-*



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
**Joan Radin, 1984 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in West Virginia.**

tant to find out about the socialist campaign's proposals to support working farmers.

The following week, at the same mine, another miner who bought a *Militant* described why he was fed-up with voting for Democrats and Republicans: "Every four years they let you choose between a copperhead and a rattlesnake."

## Protests condemn arrest of socialist in Toledo

BY RANDY WARREN

TOLEDO — Broad support is being gathered here protesting the November 10 arrest of antiwar activist and socialist Mark Friedman. Friedman, a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 12 (Jeep Unit) and the recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for State House of Representatives, was arrested for distributing antiwar leaflets on a public sidewalk.

He was handcuffed and roughed up by the police and then booked for "disorderly conduct" and "resisting arrest." Jailed for an hour, Friedman was released through the personal intervention of Rev. Floyd Rose, president of the Toledo NAACP.

Rev. Rose was a featured speaker at an antiwar meeting demanding "U.S. Out of Grenada" that Friedman was distributing leaflets for. Copies of the *Militant* were also being distributed by Friedman when he was arrested.

Rev. Rose told the participants in the November 10 Grenada meeting that, "What is at stake is the right of any of us to distribute leaflets, which is a form of freedom of speech... This is a selective arrest

and prosecution..."

Petitions began to be circulated at that meeting and statements of support gathered. The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), a Toledo-based migrant workers rights organization, protested the arrest, saying "FLOC deplores the flagrant violation of Mark Friedman's constitutional rights of speech and assembly. Mark's arrest for leafletting on a public sidewalk cannot be taken lightly."

Judy Nablo, president of the Toledo National Organization for Women, called on the Toledo Municipal Court to drop the charges.

Toledo's Irish Freedom Organization, Clan Na Gael, also issued a public protest on the arrest and demanded the charges be dropped.

A press conference announcing support for this civil liberties fight was covered and aired by five radio stations.

Bob Pesek, president of the Toledo Area Committee on Central America, issued a statement protesting the arrest. Pesek helped make this case a part of a week of planned antiwar and Central American and Caribbean solidarity activities. Nearly 200 of the people who attended these events signed petitions. Other prominent supporters of the case include: Ron Rinna, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-912; Rev. David Funkhauser, former head of the National Network in Solidarity with Nicaragua; Mike Ferner, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees organizer; Edward Lamb, Grenada Foundation; Irving Murray, First Unitarian Church minister.

At the November 20 arraignment, attor-

ney Terry Lodge entered a plea of not guilty for Friedman, after the judge refused to drop the charges or throw the case out of court. A trial date was set for December 14. Lodge told the *Militant*, "In my knowledge it is extremely rare for anybody to be taken into custody for 'disorderly conduct' — and especially asked for a \$100 cash bond. It is obvious that the police actions were designed to remove one from exercising their right to political dissent... the in-

tention behind the police overreaction is to keep anyone else with political views that diverge from the mainstream from going public with them."

Protests demanding that the charges against Friedman be dropped should be sent to: Judge Joseph Flores, Toledo Municipal Court, 555 N. Erie St., Toledo, Ohio 43624, with copies to Attorney Terry Lodge, 618 N. Michigan #105, Toledo 43624.

## Colombian guerrilla leaders arrested

BY ROBERT KOPEC

Three leaders of the April 19 Movement (M-19) of Colombia, one of that country's main guerrilla organizations, were arrested recently by government troops after leaving a meeting in Bogotá, Colombia's capital.

The M-19, along with other guerrilla organizations, signed a cease-fire agreement with the government of Pres. Belisario Betancur last August.

According to the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, M-19 leaders Antonio Navarro Wolf, Alfonso Jacquin, and Luis Chora Lara were arrested on November 23 in Bogotá. A gun was found in the public vehicle they were traveling in. Due to the state of siege in effect now in Colombia, they were placed under the jurisdiction of a military court.

Navarro Wolf is the M-19's main representative in a coordinating committee established to discuss the "national dialogue" agreed to by the government in the cease-fire accords.

In recent years, death squads with known links with the military have murdered, kidnapped, and tortured with impunity scores of political activists, trade unionists, and elected officials of opposition parties.

The victims have included former guerrilla fighters and political prisoners amnestied by the government who had returned to a legal political life. One such victim was M-19 leader Carlos Toledo Plata. At the time of his August 10 assassination he was working as the director of a hospital in the city of Bucaramanga. Despite the truce, M-19 activists have continually been harassed and jailed by the authorities on the pretext they were carrying out "subversive propaganda."

There are well grounded fears that the lives of Navarro Wolf, Jacquin, and Chora Lara may be in danger. Telegrams and messages demanding their safe release should be sent to Belisario Betancur, President of Colombia, Casa de Nariño, Bogotá, Colombia.

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# Tx. IAM ends strike at General Dynamics

BY KATHY RETTIG

DALLAS — Members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 776 ended their 18-day strike against General Dynamics' Fort Worth Division on November 21.

With 65 percent of the 6,400-member local voting, the company's second contract proposal was ratified by almost 90 percent.

The new contract is better for the union than the company's initial proposal.

The first contract proposed an annual lump-sum cash bonus of 3 percent of the average yearly wage instead of a general wage increase in each of the three years of the contract.

In the new contract, the union was forced to accept the bonus system in the first two years of the contract, but won a 3 percent across the board wage increase in the third year.

The new contract also maintains the existing cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) from the previous contract. General Dynamics had proposed changes in COLA that would have cut 13 cents an hour from each worker's wages.

The union also defeated proposed changes in COLA that would have resulted in a dual wage scale. This was considered a key issue in the strike.

A union spokesperson said that the new General Dynamics contract may help "break the trend of dual wage scales and bonus systems" that have been negotiated in the past few years in the aerospace industry.

General Dynamics had also attempted to take away health and pension benefits and cut back on holidays. Instead the new contract includes a small improvement in the pension fund, no takeaways in health benefits, and one new holiday per year.

The strikers were convinced that they had a right to some of the tremendous profits General Dynamics' owners have raked in since the last contract. In the first nine months of 1984 alone, General Dynamics showed net earnings of \$275.7 million.

Workers said they thought the local's first strike since 1946 was well worth the effort. They won some advances and put

up a good fight.

Workers did express disappointment that the members of the Office and Professional Employees International Union and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at General Dynamics continued to work during the strike. Strikers told the *Militant* that they didn't fault the rank-and-file members of these unions, but blamed their union officials, who decided to extend the OPEIU and IBEW contracts for 30 days on the same day the IAM voted to strike.

On the first day of the strike, police attacked a gathering of 1,000 IAM members and their families who were outside the union hall protesting the arrest of another striker. Police turned fire hoses on them and lobbed tear gas at the crowd and into the union hall.

Nineteen strikers were arrested in the first few days of the strike. Courts issued injunctions limiting the number and times of the picketing. General Dynamics fired 11 strikers, charging them with violence on the picket line.

The union had initially opposed ratifying the new contract until the 11 fired workers were reinstated. A compromise was reached, however, and the company agreed that the fired workers will get a hearing before an arbitrator.



Picket line at Fort Worth, Texas, General Dynamics plant. International Association of Machinists Lodge 776 strike forced bosses to back down from some of their original demands for concessions.

## D.C. protests against South Africa

Continued from front page

November 26 at the South African embassy in Washington and other cities where there are South African consulates. Howard University students have planned a campus rally for December 1.

On November 26, 400 angry people picketed the South African embassy. Picket signs demanded "Free South African political prisoners," "U.S. out of South Africa," "Stop U.S. complicity with South Africa," and a "Free South Africa."

Continuous chants of "Free South Africa Now" and "Down with Apartheid" attracted the attention of passersby. Rush-

hour drivers honked their horns in solidarity with the picket line, and bus passengers leaned out windows to raise their fists and shout "We are with you."

Some protesters were workers who had left their jobs early. Others came after work. Members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees carried their union banner. Members of the Graphic Arts International Union carried signs. A group of Metrobus employees, members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689, came after work. Other demonstrators were from Central American solidarity, antiwar, and church organizations.

The picket line was led by a group of prominent individuals, including Rev. Joseph Lowery, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rep. Charles Hayes from Illinois; as well as Robinson and Fauntroy.

Lowery told the crowd "We are expressing our moral outrage at the intensified repression in South Africa. The moral conscience of all Americans should be pricked, particularly because through our government and our businesses we have become participants in apartheid. That is unacceptable."

Toward the end of the demonstration, Lowery and Hayes entered the South African embassy. After a brief discussion with someone inside, they were led out in handcuffs by uniformed Secret Service agents.

During the demonstration, Washington cops and Secret Service agents lined the streets. Cop vans waited nearby. At the end

of the picket, while the police watched, a maroon jaguar drove through the pickets who were crossing the street, hitting seven of them. According to eyewitnesses, David Clarke, chairman of Washington's City Council, was thrown across the hood of the car and carried 10 or 15 feet before the car stopped. No one was seriously injured.

The Free South Africa Movement announced that similar protests were being held at consulates in Boston and Beverly Hills. Future actions are planned for other cities where consulates are located. These include Mobile, Alabama; Phoenix; Chicago, New Orleans, New York City, Portland, Oregon; Seattle, Cleveland, Houston, and Salt Lake City.

Robinson announced that the demonstrations here would begin each day at 3:30 p.m.

## Farm workers read socialist press

BY SARAH MATTHEWS

SEASIDE, Calif. — Socialist workers from this Northern California city have been selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at the office of the United Farm Workers (UFW) in nearby Salinas for about two years.

When we first started to sell, the office was serving as a union hiring hall. Every week most of our sales were to Mexican farm workers looking for a job. Gradually our sales went from three or four *Perspectiva Mundials* a week to 10-12.

The bad freeze that hit Texas in December 1983 wiped out thousands of jobs. The list of those looking for work at the UFW office got so long that the union had to stop maintaining it. Fewer farm workers came to the office.

But there are always UFW representatives from the fields, UFW organizers, and a few farm workers visiting the office. We now sell about six or seven *Perspectiva Mundials* there per week.

As a result of regular sales, farm workers have begun to show interest in the political work that the Socialist Workers Party branch here carries out.

Farm workers we've met are interested in articles in *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* that report on their conventions and activities. But many are also clearly seeking allies in their struggle to defend their union against the big growers. When they find out that many *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* salespeople are industrial workers, we get into general discussions about the common problems facing working people, especially on racist discrimination and the use of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to try to isolate Latinos from other workers.

On several occasions, the activities of the UFW have included speakers who have attacked the leadership of the Nicaraguan revolution. Some farm workers believe that Nicaraguan workers are denied the

right to organize into unions. But most farm workers are open to listening to the experiences of people who have visited Nicaragua. Many respond thoughtfully when they learn of worker and peasant participation in the government, and the improvement in the lives of the oppressed. "So that's what you mean by socialism," was the response of one farm worker.

Around the presidential elections, one union member said "You're running socialist candidates, right? Well, the union supports the Democrats." But many UFW members would listen when we explained how the Socialist Workers Party candidates supported workers' struggles, and how the socialist election campaign was used to spread working class solidarity.

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# British miner wraps up tour of U.S., Canada



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

British coal miner Steve Shukla

BY TOM LEONARD

Steve Shukla, a 25-year-old member of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), returned to Britain on November 15, following a successful two-and-one-half month tour of North America.

Shukla spoke at more than 40 meetings in the United States and Canada, raising funds and building solidarity with the nine-month-long British coal miners strike. Shukla is a member of the Armthorpe

branch of the NUM.

On November 5, following his Canadian visit, Shukla tried to reenter the United States. He was stopped at the border in Montreal and refused admission by U.S. Customs agents. The border cops tried to cover up the blatantly political nature of the union militant's exclusion by claiming he couldn't enter the United States because he had too little money and was unemployed.

Messages protesting his exclusion were

sent to the State Department by U.S. workers who had met Shukla. On November 15, he was finally given a transit visa which allowed him to travel to New York to catch his flight for Britain.

Before leaving the United States, Shukla told the *Militant* some of the highlights of his tour in this country and some of his observations on U.S. politics.

He thought that rank-and-file workers responded enthusiastically to his appeal for solidarity and financial support for the British miners strike. "People in Britain," he said, "generally have the idea that American workers are pretty backward, that they are all anticommunist and over interested in baseball and drinking beer. But this is just not so. It's a misleading idea. A lot of the rank-and-file workers I met are very class conscious and aware of the need for international solidarity."

He gave as an example of the militancy he had witnessed his visit with striking members of the United Steel Workers union in Morenci, Arizona: "You know the copper miners in Morenci have been on strike for 16 or 17 months now, and yet when I went there and spoke they gave me \$98.00 toward the British miners strike."

"These are people that are hard up them-

selves, yet they were enormously enthusiastic and realized the need for international solidarity. I thought that was amazing."

Shukla also talked about his participation in the October 7 protest of more than 6,000 members of the United Farm Workers union in Salinas, California. "Most of the people were from oppressed nationalities. You could tell by the way they mobilized they were determined to fight back and not accept domination," explained Shukla.

Shukla recalled discussions with young workers in the United States, especially about employer attempts to impose two-tier wage systems, which divide and weaken the unions.

"One thing about the present strike is we had a lot of older workers who were in the strikes in '72 and '74. They thought the young workers wouldn't support the strike because they were buying homes and raising families," said Shukla.

"But these were the people who responded immediately and magnificently. Tens of thousands of young miners who had never been involved in struggles or politics are now in the forefront of this historic struggle. They are fighting for the future and have the most to lose. They realize this and they have kept the strike going."

"No matter what hardship, or beatings, or murders, they have stood up. They learned that bureaucrats are not the union, the rank-and-file workers are the union. If misleaders get in the way, they must be pushed aside. And that's the way we young miners managed to get a voice in the National Union of Mineworkers," Shukla explained.

Shukla concluded by saying there were three things U.S. workers could do to help the British miners: contribute money; spread word about the strike; and, most importantly, "Learn a lesson from our strike, take a leaf out of our book, and build international solidarity."

## Miners in Britain resist new attacks

Continued from back page

privileged to support that view."

In a recent visit to Moscow to meet with Soviet leaders, Kinnock spoke to representatives of the All-USSR Council of Trade Unions. He presented a gloomy forecast for the miners' strike. "My view is that the labor movement lives to fight and win on other occasions."

The Soviet trade unionists showed a clearer understanding of the situation. A defeat for the miners would result in "a terrible domino effect on the bargaining strength of other groups of British workers," they said.

Soviet trade unionists have donated more than \$1 million in food and clothing to the British miners.

In response to NCB and Conservative Party red-baiting about "Moscow gold," NUM Vice-president Michael McGahey commented, "We have always remembered the contribution the Soviet miners gave us in [the general strike of] 1926. This union is proud of our internationalism, and we welcome and are grateful for the donations coming from the Soviet trade unionists."

International solidarity is being stepped up as Christmas approaches. In France, the miners' section of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) is following up the 400 tons of food sent in October with a Christmas present for every child of a striking miner.

TUC representatives are to meet union leaders in Belgium, Holland, and West Germany to insure that coal stocks are not shipped into Britain.

The TUC has also announced that December 13 and 14 will be Miners Hardship Days, during which all 10 million workers affiliated to the TUC will be asked to hold collections for the miners.

An appeal signed by 200 people, including Labor Party leaders, academics, actresses, clergy, and football club managers, appeared in the *Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* on November 27.

The money raised is to be forwarded to Women Against Pit Closures, the national organization of women's support groups in the mining areas.

The appeal stated: "The great majority of miners are still on strike. They and their families are desperately poor."

"They have the right to a good Christmas."

"This is an urgent appeal for a huge Christmas bonus for the striking miners and their families. A little money goes a long way."

"If all who want to do something to help the coal mining communities give some money to this fund, we can ensure for the communities a happy Christmas and a confident New Year. Please send us your donations now!"

Contributions should be sent to: Miners' Families Christmas Appeal, 14 Whittlesley St., London SE1 8SL, England.

## Socialist press welcomed by British miners

BY KIPP DAWSON

*Socialist Action* is a revolutionary socialist weekly newspaper published in London. It features news and analysis supporting the strike of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), as well as coverage supporting the battles of other unionists, Black and women's rights activists, and revolutionists in Ireland, El Salvador, Cuba, Nicaragua, South Africa, Poland, and throughout the world. Its supporters participate in the Labor Party and its youth group, the Young Socialists.

*Socialist Action* supporters throughout Britain use sales of their press and forums sponsored by their newspaper to reach working-class activists with revolutionary socialist ideas. The militancy and spirit of the NUM strike has opened up a wide audience for these ideas in Britain.

While in the Sheffield area of England, I was able to participate in some of their activities with local *Socialist Action* supporters.

One Monday evening, as soon as day-

shift workers had eaten their evening meal, a group of us gathered in a living room to divide into teams.

My team squeezed into one of the few cars available, and Jim and I were dropped off in a coal mining community about 15 minutes away. The *Socialist Action* supporters had begun regular door-to-door sales of their press to these striking miners months before. Returning every week, and keeping records of who was home, who bought the paper, and who seemed especially interested, the regular team of supporters has been able to build up a regular readership here, as well as go to new homes each week.

Jim and I had three names of regular readers to visit. At the first home, the miner was away, but his wife, hearing that we were from *Socialist Action*, gave us a warm welcome, and told us that her husband was planning to attend the forum the following evening.

At the second home, the miner who answered the door recognized us right away

and quickly invited us in. He knew Jim from the paper, and he recognized me because he had attended the *Socialist Action* international rally in Bold that I had spoken at a week earlier. His wife joined us, bringing us hot cups of tea.

The four of us talked for nearly an hour. The miner already had the current issue of *Socialist Action*. He bought the new issue of *Intercontinental Press* we'd brought along (at the special price of 20 pence for striking miners).

Our conversation was wide-ranging. The miner told us how much he had enjoyed the Bold *Socialist Action* rally, and we shared impressions of the importance of international solidarity. His wife, active in the women's support group, told us of the group's work and her own rapidly growing political awareness and interest. (We learned the next day that when Jim and I arrived, she had just been preparing to leave for her weekly bingo game, but changed her plans to spend the evening talking with us.) She would not be able to attend the forum the next day because of a commitment with her ailing mother, but he accepted our offer to get him a ride to the forum.

At the third house, the young miner we'd stopped to see was just getting into his bath, but when he heard we were from *Socialist Action*, he got dressed and came downstairs to talk with us. We didn't want to hold him up, so we gave him the new *Intercontinental Press* (he also already had the new *Socialist Action*) and arranged to pick him up the next evening for the forum.

All three of these miners, and another they brought along, attended the forum. Afterwards they and the rest of the 30 people at the forum participated in lively discussions in the nearby pub, during which all four said they'd decided to get involved in promoting *Socialist Action* and the ideas it stands for. We continued the discussion over beer at the home of two of the supporters, where it seemed certain that the regular discussions with these miners were adding them to the numbers of the local *Socialist Action* supporters.

## N.Y. coalition calls antiwar town meeting

NEW YORK — On November 13, a meeting of more than 100 people, representing dozens of organizations, took place here in response to Washington's stepped-up threats against Nicaragua.

The New Yorkers for Peace in Central America Coalition was formed to mount an emergency response to the deepening of the U.S. war in Nicaragua and El Salvador. The coalition is building a December 8 town meeting to protest U.S. military intervention in Central America. The meeting will be Saturday at 2 p.m. at Hunter College Auditorium (68th St. and Park Ave).

The leaflet for the meeting lists the sponsoring organizations of the coalition as: Ad-Hoc Artists; African-American Solidarity Network; All Peoples Congress; Black United Front; Brigada Silvia; Casa de Las Americas; Casa El Salvador; Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí; Casa Nica-

ragua; Central American Health Rights Committee; Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (N.Y., Brooklyn); Christian Peace Conference; Committee for Chilean Inquiry; Committee for Non-Intervention in Central America; Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala; Communist Party USA; Educators Committee on Central America; Frente de Izquierda Dominicana; Friends for Jamaica; 4th Wall Theater Co.; Guardian; HALF; Hunter College Day Session Student Government; International Work Brigades and Nicaragua Exchange; Iranian Student Organization (FADII); John Brown Anti-Klan Committee; Lares Committee Before the United Nations; Lower East Side Peace Council; Madre; Marxist School; Mobilization for Survival (N.Y., National); National Black Independent Political Party; National Council of Ameri-

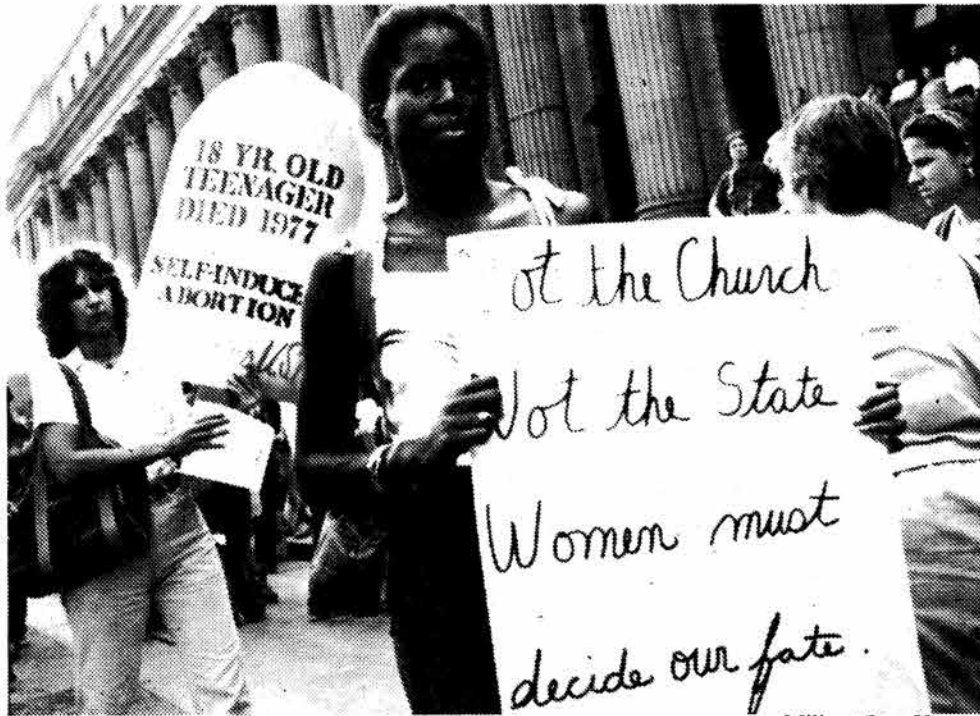
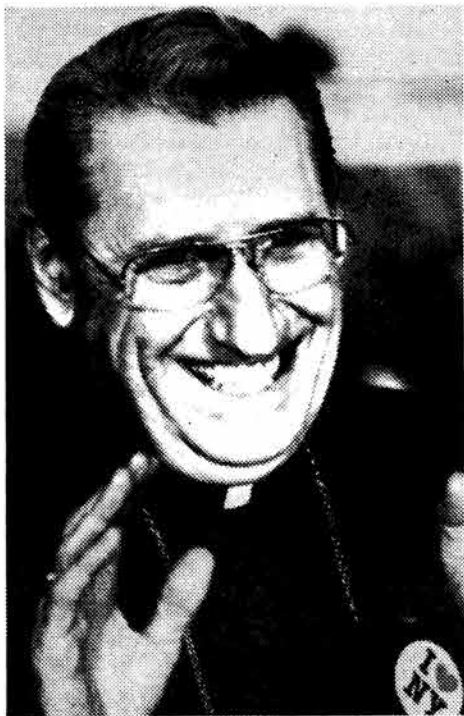
can-Soviet Friendship; National Lawyers Guild; New School for Social Research; National Women's Caucus; Nicaragua Construction Brigade; Nicaragua Medical-Material Aid Campaign; Nicaragua Support Project; Northern Manhattan Committee on Central America; Peoples Anti-War Mobilization; Queens College Coalition Opposed to Central America Intervention; Revolution in Africa Action Committee; Social Scientists Against Nuclear War; Socialist Workers Party; Stop the Witch-hunts; U.S. Anti-Imperialist League; U.S. Peace Council; USOCA-N.E. Regional Office; Unity Newspaper; Uritz Newspaper; Venceremos Brigade; Ventana; War Resisters League; Womensong Singers; X-Change T.V.; and Young Socialist Alliance.

For more information on the meeting, call (212) 242-1040 or 673-1808.



# In defense of women's right to abortion

## A response to New York's Archbishop O'Connor



New York's Archbishop O'Connor (left). O'Connor is leading broadside attack against abortion rights. Women's rights movement must answer these attacks.

BY PAT GROGAN

In last week's *Militant* we discussed the stepped-up government attacks on abortion rights. We pointed to the centrality of the right to abortion in the fight against women's oppression.

Arson, firebombings, and other physical attacks on abortion clinics by right-wing terrorists have increased.

The misnamed right-to-lifers who carry out these assaults are the shock troops in a broader campaign designed to create a movement that can roll back the gains women have made.

Opponents of abortion rights used the 1984 elections as a staging ground for a full-scale ideological assault on women's rights. Democrats and Republicans, Protestant fundamentalist preachers, and Catholic archbishops — all joined the "abortion is murder" bandwagon.

Leading the pack was New York Archbishop John O'Connor. He launched a much publicized attack on Democratic vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro to make opposition to abortion the "key issue" in the elections.

In response, Ferraro stressed her "personal" opposition to abortion, thereby helping to bolster the archbishop's anti-abortion arguments. But, Ferraro said, she would not impose her religious views on others. O'Connor used this as a taking-off point for a broadside attack on abortion rights.

### 'Human lives, human rights'

In a major speech October 15 entitled "Human Lives, Human Rights," O'Connor laid out many of the arguments in the anti-abortion, anti-women's rights arsenal. These arguments need to be rebutted — forcefully and publicly — by supporters of women's rights.

The theme of O'Connor's speech was the argument that abortion is a social evil and that fighting against abortion rights is progressive — like fighting against racism or for the rights of the elderly.

"No one in public life," said O'Connor, "would admit to being a racist or a warmonger." How then, he asks, can anyone justify "putting babies to death?"

O'Connor put an equal sign between abortion and his list of social ills: homelessness, mistreatment of the elderly, drug abuse, pornography, sexual exploitation, child abuse, racism, war — and abortion.

By linking abortion to genuine social wrongs and injustices, O'Connor tries to make his reactionary campaign against women's rights more acceptable to the millions of working people who, in their majority, support legal abortion. He tries to paint it up as a new "civil rights" movement.

But abortion is not an injustice — it is a basic human right. The right of women to control their own bodies — which is what is at stake in the fight over legal abortion — is an elementary precondition for the liber-

ation of women from the oppression they suffer as a sex.

It is the women's liberation movement, which championed the fight for abortion rights, that is kindred to the fight for civil rights and against Washington's war.

Women's liberation and civil rights fighters stand together against inequality, discrimination, and exploitation. Both immeasurably strengthen the capacity of the labor movement to resist the current employer-class offensive.

### Abortion is not murder

O'Connor bases his arguments on the charge that abortion is murder and that women who have abortions are, therefore, guilty of murdering children.

Abortion is not murder. It is a simple medical procedure that enables a woman to decide whether and when to bear children.

One of the hierarchy's favorite arguments is to liken what O'Connor calls the "murder" of "one and a half million unborn human lives . . . every year" to Hitler's Holocaust — the Nazi policy of mass murder of Jews and others. He does not mention that as part of the Nazis' degradation of human life they outlawed abortion and contraception, reducing women to the status of breeders whose role was bearing children, and whose only place was in the kitchen and in church.

### O'Connor: no concern for women's lives

By saying the issue is the "rights" of the unborn, O'Connor and company try to sucker people into a pointless, hairsplitting argument about the exact moment when human life begins. This is a total diversion from the real issue: the right of women to control their own bodies.

O'Connor's pose as a champion of "human lives, human rights" does not include a concern for the lives and rights of women.

With a wave of the hand, he dismisses as untrue the "impression" that "masses" of women would die if abortion were to be made illegal again.

"We are informed," he blithely asserts, "that this is not supported by figures issued by the United States government."

This is a lie. Official statistics show that during the 1960s, when abortion was illegal, thousands of women were maimed and hundreds died each year as a result of botched abortions. We have no way of knowing how many other abortion mortalities were reported as deaths due to "severe hemorrhaging" or "miscarriage."

We do know, however, that in 1969, the year before abortion became legal in New York, 210,000 women entered New York City hospitals due to abortion complications. In fact, it was outrage at the killings and maimings resulting from illegal abortion that helped spur women to demand an end to antiabortion laws. Legal abortions save lives — women's lives.

O'Connor's denigration of the value of women's lives comes through clearly when

he discusses why a woman should be forced to bear a child, no matter what the circumstances under which she becomes pregnant.

"Certainly rape," he concedes, "is always a frightening possibility." But, he asks, "Is it at least possible that bearing a child, however conceived . . . might bring, even out of the tragedy of rape, a rich fulfillment?"

Forcing a woman to bear a child against her will is a brutal denial of a woman's humanity and dignity.

Bearing a child affects all the other aspects and decisions of a woman's life — her ability to get an education, get a better job — or any job. As long as women are vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, breaking down economic and social barriers on the job, in education, and in the home becomes a much more difficult task.

### Why O'Connor opposes legal abortion

Of course, legalized abortion cannot solve all the problems facing women. But the right to choose is the most fundamental step toward women being able to achieve full equality.

That's why after women began pouring into the work force in the last three decades the question of legalizing abortion became a burning issue for millions. When women can control their childbearing functions, it allows them to begin to participate more fully in all aspects of social life. The right to choose means qualitatively more freedom and mobility for women.

We've already seen that in the 11 years that abortion has been legal. Even though access to it is far from universal, it has meant significant changes in the lives of millions of women.

This change in the scope of women's choices led to demands for even greater freedom and opportunity, to a fight for full control by women over their minds and lives as well as their bodies. Encouraged by the abortion-rights victory in 1973, women stepped up their fight for child care, affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, equal pay, and other rights.

O'Connor knows this. In fact, the reason he is so vehemently opposed to abortion rights is precisely because it does challenge the key idea used to justify women's inequality — women's ability to bear children means they are inherently inferior. As a mouthpiece for the ruling class, O'Connor wants to help "keep women in their place" and discourage them — and others — from fighting for their rights.

### 'Abortion mentality'

Not content with labeling women as murderers of the unborn, O'Connor goes one step further.

"We are already seeing cruel signs of what an abortion mentality can mean for all society," he warns. "Again we ask, how safe will the retarded be, the handicapped, the aged, the wheelchair, the incurably ill, when the so-called 'quality of life' be-

comes the determinant of who is to live and who is to die?"

This theme is echoed by others, among them Nat Hentoff, a writer for the liberal New York weekly, the *Village Voice*. In an article October 2 attacking abortion, Hentoff refers to the fetus as the "kid down there."

Hentoff claims that for some women, "because the kid down there is going to be retarded. Or the kid has some other defect . . . the kid is done away with."

Hentoff — like the archbishop — explains that it is a short step from "killing the 'kid down there' to killing an imperfect child that has already been born, or doing away with the handicapped, or the mentally ill, or the retarded."

This absurd slander turns reality on its head.

In the 11 years since abortion was legalized, there has been no mass slaughter of the sick, aged, or the mentally ill by women.

And the right of a woman to safe, legal abortion has nothing to do with euthanasia or treatment of the handicapped.

Far from denigrating the value of human life, treating woman as human beings by giving them control over their own bodies enhances the value placed on human life.

### A matter of 'convenience'?

O'Connor and Hentoff both try to trivialize the right to abortion by saying women have abortions because having children would be "inconvenient."

Most women, Hentoff says, do not get abortions because they are too poor or young to raise children. This, he believes, while not justifying abortion, would at least explain why a woman would have one.

But, says Hentoff, "For some it is just plain inconvenient, at a particular time in their lives, to have a baby."

The *Village Voice* printed a page full of letters by angry women responding to Hentoff.

"What right has Hentoff to caricature and trivialize the motives of women like this? Is an unwanted child merely an 'inconvenience,' nothing more devastating? Is there no . . . pain worth mentioning in bearing a retarded child?" wrote one reader.

Underlying Hentoff's and O'Connor's view of abortion rights is the assumption that a woman's primary role is in the home, bearing and raising children. Women's desire for personal liberty is reduced to a matter of "convenience" by the likes of Hentoff and O'Connor.

O'Connor especially pounds away at the theme that abortion is racist. "Why have laws against racism when . . . liberal abortion policies amount to another form of subjugation of poor black people?" he asks.

This is false.

As with every aspect of the oppression of women, Black women and Latinas suffer the most from laws restricting the right or access to abortion.

Eighty percent of the women who died at the hands of back-alley abortionists were Black and Spanish-speaking women.

It is Black women and Latinas who suffer the most from laws restricting government funding for abortions.

O'Connor puts an equal sign between the slave laws that oppressed millions of Blacks and the legalization of abortion which freed millions of women from unwanted pregnancies.

Under slavery, Black women were forced to bear children against their will and were used as breeders to enrich the plantation owners. Black women have been fighting for centuries for the right to control their own bodies. The fight against forced sterilization is the other side of the coin in this struggle. Forced sterilization is the racist practice of coercing women into having an irreversible operation which prevents them from ever getting pregnant again.

It was women's rights fighters, based firmly on the right of women to control

Continued on Page 13



# Farmer protests held in upper Midwest towns



American Agriculture Movement tractor leading one of recent farmers protest actions in Minnesota and South Dakota

BY MICHAEL JOHNSON

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Recently, thousands of farmers took time out from their harvest to participate in five protests against the government's farm policies and to debate various solutions to the crisis facing family farmers. Four of the five protests took place in Minnesota.

A unity statement of the Minnesota state presidents of the Farmer's Union, the National Farmers Organization, and the American Agriculture Movement was presented to a September 13 rally of 1,500 in Willmar. The North American Farm Alliance also participated in the actions.

More than 800 people were present in Clarksfield on September 6. Three hundred people participated in the protest in Thief River Falls on October 25. About 400 people marched through Southwestern State University and attended an indoor rally in Marshall on October 28. A November 1 rally in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, attracted 150 people.

The actions were sponsored by a group calling itself "U.S.olidarity." This group describes itself as a new coalition of farm groups, independent businessmen, professional people, labor, and clergy.

## Points of unity

The demands of the protests centered on five main points of unity:

- A call for prices paid to farmers for their products that would guarantee the cost of production and a living income for farm families.

- A lowering of interest rates and the re-

structuring of the farm debt.

- Demands to use federal funds to aid family farmers and others in rural communities "who have not shared in the economic recovery."

- A one-year grace period for family farmers who are or will be delinquent on their federal loans this year.

- A call for banks and other private lenders to grant a 120-day grace period to enable family farmers to negotiate new terms for loan payments that would stem the tide of foreclosures.

Leaders of farm groups at all five protests explained that family farmers are in a deep crisis and have been for more than a decade.

Close to 10 percent of family farmers are being forced from their farms and homes each year. It is estimated that 200,000 family farms will be lost in 1985 alone.

Interest payments by farmers to the banks in 1982 amounted to \$23 billion, while net farm income was only \$20 billion.

This adds to the farm debt that has skyrocketed to over \$223 billion — a level nearly 1,000 percent higher than in the late 1960s. The total farm debt now stands at more than the foreign debt of Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina combined.

Delinquency rates on Farmers Home Administration loans are close to 50 percent. Foreclosures and bankruptcies are up more than 500 percent since 1980.

This is happening at a time when the giant grain companies and food processors, along with capitalist farmers, are making

huge profits.

Government agricultural programs have mainly been used to guarantee profits for capitalist farmers, big businessmen, and bankers, not family farmers.

## 'Gov't will get rid of family farmers'

F.B. Daniels, a long-time leader of the Farmers Union, speaking at the Clarksfield rally said, "Government and economic planners, left to themselves, will get rid of the family farmers."

Daniels, commenting on the 1985 farm bill that will be before Congress early next year, emphasized the need to make sure that the bill makes a commitment to the preservation of the family farm.

Bill Christenson, a leader of the National Farmers Organization (NFO), focused his remarks on the NFO's proposal that farmers band together to collectively bargain with food-processing companies for adequate prices for farm products. This way, he said, a moratorium on foreclosures would not be necessary for the survival of family farmers.

The NFO has had some success with this approach in the past by organizing dairy farmers to bargain with dairies to get higher prices paid to farmers for their milk.

Jim Langman, Minnesota president of the American Agriculture Movement, explained the need for direct action by farmers to force concessions from the banks, government, grain companies, and food processors.

Langman, who has been served with

foreclosure papers, pledged not to give up the fight until there is a nationwide moratorium on farm foreclosures and a parity price for farm produce (a demand that the government make up the difference between the farmers' cost of production and the market price they are getting for their products).

Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance, speaking at the Clarksfield and Willmar protests, said that "agricultural prices are a world problem, not just a U.S. problem. The United States is such a big exporter of products that [it] sets the world price. [The United States is] destroying family-style agriculture on a world scale."

Tom Quinn, president of the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance, was one of the speakers at the action in Marshall. Also speaking there was Gene Paul, vice-president of the National Farmers Organization. "We have a moral responsibility to see to it that the hungry people of the world get food whether they can pay for it or not," said Paul.

## Right-wing speakers

The protests sponsored by U.S.olidarity included several speakers from ultraright groups whose perspectives clash with those of the spokespeople of the farmers' rights organizations. Through their demagoguery, these rightists try to win family farmers to their reactionary, anti-Semitic, and procapitalist program. The presence of these rightists has clearly alarmed some farm activists.

In Clarksfield, Billy Davis, who was the vice-presidential running mate of ultraright candidate Lyndon LaRouche, spoke at the rally. Literature from LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee, his newspaper *New Solidarity*, and literature of the LaRouche-Davis campaign were prominently circulated at all five of the U.S.olidarity protest actions.

Davis attacked what he called the "international Jewish and communist conspiracies" as the source of high interest rates.

Also speaking in Clarksfield was ultraright "Populist Party" candidate for president, Bob Richards. A former Olympic champion, Richards is noted for being the face on the Wheaties cereal boxes for many years.

Richards claimed the 1929 stock market crash and the Great Depression were the result of a plot by powerful Jews who, he claimed, control a secret government in America.

The presence of such rabid, right-wing speakers as Davis and Richards, however, did not mean that the farm activists at the rallies shared their views. At Clarksfield, after the two spoke, the chair made a point of identifying a number of trade unionists who had come to support the protest and asked the crowd to welcome them. Many in the trade union movement have correctly characterized the LaRouche group as a labor-hating, racist outfit. The farmers enthusiastically cheered the unionists.

The Marshall rally heard a solidarity statement from members of the International Union of Electronic Workers from St. Paul. Pete Brandli read greetings from more than a dozen of his coworkers. He received a friendly response.

More protests are slated for this spring to bring the farm crisis and the 1985 farm bill to the attention of everybody.

## Report on Irish conference in 'IP'

One of the key organizations in the Irish liberation struggle is Sinn Féin. A revolutionary nationalist group, it is fighting to end British rule over Ireland's six northern counties and to reunify the entire island into a "democratic, socialist republic."

Sinn Féin, which is a legal organization in both the north of Ireland and the nominally independent Republic of Ireland, supports the armed struggle of the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA).

The December 10 *Intercontinental Press* includes an article by Will Reissner on Sinn Féin's 80th national convention, held in Dublin in early November.

The convention highlighted Sinn Féin's growing influence in both parts of Ireland and focused on the group's perspective of combining the struggle for a united Ireland with social and economic struggles of Irish workers and farmers. It addressed the problems of unemployment, austerity, and women's oppression; backed the demand of the Irish unions for a 35-

hour workweek; and initiated a campaign in support of women political prisoners.

Also in this issue is an interview with Liz Curtis, a member of the British Labor Committee on Ireland and author of a book on the "propaganda war" of the British government and capitalist news media against the Irish liberation struggle.

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Militant/Michael Johnson



# How socialists use capitalist elections

## Lenin's revolutionary approach to electoral work

(Fourth in a series)

BY CINDY JAQUITH

In 1906, Black African tribes in the German colony of South-West Africa (now called Namibia) rose up against imperialist rule. German troops slaughtered 60,000 of the 80,000 members of the Herero tribe.

The German Social Democratic Party (SPD) denounced the massacre and German colonial policy as a whole. The German ruling class responded by making its colonial policy the main issue of the 1907 parliamentary election, using it to whip up

### LENIN'S STRUGGLE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

support for imperialist expansion. All the capitalist parties joined in, aiming their fire at the SPD and its candidates for the election.

The prowar propaganda campaign succeeded in swaying a good number of people who had voted for the SPD in the past to vote capitalist this time. This was particularly true of petty-bourgeois supporters of the SPD. As a result, the SPD lost almost half of its 81 seats in the parliament.

The opportunist wing of the party argued that the conclusion to be drawn from the election defeat was that the SPD should avoid controversial issues like foreign policy and stress domestic economic and social questions in its campaigns and propaganda. The party's left wing disagreed, pointing out that now more than ever socialist propaganda on questions like colonialism was needed to counter the war propaganda of the bourgeoisie.

#### Morocco crisis

Four years later, in 1911, the German and French governments came close to starting a war over who would control the north African colony of Morocco. When leaders of the Second International sought to initiate a discussion among socialist parties on how to respond, German SPD leader Hermann Molkenbuhr sent a secret letter explaining that for the SPD to carry out antiwar activity at this time would jeopardize its standing in the elections.

To raise the war question, he said, would be "permitting our opponents to concoct an effective election slogan against us." Besides, he argued, there was no real danger of war; the German capitalists were just trying to divert attention from pressing problems at home.

"We are vitally concerned that domestic issues in this discussion (tax policy, the privileges of great landowners, the social insurance system, and so on) not be driven into the background," Molkenbuhr wrote.

Rosa Luxemburg, a revolutionary leader in the party's left wing, published Molkenbuhr's letter and wrote an answer denouncing it. (See "Learning About Socialism" column on page 14.) The SPD was eventually forced by the membership to call an

antiwar demonstration around the Morocco events — 200,000 turned out in Berlin.

The Molkenbuhr letter and Luxemburg's reply are both reprinted in the book *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, a collection of documents and speeches by leaders of the Second International from 1907 to 1916. A number of selections in the book deal with the question of socialist policy in elections and the broader question of utilizing legality in capitalist society to build a workers party.

The Morocco incident illustrated the degree to which the opportunist current within the SPD had subordinated defense of the oppressed and exploited to getting elected to office and carrying out "socialist" work through parliament, rather than through the mobilization of the working class in independent action. For many SPD leaders, "politics" had become the practice of trying not to step on the capitalists' toes or offend potential voters.

#### Democratic illusions

It was not the SPD's utilization of elections and parliament as such that was the problem; that in fact was one of the party's great strengths. By the opening of the 20th century, the SPD had hundreds of thousands of members and it won millions of votes in elections. It put out dozens of newspapers. By utilizing elections and by fighting for and exercising its democratic rights, the party had broadened its voice and popularized the ideas of socialism.

But over time, under the pressures of building a workers party in an imperialist country and under conditions of relative legality for decades, democratic illusions gained the upper hand in the SPD. The goal of a Marxist party — to lead the workers and farmers in the struggle to overturn capitalist rule and carry out the transition to socialism — became more distant. In its place came the strategy of winning reforms under capitalism — through work in parliament, deals between trade union bureaucrats and employers, and other forms of class collaboration.

This bourgeois legalist approach to politics went so far that at the Stuttgart, Germany, congress of the Second International in 1907, SPD leader August Bebel brought in lawyers to pore over congress antiwar resolutions before he would sign them.

#### 'Two worlds'

In a 1910 article titled "Two Worlds," Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin took up the challenge the SPD faced as a mass workers party built up over decades of legal functioning.

"For about half a century the German Social-Democratic Labor Party has made exemplary use of bourgeois legality, having created the best proletarian organizations, a magnificent press, having raised to the highest pitch (that is possible under capitalism) the class-consciousness and solidarity of the proletarian socialist vanguard," Lenin wrote.

"Now the time is drawing near when this half-century phase of German history must, by force of objective causes, be replaced by a different phase. The era of utilizing the legality created by the bourgeoisie is giving way to an era of tremendous revolutionary battles, and these battles, in effect, will be the destruction of



Mass antiwar rally of German SPD, 1910. Reformist leaders of party such as August Bebel (right) opposed antiwar agitation in elections. Revolutionists such as Rosa Luxemburg (top left) in Germany and Lenin in Russia fought for revolutionary strategy to utilize elections to reach millions of workers with anticapitalist, antiwar program.

all bourgeois legality, the whole bourgeois system. . . .

It was not the workers or the SPD who would shatter democratic rights, Lenin explained, but the capitalists, whose own bourgeois legal system was an obstacle to carrying out their plans for war and attacks on workers' living standards. A revolutionary situation was brewing throughout Europe, Lenin explained, which would qualitatively change the conditions of working-class struggle and the functioning of socialist parties.

Socialists had no reason to stop utilizing their rights, Lenin explained. They should defend them and make it clear to working people that the bosses were the ones initiating violence and attacks on democratic rights.

#### Outbreak of war

When the imperialist powers went to war in 1914, the majority of the SPD leadership backed the German government from day one. Their deputies in parliament voted for war credits and gave some of the most proimperialist speeches.

Revolutionaries in the SPD, like Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, began carrying out antiwar activity despite SPD policy and government legislation against protests. Luxemburg's Spartacist current began distributing illegal leaflets against the German government and the war. In 1916, the Spartacist current called an antiwar demonstration which was brutally attacked, but succeeded in mobilizing 10,000 working people. Liebknecht was arrested for speaking at the action.

Within Russia, the repression was far more severe than that faced in Western Europe. Once the war started, the tsarist government banned most unions and began singling out militant unionists. The Bolshevik Party, as the only workers party against the imperialist war and for the defeat of the tsar, was a special target of attack. Many of its leaders, like Lenin, had to function in exile, while those leaders inside Russia faced continual arrest.

In 1914, the tsar's cops arrested five

Bolshevik deputies and six other party members on charges of participating in an illegal organization aimed at overthrowing the existing system. The Bolsheviks used their trial to explain what kind of party they belonged to and what kind of workers' representatives the Bolsheviks sent to parliament.

#### Revolutionary parliamentarianism

Lenin was critical of the conduct of some of the Bolshevik defendants during their trial. At the same time he pointed to the revolutionary example set by Bolshevik deputies in parliament compared to the "socialist" deputies in most of Europe.

"[T]he trial has revealed a picture without precedent in world socialism," he wrote, "that of revolutionary Social-Democracy making use of parliamentarianism. More than any speeches, this example will appeal to the minds and hearts of the proletarian masses; more convincingly than any arguments, it will refute the legalist opportunists and anarchist phrasemongers."

Lenin singled out two deputies — G.I. Petrovsky, a metal worker, and M.K. Muranov — for the example they set on the witness stand and in carrying out their assignment as Bolshevik deputies. The prosecution had made much of notes seized from both defendants that showed the kind of political organizing they had done.

"The report on Muranov's illegal work and Petrovsky's notes will long remain a model for that kind of work carried out by our deputies, which we have had diligently to conceal," said Lenin.

"At a time when nearly all 'socialist' (forgive the debasement of the word!) deputies in Europe have proved chauvinists and servants of chauvinists . . . there was to be found in Russia a workers' party whose deputies excelled, not in high-flown speech, or being 'received' in bourgeois, intellectualist salons, or in the business acumen of the 'European' lawyer or parliamentarian, but in ties with the working masses, in dedicated work among the masses, in carrying on modest, unpretentious, arduous, thankless and highly dangerous duties of illegal propagandists and organizers."

Among revolutionaries in the Second International, there was general acceptance of the fact that the German SPD and the Second International as a whole suffered from electoralism and legalism. But many revolutionaries assumed these problems stemmed from the weaknesses of individual leaders and the pressures of the imperialist war and resulting repression. From the beginning, Lenin insisted that something more fundamental was involved — there was a social base for these class-collaborationist policies among privileged layers of the working class itself. How the Bolsheviks helped other revolutionaries come to grips with this problem of opportunism is the subject of next week's article.

(To be continued)

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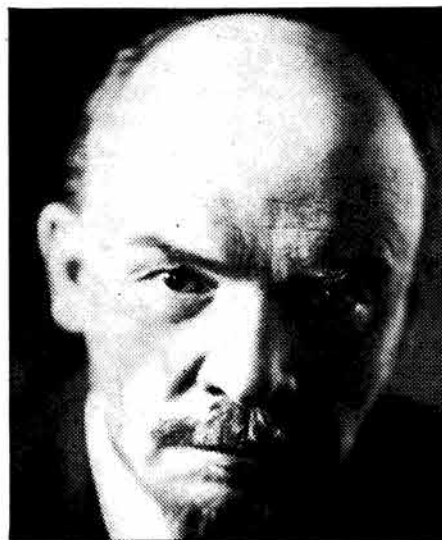
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# Textile union official answers Reagan's lies about Nicaragua, hits AFL-CIO policy



Nita Brueggeman (center), manager, Pacific Northwest Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, reporting her experiences while in Nicaragua to public meeting in Portland, Oregon.

From September 8-15, leaders of several major U.S. unions participated in a tour to Nicaragua organized by the West Coast Labor Network on Central America.

Delegation members included George Popyack, international vice-president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Armando David, AFSCME organizer and international chair of the Labor Task Force on the Philippines; Sandra Cooper-Morgan, California president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU); Luisa Blue, president of SEIU Local 390/400; Terri Mast, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 37; Sumi Haru, recording secretary of the Screen Actors Guild National Board; Roger Auerbach, past president of the Oregon Federation of Teachers; and Nita Brueggeman, manager of the Pacific Northwest Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Portland, Oregon *Militant* correspondent Becky Ellis interviewed Brueggeman in October about what she saw in Nicaragua.

Both Brueggeman and Roger Auerbach have been speaking at union locals and public meetings in the Portland area, using what they learned on their tour to answer Washington's lies about Nicaragua.

*Question. Where did the delegation go and who did you talk to?*

*Answer.* We had meetings with national union leaderships of the Sandinista Workers Federation, Rural Workers Federation, Health Workers Federation, Teachers Association, Public Workers Union, Journalists Union, United Workers Federation, Nicaraguan Workers Federation, and the Union of Theater Artists.

We visited unions and workplaces in Corinto; the TIMAL sugar refinery in Managua; the Victoria Brewery in Managua; TECNISA, which is a textile factory in Managua; the San Jose Agricultural Cooperative in Matagalpa; and the Camilo Ortega Saavedra Hospital in Juigalpa.

We also met with the Supreme Electoral Council and the Nicaraguan Women's Association. I went to a child care center and attended one of the celebrations that dealt with the anniversary of the community defense committees. I also attended the day of homeland commemoration in San Jacinto.

*Q. Were you able to speak freely with anyone you wanted to in Nicaragua?*

*A.* Our host was Sebastian Castro, a leader of the Sandinista Trade Union Federation. He encouraged us to talk to anybody we wanted to.

*Q. Did the Nicaraguans you met speak freely?*

*A.* Yes. We would ask the people we

met how they felt about the revolution and they would talk freely. We would ask them about the upcoming elections and whether they were going to participate. Some people frankly said, "We don't want to share that information." Many of them formulated opinions about changes since the revolution. No one said they would go back to the prerevolutionary situation.

However, many people were critical of the economic shortages, of government spending on the military, although they realize it has to be done because they are at war. I think that they were very free. They were far more open in some cases to criticize their government to a foreigner than I would be to criticize my government to a foreigner.

*Q. What did Nicaraguans tell you about how the revolution had affected their lives?*

*A.* All of them made clear that the opportunities for improvement, personally and as a country, had grown tremendously

since the revolution. They were an oppressed country. They opposed the Somoza government because it was not their government. They know that, basically, for anybody that wants them, there's all kinds of opportunities on the job. There are also lots of opportunities to get involved in the government and to get involved in the trade union movement.

*Q. President Reagan has accused the Sandinistas of betraying the revolution and imposing a tyranny. Based on what you saw, what do you think about that?*

*A.* I don't know what the Reagan administration wanted the Sandinista government to do. It probably wanted them to impose a system of capitalism, which they did not do. Nicaragua now has a mixed economy.

I don't see a betrayal of the revolution. If the question is education, the Nicaraguan government has accomplished much and they're working on that. They've done a tremendous job with their literacy program.

If the question is one of wiping out certain diseases that are prevalent in Third World countries, they've done a tremendous job toward that end. If it's to hold a democratic election, everything we saw indicates that there is a much more democratic election that's going to occur in a couple of weeks there than there is in this country. I don't know where the "betrayal" is.

*Q. Were you able to observe how the different political parties, including the opposition parties, are able to campaign for the upcoming elections?*

*A.* We did a little bit. We saw some of the television time that they got. When we were traveling in some of the outlying areas, a lot of the political slogans were written on buildings and sidewalks and things like that. We took a lot of pictures of billboards that had slogans from all the different parties. And I would say that nobody had a majority of slogans or information written anywhere.

*Q. The official position of the AFL-CIO is that the right of workers to organize trade unions is crippled in Nicaragua. What did you see?*

*A.* What I saw was that the AFL-CIO position needs to change and change drastically. In addition to some of the other trade union federations, we did visit with the United Workers Federation, the CUS. It is one of the two most anti-Sandinista unions.

The CUS has been known to have affiliated with the CIA or has been accused of being affiliated with the CIA in one way or another. It is the union that the AFL-CIO supports. Even they said their membership had grown over 50 percent. They said that they were absolutely and adamantly opposed to any U.S. intervention in their country.

*Q. You mentioned that you visited TECNISA, a textile plant. What did the workers there say about how the revolution had affected their lives, their working conditions, and wages?*

*A.* When the revolution occurred in 1979, the National Guard went in and destroyed that plant and left the equipment and things in a total shambles.

About 39 of the skilled workers, mainly mechanics, went back in after the revolution. With parts from other pieces of equipment they put it back together again, piece by piece. The plant was taken over by the new government and turned over to a board. Those 39 or so workers educated the board about how to manage and run a facility like TECNISA and now the plant operates with about 1,200 employees. They have plans for growth to 2,500 employees. Basically what they have talked about since the revolution is the opportunity for them to run the plant themselves. They have a day a year when all the workers trade places with the management people and they run the plant for a day to reestablish the fact that workers can run their own workplaces and do a good job of it.

As far as the wages go, it was one of the plants where the workers had tried to organize a union five or six times before the

## Students' role in Nicaragua defense



Yvette Araus (left), vice-president, León National Students' Union of Nicaragua; and Frances López, a student activist and Sandinista youth leader.

### BY DEAN DANIELS

In the last several months, 20,000 youth from Nicaragua's capital city of Managua have organized themselves into Student Production Brigades (BEP), intending to assist in the coffee harvest which began in mid-November.

But in response to stepped-up U.S. threats of aggression the Nicaraguan government decided that most of the young people should not go to the coffee plantations in the northern mountains. Instead, the majority will remain in Managua, preparing for the defense of the city. Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock announced the plans to student leaders November 8.

I was in Nicaragua at the time with a group of U.S. and Canadian industrial workers. We were there on a tour sponsored by *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc.*

The day after Wheelock's announcement, my tour group met with two leaders of the National Students' Union of Nicaragua (UNEN) at the university in the city of León. Our hosts were Yvette Araus, vice-president of the León chapter of UNEN, and Frances López, a student activist and local leader of the Sandinista Youth (JS-19).

They told us that León University has a long history of struggle. Carlos Fonseca and Tomás Borge, two founders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) studied here. The university continues to play a leading role in the revolution, organizing brigades for the harvests and for health work in rural areas.

We asked how the U.S. war has affected students in León, and what would be the effect of the order to prepare for the defense of Managua.

We were told that León is primarily a medical school, so students here usually do medical duty when they are called to the war front. These students have generally had previous military training, either as volunteers in the militia or in the army.

Araus said that she has served three tours

of duty in the fight against the U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries, called *contras* in Spanish. Araus is 20 years old.

The students explained that they did not yet know exactly how their plans would be affected by the decision not to send the Managua youth to pick coffee. The BEP in León has been organized around the cotton harvest which begins later. León is in the middle of Nicaragua's cotton farming area. As with virtually everyone else we met in Nicaragua, these students said they would go wherever and do whatever the situation required.

They then told us that they had heard a sonic boom from yet another U.S. spy plane overflight earlier that morning. They are aware of the immense technical and military advantage which the U.S. rulers have over a small and poor country like Nicaragua. They know that a U.S. invasion will cost many lives, but they are confident of victory.

Our group promised to spread the truth about Nicaragua among our coworkers, and to help build solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and their revolution in the United States. But we also had to give them a sober evaluation. While U.S. workers and family farmers have no interest in a war against Nicaragua, there is no mass antiwar movement in the United States today that will stop the imperialists' war plans.

The response summed up what many Nicaraguans have told us. "We want peace," Frances López said, "but we are prepared for the worst — a direct U.S. invasion and a long war. If the U.S. invades, we will not be the only ones who suffer. Thousands of U.S. soldiers will be turned into corpses here. And that will change the situation in the United States."



revolution and people had been killed at attempts to organize. They are now organized and some of their benefits exceed benefits that exist here in the U.S. under collective agreements in textile. They have 80 days paid maternity leave, subsidized meals where the employee pays 15 percent of the cost of meals, 24-hour-a-day health care, and paid sick leave.

Many people made that clear, from 17-year-old boys to 35-year-old men who had been out on the front two or three times. The U.S. would spend a lot of time, a lot of money, and a lot of blood in Nicaragua if they were foolish enough to invade. You are never going to find an 18-year-old marine that believes that he has the right to be in somebody else's country and kill them for a reason that he doesn't understand.

**Q.** *The U.S. government claims that Nicaragua is an economic disaster. What did you find out about the economic gains and the problems of the revolution?*

**A.** There are certainly some economic problems in Nicaragua. They have put a huge amount of money into the TIMAL sugar refinery to find that the U.S. had cut off 80 percent of the sugar quota from Nicaragua. There are definitely some problems. However, their economy seems to have made gains. This is very significant given what has been happening in the last couple of years with the military intervention and with so much of the budget going into the military, and now spending 4 percent of the national budget on the upcoming elections.

There was some discussion about the average Nicaraguan wage going from 94 córdobas to an average of 1,250 córdobas in the last 5 years [1 córdoba = U.S. \$0.10]. But we also know that inflation has run rampant. There still seems to be a big increase in spending power since prior to the revolution.

The people are working in a free environment for the first time in their lives and their standard of living is not a priority for them to be talking about. They were still talking about the goals of the revolution, not necessarily whether or not they had a new car to drive, because it is not in their immediate goals anyway.

**Q.** *What do you think the position of the AFL-CIO should be on Nicaragua?*

**A.** I think that the position of the AFL-CIO on Nicaragua and other countries should be one of supporting indigenous governments. The AFL-CIO should be supporting in those countries what the trade unions in those countries support. I don't care what form of government that is. We are a trade union movement. It's not our prerogative to judge what working people in other countries should determine to be their government. I don't think you can sit in Washington, D.C., and have the right to make that decision for them.

**Q.** *Reagan has claimed the Sandinistas are trying to "export revolution." What did you see?*

**A.** Absolutely not. I don't know if they have the wherewithal to protect their own borders, let alone export revolution to another country. Unless they are exporting it inadvertently by the fact it is a free country.

I mean for all intents and purposes there is a sense of freedom that you feel when you are there. There is a sense of peace and there is a sense of personal integrity and respect. Those feelings may export themselves.

If I were in El Salvador or Honduras I would say that Nicaragua would be a very interesting place to want to go. As far as a military export of the revolution I can't see it, I can't see it at all.

**Q.** *The U.S. government claims the cause of the fighting in Central America is Soviet and Cuban "expansionism." What did you see when you were in Nicaragua?*

**A.** We saw Cubans and we saw Soviet equipment. We asked about it and we got a



**Workers at state-owned TECNISA, a textile mill in Managua that was bombed by Somoza's National Guard and later rebuilt by workers in plant.**

rational answer. It was: "What would you have us do? Who else will supply that equipment?" They said, "We buy much of our stuff from France."

As far as Cubans go, somebody in our delegation asked, "Why don't you use European doctors or whatever instead of Cuban doctors?" And they said, "It's real simple. It's because the Cubans speak Spanish, and there are so many cultural differences between European countries and Central America. Also the U.S. refuses to lend its aid."

**Q.** *How do the Nicaraguans that you talked to view the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary war?*

**A.** Everybody talked about it. They all view it as an atrocity. They said they were glad we came to their country to see for ourselves what was really happening in Nicaragua.

## Nicaraguan basketball team in U.S.

BY JON HILLSON

MEDFORD, Mass. — The cheers that spurred on the visitors at Cousins Gym at Tufts University fit the spiritedly played basketball game.

"Nicaragua, escucha: estamos con su lucha! [Nicaragua, listen: we're with your struggle!]"

"Vaya Nicaragua! [Go Nicaragua!]"

"Defensa! [Defense!]"

The guests were the Nicaraguan national youth basketball team, on a whirlwind tour of New England colleges and universities at the invitation of Williams College in western Massachusetts.

Organized by the Nicaraguan National Sports Institute, the young athletes were drawn from teams in the capital city of Managua and Bluefields, a predominantly Black, English-speaking city on the country's Atlantic Coast.

There's little to practice basketball with in Nicaragua. There are just five indoor gyms in the whole country, and there's a shortage of basketballs, uniforms, and sneakers.

The team was greeted by freezing cold in Connecticut, where they saw snow for the first time in their lives. It was even colder in Medford on November 14, colder than the coldest night in Nicaragua ever gets. "Most of them have earaches," Luis, the assistant coach, said. "The weather is too cold in this country," he said with a grimace.

But even with the earaches, cold, and the pressure of their third game in three nights against a more experienced, rested Tufts squad the eight young Sandinistas put 83 points on the board.

Tufts, which took an average height advantage of six inches and a couple of years more in age, scored 102 points.

The aim of the game, though, wasn't winning.

"Through sports, as athletes, we want to communicate with students in the United States," a Nicaraguan hoopster said later at a reception for both teams. "We're here to promote peace and friendship. And we learn a little basketball, too."

Several partisans of the Nicaraguan revolution were the team's cheering section, raising the roof for every Sandinista bas-

ket, and applauding the well-executed moves and sportsmanship of the Tufts quintet.

**Q.** *Are there definite proposals to change the AFL-CIO position?*

**A.** It depends on what you mean by that. I know that a number of state federations, and I know a number of national unions, including our own, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, have passed resolutions at their conventions to ask the AFC-CIO to reassess its position on Nicaragua and to stop supporting the Reagan administration.

ket, and applauding the well-executed moves and sportsmanship of the Tufts quintet.

"They really go for the ball," a Tufts guard observed tiredly. "They run, they drive to the basket. They are tenacious ballplayers."

He smiled a sigh. "They wore us out."

At the conclusion of the game, the Nicaraguan squad saluted their supporters, striding into the bleachers, shaking hands amid chanting and embraces. "We want peace!" was the shout that Tufts rooters and supporters of the Nicaraguan team chanted in one voice.

Later, at the reception, the visiting ballclub was welcomed by university Pres. Jean Mayer, who says he hoped the event would be seen as a modest contribution to peaceful relations between Nicaragua and the United States.

Nicaraguan coach Rene Castillo explained that his country is fighting for "sovereignty and dignity," that it is "truly a free nation," and that they would rather "spend our resources on developing sports, not battling aggression at our borders."

"But," he said, "we have a duty to defend our country, which is at war. And we will defend it, each of us. All the basketball players here, were they in Nicaragua now, would be mobilized."

The reception, hosted by Afro-American House, brought out a number of Black students. They were surprised, and interested, to learn that there are Black Nicaraguans who speak English, a legacy of Britain's conquest of the Atlantic Coast and its importing of slaves.

One Tufts student learned the history of Nicaragua from Carlos Gomez, the top scorer on the Nicaraguan team, a 17-year-old athlete from Bluefields. They found they have much in common. Their parents were born in Jamaica. "Our tour helps break down the walls," Carlos said. A group of Nicaraguans and Tufts students talked about music, dancing, and leisure activity, joking easily after the game. "Too bad you can't stay for our fraternity party," one Tufts ballplayer said.

The Nicaraguan team's center, a lean, 5' 10" youth from Managua, explained, "They can bomb our country," referring to

**Q.** *Why did you decide to go on this trip? Why did you think it was important for you as a labor official to go?*

**A.** I represent rank and file members that pay more than their fair share of taxes. By that I mean their percentage of income. I also represent young workers, both men and women, and I represent a lot of older women who are raising their sons.

I have a 16-year-old son myself. So there are a couple of things I was looking at. On the one hand our tax dollars are going to support counterrevolutionary activity in Nicaragua. On the other hand the U.S. government was abolishing all kinds of programs that used to benefit my members like the Trade Readjustment and Assistance Act, which has been totally abolished now.

It also looked very much like the Reagan administration was pushing us into another Vietnam in Nicaragua. And that frightened me, not just out of concern for the country as a whole, but also from a more personal point of view because I have a 16-year-old son.

**Q.** *One final question. You have been able to report back to some union locals. What's the general response and what kinds of questions are people asking you?*

**A.** The response has been pretty good. A number of people have asked us, "Why does the U.S. government want to get involved in Nicaragua?" We get a lot of head nodding when we draw the analogy between Nicaragua today and what happened to the U.S. a few years back in Vietnam.

Most of the questions surround the point "Why do you think the U.S. government would be doing that?"

the U.S. invaders, "but we know our country. We know our towns. We know our streets. And every Nicaraguan youth," he said, cutting the air with his hand, "will fight to the end. We are totally organized."

The team, its members all said, has been met with warmth and friendship. "The people of the United States? They are fantastic," one player said. "Very different from the government."

Still, said their assistant coach, the athletes' "parents are all worried. They trust us," the team's adult leader said, "but they read the disinformation about Nicaragua from the U.S. press and they worry about their sons."

The day the team arrived in Boston, the frontpage headline of the *Globe* read, "Pentagon Portrays Managua as Threat." The picture next to the story showed soldiers digging trenches north of Managua. "I am attached to that unit," said team translator Yorman López.

A muscular, red-headed Tufts ballplayer shook his head, talking softly and earnestly to a solidarity activist. "I do not want to fight these people."



**Member of Nicaragua's national youth basketball team during game at Tufts University.**



# Nicaragua steps up Managua defense

Continued from front page

In addition to the territorial militias, Urbina noted, there are also union militias. These units have as their task defense of the given factory or workplace, and are not included in the 40,000 goal.

## Civil defense

The second task, Urbina said, is the organization of civil defense. He recalled that a year ago, in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, there was also a threat of direct U.S. military attack. At that time civil defense became a top priority. Since then, however, preparations had fallen off. Air raid shelters haven't been kept up; civil defense brigades had become inactive.

On the neighborhood level, civil defense includes four kinds of brigades: first aid, rubble removal, firefighting, and groups to take care of children and other particularly vulnerable members of the civilian population, such as pregnant women or old people.

"We've created the general staffs for civil defense and are now working on revitalizing and updating the plans," he reported. Training for the various brigades is also proceeding.

The third big task of the CDSs is to guarantee the population will receive basic food supplies in case of an escalated aggression. This is being organized in collaboration with the Ministry of Internal Commerce (MICOIN) and the owners of small stores, called *expendedos populares*, where people receive rationed foods.

The fourth big task — and this has been the traditional central task of the CDSs — is revolutionary vigilance. This is the volunteer night patrol carried out in most neighborhoods.

In addition to its regular tasks, Urbina said, "revolutionary vigilance will now be stepped up on three things: the main roads — especially those used often by our top leaders and the army; economic targets — everything from the refineries to the neighborhood *expendedo*; and enemies or potential enemies of the revolution."

He said that by enemies the CDS leadership didn't mean people who criticized the revolution, who belonged to parties that opposed the FSLN in the elections, and so on. He pointed out, for example, that in a survey done a few months ago, fully 15 percent of the local CDS leaders were members of parties other than the Sandinista Front.

The potentially dangerous real enemies, he said, "are those who are reactionaries yet don't necessarily say much, especially people with a *somocista* past whose actions appear to be conspiratorial."

"Those people who criticize openly, who don't understand, who say things like, 'Before we were better off,' should be the object of our work in the political and ideological sphere" instead of being written off, he said.

Explaining the political campaign the CDS is carrying out, Urbina said that "we have to take advantage of the moment to strengthen our organization." The objective, he said, was to build on the heightened consciousness of the war resulting from Washington's threats over the alleged MIGs to "stabilize the defense of Managua."

Many people in Managua "have a false idea of the war," he said. "They do not see it as something real, immediate." But the aggression is already under way. We already have thousands of dead. People in Managua have to understand that Nicaragua is at war, that we too are at war."

## Role of CDSs

In carrying out the house-to-house visits, Urbina noted, CDS members are trying especially to listen to what people say and to take note of the problems or suggestions they have.

The CDS, he said, is not a branch of the government. It is an independent organization.

"As an autonomous organization, we can go to the ministries to press for demands. We should be more receptive to the problems, we should be more forceful in pressing for solutions." This includes, he said, the CDS taking the initiative to organize neighborhood projects to solve some of the problems, rather than passively waiting for one or another government ministry to do everything.

"The most important thing" about the house-to-house visit, Urbina said, "is that it is going to get us more closely linked to the people, in a more rounded way from the political and ideological point of view."

"It will be a great school for the activists."

One example of the kinds of meetings being organized by the CDSs was a meeting with owners of the *expendedos populares* that the *Militant* attended. These small stores distribute the eight basic rationed goods at subsidized prices well below their free market value.

Many of the *expendedos* are also traditional corner grocery stores which offer a range of other products. Others have been recently set up in collaboration with the CDSs and MICOIN as part of the Consumer Defense Law, a measure aimed at combating speculators.

A meeting of owners of *expendedos* of one of the 12 zones into which the Managua region is subdivided is typical of the kinds of meetings that are being held all over the city. More than 50 small merchants — overwhelmingly women — were present for the session held November 22 at the community center of the the Nicrao neighborhood.

The main presentation was given by Ricardo Leyva of the FSLN leadership in that zone.



Barricada/Pablo E. Barreto

Organization of first aid classes form part of preparations against U.S. aggression by CDSs and Popular Militias in Managua.

Leyva explained a central point that is also being hammered home in speeches by top leaders of the revolution and in the press: *military defense is a permanent task.*

This is so, he explained, because imperialism will not cease attacking Nicaragua "until the United States ceases being imperialist."

They want to destroy the people's power, the power of the workers and peasants," he said, "because of the example that we offer to other peoples."

He then recounted the advances registered by the Nicaraguan people in five and a half years of revolution: a massive literacy campaign that taught hundreds of thousands of people the rudiments of reading and writing; a land reform program that has given land to tens of thousands of landless or land-poor families; expanded health care and education, available for the first time to many worker and peasant families; and economic development projects that will gradually do away with underemployment and create a better life for all Nicaraguans.

"For these reasons, from the 19th of July, when the revolution triumphed, imperialism set itself the task of destroying this revolution. They will not cease until they have installed here a *somocismo* without Somoza, a government of the exploiters."

Leyva stressed that this is not a threatened imperialist aggression, but a real and immediate war that has long since begun through a CIA-financed army of more than 10,000 counterrevolutionaries operating from bases in neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica.

In particular, in recent weeks the CIA has launched its bands against coffee-producing farms in the north of the country, trying to disrupt this vital harvest which accounts for close to one-third of Nicaragua's hard currency earnings.

## National State of Alert

Leyva then went on to discuss the current National State of Alert decreed by the army November 12. "This general state of alert means that all the military structures must be in place to go into a general mobilization" in case of attack.

He explained that tanks had been deployed around the capital "so that people can see that we have advanced since the days of the .22 pistols and homemade contact bombs" used in the struggle against Somoza.

"Now we have, not hundreds, but thousands and tens of thousands of rifles and some — even though only a few — people's irons," as the Soviet-made T-55 tanks of the Sandinista army are affectionately called.

The number one military priority of the revolution, said Leyva, had to be the defense of Managua.

If they invade, the imperialists need to score a quick political victory, he explained, "and that blow is called Managua." If they take Managua quickly, with few losses, there will not be time for op-

position to develop among the North American people, he said.

"But when they try to take Managua," he added, "Managua will become a new Vietnam. The example of Managua would be taken up by the peoples of the world. The toilers of the world would fight with us against the aggression. The people of El Salvador would become a giant and overthrow its dictatorship."

For that reason, the FSLN National Directorate has issued a call for "Active Resistance" should a U.S. invasion materialize. This means, Leyva said, "to resist with all weapons, from tanks to a stone, to resist brick-by-brick, house-by-house, street-by-street, and even within the very territory the enemy might occupy."

"We will show the world that we Nicas are no pushover."

## A high price

He explained that maximum preparedness also maximized the possibilities of convincing the U.S. imperialists that they would have to pay too high a price for trying to take Nicaragua.

He explained that the revolutionary government and the Sandinista Front continued carrying out an unceasing diplomatic offensive to hold back an escalation of the U.S. aggression. Referring to negotiations in the framework of the Contadora pact; the bilateral U.S.-Nicaragua talks in Manzanillo, Mexico; and Nicaragua's efforts in international forums like the United Nations, the Nonaligned Movement, and the World Court, he said, "We have exhausted all possible resources and will continue to do so."

"Within the country, the main effort we make for peace is to organize the defense and mobilize in support of the revolution."

Referring to the 300,000 people who attended the November 1 wind-up rally of the Sandinista Front in Managua, he said that "these big mobilizations make the Yankees think twice about invading us."

They put that in their computers and a red light comes on saying, 'danger.'"

Turning to the tasks of owners of the *expendedos*, he said that "you are going to play a most vital social role — to keep the population supplied. Weapons we have or can invent, but to wield those weapons we need the rice and beans."

He explained that in collaboration with military authorities, emergency distribution plans were being made in case of invasion. Distribution would be carried out through the current channels and with the ration card issued by the CDSs.

An important aspect of the planning, Leyva added, was organizing the militias to defend the supplies of basic grains. "It is going to be a lot more important to guard that rice and beans than to guard a bank," he noted.

"Right now what we ask of you is to state your willingness to cooperate, and give us help in designing those plans."

When Leyva asked how many of those present were willing to join in this new effort to defend the gains of the revolution, there was no one sitting on their hands.



Barricada/F. Gómez

Hundreds of youth join Popular Militias in Managua



# UAW backs striking Missouri lead miners

BY SARAH HARRIS  
AND MAREA HIMELGRIN

BOSS, Missouri — More than 1,000 striking lead miners, organized by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), have been embroiled in a seven-month-long battle against union-busting here in the Lead Belt of southeast Missouri.

They received much-needed solidarity and aid at a November 10 rally here sponsored by the United Auto Workers (UAW).

The strike began on April 1 at the St. Joe Minerals Co. The company's owners demanded sweeping concessions, forcing the members of USWA Local 6242 out on strike. Two months later, the AMAX Lead & Zinc Co. followed suit and USWA Local 7447 was forced out as well. Finally, the American Smelting and Refining Co. pushed its employees in USWA Local 7450 into striking.

Every time the unions have come to the bargaining table, the lead companies have asked for more. They started by demanding wage cuts, reductions in medical benefits, and work rule changes. Now they are demanding an open shop.

Miners explain that the union-busting "swept up from Arizona," referring to the copper miners strike in the Southwest, which was provoked by the concessions demanded by Phelps Dodge bosses. One lead miner told the *Militant*, "They want this to be a right-to-work state like Arkansas."

Times are hard in the small lead-mining communities of southeast Missouri. The lead companies have hired scabs from out of town. Besides free housing and meals, the scabs have been flown home for weekends — as far away as Colorado — at company expense.

The state troopers and the courts have been used against the strike. "The strike would be over if they hadn't brought in the troopers," said one picket. The state troopers protect scabs, escort lead ore trucks, and harass pickets. Forty highway patrol cars were lined up at one point outside the USWA union hall in Viburnum, a town of 800 people.

The courts have played a big part in the employers' strike-breaking drive. Numerous injunctions have handicapped the miners' ability to set up a strong picket line. On September 17, in violation of a court injunction, a demonstration was held in front of the AMAX facility. More than 100 members of the union, including "Doc" Nash, president of Local 7447, received summonses for criminal contempt of court.

Despite the companies, cops, and courts, the lead miners are determined to continue to fight.

The November 10 UAW-organized rally provided a big boost in terms of morale. The rally and a solidarity caravan to southern Missouri were built in auto worker locals through union meetings and by leafletting at the plants. UAW Region 5 organized plant-gate collections. Auto workers donated more than \$13,000, and several truckloads of food and clothing were sent to their USWA brothers and sisters.

A leaflet distributed at the Chrysler plants in Fenton, Missouri, said, "Families are being punished because of the companies' glut. The people of this area are proud people, their blood, sweat and sometimes tears made this area prosperous."

"We, as union members, cannot sit idly by and watch our Union Brothers and Sisters go through this crisis alone. Fall is here, kids need clothes for school, help with the winter heating bills, and most important of all, bread for the table. . . . There are many men and women in the Auto plants who have relatives working at the mines."

"So, Brothers and Sisters of Locals 136 and 110, let's lead this fight against union-busting and runaway plants."

A solidarity caravan of 25 cars and trucks left from UAW Local 110's headquarters in Fenton, near St. Louis, on November 10 and headed for Boss, some 90 miles away. They were joined here by members of UAW Local 1760 from Rolla, Missouri. The caravan was greeted on its arrival by hundreds of lead miners and their families. The auto workers and lead miners had lunch together and heard messages of solidarity from UAW regional leaders. A UAW official handed over a large box brimming with cash. The crowd interrupted the speakers several times with enthusiastic applause. At the end of the rally, a group in the audience joined together in singing "Solidarity Forever."

A member of UAW Local 110 who is a supporter of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador was invited by the chair to address the rally. He made a connection between the attacks on lead miners here and the U.S.-backed government repression of trade unionists in El Salvador. In particular, he explained the case of Marta Alicia Rivera, a leader of the Salvadoran teachers union, ANDES. Rivera was tortured by a death squad for her union activities and is currently seeking political asylum in the United States. The labor committee supporter's talk was well received and more than 120 lead miners, in-



Some 300 lead miners, members of the United Steelworkers union, and supporters participated in UAW-organized solidarity meeting.

cluding several union officials, signed a petition demanding political asylum for Rivera.

Women miners and the wives and daughters of lead miners have played an important role in the strike. There are pictures hanging in the strike headquarters of demonstrations of women in their communities in support of the strike. One woman lead miner told the *Militant* that women were walking the picket lines, and that she was spending six or seven hours a day, three times a week, working at the

strike headquarters.

UAW Local 136 passed out a second leaflet at Chrysler. On behalf of the striking miners it thanked UAW members for their solidarity. It said, "In this day and time Labor must stand and fight hand in hand as companies try to bust and/or demoralize the smaller Local Unions."

*Sarah Harris is a member of UAW Local 110 and Marea Himelgrin is a member of Local 136. Both work at the Chrysler Complex in Fenton.*

## South African racism targeted at Va. forum

BY ELIZABETH WHITTAKER

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — "Upsurge in South Africa — End U.S. Support to Apartheid!" was the title of the November 17 Militant Forum here. Davis Manganye and Lucky Masilela from South Africa and Nelson Murangi from Namibia were speakers.

Currently studying at Hampton University (formerly Hampton Institute), the three speakers recently addressed two campus meetings organized by the student government and Political Science Club of that predominantly Black school. The meetings, attended by 250 and 70 respectively, reflect a heightened interest in and solidarity with the latest protests in South Africa against the racist apartheid regime.

Manganye pointed to the role of U.S. capital in maintaining the apartheid regime. The owners of companies such as Ford, GM, and IBM are directly involved in supporting the South African government. "U.S. workers," Manganye said, "regardless of color, have a role to play in helping South African workers free themselves. We are all victims of capitalism, brought together by our common destinies."

Masilela traced the apartheid system back to 1948, explaining it as a manifestation of capitalism used to keep the white minority in power. He said the South African government is one "that forces the majority of its citizens to carry a pass to enter 87 percent of their own country, and that gives them patches of land to live on totalling only 13 percent of the land."

The consolidation of the trade unions and the leadership role of Black workers in South Africa was emphasized by the speakers many times.

Murangi, whose country, Namibia, came under South African rule following World War I, said the Namibian independence struggle is a "life-and-death armed struggle for land."

He also blasted the hypocrisy of U.S. government attempts to link Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"The Cuban revolution," Murangi said, "will not be forgotten by Namibians." He explained that the role of Cuba is well un-

derstood and appreciated by the masses of southern Africa. Invited by the Angolan government in 1975 to help fight off a South African invasion, Cuban troops have remained as a shield against new aggression.

The Militant Forum drew students from Hampton University, shipyard workers, members of the Black Vanguard Resource Center, and activists in the Student and Teacher Alliance Against Racism (STARR) at Virginia State University in Petersburg. Jim Brown, professor of history at Norfolk State University, and John Dommissie, a white South African living in this country, also spoke.

For the majority of the participants it was their first time at a Militant Forum and they were eager to continue the discussion, which lasted for hours. A lively exchange took place on many topics. They ranged from what can be done in the United States to support the struggle in southern Africa, to a further discussion on the internationalist role of Cuba.

## Iraq, U.S. renew diplomatic ties

BY TOM LEONARD

On November 26 the governments of Iraq and the United States resumed formal diplomatic relations for the first time in 17 years.

These relations were first broken off by Iraq in 1967 to protest Washington's support for Israel's war against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Iraq had been on Washington's hit list of alleged terrorist nations until 1982.

In recent years, the Iraqi regime has become more conciliatory toward the imperialist powers.

The turning point in the two countries' relations came when the Iraqi regime of Pres. Saddam Hussein launched its September 1980 invasion of Iran. Despite Washington's repeated claims of neutrality in this war, Washington has supported the Iraqi side from the beginning. The U.S. imperialists hoped that the invasion could deal a mortal blow to the revolutionary achievements of the Iranian masses, who toppled the U.S.-backed shah in 1979.

On October 12 Iraq publicly let it be

known that it was willing to resume diplomatic relations with the United States.

Washington provides Hussein with \$840 million in economic aid. In addition, the government of imperialist France "loaned" jets and Exocet missiles to Iraq in 1983. And Arab regimes that are staunch allies of imperialism in the region, like those of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, are subsidizing the Iraqi economy.

The capitalist press reported "an unusual display of cordiality" toward Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, in his "rapid fire" meetings in Washington to formalize diplomatic ties. The meetings included President Reagan, Vice-president George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and national security affairs adviser Robert McFarlane.

Weinberger speaking to reporters claimed that his meeting with Aziz "... was a 'courtesy call' that did not denote the beginning of a U.S.-Iraqi military relationship."

### Fed up with Reagan's lies about Nicaragua? — Come see Nicaragua for yourself!

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**Simply stated** — LOS ANGELES — Occidental Petroleum Corp. and other supporters of drilling for oil in Pacific



**Harry Ring**

Palisades have contributed \$70,150 to city council members and Mayor Tom Bradley, California Common Cause said in a report released today. Occidental is

trying to win approval from the city council to drill for oil beneath the slopes of Pacific Palisades. The council is expected to approve the plan — Associated Press.

**Success story** — The next time you down a can of Budweiser, think of what you helped accomplish. By the turn of the last century, the Busch family of St. Louis had already made a bundle in beer, but their social status was so lowly they were banned by the local country club. Today their holdings include the St. Louis Cardinals, the stadium they play in, the local civic center, and the arch at the gates to the city. Plus their own

country club.

**Problems, problems** — Secretary of State Shultz has been camping out in a cramped temporary set of offices for months while his real office is being redone into "period" rooms. Meanwhile, the redoing cost escalated from \$1.25 million to \$1.75 million.

**He's catching on** — "If you look at the enormous poverty in that country and think that they are using foreign aid to buy consumer goods for the rich, you begin to understand why they have a civil war going on there." A congress-

sional aide on the disclosure that the Salvadoran government is using U.S. dollars, supposedly allocated for raw materials and machinery, to subsidize the import of TV sets and other more readily marketable goods.

**Now really** — A classified U.S. report voices the suspicion that "political influence or payoffs" may play a role in the Salvadoran government's illegal use of U.S. dollars to subsidize luxury imports.

**Nice work if you can get it** — The feds are checking out Daniel

Benjamin, aide to Labor Secretary Donovan (indicted for racketeering). Benjamin assertedly accepted use of a lobbyist's sail boat and invited a good buddy to join him at the mast. To cover expenses Benjamin awarded old buddy a \$2,357 non-bid contract to assertedly spend seven days writing a government report.

**Wish for the week** — The current federal definition of poor is a maximum income, gross, of \$148 a week for a family of four. Wouldn't it be nice if the folks who arrived at that definition had to live on it?

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**The Patriot Game.** Video film on 800 years of struggle for Irish independence and unity. Sat., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation: \$2, benefit for *Irish-American Voice*. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### ARIZONA

#### Phoenix

**South Africa: Black Majority in Revolt.** Film showing and speakers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 1, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell Rd., #3. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

**Latin America: Military Dictatorships Crumbling.** Speaker: Barry Fatland, member of Socialist Workers Party recently returned from tour of Latin America. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell Rd., #3. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Bay Area

**Socialist Educational Conference: The War in Central America and the Fight for Socialism in the United States.** Sun., Dec. 9, 11 a.m.-7 p.m.

1. "Why Are U.S. Rulers Preparing for War in Central America?" 11 a.m. Speaker: Betsey Stone, member, National Committee Socialist Workers Party.

2. "The Fight for Women's Rights Today" and "Independent Political Action in the Fight Against Racism." Two classes at 2 p.m.

3. "Origins of the Working Class" and "Why Import Controls Don't Help Working People." Two classes at 3:30 p.m.

4. "Can Working People in the United States Make a Revolution?" 5:30 p.m. Speaker: Sam Manuel, member National Committee SWP.

All classes and talks translated to Spanish. Ella Hill Hutch Community Center, 1050 McAlister, San Francisco. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call: in San Francisco, (415) 282-6255; in Oakland, (415) 261-3014; in San Jose, (408) 998-4007; in Seaside, (408) 394-1855.

#### San Francisco

**Struggle for Abortion Rights.** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant

Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Nicaragua: Another Vietnam?** Public panel of Vietnam veterans speaking out against the U.S. war against Nicaragua. Sat., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. Canterbury Center, 791 Fair St. Ausp: Atlanta chapter of National Black Independent Political Party. For more information call (404) 874-5819 or 243-4811.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**No More Vietnams! U.S. Out of Nicaragua.** Speakers: Isabella Listopad, member Young Socialist Alliance and United Auto Workers Local 93; Dick Geyer, member Socialist Workers Party and UAW Local 31. Sun., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. 4715 A Troost Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEW YORK

#### New York City

**Fiesta Sandinista.** Welcome home Nicaragua Support Project construction brigade. Dance with refreshments. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21 St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Nicaragua Support Project. For more information call (212) 787-0488.

**Fund-raiser for Striking British Miners.** Videotapes of miners strike, music, dancing, and comedy. Sat., Dec. 8. Begins 7:30 p.m. Brecht Auditorium, 151 W 19 St., 7th floor. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Miners Aid Group, Armagh/H-Block Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Labor Film Club. For more information call (201) 344-2549.

**Help Chile's People Lift State-of-Siege.** Fund-raising dance with Johnny Colon and orchestra. Sat., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. to 1 p.m. New York University Loeb Student Center, La Guardia Pl. and W 4 St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Committee for a Free Chile.

### OHIO

#### Toledo

**Eyewitness Report from Nicaragua.** Slide show and speakers: Marian Carr, member United Auto Workers Local 16 and Young Socialist Alliance; Toby Emmerich, member UAW Local 12 and Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Dec. 5, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr (at Parkside). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Nicaragua Today.** Presentations by recent visitors to revolutionary Nicaragua. Sat., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!** Slide show and presentations by Doug Cooper and Jamileh Cooper, members of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union just returned from revolutionary Nicaragua. Sat., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**British Coal Miners Strike.** Showing of three videotapes made by the striking National Union of Mineworkers. Fri., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Nicaragua: A Struggle for Peace.** Speaker: Jorge Granera, vice-president, Nicaraguan Committee in Solidarity With the Peoples of the World. Sat., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. Piggot Auditorium, Seattle University. Donation: \$3. Ausp: El Centro de la Raza. For more information call (206) 329-2974.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Fight for Freedom in the Philippines.** Speakers: Lourdes Marzan, Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP); Mike Fitzsimmons, member Young Socialist Alliance and International Association of Machinists. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 1, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Eyewitness Report From Nicaragua.** Speaker: Ellie Garcia, member Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from two-week tour of Nicaragua. Showing of film: *Nicaragua: Report From the Front*. Sat., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

**The Case for Native American Treaty Rights.** Speakers: James Schlender, vice-chairperson, La Courte Oreilles Indian tribe; Dave Morrow, Socialist Workers Party. Sat. Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## Cuba receives UNESCO award for work in educating the blind

The November issue of *Cuba International* reports that Cuba recently received the UNESCO (the United Nations Education, Science, and Cultural Organization) Nadezhda Krupskaya Award for its work in educating the blind and visually handicapped. The award was presented to the National Association of the Blind of Cuba (ANCC) for its literacy campaign during the last five years. In the course of the group's work, 1,544 blind or visually handicapped Cubans were taught how to read Braille.

According to Alberto Boza Hidalgo, Cuba's ambassador to France, this figure represents all blind adults in Cuba. Boza, who accepted the prize for the ANCC at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, said that since its inception the association has successfully helped 2,246 blind persons integrate themselves into professional life, trained 200 specialists to give education to the sight-impaired, and expanded educational materials in Braille.

This is the third time a Cuban organization has received the Nadezhda Krupskaya Award for its outstanding literacy work.

### Prisoner fund

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

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**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat

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**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.

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**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.

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# 'A Soldier's Story': real story remains untold

BY SAM MANUEL

A *Soldier's Story* has received rave reviews. *Time* magazine called it "electrifying." "An instant classic," said the *Toronto Sun*. "Front runner for best movie of the year," said CBS TV.

A *Soldier's Story* is a Columbia Pictures adaptation of Black playwright Charles Fuller's *A Soldier's Play*. Fuller is credited with the screen adaptation for Columbia. The movie is lauded for giving Black actors a chance to ply their craft. Indeed, the performance of the cast — Howard Rollins, Art Ewins, Larry Riley, Patti Labelle,

## FILM REVIEW

and others — is superb.

This "whodunit" murder mystery also claims to treat the condition of Black soldiers on a segregated U.S. Army base in the South in the 1940s. The Black soldiers were drafted together. They had played baseball together previously in the Negro League. Their main duties were cleaning up the base and playing baseball to entertain the white troops.

Howard Rollins as Black Army Captain Richard Davenport is sent to Mississippi to investigate the death of Black Master Sergeant Vernon Waters, played by Adolph Caesar.

Upon arrival at the base, Davenport is advised by the white base commander that the best thing he could do would be to go back to headquarters. "No white jury is going to convict a white man of killing a Black soldier," he explains.

Davenport goes to work questioning the Black troops. He is not allowed, at first, to question white soldiers. As told by the Black soldiers, Sergeant Waters is a twisted

character who treats his Black troops with more contempt than do the white officers. Throughout the movie Waters curses and insults the Black troops, and frequently calls them "niggers."

He has a special hatred for one of the Black soldiers from the rural South, played by Larry Riley. Riley, a star of the baseball team, also entertained the Black troops by singing blues at a local bar.

One night while listening to Riley sing, Waters tells another Black soldier that "the Negro race can't afford singing Blacks no more. We got to weed them out." As the story proceeds, Waters drives Riley to commit suicide after framing him up on a shooting incident.

At this point, the Black soldiers have more motives to kill Waters than the Ku Klux Klan, the white soldiers, and the people in the town.

Finally, Davenport gets to question two white soldiers who admitted seeing Waters on the night of his death. They found Waters drunk, beat him severely, and left him on the roadside. Did they kill him? No. They apparently go unpunished, however, for beating Waters.

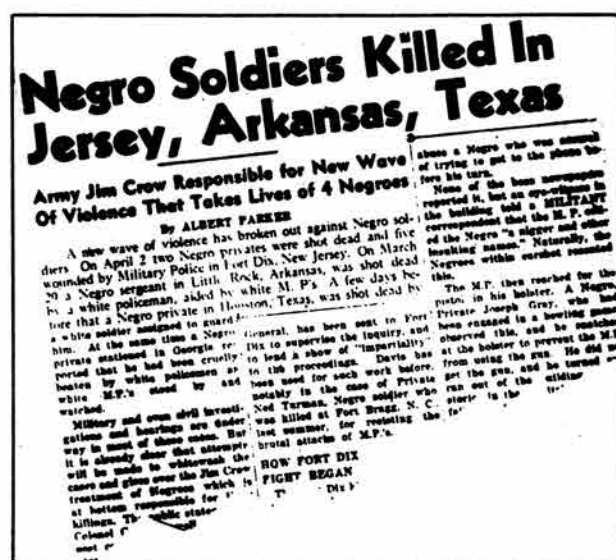
So who killed Waters? Private Peterson — a proud, militant, and self-confident Black soldier who stood up to Sergeant Waters' insults and outrages.

Like most Blacks, I went to see *A Soldier's Story* hoping to get a serious treatment of the condition of Blacks in the United States. Once again, Hollywood has failed.

What is the message of *A Soldier's Story*? First: Black soldiers were killed in the South — but often by other Blacks.

Second: Black soldiers suffered more abuse from their Black superiors than from white officers.

Third: The movie emphasizes the willingness of Blacks to fight in the U.S. armed forces, which were supposedly waging a war against Hitler and fascism, as a way to gain full respect in the United States. In the con-



Article in 1943 *Militant* reporting on murder of Black GIs by military and civilian cops during World War II.

text of the current U.S. war against the workers and peasants in Central America, the movie implies that Blacks should do the same today.

Last: The army comes out smelling like a rose. In the closing scene, Black troops are shown marching off to war, Davenport beside them. He is offered a ride in the jeep of the white base commander. As he climbs in, the white officer exclaims, "I guess I'll just have to get used to seeing Captain's bars on Black officers."

As Davenport puts on his sunglasses he retorts, "You bet your ass you will."

In the movie, the story of Black soldiers remains untold.

# Pa. minister arrested for pro-union activities

BY MARK WASHINGTON

CLAIRTON, Pa. — Lutheran minister Doug Roth was arrested on November 13 at Trinity Lutheran Church in this depressed steel town outside of Pittsburgh. Roth was taken by the sheriff to the county jail to serve a 90-day sentence for contempt of court, stemming from his involvement with a group of other ministers and unionists in protests against union-busting and the plight of the unemployed.

Roth faces the jail sentence, along with a \$1,200 fine, for refusing to obey a judge's order that he step down from his ministerial duties at Trinity Lutheran Church.

Small steel towns like Clairton that line the Monongahela River have been devastated by the layoffs at the mills in recent years. U.S. Steel's Clairton Works is down from 4,500 union workers to 1,500. Life is hard for the town's 12,000 residents. Small businesses are boarded up. Laid-off steelworkers and their families try to salvage

what they can, selling their homes if they can find a buyer and moving away in the hopes of rebuilding their lives elsewhere. Government statistics cite joblessness at 11.2 percent in the Pittsburgh area. Other sources put the actual number at more than 21 percent.

Roth's arrest is the latest move by corporate officials, the government, and the church hierarchy, who are trying to silence local pastors who have joined forces with unionists to protest union-busting and unemployment. They have pointed the finger of blame at the handful of wealthy who run society.

On November 11, at a Sunday service held in defiance of the court order, a crowd of supporters from his congregation, other churches, and local unions gave the minister a standing ovation when he vowed he would continue the fight to retain his job and would continue to oppose the corporations.

The events leading up to Roth's arrest go back to 1980, when Roth and a number of other primarily Lutheran and Episcopalian clergy from 30 churches gathered together to form the Denominational Ministry Strategy (DMS). The DMS joined with 15 local unions in the Network to Save the Mon/Ohio Valleys. The Network includes six locals of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), headed by Local 1397 at the U.S. Steel Homestead Works. It also in-

cludes Teamsters and members of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers union.

The Network focuses its fire on U.S. Steel and the Dravo Corp. for their plant closings and union-busting; Mellon Bank for investing overseas instead of in the local area; and the Lutheran Synod of Western Pennsylvania for its union-busting role at the Passavant Health Center. The health center, which is owned by the Synod, forced 180 Teamster employees on strike last November. The company broke the union and replaced the workers.

With the initiation of these protests earlier this year, the dissidents have come under heavy attack. To undercut the widespread sympathy for their activities among workers throughout the area, they have been the focus of a slanderous media campaign. One example is an editorial which appeared in the October 23 *Tribune-Review*, published by Richard Mellon Scaife from the Mellon family. Turning the truth on its head, the editorial lambasted the activists for pitting "the poor against the rich, one church member against another, and loved ones against their families."

The FBI has threatened to investigate the group. On October 28, five Network activists — including Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 — were arrested during a protest in St. John's Lutheran Church, where Synod head Bishop Kenneth May is a parishioner.

Bishop May has led the attack on the DMS. He sent a letter to area Lutheran ministers, threatening any who defied the group. After an unsuccessful attempt to remove Rev. John Gropp from his pulpit in nearby Duquesne, Bishop May focused on Doug Roth. On October 17 May fired Roth. When Roth refused to leave, May took him to court. On November 2, Common Pleas Judge Emil Narick upheld the bishop's action. When Roth refused to abide by the court's decision, the judge ordered him held in contempt and arrested. May has begun proceedings to have Roth defrocked as a Lutheran minister.

In an interview with this reporter, Roth emphasized the collaboration between the church hierarchy and the corporate owners in his firing. He pointed out that one of Bishop May's attorneys, Andrew Farley, is with the same firm that represents Mellon Bank. Farley works for the Lutheran Synod free of charge.

Church council member William Fosbrink said that a majority of the congregation is behind the minister, despite some of what Roth calls "corporate-minded" parishioners having left the church in protest of his activism. "Somebody has to recognize the fact that this valley is in a bad situation," Fosbrink said. "We're proud of our pastor for taking a stand."

Ongoing protests are planned to defend Rev. Roth.

## In defense of women's right to abortion

Continued from Page 5

their own bodies, who joined civil rights activists in exposing and combating forced sterilization. The women's liberation movement rejected the racist "population control" schemes that were used to justify forced sterilization. Laws making abortion illegal and laws that restrict access of poor women to abortion make it easier for racist doctors to demand sterilization as the price for an abortion.

Black women and Latinas have the most to gain from the fight for women's rights because they suffer the double edge of both racist and sexist oppression. That's why a majority of Blacks support legal abortion.

O'Connor also argues against the views expressed by New York's Gov. Mario Cuomo and others that it is useless to pass laws against abortion because women will continue to have abortions whether or not it is legal.

"It is obvious," O'Connor says, "that

law is not the entire answer to abortion. Nor is it the answer to theft, arson, child abuse or shooting police officers. Everybody knows that. But who would suggest that we repeal laws against such crimes because the laws are so often broken?"

"Is it outlandish to think," he asks, "that laws against abortions might have some protective effect?"

O'Connor is right about one thing.

Laws against abortion won't stop women from getting abortions. But laws making abortion illegal will stop some women. And they will stop women from getting safe abortions.

Women have had and will continue to have abortions to end unwanted pregnancies. The only question is whether they will be open, legal, and safe — or secret, illegal, physically dangerous, and psychologically destructive?

The use of these laws as shackles on women comes through clearly in O'Connor's closing comments in his speech. He quotes Father Hesburgh of Notre Dame University: "Tragically, we may never again come to an agreement in our land that all abortion should be declared illegal, and some may passionately believe that exceptions should be made in cases of rape, of incest, or truly grave threats to the actual physical survival of the mother." But "at the very least we can come to grips with what is the real and the frightening issue of the day: abortion on demand."

O'Connor and the entire hierarchy of the Catholic Church play on people's religious beliefs in an attempt to enlist them in the reactionary campaign against abortion rights and women's equality. They cloak themselves in a phony concern for the poor, the oppressed, and the downtrodden, while they work with all their might to keep the oppressed and exploited on their knees.

All working people have a big stake in answering these attacks on abortion rights.

### Fighting Racism in World War II

Coverage of the Black struggle from the *Militant* and other publications of the Socialist Workers Party, 1939-45. 375 pp. paper, \$6.95.

"The school books tell us that World War II was a fight for democracy, a time of patriotic national unity, when Americans pulled together and overcame their prejudices. . . . But the army marching beneath the stars and stripes was a Jim Crow army."

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## Reagan's new set of budget cuts

During the past couple of weeks, the big-business media has been deluged with government "leaks" regarding budget proposals by the Reagan administration. A White House working group has proposed what they called a "pretty Draconian" plan to cut the budget by nearly \$200 billion over the next four years.

Talk about "cutting the deficit" and increasing "savings" is capitalist-class tripe designed to justify preparations for another round of slashing funds for education, health care, retirement and veterans' benefits, unemployment compensation, and other much-needed social services.

President Reagan — continuing the job begun by the Democratic president James Carter — brutally cut these programs in his first term. These budget cuts enjoyed bipartisan support in Congress.

The recent stream of leaks is aimed at preparing the ground for the next wave of cuts. The U.S. rulers hope to soften us up by these threats of Draconian cuts. The fear of such cuts, they believe, will get us to lower our expectations and accept whatever actual cuts the government feels it can get away with.

Since 1980 the ruling class has thrown 6 million more people below the officially defined poverty level. At the same time, more than 1 million people lost food-stamp coverage altogether and many others had their allotment reduced. Spending for food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children was slashed 13 percent. Child nutrition programs were cut 28 percent. Social Security legislation adopted by Congress raised payroll taxes, extended payroll taxation to government workers, and froze cost-of-living increases in the benefits.

Millions of poor people were thrown off of the Medicaid rolls. Medicare benefits for the aged were cut through charging higher premiums and deductibles. Democrats in Congress eagerly accepted Reagan's proposal to quash the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) under which millions of unemployed workers received job training.

Government agricultural policies were altered to better aid capitalist farmers. Working farmers — squeezed between low prices for their produce and their high debts to the banks — saw their farms foreclosed on at the highest rate since the depression of the 1930s.

But the cuts weren't enough for the U.S. ruling class. So they are planning the next round. "It is the view here," said one Reagan administration official, "that we have to get rid of programs if the deficit is really going to be reduced with domestic spending cuts. We have to decimate spending." Their stated plans include massive cuts in Medicare, civil service retirement (including veterans) benefits, student loans, and farm subsidies. To meet these goals the rulers would have to make cuts twice as large as any made between 1981 and 1984.

To prepare working people for such measures, the rulers tell us we need to get "big government" off our backs. They seek to put the burden of care for the sick and aged, child care, health insurance, and other services back onto the family. It took massive social struggles by the labor movement in the 1930s and the civil rights movement in the 1950s and '60s to wring many of these programs out of the capitalist class — programs like unemployment insurance, social security, food stamps, welfare, and Medicaid. Although cut, these programs still exist.

The Democratic and Republican parties — along with the employers, who control both outfits — want to take back these gains.

This drive against the living standards of working people in the United States is one front in the rulers' war against working people around the globe, a war whose main front is in Central America. In fact, to finance that war, the U.S. imperialists have been shifting budget monies from social services to the Pentagon. Far from cutting deficits, the U.S. rulers' war spending has fueled the highest deficits in U.S. history.

The labor movement should oppose every cut in social services and demand an end to the U.S. war in Central America.

## U.S. government starves Africa

More than 200,000 Ethiopians have starved to death this year. Before the famine is over relief workers estimate that one million Ethiopians may die from hunger.

Ethiopia is the African country that is hardest hit by a drought that plagues the whole continent. Twenty-four African countries are affected by the drought. Seventy-five million Africans face starvation.

The U.S. government can stop the dying, but won't. Worse, the famine that now grips Ethiopia and other African nations is the direct result of the continent's underdevelopment by U.S. and European imperialists.

The U.S. rulers and their media claim the famine is caused by the drought. That's false. Droughts, floods, blights, and other natural disasters strike the United States and other imperialist countries from time to time without causing famine. Food and water storage, efficient irrigation, and a highly developed transportation system help prevent such a tragedy.

In countries like Ethiopia, however, the situation is different. Decades of imperialist domination and the existence, until the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, of semifeudal agricultural relations retarded economic development. Ethiopian peasants, who constitute 80 percent of the country's population, are still mostly involved in subsistence farming.

Years of drought have cut into Ethiopia's already meager agricultural production. Irrigation and water storage are inadequate. And the lack of trucks and passable roads make delivery of emergency food aid extremely difficult.

Meanwhile, imperialist governments have refused to give the needed aid. It's estimated that Ethiopia needs

one million tons of grain for the next 12 months. Only half of that amount has been pledged. The U.S. government has contributed a piddling 135,000 tons of food since October 1.

Thousands of famine victims are being denied food. "We tell the guards in the evening that we are ready to admit," said one Red Cross worker, "and on the next day there are 4,000 people outside the compound. Of these, we can take 600."

While hundreds of Ethiopians have been dying every day from starvation, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, smugly suggested to the UN General Assembly that Africa's problems flowed from "state-controlled programs designed to provide a shortcut to development."

"Many parts of the continent," said Kirkpatrick, "including areas that were previously net food exporters, have become dependent on food imports." She added that "coercion failed where market incentives might well have succeeded."

But it's precisely capitalist greed that underdeveloped Africa in the first place. Ending imperialist domination of the African peoples will liberate immense wealth, raw materials, and potential for growth, which these nations can use to conquer famine and other problems.

Meanwhile, U.S. workers and farmers should demand that Washington provide all the food and technical assistance necessary to feed the starving millions in Africa. Instead of feeding its massive war machine in preparation for its expanding war in Central America, the U.S. government should be helping to feed the people of the world.

## End U.S. aid to Afghan rightists

Congress has approved \$280 million in "covert" aid to the right-wing guerrilla forces in Afghanistan for fiscal year 1985. This is more than double the aid given the previous year. It brings the total for the past five years to \$625 million that Afghan rightists have received from their Democratic and Republican backers.

But even this figure does not tell the whole story. It doesn't include, for example, the aid run through other countries, like Saudi Arabia and Israel. China, as well, finances the rightists' operations.

Washington tries to justify its intervention in Afghanistan by pointing to the Soviet Union's military invasion. In reality, however, the U.S. intervention began well before Moscow dispatched its troops in December 1979 to prop up the Afghan regime. Washington had been sending money and arms to a variety of counterrev-

olutionary groups that were opposed to any struggles against imperialist domination of that impoverished country.

Far from supporting "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan, Washington, with the aid of the Pakistani dictator General Zia Ul-Haq, is supporting the most reactionary social forces.

Congress' decision both to increase the aid, and to continue to make this "covert" aid more and more overt, marks a further escalation of the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan. It comes at the same time that the Democrats and Republicans are escalating U.S. military intervention in Central America.

Working people in the United States should oppose all U.S. aid to these proimperialist guerrillas.

## Rosa Luxemburg on war and electoralism

In July 1911, the French and German imperialist governments nearly went to war over which one should control the colony of Morocco. The International Socialist Bureau of the Second International sent out a letter to member parties asking whether a special meeting should be called to discuss the war crisis and the response of socialists.

On behalf of the executive committee of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), Hermann Molkenbuhr sent back a secret letter arguing that the main industrial capitalists in Germany did not want a war, so there was

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

really no danger of one. Moreover, he said, antiwar activity by the SPD would provoke the German capitalists to attack the socialists in the middle of their election campaign for seats in the Reichstag, Germany's parliament. The SPD might lose some votes.

More important than propagandizing against the war danger, Molkenbuhr said, was for the SPD to focus its election campaign on domestic issues like taxes, social insurance, and so on.

German SPD leader Rosa Luxemburg vehemently disagreed with the Molkenbuhr letter and published it to expose to workers what the SPD right wing was doing behind their backs. She also wrote an answer to Molkenbuhr, excerpts of which appear below. The text is taken from *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, a 604-page book available for \$10.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. For more on the question of electoralism in the German SPD see the article on page 7 of this issue.

We must confess that the conclusions drawn by Molkenbuhr from the Morocco affair, which he has portrayed with such specialized competence, have very little merit. They boil down to the following exalted political approach: "Leave it to the grandees of the steel monopolies to order a halt to the German action in Morocco at the appropriate moment. As for us, we will pay as little attention as possible to the entire affair, since we have other business to attend to, namely the Reichstag elections."

It is quite likely that our opponents, now in a painfully difficult spot, will try and utilize the Morocco uproar to fashion an election slogan against the Social Democracy in order to create some sort of "patriotic" carnival atmosphere in the elections. But if we assume this and even consider that this absurd and frivolous adventure could provide them with "an effective slogan" against us, it seems completely illogical to avoid discussing this question in our agitation.

We . . . hold that it is not Social Democracy's duty to soothe public opinion [on Morocco] but rather to arouse it and warn it of the dangers lurking behind every such adventure in present-day world politics.

It is best to rely not on the commitment to peace of any particular capitalist clique, but on the resistance of the enlightened masses as a force for peace. Moreover, the decision to keep quiet plays into the hands of the architects of the government's Morocco policy. [French Ambassador] Cambon and [German State Secretary] Kiderlen, the two high priests of colonial policy, insisted that we all maintain a respectful silence so they could carry out their hocus-pocus unhindered behind the backs of the parliamentary deputies and the public. What better proof that the workers' parties must do just the opposite. Where the government aims to present the public with a fait accompli, we must vigorously appeal to the public to intervene.

Finally, the general conception of an election campaign as expressed by the party's Executive Committee is, we believe, open to objection. They would have us confine our agitation exclusively to questions of domestic policy like taxes and social legislation. But questions of financial policy, junker rule, and the paralysis in social reform are organically tied to militarism, naval expansion, colonial policy, the kaiser's personal rule, and his foreign policy. Any artificial separation of these domains can only produce a fragmentary, one-sided picture of our present circumstances.

Above all we must carry out socialist education in the Reichstag elections. This cannot be accomplished, however, if we aim our criticism exclusively at Germany's internal political conditions, and fail to portray the overall international context — capital's deepening domination over all parts of the world, the obvious anarchy everywhere you look, and the prominent role of colonialism and world power politics in this process. We must not fashion our electoral agitation as some simplistic political primer cut down to a couple of catchy slogans, but as the Socialist world view in its all-encompassing totality and diversity.



# Blacks find no pot of gold at end of 'Rainbow'

What's become of Jesse Jackson?

"We shift to an agenda that will maximize participation of people who choose a course of jobs and peace and justice," Jackson said at a post election news conference. Jackson had spent the previous several months drumming up support for Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale.

What is Jackson's "new" agenda?

"The basic thrust there is political empowerment," claims Jackson. "We shall have Rainbow state conven-

Francisco only as the birth pains of a new movement, a movement that will be far stronger and more effective at the next Democratic convention."

Jackson's campaign was a distorted reflection of the search by millions of Blacks and other workers for a way to fight for their interests. These supporters made Jackson's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination the first serious one ever for a Black. Millions of Blacks registered to vote in the Democratic Party primaries and more than 700 Blacks were delegates to the party's convention.

Blacks were disappointed in the performance of Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" at the Democratic convention because they had expected it would wield more clout than it did.

It was the U.S. rulers who gained from Jackson's campaign. They used the Jackson campaign to successfully convince a layer of Blacks and others that the Democratic Party isn't only a party of the employers, but one that can also represent the oppressed and exploited. Jackson's campaign steered a layer of working people, especially Blacks, further into the swamp of capitalist politics.

This was Jackson's conscious aim. "Those of you who choose to sit out this election," he said prior to the voting, "to 'go fishing,' to work only for a few 'progressive' and/or Black candidates, to ignore the top of the ticket, or even to write my name at the top of the ticket, are failing to take seriously enough your responsibilities for leadership in the struggle that is going on right now in this country over the fate of the earth."

"The form that struggle takes today," said Jackson, "is the contest between Mondale and Reagan."

Jackson campaigned to give a "human face" to U.S. imperialist policy around the world and win superficial reforms here at home. His program is a capitalist one — fundamentally the same as that advanced by Mondale and Reagan. This program is also put forward by the "Rainbow Coalition." It's a program that's not only inadequate to meet the needs of Blacks and other working people, but *against our interests*.

Now Jackson speaks of "institutionalizing the Rainbow as a progressive force in American politics, capable of electing candidates to office at every level of government."

But the key to our moving forward has nothing to do

with electing Black capitalist politicians to office. This strategy is a dead end for Blacks and other workers. Anything we've won hasn't been through voting, but through struggle. Every advance in the fight for jobs, every victory in the fight against imperialist war, every step forward in the fight for Black equality, has been made by mobilizing ourselves *against* the government, the capitalist class for which it rules, and the two ruling parties.

Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination and his efforts on behalf of Mondale have gone in the opposite direction. Rather than mobilizing Blacks, it helped to *demobilize* them. Rather than organizing Blacks independent of the two capitalist parties, it *subordinated* our interests to theirs. Many Black rights fighters, for example, who had been active in the fight against police brutality and other racist attacks on Blacks, turned most of their attention to campaigning for Jackson and, later, Mondale.

Rather than explaining that working people cannot rely on elections to end our exploitation, but must see mass *struggle* as the way to achieve social change, Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" seeks to deepen the illusion that the Democratic Party can be a vehicle for winning Black liberation.

But that's false. The Democratic Party, like its Republican counterpart, is controlled by a tiny handful of super-rich families who profit from the exploitation and oppression of Blacks and other working people.

The employers' domestic and foreign policies will remain the same no matter which Democrat or Republican is in the White House — white, Black, or brown; male or female; "progressive," "moderate," or "conservative."

It's the capitalist profit system itself — not which capitalist politician administers it — that is responsible for the problems facing Blacks and other working people.

We need to forge an independent political strategy that charts a course of mass, anticapitalist struggle. Such an independent working-class perspective is advanced in the program of the National Black Independent Political Party, which every working person should study. Only such a program, which sets as its goal the overturn of capitalism, offers a strategy for winning full equality for Blacks and ending the exploitation of all working people.



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Mohammed Oliver

tions, state by state. We shall broaden the base and make room for peace activists, for environmentalists, and people across lines of race and region and religion." Jackson said his "Rainbow Coalition" would be "energizing other members of the Democratic Party to steer a course of social and economic justice."

"We must be the party that champions the cause of workers, the rejected, and the locked out," said Jackson.

In other words, the same old, same old. Jackson hopes to reform the Democratic Party, and claims that in the process Blacks and other working people will gain more political clout.

But the "Rainbow Coalition's" track record in this regard isn't anything to write home about. Jackson sickened many Blacks with his groveling apology to the Democratic Party bosses at their San Francisco convention in response to the racist smear campaign that labeled him and Louis Farrakhan anti-Semitic. And the convention refused to adopt even a single one of Jackson's moderate platform proposals.

"Many of you," noted Jackson a few days before the election, "were disappointed, as was I, by what happened in San Francisco. . . . But we must see the pain at San

## LETTERS

### Eleanor Bumpurs

Eleanor Bumpurs was murdered in cold blood because of being an indigent apartment dweller in a Bronx housing project. Being unable to pay her rent for five months is no justification for any police officer or any other person to shoot her to death with a shotgun!

Eleanor Bumpurs (like anyone else) reached for an instrument of physical protection. More than likely this gesture was made because of fright and the shock of suddenly seeing police officers break into her apartment in riot gear and pointing shotguns at her.

Anyone in their right mind should know that a woman of her size and weight (300 pounds), having a bad case of arthritis and high blood pressure, could not move fast enough or accurately enough to harm even an unarmed person.

A prisoner  
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

### Nicaraguan elections

I recently heard a report by Larry Ruhl, a young Kansas City lawyer who participated in the National Lawyers Guild delegation to Nicaragua September 7-19. He was speaking to a Militant Labor Forum on the Nicaraguan elections.

Based on their observations, Ruhl said, the delegation concluded that the election process was open and honest.

He said that it was the military activities of the C.I.A.-supported contras that threatened the electoral rights of the Nicaraguan people, particularly in the northern and eastern portions of the country, where registration procedures were disrupted, electoral officials killed, and two Sandinista National Liberation Front assembly candidates kidnapped.

Ruhl explained that the group met with representatives of many parties in Nicaragua, including those of the Coordinadora, who did not participate in the election.

Ruhl offered his opinion, based on meeting with these parties, that their demand to postpone the elections made no sense. "What these parties are really waiting for," Ruhl said, "is a U.S. invasion."

Marty Pettit  
Kansas City, Missouri

### Who needs enemies?

A debate on U.S. foreign policy was held at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee on November 1 between incumbent Congressman Jim Moody, a liberal Democrat, and his only challenger in the race, Socialist Workers Party candidate Bill Breihan.

Attended by 70 people, the debate was of particular interest to opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America because Moody was supported by many antiwar activists and has a reputation as being among the most liberal of the Democrats in Congress on this question.

In the course of the debate, Moody said many things which may have surprised some of his supporters in the audience. He repeated and endorsed the charges made by anti-Sandinista spokesman Arturo Cruz that the elections then being prepared in Nicaragua would not be fair because of the "politicization of the army and the lack of separation between party and state."

At the same time, Moody expressed the view that the Salvadoran elections had been fair, and that the regime of José Napoleón Duarte was making genuine progress toward human rights and democracy.

SWP candidate Breihan took the exact opposite view on these questions. At one point, Breihan pointed out that "there are two sides in the civil war now raging in El Salvador. Reagan, Mondale, and Moody are on the same side as Duarte and the death squads. The Socialist Workers Party is on the other side and supports the FDR-FMLN [Revolutionary Democrat-

ic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] in their struggle to bring to power a truly democratic, popular government based on the workers and farmers."

All in all, the debate should have been very sobering for anyone who thinks that the Democrats in Congress are going to be an effective force in holding back the war. With friends like Moody, who needs enemies?

Mindy Brudno  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

### Black granite wall

Two years ago they erected a black granite wall in Washington, D.C. inscribed with the names of the Vietnam War dead. This year they've erected bronze statuary depicting three war-weary combat infantrymen out on patrol. And now they probably think that their Vietnam War memorial is complete.

I've got news for them: black granite and bronze can't cry, can't sigh, can't think, can't remember or wake up screaming at night in a cold sweat.

Their fancy Vietnam War memorial isn't finished until legislation is quickly and cleanly enacted preventing future Vietnam Wars.

I know some folks still believe that there's plenty of honor, glory, and romance in war, but to those fine folks, I would suggest that they leisurely stroll past the Vietnam War memorial and go to a little patch of ground they call Arlington where they can find all the honor, glory, and romance there ever is in war buried under a few feet of good Virginia top soil.

David Burford  
Kirkwood, Missouri

### 'Bloods'

I think *Militant* readers will find interesting a recent book by Wallace Terry on Black G.I.s in Vietnam titled *Bloods*. There has been more attention paid to the Viet-



nam War in recent years and there have been several books published that deal with Vietnam as experienced by G.I.s.

As the *Militant* explains to the U.S. working class what a U.S. invasion of Central America would mean for the sons of the working class and the oppressed who will be sent to die, I think it helps to paint as clear a picture as possible of what Vietnam was like.

*Bloods* contains some very good interviews with Black G.I.s that do this. It also contains some anti-communist ideas that have to be answered. It is important to draw the connections between imperialism and racism. Perhaps the *Militant* could do this by reviewing the book.

A reader  
New Orleans, Louisiana

### Correction I

Due to a typographical error, the date of the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba was incorrectly reported in our editorial last week. The invasion occurred in 1961.

### Correction II

In last week's column, "YSA campaigns for socialism," two paragraphs were dropped from the article. The paragraphs on the Socialist Workers Party ballot efforts should have said:

A big obstacle we faced was in trying to get our candidates on the election ballot in different states. People didn't know we had to petition for signatures in most states in order to appear on the ballot.

I explained we had to get around 200,000 signatures during this election in different states to get the socialist presidential ticket on the ballot. Many were quite surprised by this, but were also encouraged by the fact that so many people had signed to put socialists on the ballot.

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.



## British miners resist new attack

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

SHEFFIELD, England — The coal miners' strike remains solid despite an intensive three-week-long "back to work" offensive by the Conservative government and the National Coal Board (NCB). Only 5 percent of strikers have returned to work according to the NCB's own figures, which the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and even some commentators in the big business media have challenged as inaccurate.

The *Miner*, the NUM's newspaper, reported in its November 21 edition: "The facts are that around 148,000 NUM members are on strike, some 78 percent of the total membership."

As NUM President Arthur Scargill explained, "While some miners have gone back to work, others have actually rejoined the strike. This is a pattern which has been repeated throughout the dispute, so there is no material change in the real situation."

Scargill also reported that when a number of workers went back to work in the Midlands area the first thing the manager did was to downgrade them. "They couldn't turn to their union," he pointed out. "They couldn't turn to their fellow workers for assistance, because they weren't there. And I think they realized, very, very quickly, that without the union they were very vulnerable."

In Yorkshire, scabs have stopped crossing picket lines and have rejoined the strike. At Grimethorpe, all seven who were strike breaking have come out again. The two scabs who were going in at Kilnhurst have stopped. At Goldthorpe and North Gawber there are now no scabs. At Dinnington, Silverwood, Thurcroft, Kiveton Park, Hatfield Main, and Corton Wood, former scabs have also rejoined the strike.

On November 25 the *Observer* challenged the NCB's claim that the strike was crumbling and noted, "The figures also show that the numbers of new strikers is rising to about 100 per week for the past two weeks."

With the deadline now past for the £1,400 (£1 = U.S.\$1.20) tax-free bribe that was being offered to strikebreakers, the Conservative government and NCB have a new ploy. £175 is to be paid to every scab before Christmas. This money will come from the back pay due to every miner once the 1983-84 wage claim, which was pending when the strike began in March, is settled.

A major part in the strikebreaking operation is played by the National Working Miners' Committee, which organizes the activity of scabs throughout the country. It is funded and staffed by individuals from employers' organizations and the Conservative Party.

### Organized strikebreaking

Roland Taylor, a scab from Shirebrook, described in a report in the *Financial Times* how the organized strikebreakers have worked. "I've thought things through with management at my own pit [mine]. They suggested we use phones to call people up — they gave us lists and lent us vans. Shirebrook has been a well-oiled team." The same report noted that three miners were employed full time to do nothing but knock on people's doors, persuading them to break the strike.

Dave Millar, NUM branch secretary at Kellingley colliery, the biggest in Yorkshire with over 2,000 workers, described the impact of the back-to-work offensive. Against management's claim that 50 miners are scabbing, "our estimate is that only about 28 men, mainly clerical staff, are going in," he said. "And, what is more, the numbers reported for picket duty here have doubled since the scabs started back."

At Markham colliery, it was reported in the *Morning Star*, new scabs met in the pit canteen demanding to know what had become of all the other men management claimed had already returned to work.

The strikebreaking offensive has been accompanied by increased police activity in the mining villages. In Yorkshire, the building of barricades and resistance to police attacks has become an almost nightly occurrence.

### Power cuts expected

There is growing pressure on the coal stocks in the power stations, which is starting to affect electricity supplies even before the cold weather arrives. The *Miner* reported: "The clearest cutback has been in an area of the south of England, covering one-seventh of the whole country and centered on St. Albans. On Monday night, November 5, a 3 percent cut in voltage was made for half an hour." This led to a "yellow alert," one stage before a "red alert," and widespread power cuts.

On November 7 British Steel's Llanwern plant was forced to shut down for an



G.M. Cookson

Pickets at the Lewis Merthyr mine in South Wales, early in strike. More miners showed up to staff picket lines after Thatcher government moved to break strike with holiday pay offer.

hour because of power shortages.

The target of the back-to-work drive was not just the miners. It also sought to demoralize and undermine solidarity from other sectors of the working class. This was being reinforced by the role of Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock, who recently refused to speak at a series of NUM rallies.

The NUM leadership has not fallen into the trap of responding to Kinnock's class collaboration by breaking with the Labor leadership. Arthur Scargill explained the union's response in a television interview. "Let me make it perfectly clear that any Labor Party leader and any TUC [Trades

Union Congress] leader who associates themselves in line with Labor Party or TUC policy alongside the miners' strike makes the best possible case for winning the next general elections.

"Because if they are supporting the miners' strike, they're supporting the fight against unemployment, they're supporting the fight against condemning our young people to a life of hopelessness and helplessness."

"I would have thought that any Labor Party leader, any TUC leader, indeed any trade union leader, would be pleased and

Continued on Page 4

## Three cop brutality witnesses indicted in Dallas

BY LEE OLESON

DALLAS — For years, Dallas cops have killed Blacks and Latinos and not been sent to jail for it.

Now Dallas authorities are trying to put in prison three Black youths who witnessed a killing by a Dallas cop last year.

January 14 is the scheduled opening date of the trial of Victor Franklin, 18, one of three witnesses to the killing of 20-year-old Michael Frost by Dallas cop Melvin Cozby on November 7, 1983. Witness Franklin is charged with "aggravated perjury."

After a short car chase, Cozby claimed he approached Frost and shot him twice in the chest when Frost leaped at him and the two struggled over the cop's gun.

Eighteen eyewitnesses testified before the Dallas County grand jury in the case. Some eyewitnesses said Cozby struck Frost with a billy club, pushed him to the ground, and shot him in the back.

The grand jury cleared Cozby of all wrongdoing and indicted witnesses Victor Franklin, Lonnie Leyuas, and Brenda Frost, the victim's sister, for perjury.

On November 15, 1984, more than a year after the killing, the body of Michael Frost was exhumed and an autopsy was performed at the initiative of Roger Joyner, an attorney representing the three Black

youths.

After the autopsy, Joyner announced that the results showed that Frost had been shot in the back as well as the front of the body. The Dallas County medical examiner's office last year reported that Frost was not shot in the back at all.

The shooting of Michael Frost was one of 16 fatal shootings by Dallas cops in 1983. The big majority of victims were Blacks and Latinos. So far in 1984, Dallas cops have killed 17 people: nine of the victims were Latinos, seven were Black, and one was white.

The latest killing occurred just before the Republican National Convention which was held in Dallas, and brought a flurry of national publicity.

Dallas cop Jack Ross shot and killed 20-year-old Juan Reyes on August 18. Reyes was shot in the back of the head near an East Dallas street corner where cops claimed a fight was in progress. Police Chief Billy Prince fired Ross. In the following weeks Prince announced that he was revising the police department policy on the use of "deadly force."

The new policy does not allow "the use of deadly force solely to protect property interests, regardless of value."

Prominent people in the Black and

Latino communities participated in private meetings with Prince about the policy. Many have made public statements that the new deadly force policy would bring changes in police conduct.

Much of the new policy, however, has not been made public. Under the parts that have been made public, most — if not all — of the past Dallas police killings could be "justified."

For instance, the July 30 shotgun killing of Guadalupe Martínez, age 20, by a Dallas cop could be justified because Martínez allegedly threatened to run down cop Mark Tarver. Armed with a shotgun, Tarver had stationed himself in the middle of a South Dallas street and ordered Martínez, who was suspected of drunk driving, to stop. When Martínez' vehicle continued down the middle of the street, Tarver killed Martínez with four shotgun blasts to the face.

The new policy of deadly force allows killing when "an officer has a reasonable fear for his own personal safety," and thus could be used to justify the killing of Martínez. Officer Tarver has not been fired or disciplined for the killing.

On November 14, the Dallas Citizens-Police Relations Board — an official city board — ruled that the June cop killing of a mentally disturbed Black was "within

departmental regulations." Darryl Armstrong, 22, was stopped by a Dallas cop as Armstrong was running naked down a South Dallas street. When Armstrong grabbed the flashlight of cop John McCraghen, the cop shot and killed Armstrong at point-blank range. The killing would be justifiable under the new deadly force policy because allegedly Armstrong threatened McCraghen's personal safety with the flashlight.

It is clear that Dallas authorities are using the "carrot and stick" approach to criticism of Dallas police brutality. Those Black and Latino community leaders who have endorsed the new policy have been congratulated and given lots of publicity in the capitalist media.

In a related incident, there was a recent cop killing in nearby Fort Worth — a killing that was witnessed by several people, according to newspaper reports. Don Jefferson, a 15-year-old Black, was killed after being shot six times as he was being handcuffed by two Fort Worth police officers on November 16.

The Fort Worth branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has demanded the firing of the cops involved, but so far neither officer has been disciplined or charged with a crime.