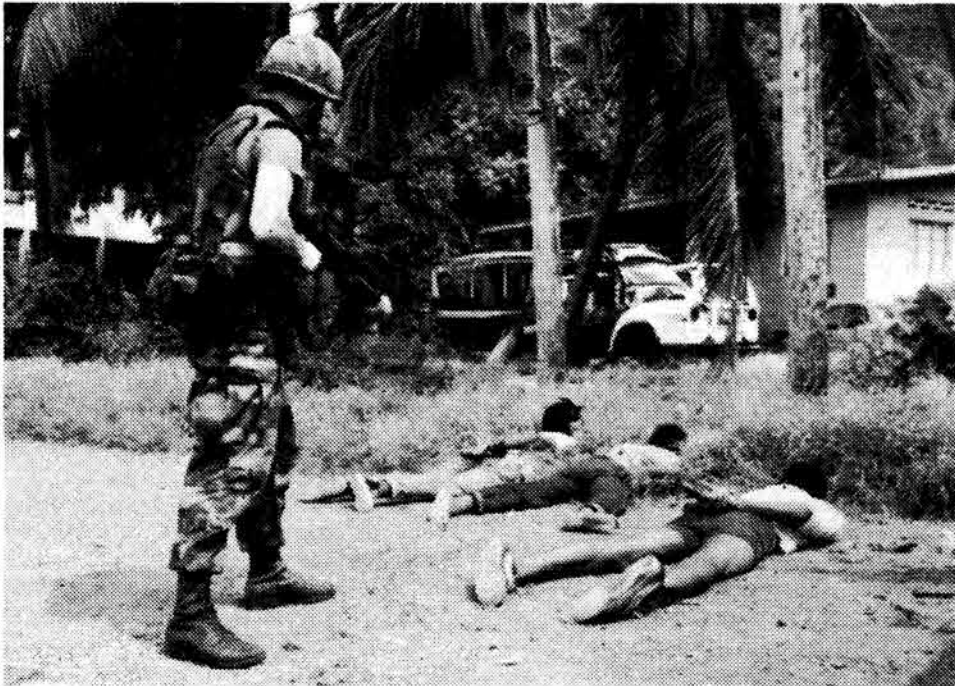


Stop U.S. aggression against Grenada, Cuba!



Hundreds of Blacks in Grenada are being rounded up by U.S. occupation army. Here U.S. marine forces three Grenadian youths to ground.

Nov. 12 antiwar actions take on new urgency

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

Within days of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, antiwar forces announced a redoubling of efforts to build the largest possible November 12 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

On October 27, the November 12 Coalition held a national news conference in Washington, D.C. A statement released by the coalition sharply opposed the invasion and warned "President Reagan has offered an ominous example of his intentions for Nicaragua as well."

Pointing to the invasion of Grenada and escalated U.S. attacks on Nicaragua the coalition stated, "Through these and other events in the region, it is clear that the Reagan administration is creating a regional war in Central America and the Caribbean."

It called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. and other invading troops from Grenada and denounced U.S. attacks on Nicaragua as well as U.S. support for the repressive regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala.

Speaking at the news conference were Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Arnoldo Torres, national executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens; and Rev. William Sloane Coffin of the Riverside Church of New York, among others.

"We have become the bullies and the villains of the Western Hemisphere," said Lowery of U.S. government policies. U.S. intervention "violates the integrity of non-white and Third World nations," he said.

The United States Student Association, representing 3 million college students, also issued a statement opposing the Grenada invasion and backing November 12. The USSA demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Lebanon as well as Grenada and warned that the increasing use of

U.S. military might posed a renewed danger that Washington would attempt to reinstitute the draft.

The November 12 Coalition announced new efforts to publicize the demonstrations. One features a 62-city billboard project. The coalition is buying 360 signs to be placed on Washington, D.C., buses.

In response to CIA-led *contra* (counter-revolutionary) attacks on Nicaraguan oil supplies the coalition calls on those coming to Washington for the march to "fuel the friendship with the Nicaraguan people by bringing a can of motor oil to the

Continued on Page 2

Longtime SWP leader Farrell Dobbs dies

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party for 19 years beginning in 1953, died October 31 in California following a brief illness. Dobbs, who was 76 years old, was the SWP's candidate for president of the United States in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960.

As a central SWP leader, Dobbs also played a leading role in the Fourth International. During his 1960 presidential campaign, he visited Cuba and over the following few years helped lead the process of reunification of the Fourth International around the political line of support to the Cuban revolution.

Dobbs was a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes, one of the important labor struggles that led off the nationwide battles of that decade that brought unionization to the masses of production workers in steel, auto, rubber, and other basic industries. Dobbs joined the Communist League of America, a predecessor of the SWP, in 1934.

Subsequently, Dobbs was the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to organize over-the-road truckers. He served

Reagan's lies on invasion start to unravel

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"I would say the fighting here has been as intense" as in Vietnam, a U.S. Army Ranger at Point Salines, on the southern tip of Grenada, told a reporter a few days after the massive U.S. invasion October 25.

The intensity of the fighting was not the only parallel. The aims of the U.S. rulers are the same: to wipe out the gains of a popular revolution and to reimpose imperialism's brutal domination over the country.

President Reagan's various justifications for the invasion — the need to rescue U.S. medical students, to eliminate Cuban "terrorism," to "restore democracy" — are all lies designed to cover up the real purpose of this unprovoked U.S. aggression.

Washington's target has been the workers and farmers government that came to power through the March 1979 revolution, a revolution led by the New Jewel Movement (NJM). The advances working people made in Grenada — free medical care, trade union rights, a sharp reduction in unemployment, land reform, women's rights, the establishment of mass organizations and new neighborhood and workers councils — have been tremendously popular, within Grenada and abroad.

Washington has sought to eliminate the example of the Grenada revolution from the very beginning. U.S. threats, terrorist attacks, and economic sabotage were all employed. Preparations for an invasion have been under way for several years.

The October 19 murder of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other central NJM leaders by a group of military officers provided the Reagan administration

Continued on Page 4

Washington threatens reprisals against Cuba

NOVEMBER 3 — Washington has sharply escalated its aggression against Cuba, taking hostage Cuban workers and diplomats on the island of Grenada.

Simultaneously, the U.S. State Department — without offering a single piece of evidence — has accused the Cuban government of ordering terrorist attacks around the world. Both are ominous moves that threaten bloody new reprisals against the Cuban people for their defense of the Grenada revolution.

As we go to press, U.S. troops have surrounded the Cuban embassy in Grenada, barring all entry and exit. There are some 18 Cuban diplomatic personnel on the island, including children. In addition, U.S.

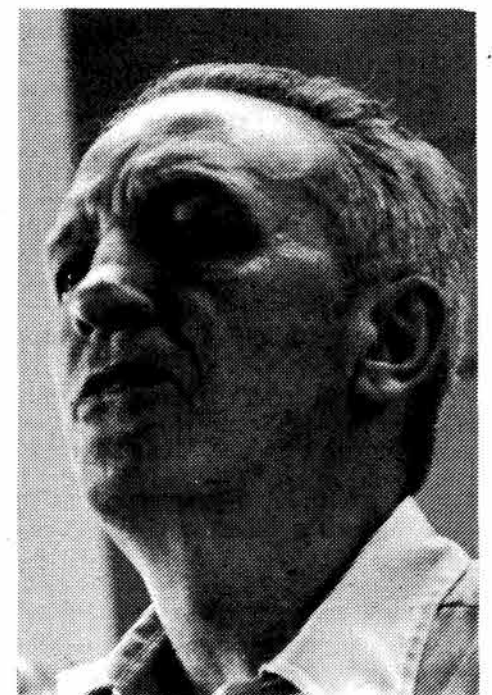
EDITORIAL

troops say they are holding over 600 Cubans prisoner. On November 1, Sir Paul Scoon, the man Washington has arbitrarily installed to run Grenada, ordered all Cuban diplomatic personnel off the island within 24 hours.

The Cuban government said November 1 that its diplomats "have instructions not to leave the country until all Cuban volunteers who were working in Grenada . . . are also able to do so." It warned that Scoon's order for Cubans to leave "can be executed only by force and through the use of U.S. troops" and that Cuba "holds the government of the United States responsible for whatever may occur."

The same day U.S. troops surrounded

Continued on Page 22



Farrell Dobbs

Militant/Howard Petrick

Hotel presses 'arson' frame-up

BY SAM MANUEL

SEASIDE, Calif. — Management at the Hyatt Delmonde hotel in Monterey continue to step up harassment of Ken Collins, a 23-year-old banquet set-up person. Collins has also been charged with attempted arson resulting from an October 5 fire at the hotel. If convicted, Collins faces a minimum of 16 months in prison or a maximum of three years and a \$50,000 fine.

The sole "evidence" for the arson charge given by the police is their allegation that the statements of two other coworkers might place Collins at the scene of the fire at about the time the fire may have been started. But a review of the statement shows that at least three other persons might have been in the area at the supposed time of the fire, including an unidentified "lost" tourist.

Supporters of Collins have launched a campaign to explain his case and to win the support of his coworkers. Many workers at the Hyatt have signed petitions demanding that the charges against Collins be dropped. Among them is one of the supposed "witnesses" for the police.

In response to growing support for Collins, the Hyatt has stepped up harassment of Collins. In an October 27 meeting with Collins and his union representative, the Hyatt personnel director, Kathy Faebel,

complained that she had received a notice from a manager that Collins had disrupted work. He had, according to the notice, handed out a fact sheet on the police attempt to frame him for arson and had pinned one of the fact sheets up on a bulletin board.

In fact, this manager had disrupted work when he began to read the fact sheet out loud, which caused some workers to gather around. Collins explained to both the manager and to Faebel that he had not put the fact sheet on the bulletin board.

In the same meeting, Faebel charged Collins with destruction of company property. This charge resulted from a work accident in which a piano was broken when it fell off a truck Collins was driving.

Faebel asserted that Collins was responsible through negligence. Her finding was based upon a report given to her by a Hyatt

security guard. According to this hotel cop, Collins had deliberately let down the tail gate of the truck and observed that the piano was not tied down before moving the truck.

This report contradicts the version related by another eyewitness. When asked by the union representative if she had interviewed the other witness, Faebel replied, no. She had to retreat from her intent to suspend Collins and stated that her investigation would continue. The union announced that it would fight any attempt to blame Collins for this accident.

Supporters of Collins' defense fund are preparing for a November 10 preliminary hearing. Among the initial list of those supporting the fund and demanding that the charges be dropped are Richard Criley, vice-chair of the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union; Nancy



Militant/Della Rossa

Monterey union activist Ken Collins

McClintock, president of the Monterey County Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Mel Mason, Seaside city councilman; and Steven Dewberry, chair of the San Diego chapter of People United to Serve Humanity (PUSH).

Letters of protest demanding that the charges be dropped should be sent to: Office of the District Attorney, 1200 Aquajito Rd., Monterey, Calif. 93940.

A Ken Collins Defense Fund has been set up to raise funds to pay the heavy legal costs expected in this fight. Initial expenses are expected to be \$3,000. Your financial support is urgently needed. Contributions and copies of protest messages should be sent to Ken Collins Defense Fund, P.O. Box 437, Seaside, Calif. 93955.

Antiwar marine may be jailed

CINCINNATI — In the wake of the invasion of Grenada, the U.S. Marine Corps is attempting to charge and court-martial Sgt. Jim Stryffeler stationed in Cincinnati, for his opposition to the U.S. intervention in Grenada and its war plans in Central America.

Stryffeler who joined the Marines five and a half years ago directly out of high school to get job training, has spoken out against the U.S. war in Central America, the Caribbean; and the Middle East over the past several months.

The Marine Corps began to harass him last March when he wrote a letter to the editor of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* opposing military intervention in El Salvador. This harassment was stepped up in July when he joined the Young Socialist Alliance and after August 27, when Stryffeler participated in the march in Washington, D.C., on that day for jobs, peace and freedom.

Stryffeler is being harassed by the military brass because of his political ideas. After he explained his opposition to the Grenada invasion, the Marine Corps called in the Naval Investigative Service. They're investigating a complaint from his commanding officer that he has participated in activities opposing the invasion and that he is "a communist." If court-martialed and convicted of these "crimes," Stryffeler faces three years in military jail.

This case directly poses the question of whether GIs who are being sent to fight and die in Grenada have the constitutional right of all citizens to discuss, debate, and protest U.S. war policy. It echoes dozens of similar cases that took place during the Vietnam War, where the military brass attempted to violate basic democratic rights of GIs to free speech and association in opposing U.S. involvement in that war.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is raising funds for Stryffeler's legal representation and is helping to initiate the defense effort on his behalf.

It is urging all opponents of the U.S. war

drive and supporters of constitutional rights to send telegrams protesting this attack on Stryffeler's rights and demanding that the investigation be stopped. Telegrams should be sent to: U.S. Marine Reserve Center, 3190 Gilbert Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45207; attention INI Commanding Officer.

Nov. 12 actions have new urgency

Continued from front page
November 12 demonstration." The oil collected will be shipped to Nicaragua.

On October 15 and 16 the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) held a Midwest regional conference aimed at helping to build November 12. Correspondent Ann Owens reports that Noel Beasley, Chicago joint board manager of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union led a workshop at the conference on the role of the unions in the fight against Washington's war in Central America.

Beasley explained that many union members had learned from the experience of the Vietnam War. He pointed out that many unionists are Vietnam veterans and Vietnam-era antiwar activists.

"There is a growing understanding," said Beasley, "of the direct link between North American workers and their brothers and sisters in Central and South America. There is a feeling," Beasley told the workshop, "that we need real international unions and coordinated contracts not just north of the border, but south as well."

Beasley stressed the importance of stepping up efforts to inform unionists of the situation in El Salvador, due to the increase in government-sanctioned right-wing violence directed especially against Salvadoran unionists.

Beasley called the current position of the AFL-CIO national leadership on El Salvador a step forward because it recognizes

the need for negotiations between "warring parties." Though not named in the AFL-CIO's resolution, this definition objectively includes the forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

The CISPES conference concluded with a presentation by Dr. Guillermo Ungo, president of the FDR. Ungo also called the AFL-CIO position an "improvement" because it accepts the need for negotiations and opposes U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran regime.

In California correspondents Larry Lukehart and Linda Joyce report members of the California Central Coast November 12 Coalition participated in an informational picket line and leafletting effort at the main gate of the Fort Ord infantry base.

The workers and students who participated stressed their opposition to sending U.S. soldiers to fight in Washington's wars. They received a favorable response from GIs including at least one who joined the protest for a brief time.

In the wake of the Grenada invasion new November 12 actions have been scheduled in cities other than Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, the two original target sites. A San Francisco Bay Area demonstration has been initiated by the local U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. It will be held in Oakland and has already won broad support. Other November 12 actions will be held in Seattle and Portland.

Filipinos in U.S. set anti-Marcos activities

SALINAS, Calif. — Nearly 100 people, predominantly Filipinos, gathered here October 16 to discuss activities aimed at ending the tyranny of the Marcos dictatorship. The featured speaker was Teresa Aquino Oreta, youngest sister of slain opposition leader Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino.

"A single shot marked the beginning of the end of the Marcos regime," Oreta declared. "Everyone is standing up to say 'enough is enough.'" She told how Ninoy's purpose in returning to the Philippines was to open a dialogue with Marcos. Instead, Aquino's brutal murder at the Manila airport has served to galvanize millions of Filipinos to take to the streets to demand an end to the Marcos dictatorship.

The meeting was sponsored by the Movement for a Free Philippines, which calls for restoring to the people of the Philippines their right to make their own free choice of leaders and ideas. A campaign of education and fundraising for the impending revolution in the Philippines was outlined.

It was reported that an independent investigation has compiled overwhelming evidence that Aquino's assassination was a result of a conspiracy by Marcos' agents.

Flue Ortigas, one of the youth representatives at the meeting said, "We are witnessing the death of a dictatorship. . . . We are like the people of Nicaragua and Iran whose freedom was not given on a silver platter, but who fought for it and had to struggle."

Read the truth—every week

Subscribe to the Militant

With a new subscription you will receive a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Working People: Why the U.S. Invaded Grenada*, a recently published pamphlet that contains two speeches by Maurice Bishop.

For the past four years we have carried extensive coverage of the revolution in Grenada, including eyewitness reports of speeches and interviews with Maurice Bishop and other revolutionary leaders; and documents of the New Jewel Movement. We will continue to carry reports and analyses of the devastating blow that has been dealt to the revolution there.

Don't miss an issue. Subscribe today.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$3 for 12 weeks
- ☐ Enclosed is \$15 for 6 months
- ☐ Enclosed is \$24 for 1 year
- ☐ Enclosed is a contribution

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



The Militant

Closing news date: November 2, 1983

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, William Gottlieb, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Malik Miah, Geoff Mirelowitz, Mohammed Oliver, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Mary-Alice Waters.

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

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

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

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

Nicaragua says U.S. threats greater after Grenada invasion

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

The Nicaraguan government warned October 25 that the U.S. invasion of Grenada confirms Washington's plans for a region-wide war against the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean. The Sandinistas charged that the Reagan administration is already completing preparations for large-scale aggression against Nicaragua "in the short term."

The Nicaraguan statement pointed to several factors supporting this conclusion:

"Along with the invasion of Grenada, the North American government convened a meeting of the top military officers of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, within the framework of the infamous CONDECA [Central American Defense Council — a military alliance of regional dictatorships directed by Washington]. The aim of the meeting held in Tegucigalpa was to reach agreement on specific plans for aggression against Nicaragua."

The Sandinistas said they were aware of "CIA plans to provoke military attacks and bombings against economic objectives in both Honduras and Costa Rica" to provide "a pretext for unleashing greater aggression against Nicaragua."

Another ominous sign of U.S. intentions, the October 25 statement said, was Washington's rebuff to Nicaragua's recent peace proposals. "The arrogance, rashness, and haughtiness that guide the conduct of the North American government may lead to a generalized war in Central America," the Sandinistas warned.

The new U.S.-engineered intervention is expected in November, another Nicaraguan dispatch stated. It said the action would be mounted initially by Somozaist counterrevolutionaries backed by the Honduran armed forces. If necessary, the armies of Guatemala and El Salvador would come to the assistance of the invading force.

Some 5,000 U.S. combat troops supported by a naval task force — supposedly "on maneuvers" in Honduras — are also on the ready to move into Nicaragua.

In preparation, the Sandinistas have begun organizing rallies throughout Nicaragua to explain the danger and mobilize the population to defend their country.

Throughout October the CIA-directed Somozaist *contras* launched a series of savage raids against Nicaragua. Shortly before midnight on October 10, seaborne commandos blew up fuel storage tanks in the port city of Corinto. A massive fire caused \$7 million in structural damage and destroyed 1.6 million gallons of fuel.

Trying to further cripple Nicaragua's energy supplies, *contras* attempted to bomb the country's new geothermal electric power plant October 22. Workers on a state farm near León spotted the plane in time to warn the plant's antiaircraft defenders.

Government leaders Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez visited the farm later the same day, accompanied by a group of journalists. *IP* Managua correspondent Jane Harris reported that the farm workers took advantage of the visit to press for better weapons to defend their farm.

One farm worker listed the valuable agricultural equipment on the farm, including eight crop-dusting planes and 50-pieces of heavy machinery. He requested that the farm's antiquated rifles be replaced with modern Soviet AK-47 assault rifles.

"Your request is certainly a just one," Ortega told the farm workers. "But the first ones to receive the AKs will be those fighting on the northern border where there is the most action." He encouraged them to make a specific proposal to the army — perhaps for a limited number of AKs — but to take good care of their old rifles as well.

The Sandinistas' conclusion that Washington is readying a major escalation was confirmed again October 21 when the State Department rejected new Nicaraguan peace proposals without even bothering to study them.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockman presented the Reagan administration with the four draft agreements October 20.

The proposed treaties, to be signed by

Central American governments and the United States, contained the following points:

1. Nicaragua would agree never to let its territory be used in any way to threaten the interests of the United States. With the other countries of Central America it pledges not to permit foreign military installations, bases, or training centers on its soil; nor to participate in training, exercises, or military maneuvers with the armed forces of any foreign power."

2. Nicaragua would pledge, "together with its neighbors in Central America not to use force or the threat of force to resolve any disputes between states and to refrain from violating international borders."

3. Nicaragua would pledge "not to support or aid any group that seeks to attack, overthrow, or destabilize other states, nor to permit its territory to be used for such aims, as well as to take all possible measures to impede such activities." Specifically with regard to El Salvador, Nicaragua would agree — provided all other Central American governments and Washington made the same pledge — "not to provide arms or military assistance to any of the contending forces, nor to permit its soil to

be used for any hostile purposes by any of these forces."

4. Following the signing of those three treaties, Nicaragua would agree to "initiate immediate negotiations with its neighbors and with the United States to reduce the import of weapons, limit the number or eliminate military advisers, and place reasonable limits on military buildup" in the region.

Who would verify compliance?

Nicaragua proposed that the Contadora Group — made up of the governments of Panama, Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela — be given full power to carry out any investigation needed to assure that the pledges are adhered to.

Within 24 hours State Department officials snubbed the Nicaraguan proposals as "deficient." Washington tried to wriggle out of the tight spot the proposals put it in by claiming that the initiative was only a ploy to derail the Contadora Group's regional peace efforts.

In fact, Nicaragua's proposals were drawn up in consultation with the Contadora Group and had been reviewed by both Salvadoran and Guatemalan revolutionary organizations.

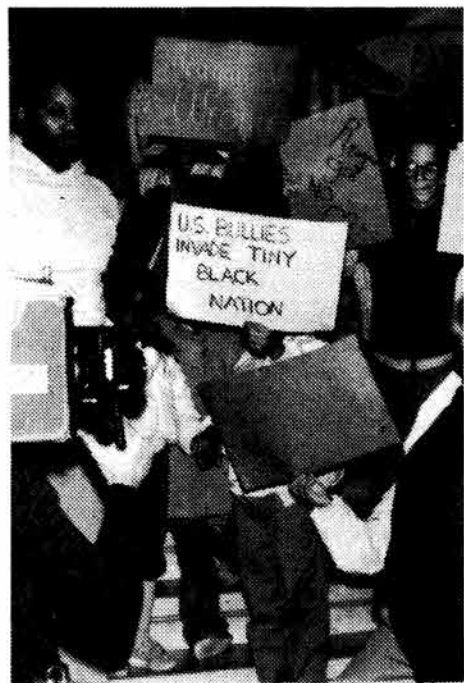


Nicaraguan oil port at Corinto burns after attack by U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries.

Despite Washington's rejection of the peace plan, Nicaragua declared in its October 25 statement that there is still time to avoid a catastrophe. The Sandinistas appealed for international support "to bring to bear all the means within its capacity to block the escalation of aggression against Nicaragua and El Salvador and to bring about the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces from Grenada."

From Intercontinental Press

Pro-Grenada protests sweep U.S.



October 26 news conference in Harrisburg, Pa., protesting U.S. invasion of Grenada.

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A wave of protests has swept the United States over the U.S. invasion of Grenada October 25. Opposition has been particularly strong in the Black community and many of the actions have been initiated by Black organizations.

The largest action so far was in New York City on October 26, when 4,000 demonstrated at the United Nations. The day before, more than 3,000 people marched in Berkeley with Mayor Gus Newport, who called the action. Newport has visited Grenada, and condemned the U.S. invasion on Bay Area TV and radio.

Some of the other more sizable actions were: Brooklyn, where 1,500 people marched through that city's large Caribbean community October 29; San Francisco, more than 3,000 the same day; and Santa Cruz, California, where 1,500 marched.

Large emergency picket lines, news conferences, forums, and teach-ins have taken place in many other cities.

Black organizations such as the National Black Independent Political Party, Operation PUSH, National Black United Front, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, and a number of Black ministers and churches have played an important role in building local protests.

Students on a number of campuses, including most of those around Boston and the Bay Area, and many in Indiana, New York, and Michigan, have held teach-ins or other protests.

At Cleveland State University, an October 26 picket line of more than 150 moved inside to debate a U.S. State Department spokesperson who was defending U.S. policy in Central America and the Caribbean.

The government spokesperson was soundly defeated in the question-and-answer period.

A number of elected officials and municipal bodies have condemned the invasion, including the Congressional Black Caucus and city councils in Detroit, Berkeley, and Santa Cruz. Several mayors have also condemned it, including Andrew Young of Atlanta, Richard Hatcher of Gary, and the mayors of Berkeley and Santa Cruz.

Jesse Jackson, the head of Operation PUSH and candidate for the Democratic nomination for president, has also denounced the U.S. invasion.

Congressman Gus Savage (D-Ill.) walked out of a meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus to protest a speech by the prime minister of Dominica defending Reagan's invasion. Afterward Savage said there was "not one shred of evidence any American lives were in danger in Grenada." He added that the only injuries there were caused by U.S. forces.

Despite a scandalous denunciation of Grenada by the AFL-CIO top officialdom, unionists have begun to speak out against the invasion. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District 37 in New York has denounced the invasion. So has the California chapter of the Service Employees International Union.

World condemns U.S. aggression

Washington's invasion of Grenada sparked protest demonstrations in the Caribbean, Latin America, Canada, Europe, and elsewhere.

In the Dominican Republic, thousands protested on October 26 in the capital, Santo Domingo. The United States invaded that country in 1965.

On October 26, 10,000 demonstrated in Mexico City against the invasion of Grenada. Radio Havana said 25,000 Panamanian students went on strike.

There were huge demonstrations in Cuba, and one of 30,000 people October 25 in Managua, Nicaragua.

Anti-invasion protests were also held in Puerto Rico; Georgetown, Guyana; São Paulo, Brazil; and Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Church and labor groups protested the invasion in Barbados, St. Vincent, and Jamaica — whose governments supplied troops for Reagan's aggression.

In Europe, there was a protest in Paris of

In San Francisco, an October 27 labor speak-out against the invasion was addressed by officers from SEIU, Molders union, Longshoremen's union, United Transportation Union, and others. It was attended by 700 people and was sponsored by the Grenada Solidarity Committee.

A Militant Forum October 29 in San Francisco heard a message protesting the invasion from Eric Hoffman, organizer for District 115 of the International Association of Machinists. On October 26, District 115 held a spirited and educational discussion of the invasion.

In Albany, a picket line of 150 was joined by Doug Bullock, treasurer of the city's Central Labor Council, and by Bob Redlo, a staff member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Militant Forums in Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco, and elsewhere have provided platforms for protest against the invasion, inviting a broad range of speakers.

Socialist candidates, such as Bill Warwick for mayor of Indianapolis and Tony Austin for mayor of Houston, and *Militant* readers and others who have been to Grenada have utilized TV and radio appearances to blast the invasion.

Many actions have been initiated by Grenada and Central American solidarity organizations. One was a memorial for Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at a San Francisco Church October 27 that drew nearly 400. It was sponsored by the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

4,000 on October 26; Madrid, 5,000; Amsterdam, 1,000; and hundreds in Copenhagen, Denmark and Milan, Italy.

In Britain, which has a large Grenadian and Caribbean population, there have been many street protests and meetings. In addition, prominent leaders of the Labor Party left wing issued a statement defending the Grenada revolution and condemning the imperialist attack on it. Signers included Labor Party left-wing leader Tony Benn; Ken Livingstone, a leader of the Greater London Council (GLC); Paul Boateng, a Black GLC leader; and Arthur Scargill, head of the mine workers union.

A national action has been called for November 5 in London.

In Amsterdam, at the antimissiles demonstration of 500,000 on October 29, banners were hung outside the U.S. Embassy protesting the invasion.

In Canada, protests took place in Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto.

Lies about invasion unravel

Continued from front page

tion with the opportunity it had been waiting for. With Grenada in political turmoil, Washington quickly jumped in to strike a decisive deathblow at the revolutionary process.

Massive invasion force

The size of the U.S. invasion force is truly massive. Although Grenada has a population of only 110,000, the Pentagon sent in 6,000 marines, paratroopers, and Army Rangers. Another 10,000 or so were stationed offshore, on the armada of U.S. warships that surrounded the island.

Counting only the U.S. troops who actually landed on Grenada, that is one soldier for every 18 Grenadians. In proportion to the size of the population, it is more than five times larger than the U.S. military force in Vietnam at the height of the war there.

As in Vietnam, the U.S. troops in Grenada have been supported by aerial bombing, artillery fire, offshore shelling, and attacks by helicopter gunships.

More than 1,000 Grenadians have had to flee their homes because of the fighting and bombing, which was especially heavy in the capital, St. George's, and the area south of there toward Point Salines.

The U.S. commanders in Grenada have sought to cover up the number of Grenadian casualties; some even made the preposterous claim that no Grenadians were killed. This is intended to reinforce their contention that the invasion was aimed at freeing Grenada from Cuban "occupation" and that the only military resistance came from Cubans on the island.

But journalists who managed to reach Grenada observed Grenadian troops firing at U.S. planes and reported seeing bodies of Grenadian soldiers and civilians on the roads and in bombed-out buildings.

So far, at least one mass slaughter has been revealed.

At the beginning of the invasion, a U.S. plane bombed a mental hospital in St. George's that held nearly 200 patients, reducing it to rubble. After the first reporters reached Grenada and exposed the attack, the Defense Department admitted that it had, in fact, been bombed, and that at least a dozen patients had been killed. A hospital

administrator put the death toll at 20, with other reports even higher.

Despite the U.S. troops' overwhelming superiority in numbers and firepower, they met stiff resistance from the moment they landed on Grenada's shores.

The Cuban construction workers who were at Point Salines to help in the building of Grenada's still-unfinished international airport defended themselves when their positions were attacked. Their resistance ended on October 26, after several dozen had been killed and more than 600 taken prisoner.

Grenadians fight on

Grenadian troops and militia members fought on. (The Pentagon falsely claims they are Cubans.) It took several days for the U.S. troops to take St. George's, and as we go to press sporadic fighting is still continuing in the heavily forested hills near the capital and in other parts of the island.

As of October 31, the Pentagon admitted that 18 U.S. troops had been killed. And at least two U.S. helicopters were confirmed to have been shot down.

This resistance to the invasion has come despite the policies followed by Gen. Hudson Austin's Revolutionary Military Council, which overthrew the previous Bishop-led government. The military officers had earlier disarmed sections of the People's Militia and People's Revolutionary Army that were sympathetic to Bishop. Even more seriously, the killing of Bishop and his comrades — who included much of the top leadership of the NJM — served to politically disorient sectors of the Grenadian population in face of the invasion.

That the U.S. troops met as much resistance as they did, despite these obstacles, is a testimony to the depth of the Grenada revolution. Those who risked and sacrificed their lives in an effort to stop the U.S. troops from overrunning their country did so with the conviction that they were defending the revolution's gains.

Long occupation

Because of the deep opposition among the Grenadian people to imperialist domination, Washington is now preparing for a prolonged occupation of the island.

One Pentagon official said two days after the invasion began that the U.S. troops might have to remain in Grenada "indefinitely."

Under the cover of this occupation, Washington is moving to impose a new, proimperialist regime. Sir Paul Scoon, the British governor general nominated for that post by former dictator Eric Gairy, has been picked by Washington to name an interim government, which will supposedly prepare "free" elections sometime in the indefinite future.

Sweeps, arrests, 'interrogations'

To pave the way for such a proimperialist regime, the U.S. troops are acting to crush the remaining resistance to the invasion.

Sweeps of the countryside, particularly near major roads and towns, have already begun. Journalists have reported sighting "search and destroy" squads composed of Army Rangers, backed up by A7 Corsair fighter bombers.

In the towns themselves, a major campaign has begun to identify and detain leaders and cadres of the New Jewel Movement, as well as other supporters of the revolution.

Adm. Wesley McDonald, the commander-in-chief of the Atlantic forces, declared, "I think you have to look at the Grenadians who were loyal to the government that was in existence before this started happening, to identify the people who are the hard-liners."

These round-ups are aimed at terrorizing labor and political activists and all those who championed the advances of the Grenada revolution.

Thus far, in addition to General Austin, the U.S. troops have rounded up Bernard Coard, Phyllis Coard, Selwyn Strachan, Liam James, John Ventour, and other government and NJM figures. Many are now being "interrogated" by U.S. military officers. Reporters have been barred from talking to them.

Despite the arrests and occupation,

Washington will face extreme difficulties in establishing a strong pro-U.S. regime.

Support for revolution's gains

In a report in the October 30 *Washington Post*, correspondent John Burgess noted "the significant support among the Grenadian public for the socialist reforms of Bishop."

Even with St. George's swarming with U.S. troops, open expressions of opposition to the invasion can already be heard.

In an October 31 dispatch from the capital, *New York Times* correspondent James Feron reported, "In downtown St. George's today, some teen-agers were saying they wanted the Americans to go home. They were interrupted when a jeep came by carrying a soldier and a Grenadian. The teen-agers shouted derisively at the Grenadian in the jeep, who returned a stony silence."

Don Rojas, a leader of the NJM who was interviewed in Barbados, said Grenada would be "rapidly colonized" by Washington. "The local councils and other democratic structures we put in place will be dismantled and kept that way by military force."

"But," he continued, "I can't think that any honest, patriotic Grenadian is going to accept that situation in the end."

From *Intercontinental Press*

White House myths exposed

BY ERNEST HARSCH

In an effort to disguise the fact that the U.S. invasion of Grenada is aimed at overturning the gains of the Grenada revolution, the Pentagon and White House propaganda mills have been working overtime.

In a nationally televised speech October 27, President Reagan put forward three basic justifications for the invasion:

- Concern that the 1,000 U.S. citizens on Grenada (800 of them students at the St. George's University Medical School) would be "harmed or held as hostages."

- An "urgent request" by several Caribbean governments to "join them in a military operation to restore order and democracy in Grenada."

- The contention that Grenada was "a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy."

The supposed danger to U.S. citizens in Grenada was one of the first lies that began to come apart.

Just two days before the U.S. troops stormed onto the island, the vice-chancellor of the medical school met with the students and found that only 10 percent of them wanted to leave Grenada.

On October 25, a U.S. ham radio operator in Grenada stated over the air, "Quite frankly there had been no threats whatsoever to any Americans."

U.S. authorities have claimed that those foreigners who wanted to leave Grenada could not do so because the Grenada airport had been closed. Yet the day before the invasion, several charter flights left with no difficulty.

Such revelations, however, have not stopped the U.S. government and big-business media from trying to keep the story alive. Taking advantage of the fact that many of the U.S. medical students did fear for their lives following the U.S. invasion, the capitalist press has played up their expressions of relief at getting off the island.

In addition, on October 27, White House officials maintained that U.S. forces had found documents proving that the Grenadian government, in conjunction with Cuban advisers, had been considering a plan to take U.S. citizens hostage. Yet the next day a Pentagon official had to admit that no such documents existed.

The Reagan administration has claimed that the U.S. invasion is legal because its troops were "invited" by several Caribbean governments.

First of all, none of those governments has any right to ask for a U.S. intervention in Grenada or to send their own troops in.

Moreover, it was the U.S. imperialists who took the initiative in setting up the Caribbean intervention force.



U.S. "democracy" in Grenada. Shown here, two of many Black activists arrested by U.S. troops.

What you're missing if you don't read 'Intercontinental Press'

The biweekly international news-magazine *Intercontinental Press* is able to carry more documents and other material on the events in Grenada than we can fit in the *Militant*. A special November 7 *IP*, for example, printed several documents from Cuba on the invasion of Grenada that you didn't see in the *Militant*. The current *IP*, dated November 14, reprints two important interviews with New Jewel Movement leaders Don Rojas and Caldwell Taylor. The new issue also begins part one of a major interview by Marta Harnecker with Sandinista leader Jaime Wheelock.

You can't follow what the Cuban, Grenadian, and Nicaraguan leaders are saying and doing by only reading the *Militant*. Subscribe to *Intercontinental Press* today.

☐ Enclosed is \$25 for a one-year subscription (U.S. and Canada).

☐ Enclosed is \$12.50 for six months.

Send to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The truth about Cuba's international policy

Leads world working class in defending Grenada revolution

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

It was May Day 1980 in Havana, Cuba. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada spoke to one and a half million Cubans gathered in the Plaza of the Revolution.

"The unity, the militant solidarity which unifies our countries, our peoples' struggles... is today making imperialism tremble," Bishop explained, "because we recognize in Grenada, just as the imperialists recognize, that without the Cuban revolution of 1959 there could have been no Grenadian revolution, nor Nicaraguan revolution in 1979."

"They therefore have good reason to tremble," said Bishop of the imperialists, "when they hear the masses of Cubans saying: 'Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, together we shall win!'"

In the wake of the brutal U.S. invasion of Grenada and the tragic events preceding it, revolutionary Cuba has reconfirmed by its actions the confidence that Bishop and many others placed in it.

Explained to fighters worldwide

The execution of Maurice Bishop and other Grenadian leaders — amid charges by capitalist governments and news media that Cuban-backed "hard-line Marxists" were responsible — had a disorienting and demoralizing effect on many revolutionary fighters around the world.

The Cuban Communist Party and government took responsibility for answering these lies and explaining the meaning of the events in Grenada to the world working class. They released a statement October 20 denouncing the killing of Bishop and other New Jewel Movement (NJM) leaders. The Cubans sharply denounced the blind factionalism against Bishop within sections of the NJM leadership that led to the deaths of most of the central core of the party's leadership. They warned of the danger that Washington would seize on this serious weakening of the Grenada revolution to attack and attempt to overthrow it.

From the triumph of the Grenada revolution in 1979, the Cubans have been in the forefront of explaining its significance, defending it, and seeking to aid the people of the island.

On International Women's Day, March 8, 1980, Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro told the Third Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women that, "Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism."

At a rally on July 26, 1980, Castro explained this further. "Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada are not the only progressive countries," he said, speaking of Latin America and the Caribbean. "But three of us have shaken the yoke of imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all..."

There is "only one road to liberation," said Castro that day, "that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other formula."

The Grenada revolution of March 13, 1979 — like the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions — was a radical, anticapitalist revolution. It ousted a proimperialist regime based on a tiny handful of landlords and capitalists and replaced it with a workers and farmers government. That government relied on the independent mobiliza-

tion of working people to lead in reorganizing society in the interest of the majority. The goal of that process, as Maurice Bishop often explained, was the construction of socialism.

The Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions were of decisive importance to Cuba. They marked the first extension of the socialist revolution in the Americas since the Cuban revolution 20 years earlier.

Despite its greater strength, resources, and more experienced leadership, however, Cuba has never attempted to dominate the revolutionary governments in Grenada or Nicaragua. Cuban aid came with no strings attached. Cuba never tried to create a leadership of its own choosing in Grenada or Nicaragua, nor did it seek to impose policies on those leaderships.

Fidel Castro explained this firm principle on July 26, 1980, on his return from a visit to Nicaragua.

"When I spoke in Revolution Square in Managua," he said, "I wasn't there to give advice. I said I wasn't there to teach, but to learn; that I wasn't there to influence anybody, that I was there to be influenced."

A year earlier, again on July 26, Fidel had spoken about the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. "They are both profound revolutions," he said, "alike in many ways and in many ways different, as all true revolutions must be."

"This is important for our people, important also for world opinion," he said. "Every country has its own road, its own problems, its own style, methods, objectives. We have our own; they have theirs. We did things one way, our way; they will do things their way."

In this spirit, the Cuban government responded generously to Nicaragua's request for doctors and teachers.

"We are not rich," Castro explained, "but we do have human resources."

"And we know our doctors and teachers," he said. "They'll go wherever they're needed. If they have to go to the mountains, they go to the mountains; if to the countryside, to the countryside. In Cuba and in Ethiopia, in Vietnam, in Yemen, in Angola, anywhere."

Same attitude toward Grenada

This approach is at the heart of Cuba's international policy, a policy of revolutionary, working-class internationalism. It is the same attitude Cuba has demonstrated toward Grenada.

In an interview with the Cuban English-language *Granma Weekly Review* in July 1981, Maurice Bishop explained that in Grenada's attempt to free itself from imperialist exploitation, "the role of Cuba has been decisive.... We have received the kind of assistance that enables us to continue to develop our economy on our own — such as [Cuba's] provision of the fishing boats and the assistance with the international airport."

Cuba also provided a few military advisers, since the Grenadians — correctly as events proved — were concerned about preparing themselves to combat an invasion by Washington.

The idea that Cubans were in Grenada to establish a Cuban military base, however, is a Big Lie invented by imperialism. It is Washington that has turned Grenada into a U.S. military base with an occupation force of U.S. troops numbering in the thousands.

Slander of Cuba and Grenada

This lie about the Cuban military base is one part of a well-orchestrated campaign by imperialism against both the Cuban and Grenadian revolutions. The press and U.S. government "sources" claimed Cuba was behind Bishop's overthrow and was maybe even responsible for his death. Cuba aimed "to take over" Grenada, they said.

Cuba answered these charges in the October 20 statement issued the very day following Bishop's death. It explained that Cuba had played no part at all in the disastrous split in the NJM. The Cuban leadership expressed its view that every revolutionary party has the right to conduct its own discussions and resolve its own internal problems and disputes. The Cubans



Maurice Bishop and Fidel Castro in Havana last July. Bishop often explained "without the Cuban revolution, there could have been no Grenada revolution."

adhered strictly to this principle, even when they learned to their great alarm that the division in the New Jewel leadership had reached crisis proportions.

"As it was a purely internal problem, despite our friendship for Bishop and our confidence in his integrity and his leadership abilities," the Cuban statement explained, "the Cuban government and party instructed our representatives in Grenada that, complying fully with the principles and norms of Cuba's international policy, they should absolutely refrain from involving themselves in the internal affairs of the party and of Grenada."

Cuba's primary concern, the statement said, "centered on preventing the events from taking on the character of a violent and bloody confrontation."

Toward this end, Castro sent a message to the NJM Central Committee expressing "his deep concern that the division that had arisen could do considerable damage to the image of the revolutionary process in Grenada, both inside the country and abroad."

With Bishop's execution, the Cuban leadership decided to issue its first public statement. The most conscious workers in Grenada and elsewhere in the world were looking to Cuba to provide leadership in explaining the events and pointing the way forward.

"No doctrine, no principle or position held up as revolutionary, and no internal division justifies atrocious proceedings like the physical elimination of Bishop and the outstanding group of honest and worthy leaders killed yesterday," the statement said.

Nevertheless, the statement continued, "we will maintain the strict principle of not involving ourselves in the internal affairs of Grenada, and we will take into account, above all, the interests of the Grenadian people in matters of economic and technical collaboration if that is possible in the new situation."

But, the statement continued, "our political relations with the new figures in the Grenadian leadership will have to be subjected to serious and profound analysis."

Preserve the revolution

"If the Grenadian revolutionary process manages to be preserved, we will do whatever is possible to help it," the Cubans declared.

They warned that this would be difficult. "Imperialism will now try to make use of this tragedy and the grave errors committed by the Grenadian revolutionaries in order to sweep away the revolutionary process in Grenada and subject it once again to neocolonial and imperial domination."

Cuba took concrete steps to do what it could to prevent this from taking place. On October 22, as the Yankee marine flotilla was steaming towards Grenada, Cuba sent an urgent message to the U.S. government. It expressed Cuba's readiness to cooperate

with Washington to help resolve problems without violence or intervention.

Washington cold-bloodedly ignored this offer.

Three days later the invasion had begun, and Cuban personnel, alongside the population of Grenada, were under attack. U.S. forces opened fire on Cuban construction workers and other personnel, ordering them to give up. They refused. The workers then wired Havana to inform the Cuban leadership of their actions and to request instructions.

Cuban leaders wired back, hailing "your heroic resistance." They instructed the workers not to surrender, but to transmit any proposals U.S. forces made to them.

Earlier, the regime of Gen. Hudson Austin, which had overthrown the People's Revolutionary Government, had requested that Cuba send fighters to repel the impending U.S. attack. According to Radio Havana, the Cuban government responded "that it was impossible to accede to this request for political and military reasons that were absolutely unfavorable to the organizing of a prolonged resistance."

This was a sober judgment on the part of the Cuban leadership. Cuban fighters could not substitute for a mobilized, armed population of the Grenadian workers and farmers themselves. The overthrow of the revolutionary government, the annihilation of Bishop and most of the central leadership, and Austin's use of the Grenadian army in armed attacks on Grenadian workers who supported Bishop precluded the kind of mobilization needed for any chance of victory.

A key decision

Why, then, did the central Cuban leadership decide that several hundred lightly armed Cuban workers would fight back and defend themselves against insuperable odds? In order to maximize the political price imperialism would pay for its criminal assault on Grenada's sovereignty and its revolutionary people.

This was the first time ever that workers of revolutionary Cuba have engaged in direct battle with regular U.S. troops. Their skill and courage demonstrated the political determination and class consciousness of Cuban working people and their willingness to fight and die to defend their revolution. It was a dramatic reminder to Washington of what U.S. marines will face if they are ordered to invade Cuba.

The heroic stand of the Cuban workers also inspired revolutionary-minded workers around the world — from Grenada itself, to Cuba, to the United States.

Cuba's population poured into the streets by the hundreds of thousands to salute the battle their comrades were waging in Grenada and to denounce the U.S. invasion. Every step of the way, they were kept

Continued on Page 20

Fidel Castro Speeches

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Since 1975, Cuba's foreign policy has deeply affected the course of world politics. Few of Castro's speeches are readily accessible in English. What does exist in print generally dates back to the 1960s or even earlier. This book represents a step toward filling that gap.

391 pp., \$7.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage.

Central Americans seek U.S. labor support



Militant Yvonne Hayes
Salvador López speaking at Harlem meeting of 300 October 25, day U.S. invaded Grenada. Meeting, called to support struggle in El Salvador, became a protest of invasion and Grenada solidarity rally as well.

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

As the U.S. war in Central America heats up, Salvadoran trade unionists are increasingly appealing to their brothers and sisters in the United States to help end U.S. military intervention.

Representatives of the revolutionary government and people of Nicaragua are also speaking to U.S. working people, explaining the social and economic advances they have made and why Washington is trying to overthrow their government.

Salvador López, a young, exiled leader of the Salvadoran railroad workers union and a representative of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS), recently conducted a speaking tour in New York City.

López was in New York when Washington invaded Grenada. A meeting organized to hear López in Harlem quickly turned into a broad protest against the U.S. invasion and in solidarity with the people of Grenada. More than 300 people turned out. The predominantly Black audience heard López denounce the invasion.

He was joined by several other important Black leaders including Elombe Brath, of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Norman Fairweather, Caribbean Peoples' Alliance; David Hood, Grenada Revolutionary League; David Ndaba, a representative of the African National Congress's UN mission; and Jim Butler, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 420. A representative of the Committee in

Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and James Haughton of Harlem Fightback also spoke.

Ndaba predicted that Washington would be emboldened by the Grenada invasion. This, he said, called for redoubling solidarity efforts with the people of El Salvador, the Palestinian people, and the struggle in South Africa and elsewhere.

López had spoken several days earlier to a meeting of Butler's AFSCME local where he was warmly received by almost 200 hospital workers, most of whom are Black. The local made a \$300 donation to FENASTRAS.

During his tour López also spoke at a meeting of the Hispanic Coalition of Labor Union Women attended by 40 workers, many of them members of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25. A meeting of 50 people at Casa de las Americas was cosponsored by the November 12 Latino Contingent, made up of several groups working to bring Latinos to the November 12 march on Washington, D.C.

Throughout his tour López stressed the need for a big turnout at that demonstration to demand that the United States get out of Central America and the Caribbean.

Sonia Galán tour

Sonia Galán, also a representative of FENASTRAS and a garment worker, has been doing the same. In early October she spoke to 125 delegates at the District 3 con-

vention of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (UE) in Holyoke, Massachusetts.

Galán was introduced to a standing ovation by UE District 3 Pres. Doug Perry. She was invited to address the convention by Ed Bloch, a UE international representative who served as a cochairman of the ad hoc tour committee that organized a tour for Galán in the Capital District area that includes Albany, Schenectady, and Troy, New York.

Galán spoke to some 600 people during this stop on her tour and was widely interviewed in the media.

She spoke with a number of workers from the giant General Electric plant in Schenectady at an informal reception one worker hosted for her.

Several days later their union, International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 301, passed a resolution opposing the attacks on trade union freedoms in El Salvador and urging their international union to "inform the membership of the struggles of our sister and brother trade unionists in El Salvador."

In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, unionists and others recently heard Ana Yolanda Escobar describe the current situation in El Salvador. Escobar, an exiled leader of the Salvadoran electronics workers union, also urged those she spoke to to attend the November 12 march on Washington.

Some unionists were particularly interested in Escobar's story of how Texas Instruments (TI), her employer in El Salvador, was unionized, in view of the fact that TI workers in the United States have no union yet.

Escobar addressed a statewide board meeting of the Pennsylvania Social Service Union (PSSU) attended by 40 people and a staff meeting of the central Pennsylvania district of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). A collection at the ILGWU meeting raised \$200 from 10 people who were there.

Oregon tour

A group of three Central American unionists from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua who are touring the West Coast arrived in Portland, Oregon, on October 23. The three are Miguel Angel Albizu, exiled secretary-general of the Guatemalan National Committee for Trade Union Unity; Marta Alicia Rivera, a leader of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators; and Sebastián Castro Cruz, a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation of Nicaragua.

At an October 23 rally the three were introduced to more than 100 people by Roger Auerbach, president of the Oregon Federation of Teachers. The three also spoke to two high school assemblies as well as meetings of teachers and public workers. A luncheon of local labor leaders was also held.

Sebastián Castro invited union delegates to participate in an international labor peace conference scheduled to be held in Managua, Nicaragua, in April 1984.

Earlier in October another Nicaraguan leader, Francisco Campbell, first secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, D.C., conducted a two-day tour in Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska. At public meetings and receptions that drew over 500 people, Campbell had what he called, "an opportunity to meet with ordinary folks."

Two highlights of the tour were a dinner with labor and farm organization leaders in Lincoln, and a reception at the Great Plains Black Museum in Omaha. At the Lincoln event Campbell met with officials and representatives of the United Transportation Union, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Lincoln Education Association, American Postal Workers Union, North American Farm Alliance, and Small Farms Action Group.

At the meeting Campbell explained that Nicaraguans "are prepared to defend our freedom whatever the cost may be. . . . We are convinced the people of the United States don't want to see a repetition of the nightmare of Vietnam. We don't want it in our region either."

Contributing to this article were Yvonne Hayes, Judith Lambert, Jim Miller, Katherine Sojourner, and Duncan Williams.

Eyewitness tells of Grenada invasion

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Akinyele is an American Black who lived on Grenada for a year and a half until he was evacuated October 27 following the U.S. invasion of the island.

The *Militant* met him October 29 at a Brooklyn demonstration against the invasion and interviewed him two days later.

He lived on Grenada with Verena Mostyn and their child. Akinyele worked for Radio Free Grenada, preparing musical programs, and Mostyn taught school. Both went to Grenada because they had heard many favorable things about the revolution and wanted to be part of it.

Akinyele's account gives the lie to Washington's claims of why it invaded Grenada, and offers an insight into the massive support by Grenadians for the government of Maurice Bishop prior to his execution October 19.

His account also refutes the U.S. contention that resistance on Grenada has come primarily from Cuban troops rather than from Grenadians.

He saw only one Cuban working at the radio station, "a technician, helping to keep the [very old] equipment together."

He stressed that the Cubans at the airfield at Point Salines, many of whom he knew, were "construction workers and electricians, and so on."

As far as he knew, he said, "there were no Cuban combat units on Grenada. As you know, it's a very small island, and it would be hard to hide 1,000 Cubans."

His home was only a mile and a half from Point Salines, and from there he

"could see PRA (People's Revolutionary Army) troops and militia moving south" to join the fighting once U.S. troops had invaded.

Of U.S. media claims that Grenadians have welcomed the U.S. invasion, he said this was true of a minority of people who "were not well disposed toward the revolution, or of some people who loved Bishop but didn't understand much about the revolution."

He said that in the Grand Anse area where he lived, "Many people have depended on tourism," which was drastically reduced early in the Grenada revolution due to policies of Washington and its Caribbean client states. Some of these people also didn't support the revolution, he said.

"But that's different from the attitude of people in the countryside," where PRA members are still fighting, he pointed out.

In Grand Anse, as elsewhere, he said, many people "helped guide retreating PRAs past U.S. lines." Others, he said, provided refuge for PRA and militia members.

Akinyele also was present at two of three meetings of U.S. medical students with representatives of the U.S. embassy in Barbados when they visited Grenada in the three days prior to the invasion.

Contrary to U.S. claims that the students were in danger, he said, these U.S. representatives sought to assure the students they were not threatened. He said one official "talked about a rumor that parents of students in New York were trying to or-

ganize three charter flights" and "was making fun of the parents and their worries."

This official also reported assurances from General Hudson Austin that the students "were in no danger and could leave anytime they wanted."

Akinyele also witnessed the mass protests that freed Bishop from house arrest October 19, the day he was killed.

Earlier, on October 14, one day after Akinyele said he first heard anything about differences among government leaders, members of the New Jewel Movement came to government workplaces to give their version of Bishop's house arrest.

These reports "increased the anger and tension in the country," he said. But "people had various estimates of whether Bishop had done something wrong. The vast majority wanted him freed; some people didn't believe he had done anything, and other people said we don't care what he's done, we want him freed. He's our leader, the leader of the revolution, and they should let him go."

On the 19th, he said, he saw four or five thousand people in the main market square overflowing into the streets, many of them carrying hand-painted signs saying such things as, "We want Maurice, we don't want [Bernard] Coard" (who was rumored to be trying to depose Bishop) and "Free the leader."

Akinyele marched with them to Bishop's house, where they freed the prime minister after guards fired a few shots into the air.

He did not witness Bishop's death later at Fort Rupert; he had gone for a tape recorder.

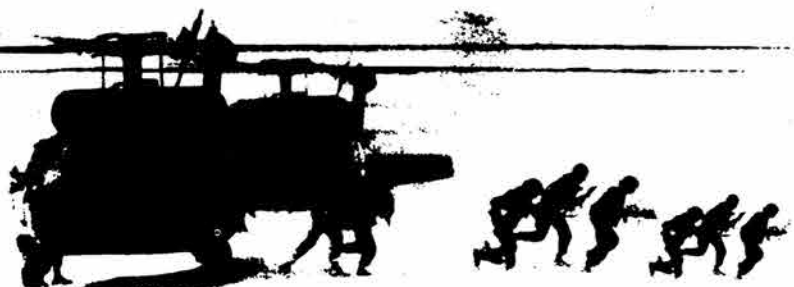
Radio Free Grenada "had lost virtually all credibility," he said, after it failed to report the events leading to Bishop's arrest. Subsequently, when Austin reported an imminent invasion, many Grenadians did not take it seriously.

Many militia members, he reported, were upset by Bishop's death.

But on October 25, when the invasion took place, he said, militia members reported to their posts and fought very well.

The U.S. invaded Grenada, Akinyele concluded, because "it's a Black nation that was running itself, independently, and was an example to other Blacks in the Caribbean and the U.S."

Many Blacks, he said, had visited Grenada and liked it. He had watched a video tape of Bishop's address at Hunter College in New York with other U.S. Blacks in Grenada, he said, "and when Bishop said Reagan was afraid of the Grenadian example to U.S. Blacks, we all cheered wildly."



NOT AGAIN!

Stop U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON NOVEMBER 12.

November 12 Coalition National Office
P.O. Box 50131 Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 347-5516

Produced by Public Media Center

Jackson campaign: what it means for Blacks

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Rev. Jesse Jackson has stated that he will formally announce his candidacy for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination at a Washington, D.C., news conference on November 3. This announcement comes just one week before the third national congress of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), to be held on November 11-13. The relationship of the Jackson campaign to NBIPP's perspectives will be one of the topics of discussion at the congress.

Unofficially, Jackson has been campaigning for several months. The Black civil rights leader stresses that Blacks must register to vote to secure more political power. Thousands of Blacks, and others, such as Latinos, women, and some unionists, who see that they lack political representation, have been inspired to sign up to vote by Jackson's appeals.

In addition, Jackson's campaign has sparked a big discussion among Black leaders inside and outside of the Democratic Party, among middle-class radicals such as those in the Citizens Party, and among various currents in the workers movement. There are differences on what attitude to take toward Jackson's presidential bid.

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), for example, is divided on whether to back the Jackson candidacy. Following a September 29 meeting between Jackson and the CBC, it was reported that he could count on getting the support of a slight majority of the Black representatives once he announced his campaign. The rest would back one of the other Democratic candidates.

At the Citizens Party national convention, held over Labor Day weekend, there was a debate on whether the group should support Jackson's campaign or run a national campaign of its own. The Citizens Party ran environmental activist Barry Commoner for president in 1980. At this convention Commoner was part of a minority that favored endorsing Jackson.

Another participant backing Jackson in this meeting was Manning Marable, a national vice-chairperson of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Marable is also a well-known Black writer and was a founding leader of NBIPP in 1980. He later dropped away from the party.

Opts for 'lesser evil'

While Marable says he disagrees with Jackson on some issues, he supports Jackson's drive for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. In an October 5 column in the radical U.S. newsweekly the *Guardian*, Marable reports that he urged the Citizens Party delegates "that they provide critical support for Jesse Jackson's candidacy inside the Democratic primaries; and that there was a qualitative difference between liberal Democrats and Reaganites, and any third party would have an extremely difficult time in attracting substantial Black and working peoples' support."

"The immediate priority for 1984 is to defeat the Reaganites inside both major political parties, and to greatly expand the number of Black, Latino, and low-income voters. Jackson's campaign would mobilize at least 1-2 million new voters who in turn can help to defeat the New Right next November."

Marable's position boils down to: vote Democratic no matter who's nominated — no one could be worse than Reagan. He supports Jackson's campaign because he thinks it can win 1-2 million votes for Sen. John Glenn or former Vice-pres. Walter Mondale next November.

Continuing, Marable says, "The fundamental problem with all liberal-to-left third parties is that they elevate a tactic (running for office outside of the Democratic Party) into a hard-and-fast rule or principle (never vote for Democrats). In doing so, they cut themselves off from the mass movements of Black, brown, and poor people, as well as the labor movement."

"The debate around a Black presidential candidate for 1984," Marable says in a subsequent article in the November 2 *Guardian*, "has split the Black community largely but not exclusively on class lines. Poor people, blue-collar and low-to-middle income workers overwhelmingly endorse a Black revolt within the Democratic Party. Most Black middle-class leaders of the NAACP and Urban League, on the other hand, have denounced the idea as a 'hoax' and a 'fraud.'"

In this most recent article Marable notes that this Black middle class "still looks to the Democratic Party as part of the solution; the Black majority increasingly views it as part of the problem."

While true, this statement raises still other questions. What perspective should be offered to workers who are Black, the overwhelming majority of the Black population. Is extending critical support to Jackson the road forward? Is Marable right to say: Yes, the Democratic Party is part of the problem, but vote for it anyway to defeat Reagan?

NBIPP's alternative

The NBIPP offers a different strategy. The party's charter, its programmatic foundation, explains and codifies its opposition to the capitalist system and the parties that uphold it. The charter says, "The National Black Independent Political Party aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalist exploitation."

"Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties)," the charter explains, "have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours. They have consistently used power and government to



Jesse Jackson organizing Blacks to register to vote in Mississippi. He hopes to use new voters to reform Democratic Party. National Black Independent Political Party offers a different approach.

create policies for Black economic underdevelopment, political exploitation, and cultural destruction. Their policies reveal contempt for the interests of Black people, and have existed solely for the maintenance of the existing political and socio-economic system."

From its beginning NBIPP rejected supporting Democratic "lesser evils" over Republican candidates. The National Black Political Assembly's 1980 convention, which called the organizing conference that launched NBIPP, refused to back President Carter's bid for reelection. The New Orleans gathering attacked all three capitalist candidates in the 1980 race — Ronald Reagan, James Carter, and John Anderson — and encouraged Blacks to vote "no" on all of them or to vote for one of the small parties with progressive candidates.

Capitalism is pointed to as the source of all exploitation, and the Democratic and Republican parties are correctly characterized as defenders of the capitalist system. The fight for Black self-determination, then, must be led in an anticapitalist direction, and politically independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The logic of the NBIPP charter is for Black revolutionists to participate in the day-to-day struggles of Black and other working people, to explain the relationship of these struggles to each other, and in that way point the way to building a political movement that can overturn capitalist rule.

The Black party's platform charts a course that logically points to joining with others in the fight to stop the U.S. wars against Grenada, Nicaragua, and its intervention in Lebanon; build solidarity for the embattled Arizona copper miners; end racist cop terror against the Black community; defend and extend affirmative action for women and oppressed nationalities; and, generally, fight for the immediate needs and democratic rights of Blacks and all working people.

Through all this, Black revolutionists who use the NBIPP charter as their guide seek to assemble the initial nuclei of a mass party by telling the truth about imperialist oppression abroad and capitalist exploitation at home. As the crises of capitalism bear down even harder on Blacks and other workers, as they inevitably will, millions of Blacks will be looking for an alternative to this system and will be attracted to those

Continued on Page 20

Miss. Blacks fight for voting rights

BY ROHIMA MIAH

OXFORD, Miss. — This state is once again the focus of a fight for Black political rights, especially the right to vote and run for public office.

The current struggle draws on the gains and heritage of the earlier civil rights movement. On October 1 the past joined the present struggle during a commemoration of Fannie Lou Hamer, a Black plantation worker from the Delta area who was a leader of the early civil rights movement here. She died in 1977.

Hamer's role made her a hero among Blacks, particularly women, in rural Mississippi, and continues to inspire them to struggle.

The commemoration began with a candlelight vigil at Tougaloo College. More than 200 people watched a one-woman show by Billie Jean Young of the Southern Rural Women's Network that dramatically portrayed Hamer's life. With the audience singing Black freedom songs, the civil rights movement was also brought to life.

The commemoration was held in the historic Woodward Chapel on Tougaloo campus, where Hamer, Medgar Evers, organizers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and many others once spoke.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s is pertinent to the current struggle for Black political rights. In Mississippi, Blacks are 40 percent of the population statewide and are a majority in some counties.

Holmes County, where Blacks are between 70 to 80 percent of the population, is in the Delta, which grows most of the state's cotton. Some of the poorest workers and farmers — Black and white — live in the Delta; the wealthy plantation owners and bankers have kept political and economic control. It is here that the voter

registration campaign has had its biggest impact.

Robert Walker, field director of the Mississippi NAACP, which is leading the registration campaign, explained the state's dual registration system. He said potential voters must register both at the circuit court and then at the city or county clerk's office. "Some people live 20 or 30 miles from the circuit court offices, and with the poverty level here, many people just can't go."

The NAACP is mounting a legislative challenge to this racist and undemocratic registration procedure. If more people outside the state knew about the dual registration laws, Walker said, the NAACP's attempt to overturn them would be aided.

A representative of the U.S. Justice Department, W. Bradford Reynolds, assured voter-registration activists here in June that his department was "100 percent opposed" to dual registration, the *Militant* learned from Al Chambliss, president of the Oxford NAACP. Chambliss said Reynolds told him and others that dual registration was "a thing of the past."

But dual registration is still in place, and no federal action has been taken against it.

The Southern Crusade led by Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH brought some national attention to the registration drive when Jackson visited Mississippi in June and August. Jackson talked with a large number of Blacks, particularly in rural areas.

Jasper Neely of the North Mississippi Rural Legal Services and the NAACP told the *Militant* Jackson visited Grenada County in August to aid the registration drive.

More than 1,000 people were registered in Grenada County in the drive, which began in February. This brought the number of Blacks registered to vote to

7,500, or half the number of voters in the county. In 1966 there were fewer than 300 registered Black voters in Grenada County.

In Laflore County, where Blacks are almost 60 percent of the population, more than 1,800 people have been registered. Eight hundred of these are from Mississippi Valley State University, where students won the right to register in 1975.

David Jordan, head of the Greenwood Voters League, said that 40,000 people have registered to vote statewide since June.

The success of the voter-registration campaign has encouraged Blacks to run for political office. The Greenwood Voters League is supporting a slate of independent Black candidates in the November elections.

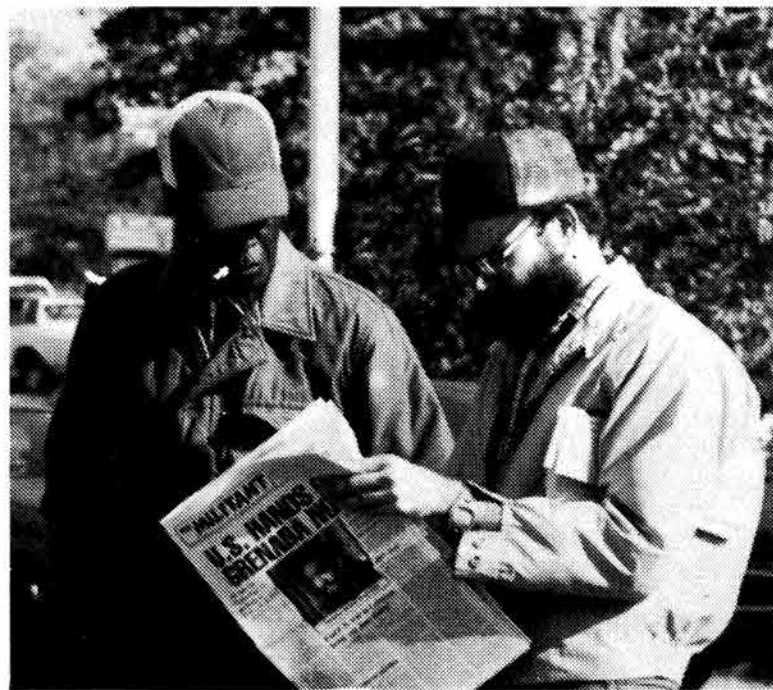
Jordan, who is running for state senator, explained that in Mississippi a Black "cannot run as a Democrat because the Democratic Party in Mississippi doesn't address the needs of Black people."

Jordan considers himself part of the Democratic Party nationally but says Blacks in Mississippi must run independent campaigns. Black candidates, he said, must address the need "for more and better jobs, a strong educational system to eradicate widespread illiteracy in rural areas, better medical care, and a more equitable tax structure."

The Democratic Party doesn't have such a program, he says, because it serves the interests of the plantation owners.

In the 1960s Mississippi Blacks formed a separate organization, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, because they were frozen out of the state Democratic Party. They still are.

The fight for the democratic right to vote and hold political office are complementary to the struggle by Black workers and farmers against the racist status quo here.



Selling *Militant* at Oct. 29 Trenton, N.J., rally for jobs, peace, freedom.

BY CHARLES BARNET
NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — Shipyard workers at the Newport News Tenneco yard mobilized in defense of their union, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888, as they took on the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA) in an October 27 union representation election.

In recent weeks *Militant* sales teams have found an increased interest in the paper, especially in its coverage of union-busting attacks around the country.

An example is a Black worker wearing a "Vote USWA" button who bought the *Militant* for the first time. He wanted to read the recent article on the long fight against racism waged by Chicano and Indian unionists in the Arizona copper mines. The USWA is one of the 13 Arizona copper miner's unions forced on strike by Phelps Dodge Corp. this year.

He supports the Steelworkers instead of the PSA because: "Be-

fore, if you got hurt and couldn't work in the yard anymore, you had big problems. Now, this union will represent you. Conditions in the yard have improved."

Many workers were familiar with the union-busting tactics used recently at Continental and Eastern Airlines. One worker pointed out in reference to the ongoing contract negotiations at the yard that "at least Tenneco can't use bankruptcy. The company has too many navy contracts for that." The owner of the yard, the Tenneco conglomerate, has reported huge profits over the last years.

Another Steelworker explained his thinking on how to stop the attacks on the unions: "We've got to stick together. We'll get busted if we don't. Take the example of the auto workers and the steelworkers in the North. When times get rough they stick together regardless of whether they're working or not working."

Referring to the *Militant's* support for the Steelworkers, he said:

"You can't get this kind of news from the *Daily Press*."

The Newport News *Daily Press* recently carried an editorial condemning unions for causing violence and pointed to the Arizona copper strike as an example of senseless union violence. A prior editorial entitled "Hold A Vote" subtly repeated PSA slanders of the USWA.

The *Daily Press* also regularly features anticommunist editorial columns and cartoons, especially ones directed against Cuba and Nicaragua.

A young Black worker who has subscribed to the *Militant* before and bought a single issue this time said, "It's a good newspaper if you take the time and effort to read it. If you have the time to go home and watch the six o'clock news, then you have the time to read the *Militant*. It gives you news from working people around the world."

A number of second-shift workers stopped by a table set up near the 50th Street gate and commented favorably on a sign that said: "Money for Jobs, Not War." One worker bought a copy of *The Last Year of Malcolm X*. Several "Stop Racist Attacks" buttons were sold.

A worker who had been a sailor on the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Nimitz* before being hired into the yard thought that U.S. forces had a legitimate role in Lebanon and Central America. Still, he bought a paper because he was interested in its headline stories on Nicaragua and the shipyard union election.

Three thousand sailors are stationed aboard the *Nimitz*, which is now being overhauled near the 50th Street gate. Sailors who buy the *Militant* usually do so for its coverage of Central America and Lebanon. Usually they've never seen a socialist newspaper before.

Many of them who were also puzzled by the issues in the union election bought copies for that reason.

SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

(Totals as of Militant issue #39, PM issue #21)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
San Antonio	60/50	25/23	85/73	86
Seaside, Calif.	35/35	10/3	45/38	84
Los Angeles	100/68	75/75	175/143	82
Twin Cities	120/95	10/7	130/102	78
Toledo	50/40	5/2	55/42	76
Brooklyn	110/87	40/26	150/113	75
Manhattan	150/86	50/53	200/139	70
Salt Lake City	70/44	5/6	75/50	67
Wash., D.C.	90/63	25/11	115/74	64
Indianapolis	80/48	0/3	80/51	64
Detroit	85/54	5/4	90/58	64
St. Louis	120/75	0/1	120/76	63
Milwaukee	110/69	10/6	120/75	63
Virginia, Minn.	75/45	0/2	75/47	63
San Jose	75/39	15/14	90/53	59
Philadelphia	100/58	25/16	125/74	59
Boston	95/50	15/15	110/65	59
Lincoln, Neb.	35/20	0/0	35/20	57
Denver	80/50	15/3	95/53	56
Newark	110/61	30/16	140/77	55
Oakland	90/49	15/7	105/56	53
Albany, N.Y.	70/39	5/1	75/40	53
Morgantown, W. Va.	70/34	0/0	70/34	49
Louisville	55/27	0/0	55/27	49
Miami	70/35	10/3	80/38	48
Atlanta	85/41	5/2	90/43	48
Harrisburg	35/17	5/1	40/18	45
Dallas	50/22	15/7	65/29	45
Kansas City	65/33	10/0	75/33	44
Cincinnati	70/25	0/1	70/26	37
San Francisco	90/32	40/15	130/47	36
Portland	45/14	10/6	55/20	36
Greensboro, N.C.	50/17	0/1	50/18	36
Tucson	30/10	10/4	40/14	35
Newport News, Va.	75/26	0/0	75/26	35
Albuquerque	50/20	15/3	65/23	35
Houston	60/24	30/7	90/31	34
Seattle	75/24	5/2	80/26	33
Price, Utah	35/11	5/2	40/13	33
Birmingham	70/23	0/0	70/23	33
Pittsburgh	135/42	0/0	135/42	31
San Diego	70/19	30/9	100/28	28
Phoenix	75/24	25/4	100/28	28
Cleveland	80/24	5/0	85/24	28
Baltimore	65/17	0/0	65/17	26
Charleston, W. Va.	45/11	0/0	45/11	24
Gary	45/11	5/0	50/11	22
New Orleans	80/15	5/0	85/15	18
Chicago	135/24	15/1	150/25	17
Totals	3,720/1,847	625/362	4,345/2,209	51
Should Be	2,343	393	2,737	63

'Militant' in thick of discussions about Grenada

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

In response to Reagan's carefully orchestrated media campaign of lies about the invasion of Grenada, socialists in over 50 U.S. cities hit the streets last week to get out the truth about the revolution in Grenada.

Sales results are still coming in, but already we can report selling over 8,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and talking to hundreds of thousands of working people on the job, at plant gates, grocery stores, and protest demonstrations.

Contrary to what Reagan and the big-business press would have us believe, there is no groundswell of patriotic support for the invasion. In fact, our working-class poll tells us that a giant debate has opened up around the invasion of Grenada, and that sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are having an influence in that debate.

Sales and discussions began as soon as the *Militant*, with its banner headline "U.S. Hands Off Grenada Now," was off the press last Thursday night. Socialists who had printed and helped mail out the paper took bundles to sell. One of them reported selling 20 on the way home.

By Friday morning, sales had begun at plant gates in the New York-New Jersey area. Socialists in Newark took the new issue to their regular street sale in front of an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union-organized shop. They sold 24 single copies and 2 subscriptions to garment workers, sailors from the U.S.S. *Nimitz*, which is currently docked at the nearby Hoboken shipyard, and to other workers passing by.

One young worker in a coffee shop bought a single copy of the paper and returned 15 minutes later, with a big grin on

his face, to tell the sales team that this was the most wonderful paper he had ever read. He bought a subscription. Two papers were also sold to sailors who had been to Lebanon and had just returned from Central America.

As the papers reached other cities around the country, orders for more papers began to pour in. Although the initial press run was more than double the usual size, it wasn't enough. On Friday evening the *Militant* went back to press for a second printing.

By Sunday, over 2,700 copies had been sold in New York and New Jersey alone.

In the first few days of the invasion, the right wing, small as it is, was emboldened, echoing the racist, anticommunist propaganda of the U.S. government-dominated press. At one ITT plant in New Jersey, company representatives tried to fuel this reaction by distributing American flags.

In a few places, the right-wingers tried physical threats against *Militant* salespeople, known for their defense of the Cuban and Grenada revolutions. But these right-wingers were soon isolated as other workers — particularly Blacks and Vietnam War veterans — spoke out in opposition to U.S. involvement in another war.

In Cincinnati a picture of socialists with a picket sign saying "U.S. Out of Grenada" appeared on the front page of the city's major daily paper. Right-wing workers at the General Electric plant where socialist city council candidate Kathleen Denny works posted the picture up in the plant with insults written on it. They asked the union, Local 912 of the International Association of Machinists, to criticize her participation in the demonstration. Instead, the union vice-president and other coworkers went out of their way to be friendly to her.

In Miami, where a right-wing demonstration was organized in support of the invasion, 102 copies of the *Militant* were sold at a Dick Gregory concert.

The vast majority of the people that sales teams talked to were confused about why the United States had invaded, suspicious of the reasons given by Reagan and the capitalist-controlled media, and hungry for information about Grenada so that they could make up their own minds.

Sue Skinner in Los Angeles described her experience this way:

"We found, first of all, people don't know the facts. We have to explain first of all that the population of Grenada is Black. The media campaign has tried to keep this secret. Then people want to know, 'But what about Cuba?' 'What about the guns?' 'Don't we have to stand up to communism somewhere?'"

"We have found that we have to tell them the whole story, about the gains of the Grenada revolution, about Cuba's role in sending aid in the form of doctors, teachers, construction workers. This stands in stark contrast to the U.S. role — sending a military invasion force of one U.S. military person for every 18 Grenadians."

A small but significant number of papers were sold to GIs. Socialists in Greensboro, North Carolina, report selling two subscriptions to marines. One Black marine told the team that he didn't know what to do. "I like Grenada," he said, "and I don't want to go there and fight."

The subscription drive also got a big boost this past week. Socialists in San Diego sold 26 subscriptions Saturday. Phoenix sold 24 subscriptions. The Price and Salt Lake City branches of the Socialist Workers Party fielded a joint sales and subscription-selling team to Kayenta, Ari-

zona, a miners' community located on a Navajo reservation. The team sold 18 subscriptions, 23 single copies of the *Militant*, and 3 copies of the *Young Socialist* to miners and teachers.

For many of the people we have been talking to over the last months, the Grenada invasion confirms what the *Militant* has been saying about Washington's policeman role in the world and why we need to get rid of the capitalist government in the United States. Thousands of people who read the *Militant* for the first time are open to subscribing.

The next step for opponents of this U.S. aggression is clear: get out the truth about the Grenada revolution, the overthrow of its leadership, and the U.S. invasion. Branches of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance are in the process of discussing how best to build on and extend our experiences of the past week.

To help in this process, the *Militant* is offering a copy of a new Pathfinder Press pamphlet on Grenada with subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*. The pamphlet contains the text of a speech given by Maurice Bishop in the United States last June.

Perspectiva Mundial published a special 32-page issue this week which contains, in addition to news reports and analysis from Grenada, the full text of Bishop's speech in Spanish.

The November/December issue of the *Young Socialist* will be off the press this week, providing another important tool in the campaign to explain the Grenada events.

Taken together with the regular coverage in the *Militant* and *PM*, supporters of the Grenada revolution have a powerful arsenal of material to use in our campaign to defend the revolution and to win people to the SWP and YSA.

'U.S. shows determination to police the world by military might'

Slain Grenadian leader's last speech

The following speech was delivered to the UN General Assembly October 13 by Grenadian Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman. Whiteman was killed October 19, along with Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other top Grenadian government leaders, by the military under the command of Gen. Hudson Austin.

This speech summarizes the main features of the anti-imperialist foreign policy of Grenada's Bishop-led government before it was brutally overthrown.

The speech was taped and transcribed by the Militant.

Unison Whiteman

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, your excellencies the heads of delegations.

Permit me to begin by congratulating you [General Assembly President Jorge Illveca] on your assumption of the duties of the presidency of this historic assembly. You have many years of experience and outstanding qualities of statesmanship, and the lofty principles which guide your actions are a matter of record.

We all extend our congratulations to your country, the Republic of Panama, which has been equally honored by your elevation to high office. I also take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of my government for the exemplary performance of your predecessor, his excellency Imri Hollai of Hungary, who has made a signal contribution to the strengthening of the organization and to the search for universal peace.

Mr. President, it is a source of real pride and joy to welcome to membership in this organization the newly independent state of St. Christopher-Nevis. We are especially pleased because St. Christopher-Nevis is a small-island-developing country and belongs to the Caribbean family of nations, being a member of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the Organization of East Caribbean States. We know that the government of St. Christopher-Nevis shares our aspirations for peace, independence, and development in the Caribbean-south sub-region.

Mr. President, it is fitting that the 38th session has begun with the recognition of the International Day of Peace. It is convened at a decisive moment in the history of mankind. Since we met at our last session the world has witnessed a dangerous escalation of the arms race. International tension has been heightened, and we drift ever closer to the brink of nuclear disaster.

However, the consciousness of the stark reality of the danger inherent in this sphere is rising. And consequently the struggle for peace and disarmament is gaining new momentum among the masses.

Closely linked to the increasing danger of war is the grim nature of the economic situation facing the vast majority of our countries. The international external debt of Third World countries and the dramatic deterioration in terms of trade of developing countries are threatening many of these economies with total collapse. In spite of the meager flow of conventional loans and grants, these developing countries remain trapped in a virtual state of helplessness, sinking into the mire of bankruptcy.

Struggle for peace

Mr. President, although the struggle for jobs and equitable economic relations is urgent, by far the most burning issue facing the international community is the struggle for peace. Of immense concern to the government and people of Grenada are the increasing warlike policies of the United States administration, evidenced by the numerous military maneuvers and deployment of its troops in almost every corner of the globe.

During the last few months, the dispatch of U.S. military personnel to Central America, to different parts of North Africa, the Mediterranean, and other areas, demonstrates that country's determination to police the world and to impose its will by military might.

These military maneuvers create an atmosphere of tension and sow the seeds of mistrust, giving rise to international espionage. When, as in the case of the ill-fated Flight KAL 007, the lives of unsuspecting civilians are regrettably lost, our duty is to seriously review the policies which may endanger civilian lives, and not to exploit the human tragedy for narrow political propaganda objectives.

In the light of new and dangerous military doctrines which threaten the survival of mankind, Grenada believes that it is immeasurably important for our assembly to reaffirm its commitment to peace and peaceful coexistence, and to steer all nations along a course of the pacific settlement of disputes.

Our country has followed with deep interest the separate round of negotiations on the limitations and reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and other related disarmament issues. The apparent lack of political will by the United States administration for a constructive approach in this matter creates a gloomy prospect for the successful outcome of the negotiations.

It appears that the United States is proceeding on the basis of achieving military superiority. This is clearly an untenable and unrealistic position. The plans to deploy additional nuclear missiles in Western Europe can contribute nothing toward the advancement of peace in the world. This can reasonably be expected to be counterbalanced by the Warsaw Treaty states in an effort to retain the present strategic balance in Europe. Those measures would greatly increase tensions and insecurity and diminish the chances for peace.

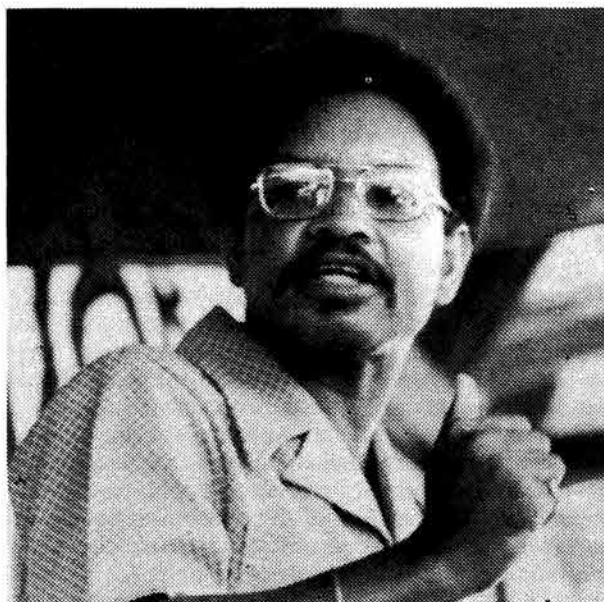
Mr. President, Grenada is fully convinced that in the event of a nuclear attack, all nations will be on the front lines. We therefore urge meaningful and sincere dialogue on the part of all nuclear states, so that the disaster which now threatens all of us can be averted.

No nukes in space

In this context, we also express grave concern over the growing proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. We abhor any plans to introduce the arms race into outer space. My government reiterates its position that Grenada will support any meaningful and constructive proposal from any quarter aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

Mr. President, in the world struggle for preservation of peace and security, the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada expresses support for the tremendous work being done by the peace movements both in Europe and in North America. The recognition by people the world over that action should be taken to avert the threat of nuclear war, and to prevent the further escalation of the arms race, is indeed heartening. The People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada reiterate our full support to all those who are daily struggling to persuade their governments to dedicate their efforts to the achievement of a lasting peace.

Continued on next page



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt
Unison Whiteman, Grenada's foreign minister in People's Revolutionary Government. Whiteman was executed along with Maurice Bishop in military takeover by Gen. Hudson Austin.



Grenada Government Information Service
March 12, 1983, rally at new Sandino Housing Complex in Grenada to protest threats by President Reagan, who claimed Grenada was a threat to U.S. "national security."

Continued from preceding page

Mr. President, the foreign policy of my government is premised on the cardinal principles of the promotion of world peace, good neighborliness, and international cooperation. Since the beginning of our process of revolutionary change in March 1979, we have proceeded on the basis of a clear understanding that, without peace and cooperation, there can be no progressive development. Mankind shan't exist; scarce resources are often diverted to military purposes. The resources being spent on armaments can be better utilized in the provision of goods and services for the upliftment of society and improvement of material conditions of peace.

Our commitment to peace and international cooperation is inextricably linked to the struggle to improve the material conditions of the people of our small country. The People's Revolutionary Government has made modest achievements since March 13, 1979. The unemployment figure has been drastically reduced. Secondary education has been expanded rapidly, and is now provided free of cost. Our adult literacy program reaches out to people in all corners of our nation. In spite of the international propaganda campaign, our first and only international airport will be officially opened during the first quarter of 1984. This is the single most important economic project of our revolution.

Zone of peace

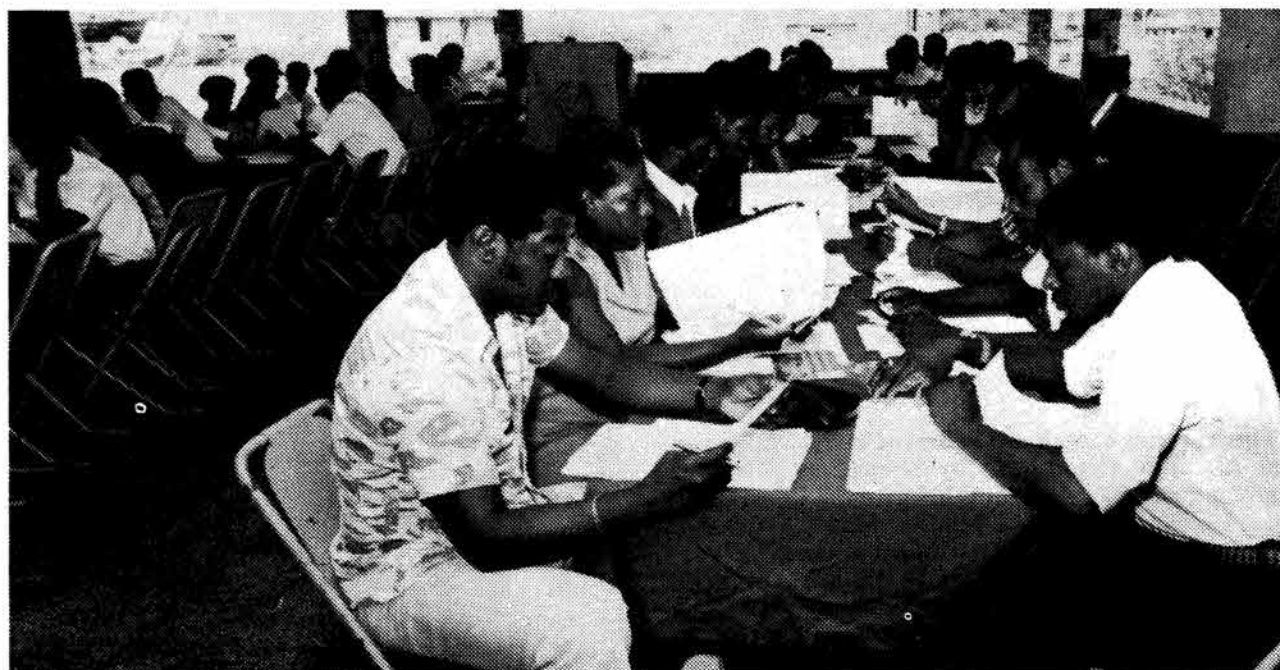
Grenada is convinced that peace and development are interdependent. In 1979 at the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS) in La Paz, my government cosponsored a resolution which was unanimously adopted calling for the Caribbean to be declared and recognized in practice as a zone of peace.

Since then, Grenada has consistently urged the implementation of this historic decision. At a meeting in Grenada in 1981, the standing committee of foreign ministers of CARICOM endorsed the call of the OAS at La Paz and established a working group to elaborate the concepts of the zone of peace.

One year later, at the conference of foreign ministers of CARICOM held in Belize, we attempted to give clearer definition of the hopes and aspirations of our people by calling for recognition of our region as a zone of peace, independence, and development.

This assembly has recognized the significant contribution which zones of peace in particular areas can make toward the achievement of world peace. Accordingly, we urge all states to support our aspirations to have the Caribbean declared and recognized in practice as a zone of peace, independence, and development.

Mr. President, the peoples of Central America, neighbors and brothers of the Caribbean peoples, are today particularly and very painfully aware of the real meaning of the world struggle for peace and development. The peoples of Central America have waged a long and bitter struggle for genuine independence. They too have a sovereign right to peace and development. It is an unfortunate fact of history that whenever Central America has tried to develop its own resources independently, to work



Grenada Government Information Service
Technical and Allied Workers Union Council of Delegates at a workshop in January 1983. Unions enjoyed internal democracy under the revolutionary government.

for the benefit and advancement of its peoples, these efforts have been thwarted by a powerful neighbor, whose own overriding interests do not allow for the independent development of states it regards as backyard colonies and banana republics.

Today the sovereign independent government of Nicaragua and its valiant people are bullied and subverted for adhering to their independence.

This is the basis of Big Pine 2, a crass deployment of military forces designed to intimidate Nicaragua and to subjugate the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada vociferously condemns this shameful act of the United States government and its puppets who, in defiance of several United Nations resolutions, continue to perpetrate overt and covert acts of aggression against Nicaragua, or allow their territory to be used as staging points for sabotage, subversion, and murder of innocent civilians.

My government gives its full support to the appeal of [Nicaraguan] Commander Daniel Ortega here at this session, that the General Assembly should resume efforts to support the struggle for peace in Central America, and that United Nations member governments should refrain from all actions that aggravate the situation in the region.

Grenada demands that those members of the United Nations who are subverting Nicaragua's attempts to attain peaceful and progressive development should immediately cease such hostilities. We also give support to Nicaragua's six-point proposal aimed at the realization of a peaceful solution to the region's problems. We endorse the initiatives of the Contadora group, and all such initiatives aimed at the peaceful solution to the existing situation in Central America.

Supports Salvadoran struggle

Grenada's position on El Salvador is crystal clear. There we see a valiant people struggling against the might of imperialism and the callous and genocidal oligarchy. Mr. President, a regime which descends to the depths of barbarity, where it orders indiscriminate bombings of its own civilian population, has surrendered all claims to moral authority. My government has consistently supported the right of the Salvadoran people to establish a government reflective of their just aspirations.

From its very inception in 1981, we have supported the French-Mexican accords, which recognize the FMLN-FDR [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front] as a responsible and representative political force. Two years ago, in my statement before the 36th session of this assembly, Grenada pointed out that a genocidal path, pursued for many years by the junta and U.S. imperialism, is not a feasible approach to resolve problems in El Salvador.

We reiterate that that policy is not working. It will not work, and it cannot work. We continue to support the commitment to a negotiated political settlement in which all forces, including the FMLN-FDR, will participate fully and on equal footing in order to bring a just and honorable peace to this war-torn nation.

Mr. President, my government wishes to direct the attention of this assembly to the constant threats to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state of Belize, a member of the CARICOM family of nations. Grenada reaffirms its support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. Similarly, with respect to the Guyana-Venezuela controversy, the government of Grenada reaffirms its support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana.

It notes with satisfaction that the governments of the

two countries have referred the choice of a means of settlement to the secretary-general of the United Nations, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Agreement demarcating the boundaries of the two states, and expresses the hope that that controversy will be quickly and peacefully resolved.

We solidarize with the aspirations of the government and people of Suriname to build a political, economic, and social process, safe from all outside pressure and blackmail. In this context, we condemn CIA and other imperialist-sponsored activities aimed at undermining that country's development.

We reaffirm our total support for the people and government of Bolivia and their struggle to restore the territorial integrity of the Bolivian nation and to regain an outlet to the Pacific and full sovereignty.

In the case of the Malvinas, consistent with Security Council Resolutions 502 and 505, and with the stated position of the Nonaligned Movement on this issue, we urge both parties to reopen negotiations with the participation and good offices of the secretary-general of the United Nations, with a view to putting an end to this colonial situation in the South Atlantic.

Puerto Rican independence

In like manner, Grenada reiterates its support for the Puerto Rican people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence, in conformity with United Nations Resolution 1514.

My government and people salute Panama's steadfastness in its struggle to gain control of every inch of Panamanian territory, including the Panama Canal. Grenada's constant and unwavering support for that country in its historic battle for its nation's rights is assured.

With respect to the Republic of Cuba, Grenada calls for an end to the criminal U.S. blockade against that country, and for the immediate cessation of the imperialist campaign of harassment and threats against that upright government and that brave and fearless people. We call once more for the return of Guantanamo to Cuban sovereignty.

Mr. President, the cry of oppressed peoples for liberation, for progress, for peace and for justice, resounds throughout the Americas. It is a cry which all the weapons of war and the might of armies will never stifle or silence. It is a cry which comes today from Chile, from El Salvador, from Guatemala, and from Uruguay. We extend our solidarity and support to the peoples of those countries and to all others who seek to affirm their right to freedom, to a genuine social and economic advancement, and to a lasting peace.

Mr. President, the search for peace, independence, and economic and social advancement in Latin America and the Caribbean is only part of the worldwide struggle for the achievement of those goals universally.

In the Middle East the Zionist policy of expansionism continues to be a major obstacle to a just and lasting peace. Today the state of Lebanon is threatened with dismemberment by the Zionists.

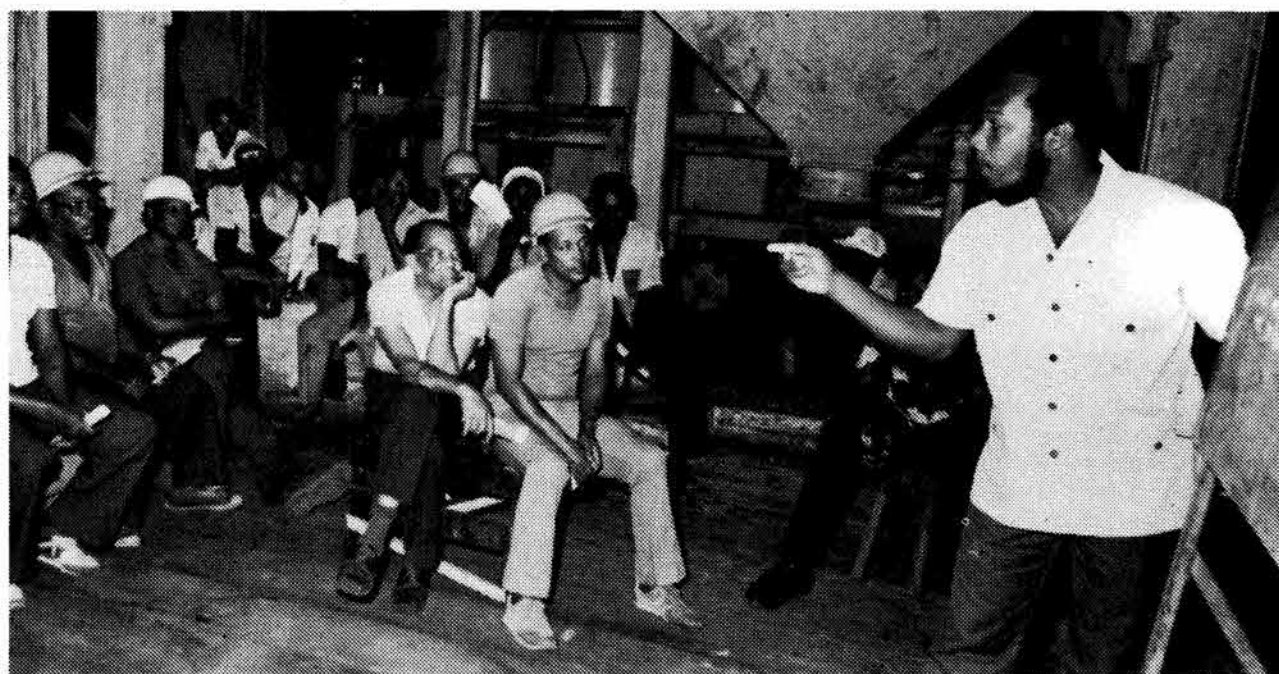
Palestine for Palestinians

Our brothers and sisters of Palestine are still being denied their inalienable right to a homeland of their own. We reiterate our unwavering support for the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization]. It is our conviction that the establishment of a Palestinian state on Palestinian soil constitutes the foundation for the attainment of the goals and aspirations of the Palestinian people and the main pillar for reaching a just and lasting solution to the conflict.



Socialist Voice/Larry Johnson

Two of six members of Herbs and Greens Cooperative with their tomato plants. The revolutionary government provided loans to those who wanted to start their own cooperative. This helped bring more land into cultivation and Grenada closer to self-sufficiency in fruits and vegetables.



Grenada Government Information Service

Worker Education Class at Grenada Sugar Factory. These classes began in 1981 to encourage workers participation in running their country. Workers and farmers role in governing has been snuffed out by U.S. invasion.

The Grenada government remains convinced that the people of that region could speedily resolve their differences if the issues were not complicated by the interference of Israel, and calls for a comprehensive settlement with the full participation of all countries and parties.

With regard to Cyprus, we continue to call for the restoration of its unity, the withdrawal of all occupation forces, and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of that country.

We also call upon our brothers in Iran and Iraq to speedily bring to an end their sad and wasteful conflict, which benefits neither, and which represents the wanton waste of the scarce resources of that region and the Third World.

We fully support the efforts of the United Nations in obtaining a negotiated political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan.

Mr. President, we reaffirm our support for the peaceful reunification of Korea. We consider the proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea a sound basis on which to begin negotiations to this end.

We reiterate our solidarity with the people and government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as they strive valiantly to complete the task of national revival and reconstruction. We view with grave concern attempts by certain forces to escalate their armed interference in Kampuchea. The United Nations should never forget or fail to condemn the brutal savagery of the ousted Pol Pot clique.

We support the cause of correct relations among the countries of Southeast Asia, to be based on the principles of good neighborliness, stability, and mutual cooperation, and for the establishment of a zone of peace in that region.

Mr. President, the continent of Africa, a continent with which my country shares unbreakable bonds of brotherhood and blood, continues to experience the heavy and brutal hand of one of the great evils of this century, the racist Republic of South Africa and its sadistic system of apartheid.

This body has consistently raised its voice against this inhuman practice. Today apartheid is even reaching out to the Caribbean, offering the gold from the sweat and tears of our African brothers to a few mercenaries who are only too willing to play cricket, like minstrels, for the amusement of their racist manipulators.

Anti-apartheid protest

On the question of apartheid, the policy of my government is clear, uncompromising, and incontrovertible. Immediately upon the departure of the cricket-team mercenaries for the racist state, the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada declared each one *persona non grata*. In addition, we called upon their home countries to cancel their travel documents, and confiscate the ill-gotten funds, turning them over to the ANC [African National Congress] and to SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization] to assist in financing the liberation struggles.

We pledge our total and unconditional support for the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative. We unhesitatingly reject any attempt to make the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola a condition for recognizing the legitimate rights of the Namibian people to freedom and independence. We call upon those members of the Contact Group [includes U.S., British, French, Canadian, and West German officials] who have been guilty of delaying the proceedings to desist from this practice and to facilitate the speeding up of the process of independence for Namibia.

We reiterate our unwavering solidarity with the ANC

and the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for national liberation.

The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada reaffirms its total support for and solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Mozambique, with Zambia, Zimbabwe, the Kingdom of Lesotho, and all the front-line states which are plagued by South African harassment, and whose sovereignty and independence are constantly threatened by the racist Pretoria state.

We also take this opportunity to reaffirm our support for the Saharan people in their struggle for freedom and independence under the leadership of the Polisario Front.

World economic crisis

Mr. President, the international economic situation is no less grave than the international political and military one. The quest for a new global economic order is inextricably linked to the struggle of the people of the world for peace and development. As the economic crisis deepens, the wide economic gap between developed and developing countries becomes even wider, while the prevailing world economic system remains unresponsive to the basic needs of developing countries.

The establishment of a new international economic order becomes an extremely urgent issue if the aspirations of the world's peoples are to be realized. Three-quarters of the world's population lives in over 100 of our countries where poverty and dependence prevail.

The external debts of developing countries grew toward an average annual rate of 25.1 percent between 1973 and 1975. And the debt servicing grew at an annual rate of 51 percent during the same period. It is estimated that in the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries there are some 30 million unemployed people. And in the developing countries, which feel the brunt of the crisis, the economic situation is even more appalling.

In Latin America the per-capita GDP [Gross Domestic Product] fell by over one percent in 1981, the first such occurrence since 1959. And OECD estimates inform that the Third World external debt amounted to about \$626 billion in 1982.

Mr. President, a grim indication of the plight facing the populations of the developing countries is revealed in the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] data, which tell us that well over 40 million people, half of them children, die every year from hunger and malnutrition. It has been estimated that one quarter of the population in many countries of the developing world suffers from chronic malnutrition.

In the face of this tragedy, this cornering of scarce resources is an instrument of war, is nothing short of catastrophic. For example, in the United States, \$187 billion have been allocated for direct military spending for the new financial year, with \$150 million for the manufacture of a new generation of chemical weapons.

Military spending worldwide rose during the past year to a record total of \$800 billion, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies. This should be a source of anguish to this organization, that some countries in the world seem more interested in confrontation and war than in the alleviation of human suffering.

When the world's peoples groan under the yoke of the deteriorating economic situation, they are indirectly pleading for peace.

Mr. President, within the context of the deteriorating economic situation facing developing countries, the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada reemphasizes the need for a special regime of cooperation and assistance to alleviate the peculiar problem of small-island-developing states.

The recently concluded Nonaligned conference of small-island-developing countries, held in Grenada, established a framework to come to the assistance of this materially disadvantaged group. The Nonaligned Movement, Mr. President, must be commended for taking this bold initiative. This further demonstrates the relevance of the movement in the struggle of developing countries for an equitable international economic order, as well as its overall dynamism, its maturity, and its sense of responsibility.

Greater voice for oppressed

Mr. President, there is dire need for the restructuring of the major international financial institutions to make them more responsive to the needs of our countries, especially the most affected and disadvantaged among us. Developing countries need to have a greater voice in all policy decisions which affect them in such institutions. The restructuring and democratization of these institutions is urgently required if developing countries are to make any headway in obtaining developmental financing on better terms.

At the same time, we call on all donor countries to increase the level of their contributions to the main lending institutions in the interest of ensuring their financial viability and their capacity to assist debtor nations.

The economic survival of the countries of the developed world is inextricably linked to the economic viability of the countries of the Third World. Let us not forget this fact.

The severe economic crisis reflected in the chronic external indebtedness of developing countries necessitates the rescheduling by creditor states of the payments if we wish to avoid an immediate collapse of many economies. Consideration may have to be given in extremely difficult cases to the cancellation of debts.

The failure of UNCTAD VI [Sixth UN Conference on Trade and Development], Mr. President, is a disturbing reminder of the lack of political will among some developed creditor nations and of their unwillingness to promote equitable economic relations with developing countries.

My government once more appeals to the industrially developed countries to resume negotiations and earnestly try to find solutions to the unjust and unequal economic relationships, a major cause of the chronic economic problems facing the developing world.

Equitable distribution

Mr. President, the critical world situation challenges mankind's ingenuity to find urgent and real solutions to grave international problems, which seem to threaten the very existence of the human race. As we enter this 39th year of the founding of this exalted organization, our first and overriding task must be to work with redoubled effort for the attainment of world peace with justice, and a more equitable distribution of the resources of this planet for the benefit of all its peoples.

The government of Grenada is convinced that, notwithstanding its somewhat limited achievements in certain areas during the past 38 years, the United Nations Organization still provides us with the best, perhaps the only, opportunity for finding solutions for mankind's pressing problems, solutions which can no longer be permitted to elude us.

Grenada solemnly reaffirms its commitment to the United Nations and to the principles enshrined in its charter, and calls upon all nations to rededicate themselves in a renewed spirit of international understanding and cooperation, to work out just and equitable prescriptions which will alleviate the suffering of the oppressed peoples of the world and steer mankind away from the path of total destruction.

I thank you, Mr. President.

New from Pathfinder

Why the U.S. Invaded Grenada

Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers

Contains two speeches by Maurice Bishop, including his June 1983 address in New York City. 48 pp., \$1.

Also

Forward Ever

By Maurice Bishop, 192 pp., \$6.95.

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean

By Sam Manuel and Andrew Pulley, 35 pp., 95 cents.

Grenada: The Peaceful Revolution

By Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action, \$4.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

Is decent housing a human right? Diffe



El Nuevo Diario



Militant/Duane Stilwell

Housing shortage is a severe problem in Nicaragua, made worse by U.S.-backed attacks on that country. Above is working-class housing outside Managua inherited from Somoza era. Below is new housing constructed by revolutionary government.

Emergency housing measures in Managua

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — When you arrive at Sando International Airport and drive toward downtown Managua, one of the first things you notice is the housing — or rather the lack of it.

Parts of the highway are lined with what appear at first glance to be no more than shantytowns of one- and two-room dirt-floored shacks — little different from the worst poverty in the rest of Latin America.

By the time you enter the city, you realize these are not isolated exceptions but a sample of the only housing available to many working people in Nicaragua.

There are things you can't see from the outside — things like safe drinking water, frequent trash pickup, health-care centers, and schools — that make these "shantytowns" quite different from their counterpart in the rest of Latin America.

But it is a fact that housing — the scarcity of it and the deteriorated condition of most of what exists — is one of the most striking indicators of the exploitation Nicaragua suffered for many years.

To get a better idea of the scope of the housing problem inherited from the Somoza dictatorship, and of the obstacles the U.S. war puts in the way of confronting it, the *Militant* met with half a dozen members of the Ministry of Housing's urban planning team.

The facts are dramatic.

Nicaragua, which has a population of only 3 million, is short right now at least a quarter of a million housing units. An average of one and a half families, about seven persons, live in each house that does exist.

Half of these dwelling units do not have electricity or running water, and many of them meet only the minimum standard of keeping the rain off your head.

In Managua, the situation is partly the result of the 1972 earthquake, which destroyed three-quarters of the city's housing stock. Somoza personally pocketed most of the international aid, but that was only the icing on the

cake. Overall, the crisis stems from decades of intensified exploitation under the U.S.-supported dictatorship.

In the harsh conditions faced by revolutionary Nicaragua, this problem is not going to be solved overnight.

When you look at what the Sandinista government is doing about housing, Javier Mejía told us, you have to begin with a fact that tells a lot about the problem. "So far this year emergency housing expenses related to the war have been greater than the entire budget originally set for the Ministry of Housing," he said.

Mejía is director of urban development in Nicaragua. He estimates that in the last two years at least 16,000 people have had to be evacuated from the war zones in the north and south.

"Often we have to move them to sites that don't have all the facilities we'd like in terms of guaranteeing acceptable living conditions," he said, "but it's simply a matter of an emergency move to a site that can be better defended."

In the northern provinces, he said, the government has had to evacuate 129 different communities. In the south, 500 families in one province alone recently had to be relocated.

These war victims are our "first priority," Mejía stressed, "and the impact of this has an impact on other housing programs that is total."

First days of revolution

In the first days following the victory of the revolution, the Sandinista government set out to provide Nicaragua's working people with the kind of housing they really deserve. Construction began on hundreds of well-built, sunny, airy single-family houses — each with a bathroom, shower, and electricity.

Several problems immediately became apparent. "This wasn't really workers' housing," Mario Barahona, director of planning for the province of Managua, told us.

"There was no sector of the working class that could

afford to pay the real cost of such housing. And the government didn't have enough funds to subsidize it on the scale necessary to confront the overall housing shortage.

"We were also trapped in another way," Barahona said. "In terms of sensible land use, at least in Managua, the most rational form of construction would have been blocks of several-story apartment buildings."

"We weren't in a position to do this. And we didn't want to continue expanding 'horizontally' either. Because if the city continued to spread out geographically, the eventual costs of providing services like water, electricity, and transportation would be beyond the capacity of the city government."

Some 10,000 houses were built by the government in the first four years of the revolution. Proportional to the population, this is the largest housing program in Central America. But something more had to be done.

In response to the pressing need for housing, spontaneous urban land seizures began to occur. New settlements would spring up virtually overnight, often in areas that would lead to serious problems.

Some of these settlements were located atop active earthquake faults, Roberto Chávez, Nicaragua's national director of urban planning, told us.

Chávez showed us a geological map of the Managua region, prepared with the help of a team of Cuban scientists. "Knowing what we know today," Chávez said, "if you were going to pick a site to build a city, Managua would be the worst place in the country to do it."

The city not only lies atop the earthquake zone with the highest risk in the entire region. It also lies in the center of a chain of active volcanoes.

"We can't allow anything at all to be built atop the worst fault zones," Chávez said. "In the rest of the city, construction has to match the degree of quake risk — that is, only steel-beam construction in the more dangerous areas."

But a map in a government ministry is one thing. Spontaneous action by landless urban dwellers — who know they won't simply be evicted by the revolutionary government — is another.

Pressure reached a peak last May, following torrential rains that damaged or destroyed 10,000 homes in Managua alone. If the government didn't take action fast, there would be a spread of spontaneous settlements the likes of which hadn't even been dreamed of.

Crash housing program

Crash expansion of a program called "progressive urbanization" was the government's response. Vast areas of downtown Managua, confiscated earlier from Somozaist real estate speculators, were turned into housing sites on an emergency basis.

The land was cleared and leveled. Streets were bulldozed. Land was divided up into equal-sized lots and distributed free of charge with the help of the neighborhood block organizations — the Sandinista Defense Committees. Space was set aside for future community, health, and educational facilities. Bus line were rerouted.

"We began by moving bad houses to good land," said Mario Barahona. Using military vehicles, the army, the CDS [Sandinista Defense Committees], and the Sandinista Youth, moved the houses and belongings of entire communities — formerly located in low-lying, frequently flooded areas — to new sites in central Managua.

"This wasn't an answer to the housing problem as such," Javier Mejía added. "But it did help resolve one inherited problem — housing that was located in unhealthy areas, in inhuman conditions. The new sites are well located from every point of view, including access to such services as water, electricity, and transportation."

"There's nothing new about this as an idea. The World Bank, for example, has sponsored similar plans in other countries."

"What's different here," Mejía said, "is that it is really being put into effect. Not only were the 'progressive urbanizations' given the best land. But the follow-up services such as water, trash pickup, and electricity were provided as well — although lack of funds has meant the electricity has been delayed in many cases."

"The state guarantees the family both security to the land they occupy and help in improving their homes and neighborhood. You can already see improvements in the houses — some have gone from wood to stone — and in the health statistics."

So far in Managua, some 4,000 families have received formal titles to such lots. They cannot sell or mortgage the land, but are guaranteed the right to live on it as long as they choose.

"You see," said Mejía, "we begin from the point of view that the land should be returned to its real owners — the people. That means that for us land doesn't have an exchange value but rather a use value — in terms of human need."

rent answers in Nicaragua and U.S.

Negligence leads to tenant deaths in Ohio

BY SCOTT BREEN

CINCINNATI — It took the death of three tenants to make the crisis in housing a central issue in the city council election here.

On May 17, Eddie and Teresa Corbin, and their daughter Tina died of carbon monoxide poisoning in their apartment at Garden Hill Top. An unvented natural gas water heater allowed these poisonous fumes to escape into their apartment.

The surviving children of the Corbin family have filed for damages and compensation of \$45 million against the builders, owners, and managers of the housing project, Chelsea Moore.

Chelsea Moore is a multi-million dollar real estate firm owned in part by Carl Lindner, who *Forbes* magazine ranks as the 176th richest man in the nation with about \$250 million. Lindner is also the major owner of COPAZ meatpacking plant in Cincinnati which recently forced striking workers of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union to accept drastic paycuts and onerous workrule changes.

Seven days after the deaths of the Corbins, city building inspectors cited Chelsea Moore for 37 health and safety violations in the seven apartment buildings of Garden Hill Top. They were ordered to make 72 repairs within 30 days.

A month later, Chelsea Moore refused to make repairs in four of the buildings. Chelsea Moore claimed that it couldn't afford to make the repairs that make the apartments livable. As a result, the city ordered the four buildings condemned and closed down.

One hundred families living in these publicly-subsidized housing units were given two months in which to find other accommodations, after which they would be evicted. Despite city promises that it would help to relocate the families, as of the October 12 deadline, 40 families still lived in the condemned buildings with nowhere to go.

Kathleen Denny, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in the November 8 elections visited Garden Hill Top apartments the day before the deadline. Accompanied by reporters from the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, WCIN radio, and the *Militant*, and a former Garden Hill Top maintenance man, she toured the all-Black housing project.

Residents pointed out the deteriorated and dilapidated condition of the apartment buildings, which had been constructed just 10 years ago. There were holes in the

corridor walls, which were made of such a thin, weak plasterboard that one could easily punch through. Ceilings and floors showed evidence of extensive water damage.

Tommy, the former maintenance man, explained that two years earlier, the buildings had to be shut down to repair broken water pipes; but the ceilings, floors, and walls weren't repaired. Throughout the buildings there were broken or boarded windows and exposed electrical wires. Broken sewer pipes lay open across the grounds. One hundred yards away, the city had recently built a garbage dump.

Denny spoke with one family of five still living there, who invited us inside. They had had no hot water for the last four months, and their electricity, water, and telephone were to be turned off the next day, as ordered by the city.

Denny told the residents and the media that "Chelsea Moore should be charged with manslaughter." She blasted Chelsea Moore's decision not to repair the apartment buildings as "a racist decision to avoid meeting its responsibilities," and demanded that the city government force the company to open its financial books to public scrutiny.

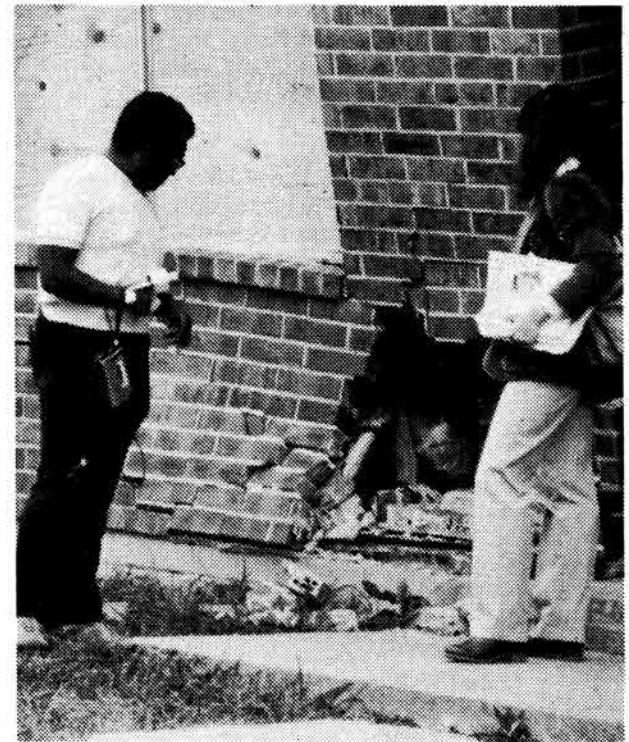
She blasted the government for negligence in enforcing its own building codes and failing to relocate the remaining families.

A recent *Enquirer* story detailed the scope of the housing problem confronting working people and the poor in Cincinnati. The City is 31,500 housing units short right now, and the gap is growing.

The article, entitled "Housing Shortage Viewed As Critical" reports that Cincinnati "has more subsidized housing than any other city of comparable size in the nation."

There are 7,000 public housing units and 13,000 subsidized housing units in the city. Eighty percent of these households are headed by women. Eighty-nine percent of the residents are Black, most of them children.

In Cincinnati, one-fifth of all households are eligible for assistance. However, they don't get it. One reason is that many landlords refuse to rent to Blacks, to low-income tenants, or to those with public subsidies. So, many people must wait for an opening in a government-subsidized or public project. This reinforces segregation. It creates an even greater housing shortage, since the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development is getting out of the housing business and dumping its sub-



Militant

Socialist candidate Kathleen Denny examines landlord negligence at Garden Hill Top apartments where three tenants died from an unvented water heater. Garden Hill Top has been officially condemned due to unsafe conditions; however, 40 families still live there because they have nowhere to go. The apartment buildings are owned by a multi-million dollar real estate firm.

sidized housing units, letting them go to the highest bidder. These are generally investors and speculators like Chelsea Moore, who deliberately allow the units to deteriorate.

Speaking before meetings of the Low Income Housing Coalition and the Fay Apartments Tenants Union, Kathleen Denny has outlined an immediate program to solve the emergency crisis.

She demanded that the city immediately take over the estimated 17,000 unoccupied private apartments and buildings. "The only reason these are not being rented," she said, "is because of high rents, racism, or refusal to make necessary repairs. In all three cases the need to house the homeless should and must come first. Unused apartments should be confiscated by the city government, fixed up and rented cheaply right away."

The city government should also "launch a massive crash housing program, to build and repair thousands more dwellings," she stated.

In response to city council members who insist that the city has no money for this, Denny pointed out they were able to find millions of dollars to help business expand the Convention Center.

"Instead of giving millions to help business conventioners," she said, "that money should go towards building and repairing public housing. Millions in additional funds could come from eliminating the property tax abatements for rich downtown corporations and hotels. And we need a city government that will fight to end the federal military budget and provide billions for a massive housing and public works program, instead of cutting back in social services."

At these meetings, Denny also called for an immediate moratorium on home foreclosure and evictions, and demanded that the city fully enforce its building codes, taking the property away from landlords who refuse to immediately comply with city standards and tenant complaints.

These ideas were greeted warmly, and several tenant organizers said they would vote for Denny.

Residents of public housing apartments have also responded enthusiastically to the socialist campaign. Going door to door in the Fay Apartment and Winton Terrace Apartment complexes, Denny and her supporters signed up 17 residents as campaign endorsers. Ten people took posters that said "Jobs Not War! — Vote Socialist Workers Party" to put up in their windows.

Hundreds of campaign brochures calling for "decent housing for all" have been distributed. Some tenants took extra ones to show to coworkers. Many bought copies of the *Militant*.

'Housing law to change property relations'

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — From the point of view of the Sandinista revolution "a decent place to live is a human right, not a commodity," says Nicaragua's general director of urban development, Javier Mejía.

In the course of a recent interview with the *Militant*, Mejía took a few minutes to discuss the hotly debated Law on Housing.

This is the draft of a law that was introduced into the Council of State, the country's representative governing body, early this year. Designed to eventually rid Nicaragua of the twin parasites of landlords and rent, it states that except in exceptional circumstances no one needs more than one house to live in. Therefore, with minimal exceptions, all rented housing is to become the property of the present tenants.

Rent is to be converted into a form of mortgage payment, with full credit for all rent paid in the past. Twenty years of rent is considered full compensation for the value of the house. Tenants who have paid rent that long will simply become the new owners, receive title to the house and land, and pay nothing further.

Tenants who have paid rent for less than 20 years will receive full credit toward purchase for all past payments, and will make all future payments directly to the Ministry of Housing. Former landlords will be compensated until the 20-year limit is reached, but only up to a total of 10,000 córdobas (US \$1,000) a month.

In short, it's a law that is very popular with tenants, the vast majority, and very unpopular with landlords, a small, relatively well-off minority.

But the law, after being introduced in January following wide discussion in the mass organizations, has not yet advanced very far in the Council of State. By June only 5 of 52 sections of it had been approved, amidst heated debate.

Opponents of the law include, naturally, the right-

wing representatives, who brand it as "Cuba inspired." But also opposed to it are two small petty-bourgeois formations — the Independent Liberal Party (PLI) and the People's Social Christian Party (PPSC) — that are part of the pro-government parliamentary bloc, the Patriotic Revolutionary Front.

Since June the law has been discussed in a special committee but it has not been further debated in the full Council of State.

What is going to happen with this law? We asked Mejía.

"This is a revolutionary law," he replied, "a law that will fundamentally modify patterns of land ownership. Because it is a revolutionary law, there are obviously many considerations involved. It is at present still under consideration in the Council of State, but other laws have taken precedence."

Two examples Mejía mentioned were the law on military service, recently passed, and the law on political parties, which was also passed, after lengthy debate.

"It's true," Mejía said, "that there are some sectors that are not in agreement with the Law on Housing, including sectors inside the Patriotic Revolutionary Front."

"There's nothing unusual about this. The PLI, for example, was also opposed to the law on patriotic military service."

"But revolution means change, sometimes abrupt change, in the established order." In terms of housing, "there are people accustomed to looking at property as a way of taking care of their children or as a source of income" — not as a social need.

"I profoundly don't believe this opposition is going to be allowed to hold up the law," Mejía concluded. The mass organizations and the Government of National Reconstruction are behind it all the way.

"I think it's going to be passed soon."

Subscribe to the 'Militant'

Birth of the communist movement in the United States

Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922 by Farrell Dobbs. 240 pages, paper \$5.95. Published by Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include 75 cents for postage and handling.)

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Working-class militants need to know our roots. History, for us, is a weapon in our struggle against oppression and exploitation. To be better fighters today, we need to know where we came from, the origins of our exploitation, and the history of our fight against capitalist domination. To class-conscious workers history is a living thing, a continuity. It is something we're still making.

That's why Farrell Dobbs' new book, *Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922*, is so important. The book is written by an active participant in the revolutionary workers movement for nearly 50 years, and is aimed at helping to arm working-class activists today.

This book is Dobbs' second volume on the building of a Marxist leadership in the United States. The first volume covered the period between 1848 and 1917.

Dobbs explained in the introduction to the first volume that his goal is to deal with three major threads running through the U.S. workers movement: "(1) the fight for the economic organization of the working class into trade unions, and for organization along industrial rather than craft lines; (2) the fight for political and social consciousness and action by the workers' movement; and (3) the fight for the independent political organization of the working class, a labor party, to advance its interests and those of its allies against the interests of the ruling capitalist minority. Tying these threads together are the efforts by the Marxist wing of the workers' movement to gather the cadres of a proletarian revolutionary party needed to lead the fight to end capitalist rule, establish a workers' and farmers' government, and open the road to a socialist order."

This second volume of *Revolutionary Continuity* begins as the central leaders of most parties in the Second International back their own imperialist governments in World War I. The book takes up the fight by Lenin and the Russian Communist Party to replace this politically bankrupt international with a new international leadership of the working class. Dobbs outlines the interrelation between the building of the new Communist International — officially launched at the initiative of the Bolsheviks in 1919 — and the rise of the communist movement in the United States.

The leaderships of the old socialist international collaborated with their own capitalist classes on more than the question of war. They backed the bosses' war against working people at home as well as abroad.

The longstanding debates over these class-collaborationist policies were brought to a head by the war, including in the Socialist Party (SP) in the United States. Dobbs details the flaws in the program, strategy, and organization of the right, centrist, and left wings of the SP in the first volume of *Revolutionary Continuity*.

Although it is helpful to have read the first book before reading the second, it is not necessary. Dobbs summarizes his earlier points from the first volume on the errors of the SP, and takes up the mistaken strategy of the revolutionists who led the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

What I want to do here is outline the most important points Dobbs makes in his new book.

War and revolution

Although the SP was hobbled by its mostly class-collaborationist leadership, the party's left wing made gains during the First World War. The left wing won more and more adherents as working-class militants joined the SP, attracted by its initial position opposing the war. Having joined the party looking for a revolutionary alternative, however, these workers wanted to organize opposition to the war. The SP's centrist and right-wing leaders resisted this course.

Then, as now, the fight against imperialist war was central to building a party of socialist workers.

The specific weight of working-class elements within the party was increasing. The non-working-class forces were bolting from the SP fearing the capitalist repression, which intensified as the U.S. government prepared to enter the war. Dobbs describes this repression of the workers movement and the pressures it put on vanguard layers of our class.

When Congress declared war in April 1917, the pacifist movement against the slaughter crumbled. Pacifist opposition to the war had not been in the framework of fighting to overthrow capitalism. Pacifists sought, instead, to force the capitalist class to negotiate a "just" peace that would leave capitalism intact.



Militant/Mohammed Oliver
Farrell Dobbs, leader of Minneapolis Teamsters during 1930s labor upsurge. Dobbs, active in revolutionary workers movement nearly 50 years, was a leader of Socialist Workers Party.

Meanwhile, the SP's right-wing leaders refused to implement the party's antiwar perspectives. At an emergency SP convention held shortly after the U.S. entry into the war, a resolution was adopted condemning the government's declaration of war and calling on the workers movement to oppose Washington's war efforts. The party leaders, however, never carried out this decision. They weren't disciplined by the party for this betrayal due to a major fault in the organization that was shared by all the other parties in the Second International except the Russian Bolsheviks. This weakness was that it was an all-inclusive party. It admitted anyone who professed belief in socialism without requiring acceptance of a revolutionary program and agreement to carry it out. Everyone could — and did — do their own thing. So, in practice there was no distinct SP policy on the war, despite what was voted up or down.

Consequently, the SP left wing stood alone in its active opposition to the war. But its stance was flawed as well. Dobbs explains, "Basic to the SP left wing's difficulties was a failure to start from a clear understanding that imperialism could be effectively opposed only within the framework of a revolutionary political course aimed at ousting the capitalists from power and establishing the political rule of the workers and their allies. The left-wingers had mistakenly assumed that militarism, not imperialism, was the key issue in the fight against war."

"This view had been given concrete expression through a call for opposition to the conscription of workers into the imperialist armed forces. The campaign to arouse massive resistance to the draft had failed, however. Conscription was imposed. But SP members of draft age usually did not submit to conscription and then continue — inside the armed forces — to express their socialist antiwar views. . . ."

"Following this course, neither the socialists nor the syndicalists [primarily in the IWW] could do more than register their opposition to the war in a manner akin to the moral stance taken by individual uncompromising pacifists."

The Russian revolution of October 1917 broke the

working-class vanguard in the United States and other countries out of the impasse it had reached. The Russian Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, had shown that, with communist direction, the fight against imperialist war could be turned into a revolutionary conquest of power by the toilers. The Russian revolution was a shining example and an inspiration to class-struggle militants around the world.

The Bolsheviks had been fighting for this revolutionary working-class strategy since the beginning of the imperialist bloodletting. Dobbs explains their fight to win working-class militants in the Second International to a revolutionary program in the chapter entitled "Communist Movement Launched." Here Dobbs also outlines the Bolshevik participation in the Zimmerwald, Switzerland, conference held in September 1915, which brought together centrist and left-wing opponents of the "socialist" patriotism of the Second International's leadership. For me, the lessons drawn in this chapter were the richest in the book.

The Bolsheviks' internationalist position on the war was held by a small minority in the Second International. Even those socialists who refused to vote in parliament for war appropriations didn't share Lenin's "revolutionary defeatist" stance. The Bolsheviks said the "lesser evil" in the war was the defeat of one's own imperialist government.

The centrist current, led by Karl Kautsky, long-time leader of the German Social Democratic Party, called for a "democratic" peace. It wanted things to return to the way they were before the war. Kautsky summed up his position in the slogan: "In wartime — the struggle for peace, in peacetime — the class struggle." The centrists opposed a break with the openly social patriotic majority in the international.

Lenin, in contrast, pointed out that, "A 'revolutionary struggle against war' is merely an empty and meaningless exclamation, something at which the heroes of the Second International excel, unless it means revolutionary action against one's own government even in wartime." To do otherwise, the Bolsheviks said, was to conciliate to "social-chauvinism." This was the label the left wing gave to the erroneous notion that socialists should fall in behind their imperialist government's war aims.

This question — and the related one of whether to break with the Second International and launch a new International — was hotly debated at the Zimmerwald conference.

The revolutionary working-class leadership of the Russian revolution fought for a break with the social chauvinists, by advancing a strategy for ending the imperialist war through a revolutionary class struggle, and by laying the foundation for a new International. While the majority of delegates at the Zimmerwald gathering were centrists, the Bolsheviks organized a left wing supported by a fifth of the delegates. The Zimmerwald Left introduced a resolution that clearly advocated defeatism and opposition to the social chauvinists. The resolution said that the aim of the Marxist vanguard is to chart a course for the working class leading to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the seizing of political power by the toilers to carry out the socialist reorganization of society.

"The beginning of this struggle," the document continues, "is the struggle against the World War and for an early ending of this human slaughter. This struggle demands a refusal to vote war credits, a withdrawal from cabinets, the exposure of the capitalist, antisocialist character of the war from the parliamentary tribune and in the columns of the legal, and, where necessary, the illegal press, the sharpest struggle against social patriotism, the utilization of every movement by the people, called forth by the war (want, great losses, etc.), the organization of antigovernment demonstrations, the propaganda of international solidarity in the trenches, concurrence with economic strikes and attempts to turn them into political strikes under favorable conditions."

"Civil war, not civil peace, between the classes. That is our slogan."

Toward a new International

Leon Trotsky, a Russian revolutionist, and supporters of Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of the left wing in the German Social Democratic Party, refused to support the Zimmerwald Left's resolution. They rejected the Bolshevik slogan of defeatism and the necessity of breaking with the centrists as well as the outright social chauvinists.

The actual resolution adopted at the Zimmerwald conference was one drafted by Trotsky. The Bolsheviks voted for this resolution, despite its limitations, because they saw it as a step forward in drawing together the internationalist forces in the Second International. Moreover, the revolutionary Marxist internationalism advanced by the Bolsheviks was codified in the draft reso-

lution of the Zimmerwald Left.

Following the conference, the Zimmerwald Left established an office and went on an international campaign to get its resolution translated into different languages and into the hands of working-class militants. In this way, increasing numbers of activists were won to the proletarian internationalist perspective, and a basis was laid for the construction of a new International.

The correctness of the Bolshevik strategy was clearly shown in October 1917 when the workers and peasants of Russia overturned the capitalist government and took political power into their hands. One of the government's first actions was to pull Russia out of the imperialist war.

The Russian revolution and increasing unrest with the war sparked social upheavals throughout central and eastern Europe. These struggles reached a peak in 1919. The conditions for building a new International were ripe, and the necessity for one, to organize and lead the insurgent toilers in Europe, was clear. The bloody defeat of the workers of Berlin, who rose up in insurrection in January 1919, sadly underscored the need to build Bolshevik-type parties.

Meanwhile, world imperialism was trying to head off revolutionary developments. The Democratic Party administration in the United States initiated the formation of the League of Nations to organize the division of the spoils among the imperialist victors of the war, and to build a capitalist alliance against the revolutionary proletariat. The league was pushed as an international alliance of "democracies" against the perspective of a federation of workers and farmers republics, which was advanced by the Bolsheviks.

Revolutionists and reformists responded differently to this imperialist move. The reformists and centrists of the Second International held a conference in Bern, Switzerland, in February 1919 where they hailed the League of Nations. The Bolsheviks, however, called an international congress of proletarian revolutionists in Moscow in March 1919 where they launched the new, Communist International.

Role of foreign-born workers

The left wing in the Socialist Party (SP) in the United States called for a break with the Second International and affiliation to the new communist movement. The right wing supported the Bern conference's campaign to reconstitute the Second International as a supporter of "democracy." The overwhelming majority of the party backed the left wing's position in a referendum held in the spring of 1919.

Once again, however, left-wing positions adopted by the party weren't implemented by its leadership, which was controlled by the right wing and centrists.

The left-wing victory in the referendum reflected changes in the SP's composition. As doctors, lawyers, preachers, and other petty-bourgeois elements fled the SP during the war, its working-class component gained greater weight. Many of these workers were foreign-born.

Dobbs' explanation of the *vanguard* role played by foreign-born workers in the birth of the communist movement is a new and refreshing one.

These workers, he explains, made up the bulk of the U.S. Marxist movement in its early years. They helped to initiate and lead the movement.

Many leaders of these groups were prone to political sectarianism, however, hampering their full participation in the young U.S. labor movement. In his correspondence with these U.S. Marxist leaders in the latter part of the 19th century, Engels urged them to jettison their ultra-left and doctrinaire views.

Most foreign-born workers joining the SP belonged to semiautonomous federations, organized according to nationality and language. The SP left wing's main strength lay in these language federations.

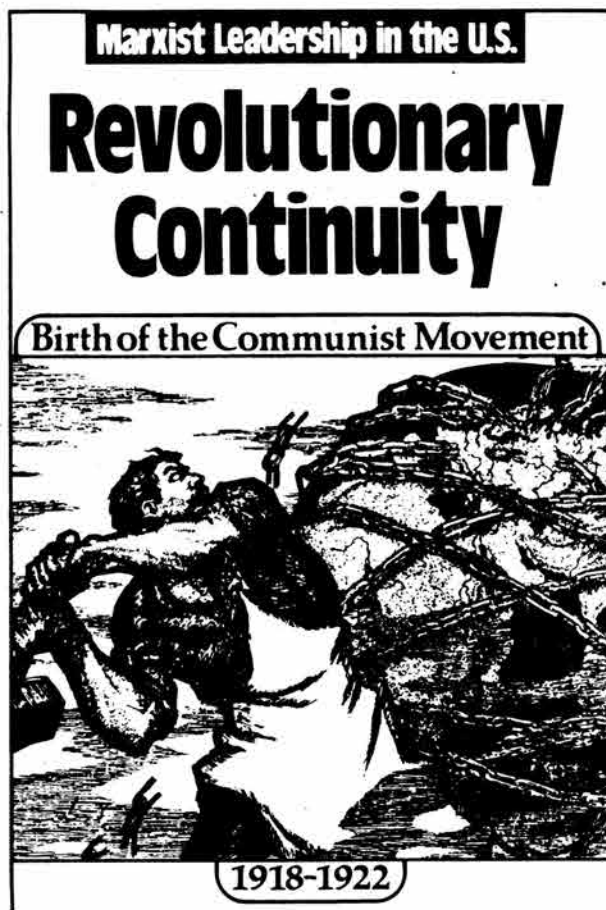
The sectarian views held by many of the language federation leaders were shared by native-born left-wingers. "Virtually all the left-wing socialists," Dobbs points out, "rejected identification with struggles around workers' immediate demands or democratic rights. Championing such demands was considered to be a concession to reformism."

Socialist Party split

As the first step toward implementing their line, the SP left wing rallied its forces to fight for majority rule in the party.

The right-wing and centrist leaders, however, used their command of the party apparatus to delay the holding of a convention. They used this breathing space to make organizational moves against the left wing and to whittle down its forces. When the SP's National Executive Committee finally called a convention, about 70,000 SP members — left-wingers or those who opposed the leadership's undemocratic measures against the left wing — had been stricken from the party's rolls. The convention, set for Aug. 30, 1919, was completely rigged.

The left wing was divided on how to take the next step in building a communist movement in the United States. Both factions agreed on the political necessity to break



with the class-collaborationist leadership of the SP to form a communist movement. But one bloc favored an immediate split from the SP, while the other grouping argued for fighting to remain in the SP.

By the end of the SP convention, the left wing had been prematurely separated from the party. The Socialist Party split. The majority of the ranks in the SP favored affiliation to the Communist International, but the left wing was no longer there to provide leadership for the fight against the right-wing and centrist party bureaucrats.

Instead, the left wing was outside the party. Moreover, it was politically hamstrung by its ultra-left sectarian stance, and organizationally divided between two parties: the Communist Party of America (CP), which had the majority of the language federations and a minority of the native-born communists, and the Communist Labor Party (CLP), which had the majority of the native-born and the minority of the foreign-born leftists.

One of the central leaders of the CP was Louis Fraina, who edited that party's organ, *The Communist*. A central leader of the CLP was John Reed, who was a well-known journalist and the editor of the CLP's newspaper the *Voice of Labor*.

Unfortunately, the course set by the founding congress of the new Communist International for building communist organizations was either unknown or misunderstood by these pioneering militants.

Founding of the Comintern

The First Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) analyzed the political situation in 1919 and said, "The world had entered a new epoch of capitalist disintegration and proletarian revolution," Dobbs explains. In this framework, the boss class was trying to block the rising proletarian revolution. The social-democratic reformists were supporting these efforts, such as the League of Nations. To deal with this problem, the congress adopted the stance that a clean break had to be made with the reformist Second International and the centrists, who wished to straddle the fence on this question.

But the Moscow congress wasn't doling out tactical advice or advocating precipitous splits. While politically necessary, such splits had to be organized to win the largest possible numbers to the communist movement. Organizational moves, therefore, had to be subordinated to clarifying political issues.

To aid revolutionists in this task, the Russian Communist Party, which led the Comintern, provided delegates with an analysis of the reformist and centrist positions on world politics — particularly their defense of "democracy in general" against the political rule of the working class, or, dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Bolshevik leaders explained the need to carry out communist activity in the labor movement in the framework of the march toward workers taking political power. They also explained the historic advance beyond capitalist parliamentary rule represented by the soviet form of government. In Russia, Soviets were councils made up of elected delegates from workers, peasants, and soldiers organizations.

The Comintern resolutions pointed out that the task of Marxists in the revolutionary upheavals in Europe was to extend the revolution by spreading the development of soviets in industry and the armed forces, as well as in the

countryside among the poor peasants. The revolutionary Marxists should fight to win the majority in the soviets away from reformist and centrist misleaders.

In addition to his explanation of the Zimmerwaldists, Dobbs' exposition of the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 and the events leading up to it are worthy of the closest study by revolutionists today. He describes the revolutions in Bavaria and Hungary in 1919, where soviet republics were established for a brief time. Both revolutions were undermined by the role of social-democratic and centrist misleaders. In Germany, the Social Democratic Party helped drown the Bavarian revolution in blood.

Unfortunately, the young communist parties in those countries made errors that were further obstacles to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Lenin and the other Bolshevik leaders took these lessons — the need to provide land to the poor peasants and avoid the opportunist error of dissolving revolutionary leadership into the social democratic parties — and made them central topics of discussion at the Comintern's second gathering.

Fighting 'Left-Communism'

At the heart of the ultra-left errors of the new communist parties was their sectarian disdain for all struggles around workers' immediate demands or democratic rights.

Lenin argued against these ultra-left notions in his pamphlet *Left-wing Communism — An Infantile Disorder*. The booklet was published just before the Second Comintern Congress and was distributed to the delegates.

The Bolsheviks sought to educate the members of the new communist movement about the need for a *transitional* approach to leading the revolutionary process unfolding in Europe.

One of the biggest debates was on the need to do communist work in the existing trade unions. Following the war masses of workers flocked to the trade unions trying to find a way to improve their conditions, which had been so badly beaten down during the imperialist slaughter. The Bolshevik leadership of the Comintern explained that a chief task of communists must be to work in this trade union movement, participate in the economic and other struggles for workers' immediate needs, and in that way convince the more backward layers of our class of the communist program.

Instead, some ultra-left communists in Europe, as well as both parties in the United States, fenced themselves off from the masses of working people. In the United States, for example, the large-scale strikes of 1919 and the moves toward formation of an independent labor party based on the unions were virtually ignored by both the CP and CLP.

National and colonial question

Another major question discussed at the Second Congress was the communist agrarian program. The theses on this question, drafted by Lenin, explained that to end our own exploitation, workers must wipe out all oppression. In particular, the rural toilers must be liberated from the chokehold of capitalist exploitation. In some countries one of the important tasks of the workers and farmers government following a revolution would be to distribute land to the peasants.

In addition, the congress pointed to the need to organize the rural proletariat into unions, and to organize soviets in the countryside, which would include above all semiproletarian and poor peasants.

Dobbs explains that the "importance of peasant soviets was also a key aspect of another major document adopted by the second Comintern congress: the 'Theses on the National and Colonial Question,' drafted by Lenin. . . .

"In the colonial countries, Lenin observed, the capitalist stage of social development could be bypassed, if (1) the proletariat was organized to take the lead in the national liberation struggle; (2) the Soviet government in Russia, and other Soviet governments as they came into existence, provided aid to the toilers of these countries before and after successful revolutions; and (3) the toilers were organized into soviets and the path charted by the Russian workers and peasants was put into practice."

A little later Dobbs says, "The central fact on which the theses on the national and colonial question was based, Lenin stressed, was 'the whole world being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces'. . . . The communists had to take the lead in combating race hatred and national chauvinism propagated by the imperialist oppressors. It was their duty to organize the broadest possible working-class solidarity with national liberation movements among the oppressed peoples."

The Comintern's second congress also adopted the "Theses on Conditions of Admission to the Communist International." This document was designed to help prevent the injection of opportunist policies into the communist movement. The 21 conditions spelled out in detail the basic tenets of communist activity in both the oppressed and oppressor nations. The guidance provided by

Continued on next page

The following exchange between *Guardian* staff writer Jonathan Bennett and the *Militant* is part of a continuing discussion between the two publications on the approach of the working-class movement toward owner-operators in the trucking industry.

We are publishing major excerpts of a letter from Bennett to the *Militant* dated September 16.

The *Guardian* is an independent radical news-weekly published in New York.

Bennett:

I was glad to see you repudiate in the September 16 issue one of the most egregious points in your position on the "independent" truckers job action last winter.

In your March 11, 1983, issue, you lambasted the *Guardian* for suggesting the job action was not very progressive. You wrote then: "The *Guardian* ... fell hook, line, and sinker for Reagan's argument. ... To see where the *Guardian* [went] wrong, we have to start with some facts. Seventy-five percent or more of the independent truckers own one vehicle, which they drive. They are workers — pure and simple — who are forced to provide expensive tools."

In the March 30 issue of the *Guardian*, I wrote: "The [Socialist Workers Party] SWP's zeal to describe the owners of \$50,000 tools as workers gives pause. Has the SWP decided that the dividing line between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie is the line between the self-employed and those who exploit others? If so, they have made an important but previously undisclosed contribution to a Marxist theory of classes and they should explain it."

You took a step in the right direction in your latest issue when you reexamined your characterization of the independents and decided "they are not actually members of" the working class.

All the study of Marx and Farrell Dobbs you want to do will not clear up your misapprehension of the objective results of a successful independent truckers job action, which would have been a tremendous victory for the trucking companies. Unity between proletarian and non-proletarian truckers won't be a good thing if it is unity behind the bosses' program, which is essentially what the independent truckers' program is.

Editors' reply:

Jonathan Bennett welcomes the *Militant*'s correction on the precise class characterization of independent truckers. Yet on the important political question of whether or not the working class should have supported

Debate continues on labor's approach to independent truckers

the independent truckers' protest earlier this year, a big gulf remains.

This issue merits further discussion, because questions of this sort are going to confront the workers movement time and time again. What answers are given can mean the difference between victory and defeat for labor.

Bennett still holds that if the independent truckers' action had been successful, it would have been a "tremendous victory" for the trucking companies. He says that the truckers were mobilized behind the "bosses' program, which is essentially what the independent truckers' program is."

What was at issue was not a "program," however, but a protest against a specific action taken by the capitalist government. Congress had raised taxes on fuel and road use. These tax hikes hit debt-ridden owner-operators particularly hard.

The trucking companies also opposed the new taxes. But this shouldn't be decisive for labor in determining what stand to take on the protests. Unlike owner-operators, the trucking companies are able to pass along the tax hike by raising rates and imposing wage cuts on truck drivers.

A similar example would be cuts in price supports for farmers that affected both capitalist and independent family farmers. Such an attack would hurt the worst-off small farmers the most and might generate protests. This wouldn't mean they have adopted the capitalist farmers' program.

Of course, the trucking companies tried to fool the exploited owner-operators into believing they had common interests with big business. Far from bolstering Bennett's arguments, however, this only underlined the importance for the labor movement to express solidarity with the truckers and to present proposals for united action.

If the *Guardian* had seriously acted on the basis of Bennett's assessment that a success for the truckers

would have been a "tremendous victory" for the big companies, it would have waged a campaign to defeat the truckers' action. But it didn't.

To the contrary, one of Bennett's early articles on the protest was ambiguously headlined, "Truckers' action isn't very progressive." This murky formulation implied that the action may have at least had *something* progressive about it.

The *Guardian*'s hesitancy to urge defeat for the truckers' action may reflect a glimmer of recognition that labor has a stake in forging an alliance with family farmers, independent truckers, and other similarly exploited toilers who are not wage workers.

But Bennett at least is far from clear on this. He asks, "Has the SWP decided that the dividing line between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie is the line between the self-employed and those who exploit others?"

No. Bennett's sarcasm aside, he misses a dividing line fundamental to working-class strategy — that between those who exploit wage labor and those who are exploited by the capitalist class.

There are hundreds of thousands of independent producers and owner-operators who hire no wage labor and who themselves provide the capitalists with unpaid labor time. They and wage workers have a common enemy and a common interest in fighting against it.

The communist movement historically has struggled to forge an alliance between the working class and other exploited layers. Karl Marx, for example, strenuously objected to a notion not unlike Bennett's put forward by some currents in the German workers movement in his time. These currents argued that relative to the working class, all other classes are only "one reactionary mass."

The Communist International at its third congress in 1921 adopted a resolution on tactics pointing out that "a section of the Western-European peasantry and a considerable part of the urban petty bourgeoisie and broad layers of the so-called middle class, of office workers, etc., are facing deteriorating standards of living and, under the pressure of rising prices, the housing problems and insecurity, are being shaken out of their political apathy and drawn into the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution. The bankruptcy of imperialism ... drives these middle layers either into the camp of open counterrevolution or into the camp of revolution. The Communist Party must always be concerned with these layers of the population."

Bennett and the *Guardian* however, are so preoccupied with the reactionary potential of the middle layers, that during the truckers' actions they missed an important opportunity to promote a perspective for the labor movement to weld all the exploited into a united fighting force.

Birth of the communist movement in the United States

Continued from preceding page

the Comintern's leadership was helping the new communist parties adopt a revolutionary strategy.

Following the Second Congress, the U.S. communists made efforts to apply its decisions in this country. The two main communist organizations fused to form a united Communist Party of America. At its January 1921 convention, this restructured CP — now with more experience and the benefit of discussions with Comintern leaders — adopted a less ultraleft party-building approach. They urged communists, for example, to work in the American Federation of Labor and rejected their previously held abstentionist line in the electoral arena.

Ebb in revolution

Between the second and third Comintern congresses the rising revolutionary tide in Europe ebbed. Dobbs explains the failed attempts at socialist revolution in Poland and Italy in 1920. These were major setbacks for the workers movement internationally.

In addition, a premature insurrectionary struggle for power in Germany, led by the CP in 1921, resulted in a bloody defeat for the working class and a big setback in party-building efforts in that country.

These events were further proof that the postwar workers upsurge in Europe was over. The third congress of the Comintern met in June 1921 against this backdrop. The Bolsheviks took the lead in helping the world communist movement understand the new situation. They had to explain the need to *shift* the movement's tactical course. "A head-on fight for political power," Dobbs observes, "was not on the immediate agenda anywhere in Europe, so the tactical guidelines set at the second Comintern congress [in 1920] were no longer correct. ... As matters stood in the first half of 1921, communist tactics had to focus on a steady and systematic effort to win the majority of the

working class to a revolutionary perspective."

Once again the Russian revolutionists had to combat the ultraleftism in some of the young Communist parties. The discussion at this third congress deepened the understanding of a transitional strategy in building the communist vanguard. The "Theses on Tactics" adopted by the congress is necessary study for communists today. Dobbs' explanation of the document is a valuable contribution to its study.

This third gathering of the Comintern also took up the organizational questions of building Communist parties. The resolutions adopted stressed the necessity of building parties that were proletarian in composition as well as program. The congress said emphasis should be placed on centering the parties in the main cities and in the major industries. The organizational document goes on to outline what characterizes disciplined communist activity — guidelines that still apply today.

At the same time as the third congress was held, the Communist Youth International (CYI) held its second congress. Here a major debate took place on the relation between the party and its youth organization. Some ultralefts felt that "youth groups were the real revolutionary vanguard of the workers' movement, the guarantor of last resort against the party's ossification, degeneration, and betrayal," says Dobbs.

Therefore, these forces argued, the communist youth must be politically independent of the party.

This line was defeated, and the CYI was built organizationally independent, but politically subordinate to the party. It carried out communist work among proletarian youth, and helped to win new recruits for the party.

A similar discussion ensued among delegates to the founding congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, or, Profintern, which was held in 1921 also. After lengthy discussion, the delegates decided that their

goal was to win trade unionists to the program of the Comintern. They rejected the proposals of the syndicalists, which would have set the organization off on an ultraleft course.

Up from underground

In the United States the CP was making gains in its work in the AFL. Following the Comintern's third congress, the CP became active in the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), led by William Z. Foster. This trade union leader attended the 1921 Profintern congress and afterwards joined the CP. TUEL was winning increasing numbers of workers in the AFL to a class-struggle program.

But the U.S. party's work was hindered by its clandestine organization. A new faction fight arose in the CP between those who favored doing open communist work and others who felt the CP should remain underground.

In addition to the lessons being taught by the Comintern leaders about the need for public functioning for the Communist parties, the witch-hunt hysteria of 1917-20 had tapered off. There were more opportunities to carry out public work.

These openings were being explored by the CP, but the major shift in the party's work would come later. The Comintern leadership would play a major role in this change.

The young CP faced major challenges in building a Marxist leadership in the United States. It was still burdened by some ultraleft baggage, and had yet to absorb the revolutionary program and strategy of Lenin. But during its first four years, the young U.S. movement had already learned invaluable lessons that became part of the permanent political continuity of the revolutionary workers movement in the United States.

Chicago teachers win raise, end three-week strike

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

CHICAGO — Members of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) on October 24 voted in a ratio of 73 to 27 to accept a new contract with the school board. The other 18 unions on strike against the board since October 3 also agreed to settle.

The 27,500 CTU members are to get a one-year contract with a 5 percent pay raise from January, which works out to a 3 percent raise for the year. They are also to be paid for the full school year, which is to be extended nine days because of the strike.

The teachers also are to get a one-time 2.5 percent bonus. Their pension plan was unchanged. The union did agree to a joint screening board to examine health claims and to slower salary payments by half the teachers so the city could invest more funds to earn interest.

Federal funds for desegregation are not to be used to finance the settlement.

Many teachers felt they had beaten back the worst of the board's concession demands, but were apprehensive that the board would try again next year.

The strike had shut the city's 596 schools.

The CTU was joined by the Coalition of School Employees Unions, which represents 11,000 tradesmen, maintenance, and lunchroom workers from 18 unions. It was the first time that such unity between teachers and other school employees had been achieved in a strike.

The strike began over wages. The board originally offered a 0.5 percent wage increase. It then raised that to 2 percent, but coupled this measly offer to a demand to

lay off 450 teachers and increase classroom size.

In the last contract negotiations two years ago, the CTU gave up wage increases for a promise it would get them this time around. The teachers refused to accept any wage increase tied to layoffs or bigger classroom size.

The board's offer of 0.5 percent was clearly a move to provoke a strike.

Working people in Chicago have felt the brunt of the government-big business assault on living standards and working conditions. The city's unemployment rate is at 13 percent with hundreds of thousands of workers laid off from steel mills, rail yards, and farm-equipment plants. The situation is worst for Blacks and Latinos.

This dismal situation, coupled with racist and antilabor city administrations, led to the election victory April 12 of Harold Washington, a Democrat who upset his party's machine to become the first Black mayor in Chicago's history.

Washington rode the crest of a massive mobilization of Blacks, Latinos, and other workers. He was elected, with endorsement from top AFL-CIO officials, in spite of an ultraright, racist campaign led by the Chicago police, his Republican opponent, and part of the Democratic Party machine.

The defeat of this campaign dealt an important blow to the racists. It was an advance in the fight for the right of Black political representation. It also strengthened the ties between the labor movement and the Black and Latino communities.

Since the election, Washington has replaced some of the more virulent racists in



Chicago school unions and supporters at rally supporting strike against concessions.

city government with his own appointees, many of whom are Black.

But Washington did not support the teachers' strike, despite the fact that 55 percent of the CTA's members are Black. The mayor declared his "neutrality," holding that the strike had to be settled by the board and its employees. He also said the city is broke and would not provide additional funds to resolve the strike.

Pointing to the city's budget deficit, Washington recently announced that it would not be enough to reduce the city's work force solely by attrition, as he had previously said. Rather there will have to be substantial layoffs and a number of increased taxes and fees.

The city recently laid off 734 workers, bringing the total to more than 3,000.

On September 27 Renault Robinson, a Washington appointee, fired 259 union craft workers from the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) and, he said, plans to replace them with nonunion workers who will be paid less than union scale. By December 1 he plans to fire 700 CHA janitors, 75 percent of whom are Black.

Earlier, Washington's administration refused to abide by the prevailing wage system, under which the government must pay the same scale as private employers. The mayor also refused to pay back wages owed these workers worth \$7.5 million.

Chicago workers already pay through the nose in property taxes, public utility taxes, city sales tax, water tax, and much more.

Much of this goes for debt service to banks. That figure is now 10.1 percent of the budget and has increased 130 percent since 1979. As much as 25 percent is estimated to go toward bloated salaries of deputy mayors, hidden slush funds, and other waste.

The owners of the giant corporations, such as U.S. Steel, meanwhile demand millions in tax breaks and lowered pollution standards. They threaten to lay off still more workers.

Five months after the Washington administration took office, despite the appointment of Black officials to key positions in city government, the situation facing working people in Chicago has worsened.

This fuels the continuing discussion that permeated the Washington campaign — how working people can defend themselves against the government-employer offensive against them.

The teachers' strike has very much been a part of this discussion. Some Black groups that support Washington opposed the strike, including Operation PUSH, which tried, without notable success, to organize parents against it. PUSH also tried to sue both the CTU and the school board to end the strike.

Many Black parents, however, supported the teachers. This was expressed in, among other things, letters sent to the Black press here.

Massive Vancouver march protests budget cuts

BY DAVID MCDONALD

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Seventy thousand marchers, mostly trade unionists, took to the streets here October 15 to protest big budget cuts proposed by the government of Canada's west coast province.

The march was endorsed by more than 75 unions and dozens of other organizations representing women, professors and students, retirees, East Indian and other minorities, gays, and several units of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party. Even "Businessmen Against the Budget" were represented.

The march was called by the Solidarity Coalition, a coalition of most of the province's unions and hundreds of other organizations united against the attacks mounted by British Columbia's governing party, the Social Credit Party (Socreds). The coalition distributed the first edition of its new weekly newspaper, *Solidarity Times*, at the demonstration.

The march took protesters past the Vancouver Hotel, where the Socreds were holding their convention. There, scores of union contingents, including the British Columbian Government Employees Union, the International Woodworkers of America, the B.C. Federation of Teachers, Teamsters, building trades unions, fire fighters, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and others stopped briefly to shout their demands in front of the convention.

The Social Credit government has begun to implement the deepest budget cuts in the province's history. The new budget will eliminate 12,000 government jobs by 1984, freeze wages for an indefinite period, abolish the Human Rights Commission, abolish rent controls, allow extra billing by doctors (most health care is free in Canada), reduce student aid by 25 percent, allow the cabinet to set course content for colleges, and reduce almost every existing social service the provincial government now supplies.

The struggle is currently focused around

1,600 B.C. Government Employees Union (BCGEU) members scheduled to get the ax on October 31 when their current contract expires.

BCGEU Pres. Norm Richards has vowed a province-wide strike by the union if even one of the 1,600 is fired. Organizing for a general strike has begun, with over 40 strike vote meetings scheduled.

Art Kube, president of both the B.C. Federation of Labor and the Solidarity Coalition, has promised full support to the BCGEU in its fight. Kube said on September 30 that there is a "great likelihood of a general strike" if the Socreds proceed with their plan.

To date, the Social Credit government has given no hint of backing down. When NDP members of British Columbia's parliament tried to stop passage of a cutback bill last week they were repeatedly ruled out of order, and the legislation was rammed through. When the NDP leader protested, he was bodily thrown out.

For many, the October 15 demonstration was their first. One Teamster in his 50s told the *Militant* he hoped demonstrations like this would force the Socreds out of office. He said B.C. workers can't wait four years to vote the Socred out. Socred legislation, he said, not only allows employers to fire workers at will, but it will allow the cabinet to order an end to any strike that involves "immediate and substantial threat to the economy or the welfare of the province or its citizens."

Art Kube pointed out that the next step is to seek solidarity from labor across Canada.

Frank Miller, trade minister in Ontario's Conservative government, underlined the stakes for all Canadian workers from the big-business side. "If [B.C. Prime Minister] Bennett succeeds, I think every government will end up doing the same thing, in its own way. If he fails, the cause of government restraint will have been set back for a decade. Either way, there's an awful lot riding on what happens out there."

Socialists in Nov. '83 elections

In 1983 the Socialist Workers Party fielded candidates in many elections across the country. Some of these elections have already taken place. Listed below are candidates in the November 8 and 15 elections who are supported by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

The politicians of the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, place many obstacles before working-class candidates. Many states and city governments have prevented socialist candidates from being listed on the ballot. Write-in candidates are indicated by an asterisk (*).

In some cases, candidates cannot be listed by party affiliation.

For more information about how to vote socialist or about campaign activities, contact the nearest SWP or YSA office. They are listed on page 20.

CALIFORNIA

Pat Wright — Mayor, San Francisco
Siobhan Dugan — San Jose Unified School District Board
Rick Trujillo — San Jose Unified School District Board

FLORIDA

Jackie Floyd — Mayor, Miami

INDIANA

Marie Head — Mayor, Gary
Bill Warrick — Mayor, Indianapolis
Margaret Thomas — City-County Council (Indianapolis)
Kevin Dwire — City-County Council (Indianapolis)
Roger Jones — City-County Council (Indianapolis)

KENTUCKY

Arlene Rubinstein* — Governor

MARYLAND

Joey Rothenberg* — Mayor, Baltimore
Claudia Roberson* — Baltimore City Council president

MASSACHUSETTS

Eloise Linger* — Mayor, Boston (November 15)

MINNESOTA

Lisa Ahlberg — Minneapolis City Council, 8th ward
Pat Vornig — Mayor, Virginia

OHIO

Kathleen Denny — Cincinnati City Council
Mark Rahn — Cincinnati Board of Education
Omari Musa* — Cleveland Board of Education
Tamar Rosenfeld* — Cleveland Board of Education
Janet Post* — Mayor, Toledo

PENNSYLVANIA

Doug Cooper — Harrisburg City Council
Bill Osteen — Mayor, Philadelphia
Katy Karlin — Philadelphia City Council
Kipp Dawson — Pittsburgh City Council
Ginny Hildebrand — Pittsburgh City Council
Al Luft — Pittsburgh City Council
Al Duncan — Allegheny County Commissioner
Kathy Mickells — Washington County Commissioner

UTAH

Jeff Pike — Price City Council
Bob Hoyle* — Mayor, Salt Lake City

WASHINGTON

Dean Peoples* — U.S. Senate



Vanessa Redgrave: actress' recruits are core of Los Angeles disruption suit against socialists.

How a few L.A. lawyers were recruited to anti-SWP lawsuit

Slanders against Cuba played a role

BY LARRY SEIGLE

LOS ANGELES — Sometime in the mid-1970s, a number of Los Angeles lawyers associated with liberal and radical groups began to get a series of unusual phone calls. The voice on the phone was that of a famous movie actress, inviting them personally to meet with her and some of her friends.

Those who accepted the invitation — and evidently quite a few did — were given the time and location of a private political meeting with the actress, Vanessa Redgrave.

The evenings consisted of a talk by Redgrave, followed by more intimate conversations with those who responded positively to what she had to say. In her speeches, Redgrave presented the line of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), of which she is a member. The United States branch of the WRP goes under the name "Workers League" (WL). These events were never publicized, even by word of mouth, within the radical movement. Rather, they were exclusive, by-invitation-only soirees. Those attending were primarily lawyers, perhaps some law students, other professionals, and a few Hollywood personalities.

One Los Angeles attorney who attended such an evening with Redgrave recalled that her entire speech consisted of an attack on the Cuban revolution, particularly on Fidel Castro. (The WRP-WL insists that there was never a socialist revolution in Cuba, and that Castro is a tyrant, just like Batista. This, they assert, is the genuine Trotskyist view.)

This attorney, who is a staunch supporter of the Cuban revolution and its policies, was repelled by Redgrave's sectarian line. Others, presumably, found the evenings an interesting diversion.

A few, however, were attracted by Redgrave's performance. Whether drawn to the WRP-WL line denouncing the "lack of democracy" in Cuba, or excited by the prospect of association with Hollywood figures, or some combination of the two, they came back for more.

Out of this series of Redgrave performances, the WRP-WL recruited a small circle of lawyers in Los Angeles. These converts have been an essential element in the campaign of slander and disruption carried out by the WRP-WL against the Socialist Workers Party.

Anti-SWP lawsuit

For more than four years, that international campaign has centered on a lawsuit against the SWP. The suit has been organized and financed by the WRP-WL, using as its base of operations the coterie of lawyers recruited out of Redgrave's private sessions.

The suit was filed in July 1979 by one of this group, Alan Gelfand, a lawyer for Los Angeles County, who had entered the SWP to disrupt it from within. Gelfand was expelled from the SWP in January 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP is a front for the FBI. Circulating this slander against the SWP and similar charges against other revolutionaries internationally has been the major activity of the WRP-WL for nearly a decade.

When he was expelled, Gelfand opened the next prearranged stage of the disruption operation. He filed suit against the SWP, asking a federal judge to remove the party's elected leadership and reinstate him

to membership on the grounds that he had been expelled by government agents who had taken over the SWP. United States District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer rejected every effort by the SWP to have the case thrown out of court. Pfaelzer said Gelfand was entitled to his "day in court."

Yet when the case finally came to trial last spring, Pfaelzer was forced to admit that Gelfand had never had any evidence and that the entire lawsuit had been "outrageous."

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

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

Political counteroffensive

Following this verdict, the SWP aided by the Political Rights Defense Fund and other defenders of the First Amendment went on a counteroffensive to defend the rights of the SWP to be free from this kind of disruption lawsuit and to help deter similar suits against other working-class organizations. The focus of this fight has been a campaign to force Pfaelzer to order the attorneys in the case to repay the SWP its expenses and legal fees incurred in the fight.

As the battle to hold the lawyers accountable has unfolded, the spotlight has turned onto the role of the small group of WRP-WL lawyers in Los Angeles and on the connection between this group of WRP-WL converts and other lawyers who have fronted for them, not out of political commitment but because they were well-paid to do so.

An important part of the anatomy of this disruption suit is therefore fit into place.

The evenings with Vanessa Redgrave, previously unknown to us, help explain a fact that has troubled many. Where did Gelfand and the other WRP-WL lawyers involved in this case come from? How did the Workers League, which has only the most shadowy (though very-well-financed) existence, go about recruiting a pack of lawyers as members in Los Angeles?

No less than four Los Angeles lawyers whose political loyalty to the WRP-WL is beyond dispute have now made an appearance in this anti-SWP lawsuit. And it is not over yet.

WRP-WL lawyer No. 1, of course, is Gelfand himself. No. 2 is John Burton, who is employed by Fisher & Moest. Burton conducted virtually all the pretrial depositions, and was the chief trial lawyer for Gelfand.

It is now a matter of record that Burton joined Fisher & Moest right after they agreed to take the anti-SWP case and was immediately placed in charge of the operation. By all appearances Burton's job was part of the deal between the WRP-WL and Fisher & Moest. The WRP-WL wanted their own man in the firm to conduct the legal side of the disruption operation.

Burton used the case not only to harass and financially drain the SWP, but to produce an "official court record" to be selectively published at a future date. At one deposition, supposedly conducted to gather evidence, Burton asked SWP defendant Bruce Marcus the following questions:

"Q. Are they [the WRP-WL] working-class oriented?"

"Q. Does the *Militant* print in color like the *Bulletin* does?" (The *Bulletin* is published twice a week, and in color, by the Workers League, which appears to have unlimited funds.)

"Q. Isn't it a fact that the Workers League is advancing much more quickly as a working-class party than is the Socialist Workers Party?"

Two more WRP-WL lawyers

WRP-WL lawyers Nos. 3 and 4 are Donald Norris and Charles Rosenberg. They formally entered their appearance after the March 1983 trial, when the SWP filed for attorney's fees against Fisher & Moest. At that point Fisher & Moest declared that they might have a conflict of interest with Gelfand and therefore could not continue to represent him. Norris and Rosenberg replaced them.

Despite the outcome of the trial, Norris and Rosenberg submitted legal briefs arguing that no fees should be paid to the SWP because Gelfand actually had proved his case, even though the judge did not recognize it. At an October 24 hearing on the attorney's fees issue, Rosenberg argued with Pfaelzer over the quality of Gelfand's "evidence."

Pfaelzer again said that the lawsuit was "outrageous." "There is no question," said Pfaelzer, "that he [Gelfand] was carrying out a campaign of slander."

Yet Rosenberg baldly insisted, "I believe what Gelfand showed at trial was that he was telling the truth."

Rosenberg further argued that the judge could not order Gelfand to pay the SWP's expenses because that would violate his "right to a jury trial," and that, in any case, Gelfand should not have to pay the SWP because he is "merely a salaried public servant" with no money.

Although neither Gelfand, Burton, Norris, or Rosenberg has ever publicly proclaimed their adherence to the WRP-WL, no one who has listened to them for more than five minutes can doubt where their political loyalties lie.

Lawyers on the make

Fisher and Moest, however, are a different kettle of fish. They are lawyers on the make. They have carved out a very specialized, very lucrative, law practice.

In an affidavit opposing the SWP's motion for attorney's fees, Barry Fisher asserted that his firm's "principal specialty is in First Amendment and civil rights litigation. . . ." The "First Amendment and civil rights" cases cited by Fisher to back up this claim turn out to be, virtually without exception, cases involving the Hare Krishna religious sect and the Unification Church of Reverend Moon, a right-wing political outfit.

These cases are all well-paying. Fisher and Moest have offices in the plush Century City complex where the hourly parking fees alone would be enough to bankrupt most working people.

It is precisely the false image of "First Amendment" lawyers that the ultra-right Unification Church finds so valuable and is

willing to pay a premium for. The Moon church's vast holdings could underwrite almost any law firm they wanted, but they pay Fisher & Moest, and a few similar firms around the country, to go to court for the church and its business operations. Fisher and Moest's value to them is not their legal skills, but their carefully cultivated political image.

This image is also what makes Fisher & Moest the ideal firm for the WRP-WL slander suit against the SWP. Lawyers who fraudulently advertise themselves as "civil rights" attorneys and will do anything for a buck were essential to the WRP-WL operation. What better choice than the best-known "Moonie" law firm in Los Angeles?

A parallel political phenomenon is involved in the recent decisions by the American Civil Liberties Union to provide "First Amendment" legal aid to the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis. Both the KKK and the Nazis have plenty of funds available to hire lawyers, but they find the free services of the ACLU invaluable in lending a cloak of legitimacy to their racist and anti-working-class terror campaigns. They don't need lawyers, they need political cover.

In fact, Fisher and Moest pride themselves on being cooperating attorneys for the ACLU of Southern California.

Fisher recently appeared as co-counsel with Fred Okrand, the legal director of the ACLU of Southern California, in a suit defending the "First Amendment" rights of a commercial theater to show X-rated movies despite a zoning ordinance barring it.

Role of ACLU

Unfortunately, ACLU here has not displayed the same zeal in defending the rights of socialists as it has shown for the interests of movie theater operators. Despite formal requests from the SWP, the ACLU of Southern California has yet to take a position in defense of the First Amendment rights of the SWP and similar organizations to be free from the kind of disruption lawsuits brought by Fisher & Moest.

In fact, a truly scandalous move was only narrowly averted last month when it became known that ACLU legal director Fred Okrand was on the verge of filing a friend-of-the court brief defending Fisher

Continued on next page

PRDF Political Rights Defense Fund

Help put an end to lawsuits aimed at disrupting and harassing organizations of the working class and its allies; support the effort to make the law firm of Fisher and Moest financially liable for representing Alan Gelfand, who tried to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party in court, while knowing he had no case whatever.

Send tax-deductible contributions and messages of support to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Support for fight against disruption lawsuit

The following messages were read at an October 23 rally in Los Angeles sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. The rally, attended by 75 people, was held in support of the Socialist Workers Party fight seeking payment from the Fisher & Moest law firm and Alan Gelfand, who filed a disruption suit against the SWP.

Speakers at the rally included Jesus González, Salvadoran longshoreman and representative of the Salvadoran trade union federation FENASTRAS, and William Smith, member of the American Civil Liberties Union and Lawyers Guild and attorney for draft resister David Wayte.

Organizations are listed for identification only.

Gus Newport
Mayor-Berkeley, California

Any progressive activist knows that making social change under the current two-party system is extremely difficult. It is only through the utmost in effort and persistence that any forward progress is achieved.

Despite the bankruptcy of President Reagan's policies, the Democrats have yet to offer meaningful alternatives or compelling vision to the nation.

These realities make it all the more unacceptable that government agents should attempt to influence, much less infiltrate and disrupt, independent political organizations.

I strongly support the position of the Socialist Workers Party to win attorney's fees from the perpetrators of this unjust disruption and urge those of you here tonight to assist in winning this precedent. This type of interference with political freedom must not be tolerated.

Rev. Fred D. Taylor
former officer, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

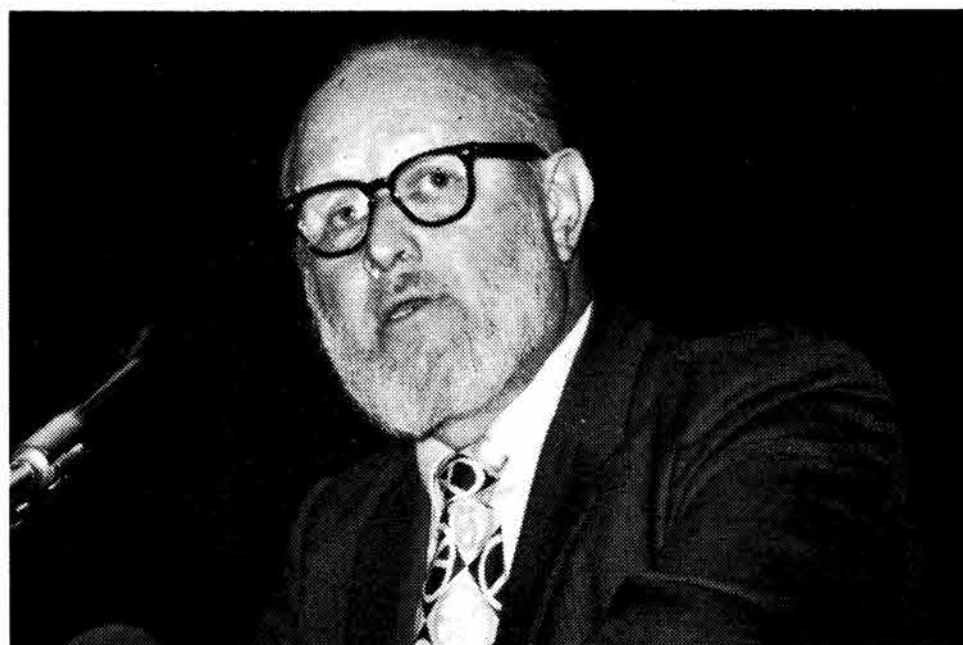
I am in support of litigation which seeks to mandate payment of attorney's fees by Gelfand and the Fisher & Moest law firm.

I feel that the intent of the suit which they engaged in was an attempt to suppress freedom of expression and one's right to choose between political persuasions.

We must stop this kind of activity in America soon.

Victor Reuther
retired director, United Auto Workers International Affairs Department

One of the earliest lessons that the labor movement in this country learned was that



Victor Reuther: "You have to be able to organize without interference by bosses, government, or courts . . . otherwise you couldn't organize a union or political party."

you have to be able to organize without interference by the bosses, the government, or the courts.

I gave my support to the SWP in the Gelfand case because the party was fighting in the courts to preserve this fundamental principle, without which you just couldn't organize a trade union, a political party, a

civil rights organization, or any other progressive organization.

And I support the SWP's demand that the law firm and plaintiff that spearheaded this attack pay expenses and attorney's fees because it is clear that the goal of Gelfand and his attorneys from the beginning was to interfere with this democratic right.

Angry about Grenada? Aid fund drive

BY HARRY RING

Rarely has there been a torrent of lies to match what Washington and the media have been pouring out to justify the criminal invasion of Grenada.

In the forefront of those fighting to combat the campaign of disinformation have been the members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In many ways it is a David and Goliath contest.

But the fact is that an organized movement that understands what's really happening, and has the will to say it, can have an impact.

It was SWP and YSA members and supporters who were primarily responsible for the impressive sale last week of over 8,000 copies of the *Militant*.

In addition, they're making the special Grenada issues of *Perspectiva Mundial* available to the maximum number of people possible.

By the time you read this, they'll be circulating the pamphlet of Maurice Bishop speeches and related material produced by Pathfinder Press in literally a matter of days.

In a systematic, organized way, socialist workers are discussing the meaning of the Grenada invasion with their coworkers.

In sum, at this moment of crisis, the SWP is demonstrating in action why socialists need a party and how much even a small party can accomplish.

And, if we may add, it underlines the special urgency that now lends itself to the Socialist Workers Party 1983 Party Building Fund.

The fund is aimed at raising \$125,000 by December 1 to supplement the regular contributions of members and supporters to support the organization's varied, and financially costly, activities.

We reported last week that modest progress had been made in overcoming the slow start of the drive. We expressed confidence that with the political and financial challenge posed by the Grenada events, there would be an accelerated response to the drive.

Well, there has been.

A number of members and supporters who had not yet made pledges did so this past week. An encouraging number of individuals increased their pledges.

A half dozen Texas auto worker hirees who just completed their probation increased their pledges by amounts ranging between \$100 and \$200.

One Rocky Mountain fund participant, with an already generous pledge, decided

James Lafferty
founder and former chairman, Oakland County, Michigan, American Civil Liberties Union

A law firm and its client, who knowingly bring a suit for the sole purpose of harassing a political group and chilling its exercise of rights protected by the First Amendment, ought to be held fully accountable for their gross abuse of the legal system.

I supported the Socialist Workers Party when it was defending itself against Mr. Gelfand's suit because it was clear to me that the suit was brought for political harassment, and threatened to undermine the fundamental principle that no court has the right to dictate to a political party who its members or leaders will be, or what ideas and program it will follow.

This principle, in fact, is so fundamental to our legal and constitutional system that any lawyer must be assumed to have known it before bringing a suit such as the one brought against the SWP by Gelfand and his attorneys. For this reason, I think that it is appropriate for the court to order these attorneys and their client to pay back the enormous costs and legal fees that the SWP has had to expend in defense of their democratic rights. Such a ruling is necessary, in fact, to discourage the bringing of such political harassment suits in the future.

Party Building FUND	GOAL
	\$125,000
	WHERE WE SHOULD BE
	\$87,500
	WHERE WE ARE
	\$52,188

to aid the anti-invasion campaign by adding \$200 to the pledge.

Two people who had been planning to go on a tour to Grenada made an additional pledge of the amount put aside for their deposit.

A New England farmer who has been a pillar of support with a monthly contribution of \$300 was so outraged by the aggression that he sent an additional \$1,000.

Now the rest of us must be heard from. That means making a pledge if we haven't yet done so. Catching up on our payments if we're behind schedule. And, in each case where it's at all possible, to increase the amount we're contributing.

For readers of the *Militant*, there's the coupon on this page. If you're boiling mad about the monstrous crime against Grenada and want to give that anger meaningful expression send in a contribution today.

I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____ to the Socialist Workers Party 1983 Party Building Fund.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks or money orders payable to Party Building Fund. Send to SWP, 14 Charles La., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Lawyers in anti-SWP suit

Continued from preceding page

& Moest against the SWP's motion for attorney's fees. This decision had been made without the knowledge of others in the organization. Fortunately, timely protests by many in the ACLU prevented Okrand from taking this step.

The efforts to draw the ACLU into the case on the side of Fisher & Moest are part of a broader drive to rally support for the role played by lawyers in the fraudulent lawsuit against the SWP. While they failed with the ACLU, Fisher & Moest did succeed in obtaining friend-of-the-court briefs from the California Attorneys for Criminal Justice and a group calling itself the First Amendment Lawyers Association, which is made up primarily of attorneys who defend pornographers.

In addition, they hired Michael Tigar, an ex-radical lawyer, as an "expert" to testify that Fisher & Moest did nothing improper in its malicious lawsuit against the SWP.

With such statements of support, obtained by persuasion or purchase, Fisher & Moest are trying to justify their venal part in this operation that was begun with Vanessa Redgrave's private meetings in Los Angeles.

But a growing number of defenders of First Amendment rights, including many attorneys, don't buy the idea that lawyers should be allowed to use their profession to further such disruption operations. Many

are beginning to speak out clearly against the reactionary role carried out by Fisher & Moest, as the statements on these pages reflect.

It is now to be hoped that the genuine advocates of defending democratic rights within the ACLU and other organizations set up to defend civil liberties will prevail, and they will add their voices to the support campaign.

South African students to tour U.S.

NEW YORK — Two youth leaders from the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) will tour the United States for a month to help win support for the struggle against white minority rule in South Africa and Namibia.

The tour is being organized by the American Committee On Africa (ACOA), which held a national student anti-apartheid conference in New York October 7-9. Three hundred students from 20 states and Canada attended.

The tour will take Klaus Mophepha, ANC, and Selma Ashipala, SWAPO, to all regions of the country. Both speakers have been active in southern Africa leading the new generation involved in the struggle against white minority rule in their countries.

Mophepha, 28, was a leader of the South

African Students Organization, which was prominent in the 1976 Soweto rebellion. After being forced into exile, he played an active role in coordinating ANC activities in South Africa from Mozambique until 1982. Then he joined the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, where he now serves on the secretariat of the ANC Youth Section in charge of culture and education.

Ashipala, 23, fled her homeland, Namibia, in 1978 where she was persecuted for her political activities. In exile in southern Angola she survived the Kassinga massacre in which South African troops killed hundreds of Namibian refugees. She is now active in the SWAPO Youth League.

More information on the tours can be obtained from the ACOA, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038; (212) 962-1210.

Social riddle — The pope says "one of the most frightening of all the evils which afflict the world today" is the growing loss of a



Harry Ring

sense of sin. Which is especially puzzling when you consider the many public examples of moral rectitude people have. Like for instance, our pious president.

Staple diet — Ground beef from Rudolph Stanko's meat processing plants in Colorado and Nebraska was impounded by federal inspectors after they found metal staples in the meat. Stanko provides 25 percent of the beef for the nation's school lunch programs. He became prominent after a TV program spotlighted the filthy, rat-infested conditions of his plants. Earlier he was convicted for this in Nebraska, fined, and permitted to keep operating.

Tip to authorities — The Justice Department says there may be nearly three dozen people on the loose who repeatedly commit murder and many "look as normal as

the person next door." We'd suggest they check the White House, Capitol Hill, the Pentagon, and CIA.

No frozen image — Campbell's, the soup folk, have entered the frozen dinner market with Le Menu, an assertedly gourmet line. Instead of the proletarian approach of the commercials for the old TV dinners, these will feature such things as a pitch filmed aboard a yacht. "We're trying to tie the dinner in with a life style," an ad person explained. The prices too — \$2.75 to \$3.50 a single portion.

Our just society — Those families of four officially class-

ified as impoverished paid 9.6 percent of their income in federal taxes last year. Five years ago, it was 4 percent. In 1984, it will be 10.1 percent.

Do they take people? — The American Pet Motel in Prairie View, Ill., offers dogs a private room with brass bed, a drinking fountain that refills automatically, continuous stereo music, and a Snoopy phone on which their owners can call them.

Filet de fido — Not to be outdone by Prairie View, Boston will soon boast a gourmet restaurant for canines. Individual and group reservations accepted. The menu will feature such items as *boeuf*

bourignon and chicken *cordon bleu*. The tab? Up to \$50 per meal.

Quality education — Apparently finding its tax-dollar budget insufficient, the Army War College employs a fund-raiser to hustle extra bread. The added money, we're advised, is for "curriculum enrichment."

The Bible next? — Among the books iced by right-wingers was Doris Day's autobiography. It was barred from Anniston, Ala., high school libraries because of its "shocking" contents, particularly "in light of Miss Day's all-American image." Later it was reinstated on a restricted basis. For the snooovers?

Cuban leaders defend, aid Grenada

Continued from Page 5

informed by the Cuban government of what was happening inside Grenada and of the Cuban leadership's decisions. These mobilizations were possible because the Cuban revolution rests on telling the truth to the working people, educating them, and relying on their consciousness and power.

The Cuban workers are the most class-conscious section of the world working class, its vanguard. Cuban workers know what their revolution has achieved, and they know their own role in achieving it.

The eradication of racism. The leaps forward in health care and education. The giant strides toward full equality and improved conditions for women. The aid and example Cuba provides for other countries. It is this understanding of what the Cuban working people have accomplished that leads them to want to defend those gains and help working people around the world achieve them.

Consciousness of Cuban workers

Fidel Castro described this consciousness among Cuban workers in the July 26, 1980, speech cited earlier:

"When I ask myself what is a communist, I think of a doctor in Bluefields [Nicaragua], a woman who is both wife and mother, capable of leaving her family to save lives thousands of miles from home. I think of a teacher in a remote area of the world; I think of a Cuban fighter ready to die in another country to defend a just cause thousands of miles from home. And I say to myself, these are communist men and women. . . .

"I think of the hundreds of thousands of devoted compatriots — manual and intellectual workers — who dedicate their lives to their work and duty, and thanks to whom there is a homeland and a revolution. Not

only does our party have hundreds of thousands of members, but in the heart of our people there are millions of communists."

Millions of Cuban workers look to the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party because it has earned their confidence through work, discipline, and struggle. But the Cuban CP is not only leading the population of Cuba in responding to events in Grenada. It has also sought to demonstrate the correct revolutionary response to fighters around the world.

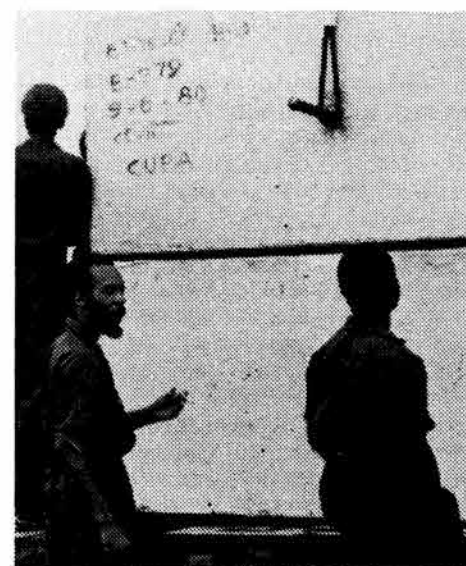
Among these are the Grenadian revolutionists themselves. As more facts have come to light, it appears that the leadership team assembled by Maurice Bishop and other central leaders of the New Jewel Movement has not been completely destroyed.

The Cuban leadership is striving to do

whatever possible to organize an orderly retreat in the face of the imperialist assault. At the same time, they see this as part of continuing the effort to construct an international working class leadership in the wake of the defeat in Grenada.

Many are already learning from these events. Many are developing a new appreciation of the strength and power of the Cuban revolution and the capacities of the Cuban leadership. This is true not only among those who already consider themselves Marxist revolutionists, but also others who do not, but who genuinely seek to fight against imperialism and social injustice.

For millions of such people, Washington's lies and slanders cannot obscure the beacon that revolutionary Cuba represents in the world class struggle today.



Grenadians unloading concrete blocks from Cuba for airport construction. Before U.S. invasion Cuban aid was helping Grenada's development.

Jackson campaign: its meaning for Blacks

Continued from Page 7

who have been telling the truth about it and participating in struggles against its evils.

Break with capitalist parties

This is quite different from Marable's call to support Jackson. No matter how critical the support, backing Jackson means aiding his drive to win Black support for the Democratic Party. Jackson hopes to reform the Democratic Party and the capitalist system. The NBIPP charter, on the other hand, shows that the fight for Black liberation can only be won along a strategic course of overturning capitalism. This means educating on the need to break with the capitalist parties and building a movement politically independent of the

Democrats and Republicans.

Millions of Blacks are discussing how to win political power and use it to advance the interests of Blacks and other working people. Jackson's campaign is a reflection of this desire for more political representation. His campaign offers opportunities for NBIPP to put forward its working-class perspective. Not by campaigning for Jackson — as Marable suggests — but by intervening in the movement he seeks to use to renovate the Democratic Party.

More than ever, NBIPP activists, and those who share its anticapitalist outlook, will find many ways to participate in the ongoing political discussion in the Black community. Talking with coworkers on the job, participating in the rallies and other public meetings for Jackson, and, gener-

ally, intensifying efforts to reach Blacks with a working-class alternative to the Democratic Party can win the most conscious elements in the community to NBIPP's banner. Such an approach will make NBIPP attractive to Blacks, who are developing radical ideas ahead of the rest of the working class.

This approach will also help NBIPP to explain to the entire working class that the problems it faces stem not only from Reagan being in the White House, but from the capitalist system. Along this road the entire working class can be won to breaking with the big-business parties and building a party of its own, a labor party based on the trade unions, which can fight for political power and use it to do away with capitalism once and for all.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 839-5316. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954. **FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

GARY: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. **INDIANAPOLIS:** SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

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

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

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

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

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

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. 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: 63116. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box

80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

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

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 23 Central Ave. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

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

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

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19; P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

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

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

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

STOP U.S. WAR DRIVE!

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Labor Speaks Out Against U.S. Intervention in Central America. Film showing of *Revolution or Death* on El Salvador. Speaker: Halket Allen, member of Socialist Workers Party and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5, 4 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Diego

Nicaragua Fights Back. Speaker: Fred Halstead, visited combat areas in Nicaragua last summer. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Grenada: A Tribute to Maurice Bishop. U.S. Out of Grenada! Speakers: Andrew Pulley, member of National Committee of Socialist Workers Party; Donald Telesford, president, Grenada Michigan Association. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA

Virginia

El Salvador and Nicaragua. Speaker: Andrea González. Wed. Nov. 9, 5:30 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

Why the U.S. Government Goes to War. Speaker: Andrea González. Fri., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Ausp: Militant Newspaper. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

U.S. Out of Grenada! A protest rally. Sat., Nov. 5, 7 p.m. St. James Paseo United Methodist Church, 56th and Paseo. Ausp: Ad Hoc Committee chaired by Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson.

U.S. Invades Grenada — Why Reagan

Fears the Grenada Revolution. Slide show and talk. Speaker: Enrand Kaseem, member of Socialist Workers Party, visited Grenada in 1981. Sun., Nov. 13, 7 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

No More Vietnams in Central America and the Middle East. An Evening of Solidarity. Speakers: Ahmad Hamid, former vice-president of Arab Center; Elene Whitt, Latin America Solidarity Committee; Gloria Hoover, Equal Rights Council; Rev. Ted Braun; Rohima Miah, Young Socialist Alliance; Ali Hossaini, Arab-American recently visited occupied Palestine. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 3109 S Grand, rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

Grenada: U.S. Out Now! Speakers: Alonzo Smith, professor of Black Studies at University of Nebraska at Omaha; Duncan Williams, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. Lincoln Indian Center, 1100 Military Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (402) 464-2565.

NEW YORK

Albany

Grenada: The Truth Behind the Invasion — Is Nicaragua Next? Speaker: Rich Ariza, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1714, leader of Socialist Workers Party, former staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sat., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

A People's Tribute to the Grenadian Martyrs. First North American premier of film *The Future Coming Towards Us*, a documentary on Grenada under Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement government. Fri., Nov. 4, speakers, 6 p.m.; film, 8 p.m. Hunter College Auditorium, 68th and Lexington. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Coalition of Caribbean and North American Organizations. For more information call (212) 682-3633.

Fortress Puerto Rico: Militarization and the Caribbean. Speakers: Jorge Rodríguez-Beruff, consultant for the Caribbean Project for Justice and Peace; Arnoldo Ramos, representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in El Salvador; Ana Celia Zentella, director of Puerto Rican Studies Sequence, Hunter College. Sat., Nov. 5, 4 p.m. Hunter College, 68th St. and Lexington Ave. Donation: \$3. For more information call (212) 741-3131 or 766-7833.

Nicaragua, Grenada — What Next? An Urgent Message to North Americans. Speaker: Rosario Murillo, general secretary, Sandinista Cultural Workers Association. Thurs., Nov. 10, 5:30 p.m. CUNY Graduate Center, 33 W 42 St., Rm. 1700. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis; Hunter College Centro Estudios Puertorriqueños. For more information call (212) 772-5689.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Stop the U.S. War Drive! U.S. Out of Grenada, Central America, and Lebanon! Speakers: Gary Sanderson, Triad Citizens Concerned for Central America and Carolina Coalition for Justice in Central America; Carlton Eversley, cochair, Winston-Salem National Black Independent Political Party; representative of General Union of Palestine Students; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. 301 S Elm St., Suite 522. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

U.S. Out of Grenada! Speakers: Sarah Ryan, Socialist Workers Party, toured Grenada in 1982; Brigitte Dennis, worked in Grenada in 1983 with Caribbean Education Project. Sun., Nov. 13, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

Dallas

In Solidarity With the Grenada Revolution: Against the U.S. Invasion! Speaker: Michele Yellin, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 6, 7:30

p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

Houston

Labor's Stake in the Fight Against Washington's Wars. "Report Back from Coalition of Labor Union Women Convention," a panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 5, 4 p.m. followed by a dinner, 5:30 p.m. "U.S. Out of Grenada!" rally. Sat., Nov. 5, 7 p.m. "Bureaucracy and Aristocracy in U.S. Labor Movement," a class, Sun., Nov. 6, 10:30 a.m. "Trade Unions in Cuba," a class, Sun., Nov. 6, 1:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$10 for all events. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party '83 Campaign. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Defend the Grenada Revolution, U.S. Troops Out Now! Speakers: Dr. Milton Reid, publisher of *Journal and Guide* newspaper; others. Sun., Nov. 6, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON D.C.

U.S. Hands Off Grenada. Speakers: Baxter Smith, worked for 8 months on International Airport in Grenada, correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*; Glenn White, visited Grenada, member of Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Newspaper. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

U.S. Hands Off Grenada: Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, eyewitness account of Grenada revolution; Dean Peoples, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., Nov. 5, reception, 6:30; Grenada slide show, 7 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. CAMP Firehouse, 722 18th Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Washington 1983 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Hear South African Exile Sipo Mcimela Speaker: Rev. Sipo Mcimela, author of *Apartheid: South African Nazism*. Sat., Nov. 5, 7 p.m. St. Pauls United Methodist Church, 1500 6th Ave. N. Ausp: Birmingham Peace Council and American Friends Service Committee.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Open House and Party to Follow November 12 Demonstration. Discussion and refreshments. Sat., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. 2546 West Pico Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9640.

San Diego

Speak-out: U.S. Troops Out of Lebanon. Speakers: Wade Harb, Committee for a Democratic Palestine; Tom Barton, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 11, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4430.

San Jose

The Fight for a Black-Latino-Labor Alliance Today. Speakers: Mel Mason, socialist city councilman in Seaside, member of National Black Independent Political Party and Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Rick Trujillo, Socialist Workers candidate for San Jose school board, member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Ausp: Dugan and Trujillo for School Board Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Jobs Not War: Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Joey Rothenberg, SWP candidate for mayor, steelworker; Claudia Roberson, candidate for city council president. Sat., Nov. 5; reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. Waverly Presbyterian Church, 34th and Old York Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Baltimore Campaign Committee. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Stop the Deportation of Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; others. Sat., Nov.

5, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Socialist Strategy and the Fight for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom. Speaker: Andrea González, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 5; dinner (\$2.50 donation), 5 p.m.; rally (\$2 donation), 7 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Two classes: "Why Imperialism Goes to War," Sun. Nov. 6, 12 noon; "Women and Revolutionary Nicaragua," Sun., Nov. 6, 2:30 p.m. (donation, \$1 per class). Speaker: Andrea González. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Virginia

Election Night Celebration. Speakers: Pat Virgin, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor; Andrea González, national chairperson of Young Socialist Alliance. Tues., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Evening in Solidarity With Chile. Slide show and video tape. Nov. 5, 6 p.m. Church of the Holy Name, Amsterdam Ave., between 96th and 97th Sts. Donation requested. Committee for a Free Chile. For more information call (212) 590-3907.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Kathleen Denny, SWP candidate for city council; Mark Rahn, SWP candidate for school board; Arlene Rubenstein, SWP candidate for governor of Kentucky. Sat., Nov. 5; reception, 6:30 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Ciuccio's Restaurant in Hyde Park Plaza. Donation: \$6 for dinner and rally; \$1 for rally only. Ausp: Cincinnati SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (503) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Classes on Socialism. Discussion and refreshments every Tuesday, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Com-

mittee and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

Toledo

Jobs Not War! A Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Janet Post, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-912.; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, recently returned from Grenada; Toby Emerich, member of SWP and United Auto Workers Local 12; Josefina González, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 5; dinner, 6 p.m. (\$3 donation); rally, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON

Portland

Is the Soviet Union a Threat To Working People in U.S.? On 66th anniversary of Russian revolution, a discussion on disarmament, yellow rain, the KAL incident, Afghanistan, and Poland. Speaker: Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

San Antonio

Union-busting in the Southwest. Speakers: Jimmy Oriendo, United Auto Workers; Alfred Aradillas, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Carmen Martínez, International Union of Electrical Workers Organizing Committee; Debbie Justus, Fiberglass Systems Or-

ganizing Committee; Andrés Gonzales, Socialist Workers Party; Jaime Martínez, International Union of Electrical Workers international representative. Film: *So You Can*. Sat., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. 2811 Guadalupe. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7394.

UTAH

Price

Colorado and Utah Socialist Educational Conference. Two classes by Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party National cochairperson: Class 1) "Independent Black Political Action," Sat., Nov. 5, 2 p.m. Class 2) "Blacks in the Labor Movement," Sun., Nov. 6; part 1, 10 a.m., part 2, 12 noon. Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Malik Miah, Bob Hoyle, SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake; Jeff Pike, SWP candidate for Price city council. Sat., Nov. 5; reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Crisis in the Philippines: Struggle Against the Marcos Dictatorship. Film showing of *To Sing a Song*, BBC production narrated by ex-Senator José Diokno, opposition leader in Philippines. Speaker: Ken Bauzon, Filipino author. Sun., Nov. 6, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

COME TO THE YSA CONVENTION

Dec. 28-Jan. 1, in St. Louis, Missouri.

Hundreds of young working-class fighters will meet at the Young Socialist Alliance convention to discuss a strategy to fight back against attacks on working people and the oppressed.

The theme of this year's convention will be the fight against Washington's war in Central America and the Caribbean and the impact of these revolutions on U.S. and world politics. Representatives of struggles around the world will be present as well as activists from the Black, Latino, labor, and women's movements. Convention activities will include rallies, classes, films, and a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Clip and send to: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

☐ Send me more information on the YSA and the convention.

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a subscription to the Young Socialist newspaper.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Washington threatens reprisals

Continued from front page

the Cuban embassy, the U.S. government charged Cuba with ordering terrorist attacks on U.S. citizens in Latin America and elsewhere. This was an attempt to cover up the fact that it is Washington — not Cuba — that has taken hostages, and Washington — not Cuba — that is spreading terror in Grenada through its invasion.

The Cuban government immediately called the U.S. accusation of terrorism a lie. In a November 1 statement, it said, "The displays of solidarity that Cuba solicits are always of a political nature."

The Cuban government explained: "What may occur in other places to North American citizens has nothing to do with Cuba or with supposed instructions of Cuba, which never has nor could have imparted such instructions. Rather it would be the result of the irritation felt by millions of people around the world because of the barbarous and brutal deeds committed by the government of the United States. Cuba has always opposed making innocent persons the subject of reprisals."

Finally, the statement warned, Washington's implicit threat in accusing the Cubans of terrorism "does not intimidate us in the slightest. If there are aggressions by the United States against Cuba, they will receive the response they merit from our entire nation."

Under pressure from the Cubans and worldwide opinion, reflected in an overwhelming United Nations General Assembly vote to condemn the invasion of Grenada, 57 wounded Cubans were returned to their homeland November 2. But at the same time, the U.S. Navy announced that nine of its warships had left for "maneuvers" in the Caribbean and eight U.S. Air Force A-10 attack planes had been dispatched to the area in a new threat to the people of Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

The rapid escalation of U.S. aggression in the Caribbean and Central America has been explained by liberal commentators and even some on the left as the aberrant actions of a "reckless cowboy." But President Reagan's criminal invasion of Grenada and stepped-up moves against Cuba and Nicaragua are neither aberrations nor the exclusive policy of an individual man or party.

This drive toward war is inherent in the capitalist system, which rests on the exploitation of working people by a tiny class of bankers, businessmen, and landlords. In fact, this capitalist class began laying the basis years ago, before the Reagan administration took office, for an invasion like that of Grenada.

The victory of the Vietnamese people over U.S. troops in the early 1970s helped inspire anti-imperialist revolts around the world. In Africa in the mid-1970s, Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia freed themselves from colonial or neocolonial rule. In 1979, the Iranian people rose up and overthrew the U.S.-backed shah.

These advances for the colonial revolution were giant blows to the U.S. ruling class. It was shaken even more by the 1979 revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua.

The Grenadian and Nicaraguan workers and farmers not only overturned proimperialist dictatorships but also took political power out of the hands of the local capitalists and landowners. They established new governments that sought to mobilize working people to fight unemployment, hunger, disease, and inequality in opposition to local capitalists and the imperialists.

The opening of the socialist revolution in Grenada and Nicaragua and the Marxist leaderships at the head of that process earned the undying hatred of the U.S. ruling class. The imperialists saw they had no choice but to try to destroy these revolutions and the example they set for other oppressed peoples in the world and for the U.S. working class itself. Washington also realized that ultimately it would take the direct intervention of U.S. troops, regardless of popular opposition to such a move.

It was under the administration of Democrat James Carter that preparations began. Among Carter's steps was the creation of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), which could carry out invasions of other sovereign nations at the drop of a hat. Carter also reimposed registration for the draft.

U.S. officials now proudly point to the invasion of Grenada as the first successful test of the RDF. As *USA Today* reported November 2, "The Grenada operation has been a mirror image of the RDF concept: Sending U.S. troops on short notice to a place with neither American forces nor prepositioned military hardware and equipment." In other words, to a country whose people are opposed to U.S. intervention and must be overcome by brute force.

Maj. Douglas Frey, spokesman for the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division on Grenada, told *USA Today*, "Other than using live ammunition, we used the same procedure as in any RDF practice exercise. Our mission was to secure the island and capture the heads of government."

In mid-October 1983 a split in Grenada's ruling party, the New Jewel Movement, led to the overthrow of the government and execution of top leaders of the revolution. The U.S. rulers seized on this devastating development to move its troops in. They unleashed the marines and Army Rangers on Grenada knowing there would be significant opposition to the invasion. But they also saw that such military action, especially if successful, from their standpoint, was a way to increase support for their wars. They didn't wait for a public consensus; rather they used the invasion to try to push back the deep antiwar sentiment that exists in this country. They justified it after the fact.

As the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* put it, "the best way for this or any president to deal with . . . the Vietnam syndrome was to unashamedly repudiate it. Mr. Reagan is doing that in the streets of Grenada."

A *New York Times*-CBS News poll conducted the second and third days of the Grenada invasion showed 51 percent approving the action and 37 percent opposed. The poll also found an increase in support for U.S. troops being in Lebanon, from 36 percent in favor in late September to 48 percent in late October.

What these polls point to is the polarization in U.S. society, including in the working class. Decisive military action by Washington — especially if it can be dressed up as successful and costing few lives — rallies the vocal support of the right wing and can also initially gain the confused acceptance of many others who have had little access to the truth.

But there is a second, more important response to Washington's invasion. That is the fact that thousands of people in this country marched in the streets against the invasion within hours of its announcement. This response was quicker and larger than when Washington first sent troops to Vietnam in the early 1960s.

What has changed since the early years of the Vietnam War is the political understanding among U.S. workers and the progressive role sectors of the U.S. labor movement are beginning to play on all political questions today. Already, some unions have denounced the invasion of Grenada. Black workers are in the vanguard of this opposition. Many more labor bodies have come out against U.S. aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador.

The invasion of Grenada has opened up a war for the minds of the U.S. working class. Opponents of the invasion must mobilize to answer Reagan's lies about the Grenada revolution and Cuban and Soviet "threats." We need to arm workers with the truth about the gains the Grenadian people have made since 1979, the brutal character of the U.S. assault on their country, and the need for labor to take a resolute stand against this.

The November 12 march on Washington against U.S. wars in Central America and the Caribbean takes on all the more importance as an opportunity to do this. A top priority is organizing the largest possible participation from the unions on November 12.

It is the U.S. working class that ultimately will stop the U.S. warmakers for good. Washington's military superiority, as Fidel Castro recently pointed out, can inflict terrible defeats, but it is not the decisive factor in the end. No technology exists, he explained, more powerful than the might of a working class organized to rid society of injustice and exploitation once and for all.

The 1917 Russian revolution still lives

BY DOUG JENNESS

This month millions of working people around the world are celebrating the 66th anniversary of the October 1917 Russian revolution.

In honoring this momentous event we are not simply paying tribute to the greatest chapter yet written by the exploited and oppressed in their long history of struggle — although that would be reason enough. We are also recognizing that this conquest still *lives* and remains a gigantic force on the side of working people today.

The Russian workers and peasants swept away capitalist rule, along with medieval landlordism and the tsar. With this achievement they laid the basis for the

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

USSR becoming one of the world's most industrially developed countries and for the big economic and social advances enjoyed by the Soviet people today.

Under the tsar famines and disease killed millions, and some of the most abysmal conditions of backwardness and poverty prevailed, especially in the countryside. Today hunger and unemployment have been eliminated, the literacy rate is one of the highest in the world, and free medical care is guaranteed to every citizen.

At the same time the October victory inspired working people throughout the world and proved that capitalist rule is not invincible, but can be toppled. It provided the foundation for building a powerful opposing force to imperialism in one of the largest countries in the world, one that is richly endowed with natural resources.

It is precisely because of this that imperialism has been unable to crush the gains of the Chinese, Korean, Cuban, and Indochinese revolutions which at critical moments have received military and economic aid from the Soviet workers state. The opening of the socialist revolution in the Americas, beginning with the Cuban revolution nearly 25 years ago, could not possibly have been sustained if capitalism had been restored to the USSR. The extension of the socialist revolution today in the Caribbean and Central America is thus directly connected and indebted to the action of the Russian workers and farmers nearly seven decades ago.

This is why the October revolution remains the USSR's "original sin" that the capitalist rulers cannot forgive. From the very first day following this victory the imperialists placed crushing the revolution's gains on their agenda.

Troops from more than a dozen capitalist countries fought on Russian soil in 1918-1920 in an unsuccessful attempt to restore capitalist rule.

Another attempt was made during World War II when the imperialist German army marched into the Soviet Union. More than 20 million people of the Soviet Union gave their lives in that successful struggle to defend the October conquests.

Since the end of World War II, Washington, in league with its imperialist allies, has constructed a ring of military bases, warships, and nuclear-tipped missiles around the Soviet Union. It has repeatedly threatened, harassed, and provoked the USSR with its spy flights over Soviet airspace and naval maneuvers near its territorial waters. All this has forced the USSR to allocate a gigantic portion of its resources for the purposes of defense, resources that could be used for advancing the country's economic and social development.

When Reagan and his allies launched their massive propaganda campaign labeling the Soviet officials murderers and "evil" for the downing of the South Korean airliner, it was part of their permanent drive to discredit what the 1917 revolution accomplished and to try to instill in working people around the world as much hostility against it as possible.

In his October 28 nationally televised news conference, Reagan proclaimed that U.S. marines were needed in Lebanon and Grenada because of the "Soviet threat."

In Lebanon, his real fear, however, is that the workers and farmers in that country, oppressed for many years by the United States and West European countries, will try to take the same course taken by the Russian masses in 1917.

In Grenada the "Soviet threat" was that the working people had followed the example of the October 1917 revolution and opened the road to the socialist revolution in that small island nation.

That is why the big-business government in Washington decided to crush it in blood. And that is why it will continue its war against the Nicaraguan working people who likewise have replaced capitalist rule with their own. That's why they haven't given up on eventually overturning the Cuban revolution.

The "three giants" of Central America and the Caribbean — Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada — are testimony that the fundamental gains of the Russian revolution still live.

Bulgarian victim of FBI, courts

In a flagrant denial of basic democratic rights, the U.S. courts are denying bail to Bulgarian trade official Penyu Kostadinov, arrested by the FBI in New York September 23 on espionage charges. If convicted, Kostadinov could get the death penalty or life imprisonment under espionage legislation passed in 1954 at the height of the witch-hunt.

Kostadinov is an assistant counselor at the Bulgarian Commercial Office in New York City. The FBI accuses him of receiving a U.S. document on "nuclear secrets" and of seeking to obtain other "classified" information.

The courts have backed up the FBI by refusing the Bulgarian official his right to bail. On October 28 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit upheld a lower court ruling against bail for Kostadinov.

The Bulgarian official declares he is not guilty of the charges and demands his right to diplomatic immunity. The courts have rejected this request as well.

The persecution of this Bulgarian citizen is aimed at further eroding constitutional rights in the United States such as the right to bail and to a fair trial. It is also aimed at increasing restrictions on the right of officials from Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, and other workers states to function in this country.

The Bulgarian government has denounced the arrest of Kostadinov, calling it "a crude and premeditated provocation" and linking it to other anti-Soviet actions by Washington.

The severe violation of Kostadinov's rights is a threat to all working people in this country. The danger is multiplied by the outrageous attempt to try him under a 1950s witch-hunt law carrying the death penalty. It is urgent that all supporters of democratic rights join in demanding immediate bail for Kostadinov and an end to the assault on his rights.

'Quality of work life' schemes undermine unions

BY DAVID WILDER

LYNN, Mass. — A number of months ago the General Electric Co. started the initial steps towards a "worker involvement" program at its Riverworks plant here. Some workers were selected from the floor to participate in a newly formed "Renaissance Committee."

GE said that it was going to be investing millions for plant modernization in the Aircraft Division. The com-

UNION TALK

pany claimed that it wanted workers' opinions on how this money should be spent. The Renaissance Committee's job was to spark some enthusiasm on the shop floor for the company's plans.

Some of the committee representatives were paid overtime to gather suggestions and make presentations in various work areas. Soon petitions were going around concerning what colors to paint the walls. Hats and coffee cups were handed out. New garbage cans and floor mats appeared everywhere along with a flurry of memos from section managers addressed to employees saying, "The future is bright."

Meetings of management and workers, called involvement groups or quality circles, discuss problems on the shop floor. International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201 initially opposed the quality circles. It saw that this was a way the company could sidestep the

union and our contract. It was noted that many issues the company wouldn't budge on through the grievance procedure, were now being brought up in the quality circles.

The local, under pressure from the company, later changed its position to support the quality circles on the condition that it be kept informed about them and have representatives present.

It appears that the "quality of work life" program is being implemented nation-wide by the company. The cover of a recent issue of *G.E. Monogram*, the company magazine, shows a worker in the Louisville, Kentucky, appliance plant wearing a T-shirt that says "G.E. is ME."

The Louisville plant has undergone a massive introduction of robots resulting in the elimination of half the jobs at that location. The *Monogram* article explains that worker involvement groups were formed to better deal with working in new "leaner crews." The drive towards new technology, and above all, higher profits are the reasons behind the new labor-management cooperation schemes. Much of the automation will eliminate jobs and devastate established work rules and wage ratings.

GE has changed its terminology regarding its new automation. What it used to call "the Factory of the Future" is now called the "Factory with a Future." Clearly, the threat is that if workers don't accept the new changes or don't actively participate in the drive to "beat the competition," the company might close up shop and take the jobs elsewhere.

In the quality circles there is generally a pitch given by upper management that they've gone through some

changes in their thinking and feel that employees don't need foremen breathing down their necks and that things would work better if workers would "police themselves." Naturally, there's some positive response to this; but what would it be like for us to police each other? This happens a lot already, but usually it means watching that people don't work through breaks or lunch or don't work too fast.

GE, however, has something else in mind. They want a shop full of finks. Through threats of job loss they would like everyone monitoring everyone else's production, absenteeism, scrap records, attitude and everything else the company likes to keep on top of.

Will making GE competitive guarantee job security and wages we can live on? Competition is a permanent part of the irrational system of capitalism. There is no limit to what the bosses will take from workers to stay competitive. One only has to look at countries like El Salvador and the Philippines where wages average only \$1.50 or so a day to see how far they will go.

Worker involvement and "quality of work life" programs are designed for the sole purpose of undermining everything that workers have ever won through struggle — wages, benefits, and union representation. None of these things were given freely by the company and all of them are targeted for cutbacks and elimination in the companies' drive for profit.

David Wilder works at GE's Riverworks plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, and is a member of IUE Local 201.

LETTERS

Lebanon coverage

The *Militant's* coverage on Lebanon has been excellent and politically to the point. However, there are a few points I would like to raise in criticism: There is too much emphasis given to the Christian vs. Muslim nature of the conflict. For example the October 7 editorial states the aim of the imperialists is to "deal a blow to those in the front lines opposing imperialist aggression — the Muslims and Druse in Lebanon and the Syrian and Palestinian people." Such characterizations are exaggerated by the bourgeoisie to confuse working people.

Due to their status as an oppressed majority, the overwhelming majority of the resistance and its leadership comes from the Muslim and Druse. And they have played and continue to play a vanguard role in the nationalist struggle against the pro-imperialist religious Confessional system. However, characterizing the civil war as one between Muslims and Christians does not help explain the combined nature of the anti-imperialist, Arab nationalist movement or the class character of the Lebanese battleground. When we talk of the Irish Republican Army we rarely call it the Catholic IRA.

Many in the Lebanese National Movement and the National Salvation Front are Christians and some of the supporters of the Fascist Phalange are Muslims. The resistance includes mass secular parties such as the Communist Party, whose central leader is Georges Hawie, a Christian. It even includes Christian Maronites who draw their support from the old Confessional system, such as ex-president Suleiman Franjeh.

And quite a few renegade Shiites in the south have collaborated and supported the Phalange. *Georges Sayad*
Salt Lake City, Utah

Roy Wilkins

Readers of the *Militant* may be interested to know of a letter recently written by Aminda Wilkins, widow of longtime NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, to the *New York Times*.

She wrote to correct a false remark by Assistant U.S. Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds who claimed that Roy Wilkins opposed quota programs

in the context of affirmative action.

Aminda Wilkins noted that Reynolds' comments "were part of an escalating campaign on the part of Reagan administration officials to describe affirmative-action designs as 'morally wrong' and to otherwise paint numerical remedies to racial discrimination with the brush of 'reverse discrimination'."

Reynolds' assertions about Roy Wilkins' views are "completely mistaken" she continued.

His views "never varied from the positions taken by the NAACP," Aminda Wilkins wrote. "Roy had no difficulty whatsoever distinguishing between *inclusionary* quotas, which are designed to remedy practices of employment discrimination, and *exclusionary* quotas, which have been used to deny black people equal opportunities in the workplace." (Emphasis in original.)

Aminda Wilkins went on to note that her husband "understood that affirmative-action procedures, especially when imposed by courts, were an effort to move our people ahead, not backward."

These arguments remain quite to the point today.

Victor Cass
New York, N.Y.

Central America

Here's my renewal for three months. Unfortunately, you people always catch me at the wrong time. I would like to renew for four years plus buy a subscription for a friend or two but never have the funds when renewal time comes up.

Your vital news and information is absolutely essential to me as an activist interested especially in the Central American and Caribbean area.

Thank you for exposing the hypocrites and for keeping me forever outraged!

Richard Palmer
Framingham, Mass.

CIA's Delaware link

According to an article in the local paper, the *Wilmington News Journal*, the Cessna Skymaster shot down while attacking the Managua airport and the DC-3 shot down while para-dropping supplies to the *contras* were owned by a local company, Summit Aviation. This company is lo-

cated in the tiny village of Summit, 18 miles south of Wilmington, just off Delaware Highway 301.

Summit Aviation specializes in supplying "counter insurgent" aircraft to Third World tyrants. Their hottest selling item is the "Summit Sky Sentry," a modified two-engine Cessna Skymaster; modified by the addition of rocket pods, machine guns, and bomb racks. In the last year they built 10 Sky Sentrys and leased six of them to Investair, a CIA front located in McLean, Virginia. It was one of these six bombers that ended up as wreckage on Sandino International Airport.

The president of Summit Aviation is Richard C. ("Kip") DuPont, one of the DuPonts. The company has only one other listed officer and there are no listings of stockholders or directors. In other words another CIA front company, only with a DuPont, instead of some nameless agent, as president.

Think about it, a nominally private corporation is leasing war planes to a terrorist gang. A private company is waging war. This is more than slightly illegal and would probably get the perpetrators 20 years in jail, if they weren't operating for the CIA.

By the way, Summit is enlarging its runways so that they can do work on large airliners for the CIA. Perhaps they are about to turn a few 747s into spy planes.

The Delaware Coalition for Peace in Central America is focusing on the DuPont Co.'s complicity in the war in Central America. On Saturday October 22, the Central America Coalition and Pacem in Terris held a rally of over 100 people in front of the DuPont Co. offices to protest its role in the production of nukes and their role in Nicaragua. On Saturday, November 6, the Central America coalition is sponsoring rallies in both Newark and Wilmington, Delaware. The coalition is also organizing buses to the November 12 rally in Washington. For further information contact 428-1473 in Wilmington or United Campus Ministry 368-3643 in Newark.

Roy Inglee
Wilmington, Delaware

Self-criticism needed

I am renewing my subscription after serious personal debate. Although I think you do a better job



of covering labor news than any other publication, and although I believe your Black consciousness is high, I find your coverage of the gay community to be dismal, unenlightened, sporadic, half-hearted, hypocritical.

Good luck, but please do some self-criticism.
Robert Rardin
Oxford, Ohio

Anti-Soviet lies

Recent letters from Mark Schneider in Massachusetts and Ray Pinback in New York have been highly critical of the *Militant's* coverage of the Korean plane incident.

Schneider and Pinback argue that defense of the Soviet Union must be primarily political rather than military. That's correct, but at a high level of abstraction. To reach the truth in any particular instance it's necessary to fill in the facts.

For example, the "need for a political defense" doesn't at all dictate that the USSR should allow imperialist aircraft to fly at will over sensitive military areas. In any case, they fired on the airplane only as a last resort after all warning signals were ignored.

Schneider and Pinback both fall into the trap of assuming that Washington's line was correct on two vital points:

1. that Flight 7 was not a spy plane, and
2. that the Soviet military knew it was civilian.

It is only from that standpoint that Pinback can lecture about the lack of "moral, political, or military justification for a policy which sanctions attacks on civilians," and Schneider can declare that "the protection of no military

secret justified the shooting down of a passenger plane."

I think it has become abundantly clear to world working-class opinion that on both points Washington, not Moscow, was the liar. In all likelihood the plane was on a spy mission. And even the Pentagon now admits the Soviet pilots fired in the belief they were targeting a military, not civilian, aircraft.

Once their underlying premises are shown to be false, the rest of Pinback's and Schneider's "anti-Stalinist" arguments also fall.

Schneider contends that "the Soviet press lied to its own working class." How? By not immediately accepting Washington's version as good coin? Pinback's condemnation of Soviet domestic "censorship" is laughable compared to the giant cover-up undertaken by the imperialist media.

Pinback simply doesn't know what he's talking about when he says "the Soviet leaders have done absolutely nothing to counteract the disorientation and demoralization within the workers' movement caused by the imperialist propaganda campaign." In the Cuban newspaper *Granma* I've been following for several weeks the official Soviet dispatches about the plane. They have done an excellent job of exposing Reagan's lies and putting the blame for the loss of life right where it belongs — on Washington's shoulders.

Gene Anderson
Birmingham, Alabama

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.

Victory in Newport News union vote

BY CHARLES BARNET

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — In a landslide victory, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888 crushed the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA) in the October 27 union representation election at the giant Tenneco Corp. shipyard here. The vote was USWA: 13,591, the PSA: 2,535.

"We are the union!" Local 8888 Pres. Eddie Coppedge told hundreds of cheering steelworkers who jammed the union hall election night.

One worker summed it up when he shouted to the press: "October 27, we blew them [the PSA] out!"

The PSA, a company union, represented the company against the workers for decades at the shipyard until the USWA carried out a successful organizing drive ousting the PSA in a 1978 representation election. It took a bitter strike in 1979 to secure the victory.

Earlier this year the PSA obtained enough signatures on petitions to require a new election. But on October 27 shipyard workers left no room for doubt that they wouldn't let the clock be turned back. Even the PSA's president, Michael Bradford, had to admit, "They beat us bad," and declared he would not contest the vote.

Local 8888 mobilized a big campaign by workers to win the election. The USWA international leadership provided important assistance. Local 8888's Volunteer Organizing Committee stepped up efforts to sign up USWA members (due to Virginia's "right-to-work" for less laws, union membership is not automatic). A team of full-time organizers was sent in by the international union's organizing department.

Educational USWA flyers were distributed almost daily at the gates of the yard. The union mounted an informational campaign through radio and newspaper ads. Special union meetings were organized, including meetings for women members and new hires.

On October 23 a thousand steelworkers rallied at Hampton High School. On October 25, despite a cold rain, 300 steelworkers took their lunch hour to stage a march down Washington Avenue, the main street running along the sprawling shipyard. Black and white workers together sang "We Shall Not Be Moved." They chanted "No way, PSA!" "What do we want? Contract!" and a simple chant that said it all, "Eighty-eight! Eighty-eight!"

The PSA campaign, what there was of it, was a flop. A PSA flyer headlined "Steelworkers breed violence" featured photos of steelworkers being beaten by cops during the 1979 strike. However, the thousands of steelworkers who participated in that strike didn't buy this line. They were too well aware that it was the cops who were responsible for the violence. Moreover, many are proud of the role Local 8888 played in defending itself against such cop violence.

All of this contributed to the USWA's overwhelming victory in the October 27 election. The large number of workers who cast ballots — almost 95 percent — in the voting conducted by the National Labor Relations Board inside the shipyard was testimony to the importance workers attached to ending the PSA challenge once and for all.

Many workers were angered by another cynical PSA charge that the USWA was making no progress in contract negotiations with Tenneco. The USWA contract was scheduled to expire October 31. From the beginning, the PSA challenge was aimed, in part, at giving the company an excuse to stall negotiations while they awaited the outcome of the representation election.

The big steelworker victory October 27 helped prod Tenneco into serious negotia-



Militant/Charles Barnett

October 25 Steelworker march in Newport News. Militant workers like these mobilized to defend union, dealt crushing blow to company union.

tions and a tentative contract was reached with USWA negotiators on October 30. The terms were presented to workers in several meetings at Hampton High organized according to shipyard departments that same day.

The proposed agreement reportedly increases wages roughly 25 percent over the 43-month life of the contract, with a 9 per-

cent hike going into effect immediately. Some improvements were also reported in health and pension benefits.

However, the proposed agreement also includes a provision stretching out the amount of time a new worker must be on the job before he or she receives the full rate of pay in any job classification. In the previous contract new workers received

pay increases after 30, 60, 90, and 120 days, resulting in full parity with other workers in their classification. The waiting periods have now been reportedly tripled.

As the *Militant* goes to press shipyard workers are voting on the proposed contract. In subsequent issues we will report the results and workers views on the new pact.

IBEW members back copper strike

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — On October 15, 30 to 40 unionists assembled in the parking lot of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 640 in Phoenix. They were members of the construction unions building Palo Verde nuclear plant near Phoenix. They came in their pick-ups and vans to join a cavalcade to Clifton. They were going to make their construction skills available to their brothers and sisters from 13 unions who have been on strike against the Phelps Dodge copper company since July 1, and whose homes were devastated by heavy floods on October 1-2.

These unionists have raised some \$21,000 from among their members at this one construction site. But when they heard about the terrible damage that the floods had done to the homes of people who have been struggling for three months on \$55 per week in strike benefits, they felt that more help was necessary.

Food and clothing donations were collected just outside the plant on the preceding Thursday and Friday. The apprenticeship program canceled its Saturday activities to release apprentices to go.

Many of the food purchases were coordinated with United Food and Commercial Workers Union members at a local supermarket. The union pick-up truck belonging to the apprentices was made available to pull a U-Haul trailer stuffed with clothing and food.

Much of the activity was coordinated through the Community Services Committee of Local 640 under the direction of Vice-pres. Danny Pollard and Ernie Gautier, chairman of the committee.

After the four-and-a-half-hour drive from Phoenix to Clifton they were welcomed by striking unionists and members of the Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary. Several Palo Verde unions had gone up the night before so they could get an early start on the repair work. The Palo Verde people were dispatched by the union to the houses of people needing basic construction help — electrical and plumbing repair and just plain digging out of the

three to four feet of gritty mud the river had left behind.

Just before the 3 p.m. shift change, Eric Copland, one of the leading members of the IBEW Community Services Committee, went up and down the streets to get the Palo Verde people down to the picket lines to show support for the strikers as the scabs rolled by.

Phelps Dodge, the largest producer of copper in Arizona, has broken with its practice in previous strikes and has continued to operate its mine, mill, and smelter. They have gone on an all-out campaign to recruit scabs and break the 13 unions who have contracts with the company. When mass rallies of strikers forced them to shut down for 10 days in August, they responded by having Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt order in 800 National Guardsmen and state troopers. The plant was reopened with scab labor and has con-

tinued to operate ever since with the heavy police presence. Unionists in Clifton-Morenci, Ajo, and Bisbee have continued to resist this assault on their unions and assert their right to a decent standard of living.

The construction unionists were inspired by the fighting spirit of the strikers on the line. They were also sobered by a new understanding of the seriousness of the stakes in this strike. One electrician said, "It is something to stand on the line and watch people go by who have taken strikers' jobs. This could set us all back 30 years."

People in Clifton were given a big boost by this very concrete act of solidarity. The unionists at Palo Verde were bombarded by questions from coworkers at work and at the union meeting the next Tuesday about what they had seen and done in Clifton and what is really at stake for all working people in this strike.

Phelps Dodge starts eviction notices

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — On Wednesday, October 26, several hundred striking unionists in Morenci and Ajo received registered letters from Phelps Dodge Corp. ordering them to vacate their company-owned housing by November 2 because they were three months behind in rent.

The unions will need some \$107,000 in Morenci and \$85,000 in Ajo to pay the rent that is owed. Union members have been getting along on \$55 a week in strike benefits. Strike relief funds and the Women's Auxiliary have raised money to sustain the families. They have paid for utility bills, rent, food, clothing, shoes, school books, medicine, and gas for emergency travel.

The strikers have been refused unemployment benefits because the state says that Phelps Dodge offered them a job and they chose not to take it. They have been told that they are ineligible because of a labor dispute. The same reasons have been given for denying them other state services such as food stamps.

Phelps Dodge wants strikers out because "they no longer work for Phelps Dodge."

The company is saying that because they are on strike and have refused to buckle, they have been replaced. Therefore they are no longer on the payroll and are not entitled to a house, which is one of the benefits of employment.

An emergency meeting of representatives of the international unions on strike was held in Casa Grande, Arizona, to organize a response to this threat.

In another example of continued harassment, four of the five strikers and Women's Auxiliary activists who were arrested on October 11 on charges of reckless endangerment, criminal damage, and threatening and intimidating behavior have had their cases moved out of the jurisdiction of the local justice court and into county superior court.

No date has been set for their trial in superior court. No reason has been given for the change in jurisdiction. Charges arise from an alleged rock-throwing incident on October 3 when state police ignored victims of the severe flooding and instead spent their efforts in getting scabs to and from work.