

## Grenada: U.S. targets Central America next

Thousands of people are marching November 12 in Washington, D.C., and on the West Coast against U.S. wars in the Caribbean and Central America. These protests could not be more timely, given the U.S. invasion and occupation of the Black-populated island of Grenada, escalating attacks by CIA terrorists against Nicaragua, and a huge U.S. naval-marine buildup in Lebanon.

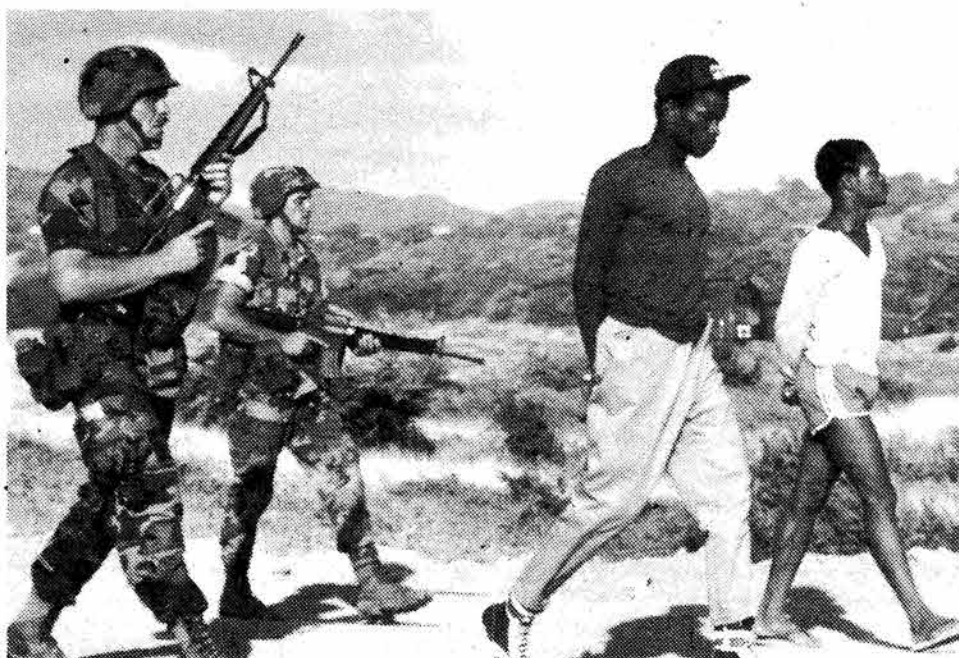
The massive invasion of Grenada marks the first time since Vietnam that U.S. troops have been used for the purpose of

### EDITORIAL

taking over another sovereign nation and forcing a new government down the throats of its people. The U.S. rulers have carried out their arrogant violation of Grenada's right to self-determination despite widespread opposition — including condemnation by an overwhelming vote in the United Nations and protest demonstrations around the world.

The full toll of U.S. aggression in Grenada is being kept secret from the American people. But the few facts that have gotten past the Pentagon censors show massive destruction through bombing and an unknown number of Grenadians slaughtered.

The bloodshed has only begun. Far from a "rescue mission" to "restore order and democracy," the invasion of Grenada has been carried out to overturn the anti-capitalist revolution that began in that country in 1979 with the overthrow of a U.S.-backed dictatorship. The New Jewel



U.S. troops round up Grenadians suspected of being members of People's Revolutionary Army.

Movement (NJM), which led that revolution, succeeded in mobilizing the workers and farmers of Grenada to make deepgoing advances in living standards, health care, education, and democratic rights.

Washington has wanted to crush that revolution ever since 1979. It seized the opportunity in October when a disastrous split in the NJM leadership led to the execution of NJM leader Maurice Bishop, Grenada's prime minister, and other central leaders, and the overthrow of their government by opponents within the NJM.

Even with this devastating blow, followed by the U.S. invasion, the U.S. rulers recognize it will take more to uproot the gains of the revolution and stamp out resistance to the man Washington hand picked to now run the country, Sir Paul Scoon.

Already Washington says its occupation force is holding at least 200 Grenadians prisoner and subjecting them to "intensive questioning." Thousands of U.S. troops are conducting house-to-house searches for other activists. Their principal targets are

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## Antiwar marine wins victory for GI rights

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

CINCINNATI — A major victory has just been won here for the constitutional right of GIs to speak out and demonstrate in opposition to U.S. military intervention abroad.

On November 9, Marine Sergeant Jim Stryffeler, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was given an honorable discharge from the Marine Corps. He had been threatened with victimization and possible court-martial because of his op-

position to the U.S. invasion of Grenada and his plans to participate in the November 12 march on Washington in opposition to that invasion and U.S. intervention in Central America.

Stryffeler, while on vacation leave, scheduled a news conference at the Hilton Hotel in downtown Cincinnati for November 4. He planned to explain his opposition to the U.S. military invasion of Grenada and his intention to march on November 12.

He had been politically active for the last several months. This included sending a letter to the editor of the *Cincinnati Post* protesting an editorial that appeared in the paper, marching in the August 27 demonstration in Washington, and joining the YSA.

However, in order to prevent him from speaking out against U.S. military intervention, the Marine Corps, which found out about the news conference, cancelled his leave, transferred him to the Marine Reserve Center on the outskirts of the city, and ordered him to report for duty Friday morning.

The Marine brass feared that his news conference would pierce the "big lie" propagated by the Reagan administration that the U.S. population, especially GIs, overwhelmingly support the U.S. invasion of Grenada. At the time the news conference was scheduled to begin, Sgt. Stryffeler was being detained and interrogated about his political views and activities.

Nevertheless, in front of a full turnout by the Cincinnati media, the news conference was held. John Studer, national executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which aided Stryffeler in organizing the news conference, read a statement Stryffeler had prepared earlier. It stated,

"My name is Jim Stryffeler. I am a Marine Sergeant. I have been in the Marine Corps for five and one-half years. I joined the Marines right out of high school, like many other young people, hoping to get job skills.

"I am speaking today," the statement continued, "as a U.S. citizen who is opposed to the U.S. invasion and occupation of the small island of Grenada. I am planning to act on my beliefs by participating in the peaceful, legal action of November 12 called by antiwar, labor, civil rights and religious organizations to protest this invasion and the deepening U.S. war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

"I am also acting on my beliefs by en-

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## Jackson campaign spurs debate on Black political action

BY MALIK MIAH

On November 3 civil rights leader Jesse Jackson officially announced his campaign for the Democratic Party nomination for president at a Washington, D.C., news conference and rally of 2,500 people.

Jackson was joined by other Black Democratic Party leaders, including several big-city mayors and members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Native American and Latino leaders, as well as a leader of the North American Farmers Alliance were also present.

The more than three-hour gathering heard Jackson explain:

"I seek the presidency because I want to affirm my belief that leadership is colorless

## U.S. troops poised to attack Syria

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

The U.S. government is threatening to go to war against Syria to achieve its aims in Lebanon. The White House is beefing up its military might in the region. It not only rushed to replace the marines who have died there, but increased its force by several hundred more. It will soon have four naval task forces poised off Lebanon's shores. The U.S. armada includes three aircraft carriers, 300 warplanes, and the battleship *New Jersey*. One of the naval battle groups, headed by the aircraft carrier *Independence*, is steaming toward Lebanon from Grenada, where it participated in the U.S. invasion of that island.

Meanwhile, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fighters loyal to PLO chairman Yassir Arafat are under heavy military attack from PLO dissidents backed by the Syrian army. The bloody assault on Arafat's troops near the Lebanese city of Tripoli is aimed at forcing the PLO to follow the political dictates of the Syrian regime.

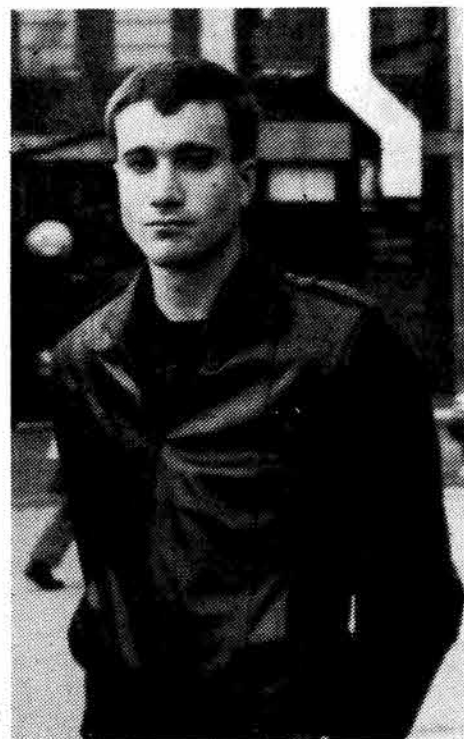
U.S. involvement in a broader Mideast war seems imminent. Imperialist attacks against the Lebanese, Palestinian, and other oppressed peoples of the region have escalated since the October 23 bombing of the U.S. and French military headquarters in Beirut. Two hundred thirty U.S. marines and 58 French soldiers were killed in the attacks. An Israeli military post in Tyre was demolished on November 4 in a similar bombing attack that killed 60 people — including 28 Israeli troops. Israeli troops have occupied southern Lebanon, where Tyre is located, since its invasion of that country in the summer of 1982.

The U.S., French, and Israeli governments have accused the Syrian and Iranian regimes of being responsible for the bombings. Both the Syrian and Iranian governments have denied this charge.

### Imperialists escalate attacks

In the wake of the October 23 bombings, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz went to Paris for discussions with French, Italian, and British government officials. At about the same time, Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger held discussions with Israeli officials to convince their regime to play a more active combat role in imposing imperialist rule in Lebanon. Washington was also considering increasing its military aid to Israel.

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Militant Marine Corps Sgt. Jim Stryffeler opposes U.S. invasion of Grenada.



# Meetings to celebrate Farrell Dobbs' life

Meetings to celebrate the life of Farrell Dobbs and pay tribute to his many contributions to the revolutionary workers movement are being organized around the country.

Dobbs, who was national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party for 19 years beginning in 1953, died October 31 in California, following a brief illness. He was 76 years old.

Speakers at the meetings being planned are among the broad range of those who worked with and learned from Dobbs during his nearly 50 years of active leadership in the revolutionary workers movement in the United States and internationally.

Dobbs, who joined the Communist League of America, predecessor of the SWP, in 1934, was a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes, one of the important labor battles that led off the nationwide struggle to unionize basic industry in the United States. He later became the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to organize over-the-road truckers in the United States.

Dobbs left the Teamsters to become labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party following the party's founding convention in 1938.

Because of his opposition to the course of U.S. imperialism in World War II, he was among the leaders of the SWP and Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis who were the first victims of government prosecution under the notorious Smith Act. He served 13 months in federal prison.

During the difficult years of the capitalist witch-hunt of the 1950s, Dobbs' leadership was decisive in assuring the survival and revolutionary continuity of the SWP. As a new generation of youth came into the party in the 1960s, inspired by the rising struggles of Black Americans, the victory of the Cuban revolution, and the battles being waged by the Vietnamese people, Dobbs helped train and ensure the transition of the party's leadership to the new generation.

Dobbs also played an important role in the leadership of the Fourth International, especially in helping to win a majority of Trotskyist forces around the world to support for the Cuban revolution and working to reunify the Fourth International on that basis in 1963.

The main speaker at the New York meeting and several others will be Jack Barnes, current national secretary of the SWP.

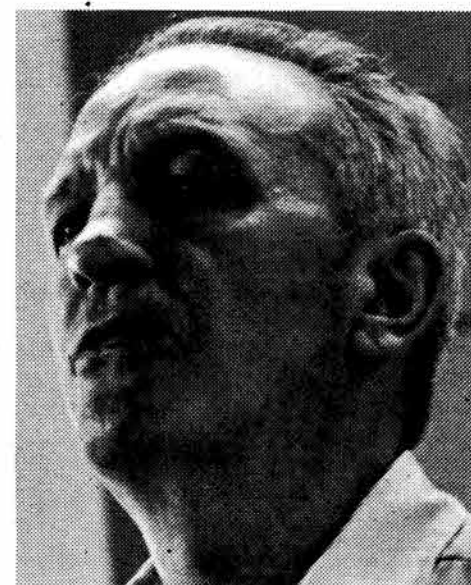
In addition to the meetings listed here, tributes to Dobbs have also been scheduled to take place in Cleveland on November 27, Chicago on December 4, and Boston on December 3.

The main speaker at those gatherings will be SWP National Cochairperson Barry Sheppard.

Meetings will also be held in dozens of other cities around the country, and *Militant* readers are urged to contact the SWP branches listed in the directory on page 21 for information.

Messages to be read at the meetings in tribute to Dobbs should be sent to the SWP, 14 Charles La., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Future issues of the *Militant* will carry articles, messages, and other materials that will give a full appreciation of Dobbs' lifetime of political activity advancing the interests of the working class.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Farrell Dobbs

## Schedule of meetings for Dobbs

### New York

Sunday, November 20, 2:00 p.m.

District 65 UAW Hall  
13 Astor Place, 11th Floor  
(near Broadway and 8th Street)

Speakers will include:

Jack Barnes, Clifton DeBerry, Connie Harris, George Novack, Ed Shaw, Mac Warren, Mary-Alice Waters.

For more information: (212) 925-1668.

### Minneapolis-St. Paul

Monday, November 21, 7:30 p.m.

Machinists' Labor Temple  
1399 Eustis St.  
St. Paul

Speakers will include:

Jack Barnes, John Enestvedt, Helen Scheer, Dave Salner, Mary-Alice Waters.

For more information: (612) 644-6325.

### Northern California

#### Bay Area

Tuesday, November 22, 7:00 p.m.

IBT Local 70 Hall  
70 Hegenberger Road  
Oakland

(near Oakland Coliseum)

Speakers will include:

Jack Barnes, Clifton DeBerry, Connie Harris, Sam Manuel, Mary-Alice Waters.

For more information: (415) 839-5316.

#### Los Angeles

Wednesday, November 23, 7:30 p.m.

2546 W Pico Blvd.

Speakers will include:

Jack Barnes, Oscar Coover, Fred Halstead, James Harris, Betsey Stone, Mary-Alice Waters.

For more information: (213) 380-9460.

Receptions will follow each meeting.

## North Korea rejects blame in Burma bombing, calls charge 'fabrication'

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

UNITED NATIONS — The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has rejected claims by the Burmese government that the DPRK was responsible for the October 9 bombing in Rangoon in which 21 people were killed, including four South Korean cabinet ministers.

South Korean Pres. Chun Doo Hwan was in Rangoon at the time but escaped the bombing.

The Burmese claims are a fabrication "evident to everyone," Han Si Hae, the DPRK's permanent observer to the UN, said at a news conference here November 7.

Han also said Burma's November 4 decision to break diplomatic relations with the DPRK and order its diplomatic personnel to leave in 48 hours was "an unjustifiable act ignoring international law and practice."

Han said Burma had not even discussed its investigation of the bombing with his government prior to breaking relations with it.

Han also pointed out that Burma had not made public the results of the investigation, nor had it begun legal proceedings against two "Korean suspects" in the bombing. (A report from Rangoon in the *Washington Post* dated October 14 stated that one of the two "suspects" had died.)

The only "evidence" so far revealed, Han said, was alleged "confessions" from the two suspects that they were DPRK agents.

A DPRK Foreign Ministry statement said the DPRK has "never resorted to indi-

vidual terrorism and assassination."

Han charged that the governments of South Korea, the United States, and Japan had pressured Burma into making the charges. He noted recent Japanese loans to Burma.

Han also charged that the South Korean government and its U.S. masters, in trying to blame the DPRK for the bombing, were playing their usual "north scare" card to try to reduce large-scale protests in South Korea against the Chun regime and against U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan's upcoming visit to South Korea.

Han said "there is enough ground to assert" that the bombing was perpetrated by Chun himself to "extricate himself out of the blind alley" the South Korean people's struggle for democratic rights has driven him into.

Han pointed out that security for Chun's visit was handled by hundreds of South Korean agents, yet Chun's personal security chief and the head of the National Agency for Security Planning — the new name for the Korean Central Intelligence Agency — were not fired when Chun shuffled his cabinet following the bombing.

Others who could be responsible for the bombing are Burmese or South Korean disidents.

The Chun regime is notorious for its brutal suppression of labor and of democratic rights.

The U.S. and South Korean military authorities have also used the bombing to launch a number of armed provocations against the DPRK.

## Books by Farrell Dobbs

### Teamster Rebellion

192 pp., \$4.95.

### Teamster Power

255 pp., \$5.95.

### Teamster Politics

256 pp., \$5.95.

### Teamster Bureaucracy

304 pp., \$5.95.

This four-volume series contains the history and lessons of one of the most important labor struggles of the 1930s and 1940s. Farrell Dobbs offers an inspiring, first-hand account of a militant, democratic union, and takes up questions of trade union strategy and the role of the revolutionary party. These books are indispensable for understanding revolutionary strategy in the labor movement.

### Revolutionary Continuity

*Marxist Leadership in the U.S.:*

*The Early Years, 1848-1917*

221 pp., \$5.95.

### Revolutionary Continuity

*Marxist Leadership in the U.S.:*

*Birth of the Communist Movement 1918-1922.*

240 pp., \$5.95.

This two-volume set describes the Marxist movement in the U.S. from its beginnings through 1922. It points out the political lessons learned from these two periods.

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Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

## Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



## The Militant

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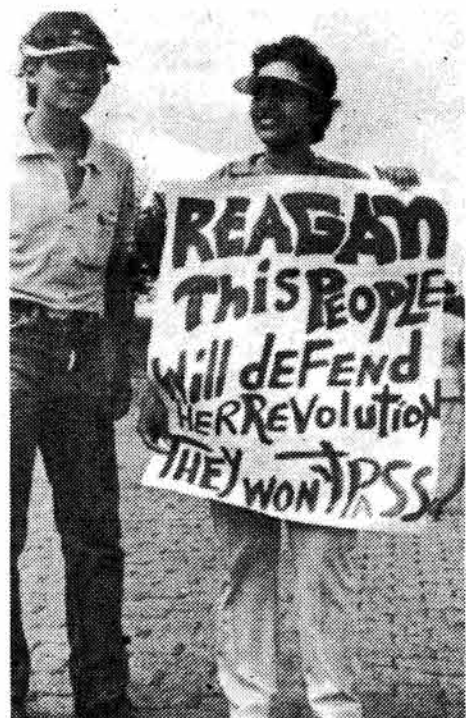
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# Nicaraguans prepare for invasion by U.S.



**In wake of U.S. invasion of Grenada, Nicaraguans are organizing massive civil defense programs for their cities.**

BY JANE HARRIS

CIUDAD SANDINO, Nicaragua — Here in this working-class suburb, southwest of Managua, Nicaraguans are preparing for a U.S. invasion similar to the one against Grenada.

"We are trying all means to avoid a direct U.S. intervention in Nicaragua," Interior Minister Tomás Borge told a crowd of some 9,000 here October 30. "But it is possible that our efforts will not be successful and arrogance will predominate."

Since the invasion of Grenada, Borge and other leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have intensified efforts to prepare the country for a shift from the current attacks by counter-revolutionary exiles to a full-scale invasion, backed by air strikes against population centers and economic targets. They point to a recent meeting of top military men from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, organized by the U.S. government, as evidence of plans for such an invasion, which could involve not only Honduran, Guatemalan, and Salvadoran troops, but U.S. soldiers as well.

"All signals, all military intelligence reports at our disposal, and the recent events

[in Grenada] indicate that a large-scale intervention against Nicaragua is in preparation," said Víctor Tirado, a member of the FSLN National Directorate, October 29. He was speaking to an assembly of agro-industrial innovators, workers who have invented devices to substitute for imported

## On-the-scene report

**The Militant's bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, staffed by correspondents Jane Harris and Michael Baumann, brings you weekly news on the U.S. war, plus regular features on the Sandinista revolution's accomplishments. You can't follow what's happening in Nicaragua without the Militant. To subscribe see page 2.**

materials and spare parts that are difficult to obtain.

"We must be alert, because what happened in Grenada sets the stage for a coming attack against the Sandinista revolution," Tirado warned.

Task number one in confronting this aggression, according to Sandinista Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, is to accelerate

the preparations for civil defense, concretize evacuation plans, and get first-aid and fire brigades trained.

"The Yankees won't find us with our arms locked in storerooms," Ortega told a meeting of Sandinista Youth in Managua October 31. "We have already distributed weapons and millions of bullets throughout the country."

If the bullets run out, he said, Nicaraguans will fight with knives if they have to.

Ortega said Nicaragua would prefer to spare both its own people and young U.S. draftees from such all-out warfare. Nicaragua would rather fight the "Weinbergers, Reagans, Shultzes, and Kissingers," not "young North Americans who often don't even know the name of the country where they're being sent to kill and die."

The October 29 FSLN daily *Barricada* featured a front-page interview with Commander Dora María Téllez, FSLN political secretary in Managua. She pointed to serious deficiencies in the present level of civil defense.

Téllez stressed that while formally Nicaragua is in a State of Emergency, "I would say that we're actually in a state of alert, which precedes a state of war."

"When the imperialists attack," she said, "they won't just hit economic targets, but will also try to terrorize the civilian population." So far, she added, civil defense preparations against this are "suitable for a war against an enemy like Somoza, but insufficient to withstand a full-scale U.S. invasion."

"Our people are accustomed to combat, but they think in terms of their experience in the [anti-Somoza] insurrection. We have to overcome this concept and make clear that new methods have to be developed to confront imperialism."

Because of the shortness of time, the priority will be to prepare the defense of Managua, the country's capital and nerve center.

*Barricada* also printed a two-part interview with Nguyen Vinh Bin, Vietnam's ambassador to Nicaragua. Bin explained how the patriotism and creativity of the Vietnamese masses triumphed over Washington's massive bombing of their country. Work brigades of thousands of Vietnamese mobilized to immediately rebuild bridges and other strategic targets each time they were destroyed by U.S. bombs.

Emergency aid, meanwhile, has been flown in from North Korea: 100,000 picks and shovels to begin digging bomb shelters planned for Managua and other cities.



**Militant/Matilde Zimmermann**  
**Dora María Téllez**

## Sandinistas thwart bishops' antidraft march

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — As the threat of a direct U.S. military intervention deepens, so too does the polarization of class forces in Nicaragua.

Tens of thousands took part in a march in Masaya, 18 miles south of here, November 1 in support of Patriotic Military Service and in rejection of what march leaders called "reactionaries in clerical robes." The march, sponsored by the Nicaraguan mass organizations and made up largely of urban workers and artisans, was the culmination of several days of open confrontation over defense of the revolution. It came at the end of the first month of sign-up under the new universal military service law.

Opposition to the law — in effect, to defense of Nicaragua from imperialist invasion — is being led publicly by the Catholic Church hierarchy under the pretext of advocating "conscientious objection."

Involved behind the scenes are the right-wing political parties, wealthy businessmen, the U.S. embassy, relatives of imprisoned Somozaist National Guardsmen, and former municipal officials of the Somoza era — all operating under the guise of "religious liberty."

These forces joined together in a supposedly religious march in one of Managua's wealthy suburbs October 9. The real aim of the action was shown by leaflets and slogans directed against signing up for military service.

An effort to hold a similar but even bigger march October 30, following the main Sunday masses in a half-dozen Managua parishes headed by reactionary priests, was stopped cold by the mass organizations.

At each church, hundreds of members of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), the Sandinista Youth, and neighborhood Christian Base Communities mobilized to block the reactionaries from taking the streets.

The sheer physical presence of these supporters of the revolution was sufficient to prevent the right-wing march from taking place.

"The people closed ranks and shut the doors to the maneuvers of those who are seeking to demobilize Nicaragua's defense," said Elías Chévez, general secretary of the Managua CDS. "The masses took to the streets to dissuade these sectors from their antipatriotic activity and to repudiate their line of boycotting vigilance in the factories, industrial centers, and streets."

Contrary to the claims church leaders are making in the international press, the confrontation has nothing to do with "religious persecution," Chévez stressed.

In every *barrio* where mass organizations turned out Sunday, religious denominations and parishes that do not openly oppose defense preparations held services without incident.

Several of the churches that were sur-

rounded by supporters of the revolution have been issuing anonymous leaflets urging boycott of military service, *vigilancia* (night watch), and efforts to save energy and increase production. They have also begun to form parish-based youth organizations to advance such counterrevolutionary political perspectives.

Eight members of one such organization, the Archdiocese Catholic Youth Community, were arrested and briefly detained at the end of October by state security forces. The arrests came after it was learned that they planned to occupy offices of the United Nations and the International Red Cross to publicize a call for boycotting conscription. All eight were subsequently released in the custody of their parents.

In Masaya, two foreign priests who have been among the most vocal opponents of Patriotic Military Service had their permission to reside in Nicaragua revoked October 31. The action came after they repeatedly refused to stop issuing leaflets calling for a boycott of military service.

One of the priests, a Costa Rican, was a major figure in an effort to organize a counterrevolutionary uprising in Masaya in August 1982. Support of the move by the revolutionary government to expel the robed reactionaries was a major theme of the November 1 demonstration in Masaya.

Two recent incidents, among many, show the degree to which church leaders have isolated themselves.

In the southeastern Managua neighborhood of Colonia Centro América, Father Antonio Baccaro outraged much of his parish when he refused to provide a funeral mass for a Sandinista soldier slain in combat in the north. He told the soldier's family, which belongs to the parish, that he wanted nothing to do with those "communist dogs."

In the western Managua *barrio* of San Judas, the day of the planned antidraft action, CDS members and parishioners phys-

ically escorted the most reactionary parish priest out of the neighborhood and told him not to return.

A bishop who tried to enter San Judas the same day to take part in the antidraft demonstration was peacefully but firmly prevented from doing so. He was also informed that Archbishop Obando y Bravo, the country's highest church figure, was unwelcome in San Judas.

Feelings against the church hierarchy run particularly high in San Judas because of a lengthy battle by residents with the church over a piece of land. The land, intended for a school, was deeded to Obando y Bravo personally during the Somoza dictatorship in an arrangement to safeguard it until construction could begin. Obando y Bravo now claims to remember nothing about an agreement to return the land and says it is his personal property.

As of November 3, full figures had not yet been published on the results of the month-long campaign to register for military service the estimated pool of 200,000 men between the ages of 17 and 22. It has been reported that rates of nearly 100 percent registration were attained in the large working-class concentrations in the country's mines, mills, factories, and agro-industrial complexes. In Managua, the sparsely populated rural areas along the Pacific, and in the Atlantic Coast region, registration has gone slower.

The clear aim of church leaders in trying to hold an antidraft demonstration October 30, the day before the registration deadline, was to harden up those who have not yet signed up. Their inability to even step out into the streets was a blow to this effort.

Registration of women, who fought for and won the right to serve as volunteers in the military, began on November 5. This will continue to the end of the month, along with continuing registration for young men who did not sign up by the original deadline.

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# Some questions and answers on Grenada invasion and Cuba

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Since the beginning of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, *Militant* supporters have mobilized to get out the truth about the Grenada revolution through stepped-up sales of this paper.

Many workers and others have bought the paper and have asked our salespeople a lot of questions about Grenada, particularly about the role of Cuba. The purpose of this article is to answer some of these questions.

**Question.** *I don't understand why you oppose the invasion of Grenada. The U.S. government says that secret military pacts between Grenada and the Soviet Union, North Korea, and Cuba have been found on the island, in addition to a lot of weapons. Doesn't this prove that Grenada was being used as an armed camp to train terrorists and export weapons all over Latin America?*

**Answer.** No.

Of the many documents the U.S. government claims to have found, only two have been printed.

The November 6 *New York Times* printed excerpts of what the State Department says are military cooperation agreements between Cuba and Grenada, and the Soviet Union and Grenada.

Whether the Grenada documents are real or not, they prove absolutely nothing about Grenada being an "armed camp" or a base for "terrorist" operations for the Soviet Union or Cuba.

According to the documents in the *Times*, Cuba agreed to provide about 45 military specialists to help train the Grenadian armed forces and to let Grenada send 12 military personnel to Cuba to receive training.

The Soviet pact detailed military equipment the Soviet Union agreed to give the Grenadian government.

Reagan claimed that U.S. soldiers found three warehouses full of military equipment in Grenada. But reporters who inspected the warehouses the next day found that only one contained arms, and it was three-quarters empty. Most of the arms were

World War II vintage or older.

Grenada had those arms because, like every sovereign nation, it has the right to defend itself. Washington denies that right to Grenada, yet the U.S. government sends millions in arms and advisers to the dictatorship in El Salvador, whose death squads have assassinated 1,300 civilians this year alone.

The Grenadian people decided to build an army because they correctly expected an invasion. When that invasion came, it was the U.S. troops that were heavily armed compared to the Grenadians. The Grenadian army of a few thousand was attacked by some 6,000 U.S. soldiers, who were backed up by warships and dozens of helicopter gunships and warplanes. The U.S. invaders not only bombed to bits government buildings, but blew up a mental hospital, killing at least 20 civilians.

Ever since the March 1979 overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy by the New Jewel Movement (NJM), the U.S. has been preparing military intervention to overthrow the workers and farmers government led by former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

In 1981, thousands of U.S. troops participated in military maneuvers that included a dress rehearsal for an invasion of Grenada.

That same year the CIA presented the Senate Intelligence Committee with a covert action plan to overthrow Bishop's government. This was only revealed in 1983 by the *Washington Post*.

With the execution of Bishop and other government leaders in October of this year, and the overturning of their government, Washington made its move, carrying out the invasion just as it had rehearsed in 1981.

**Q.** *But Reagan said the U.S. got there just in time to prevent a Cuban takeover of Grenada.*

**A.** Like with every other charge that Reagan has made against Cuba, he hasn't offered a shred of proof to back this one up. That's because he doesn't have any.

The fact is, Cuba never invaded Grenada or threatened to do so. The United States, however, has.

Cuba has been the staunchest friend of Grenada since its 1979 revolution. Cuba donated heavy earth-moving equipment, machinery, tractors, and fishing trawlers along with volunteer technicians, construction workers, doctors, and dentists to aid the Grenadian people in their struggle to develop their economy, which had been stunted by years of imperialist domination. Cuban aid was given at the request of Grenada, which also asked the United States for aid. The U.S. government sent marines instead.

The U.S. motive for invading Grenada is to protect U.S. corporate domination in that area of the world against rebellions by the people who are exploited and oppressed by U.S. imperialism.

By contrast, Cuba has never threatened the well-being of the people of the United States or any other country.

The Cubans made a socialist revolution against a U.S.-backed dictatorship 25 years ago. In those two-and-a-half decades, they have never militarily threatened the United States; they have never tried to interfere with U.S. imports and exports that go through the Caribbean by sea; they have never been the staging ground for terrorist attacks on the United States or Cuba's neighbors (though right-wing Cuban terrorists operate freely on U.S. soil with the blessing of Washington); and they have never invaded any other country. Washington — in the same period of time — has invaded Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, the Dominican Republic, Iran, and Lebanon.

What Washington fears is not a Cuban invasion but the example of the social and economic gains of the Cuban revolution, which are a powerful threat to the real colonialism in the region: the colonialism of the U.S., British, French, and Dutch varieties.



Grenada Government Information Service  
Grenadian officers and workers in Ministry of Agriculture pose among 23 tractors donated by Cuba.

Washington fears the thousands of Cuban doctors and teachers who voluntarily aid other countries. And it fears the fact that the Cuban masses, precisely because of their socialist revolution, enjoy high living standards and more democracy than any other country in Latin America.

The United States, on the other hand, is a threat to Cuba's national security — and says so openly. From the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to the numerous CIA attempts to kill Castro to the U.S. fleet currently heading for Guantánamo Bay, a U.S. military base on Cuba's territory, the attacks have been relentless.

**Q.** *Well if all that's true, then why were other Caribbean countries so anxious to have the United States help them invade Grenada?*

**A.** For one thing, these countries have no more right to invade Grenada than the United States does.

But this invasion was made in the U.S.A., not in Jamaica or Barbados. The planning for it began a long time ago — in Washington. Even the actual formal written "request" for U.S. "aid" in the invasion by the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) was drafted in Washington and then sent to the OECS for its rubber stamp.

What these East Caribbean governments fear is not Cuban or Grenadian "aggression," but the example that Cuba and Grenada set for the working people of their own countries.

The existence of the Grenada revolution, in particular, confirmed that even tiny islands can break from imperialist domination and make big economic, social, and political gains for their people. (See article on facing page on what the Grenada revolution accomplished.)

**Q.** *Wait a minute. I am very confused about what actually did happen in Grenada. According to what I've read, Bishop was a Marxist and a friend of Castro. But Cuba had a hand in Bishop's death. The new people who took over in Grenada are more hard-line Marxists and they turned against Bishop because he was beginning to be too pro-American.*

**A.** Bishop was indeed a Marxist, right up until the day of his death. That is, he understood that in order for humanity to advance, the rule of society must be taken out of the hands of the tiny class of factory owners, bankers, and landlords and taken over by the vast majority of people — the workers and farmers.

He was a central leader of a Marxist party — the New Jewel Movement, which set itself the task of organizing the toilers of Grenada to run that society, a process the U.S. invasion was designed to smash.

Bishop was neither "pro-American" nor "anti-American."

The hostility between the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada and the U.S. government did not stem from some supposed anti-American attitude on Bishop's part. It stemmed from the unrelenting hostility of the U.S. ruling class toward this big revolution on a small, Black, English-speaking island.

Bishop and the NJM leadership, however, often explained that the working people of the United States, particularly Blacks, were a vital ally of the Grenadian people.

Acting on this premise, Bishop visited the United States in June of this year to strengthen what he called "people to people" relations between the two countries.

The major media is trying to portray Bishop's trip as an offer to trade some of his revolutionary principles for a deal with Washington.

But Bishop explained the purpose of his trip in a speech he gave to 2,500 people in New York during his visit. In addition to getting out the truth about Grenada to the working people of the United States, Bishop said, another objective of his tour was "to try yet again to establish some . . . official dialogue with the government of the United States."

Like Cuba and Nicaragua, Grenada has always sought normal diplomatic relations with the United States in order to relieve some of the economic and military pressure on their countries from Washington. It is Washington that has rebuffed and sabotaged such efforts at every turn. Reagan refused to meet with Bishop while he was here.

That's because Bishop made crystal clear that the Grenada revolution was not for sale to U.S. imperialism — at any price. As he told the crowd in New York, while the Grenadian government would continue to press for normalization of relations with Washington, it would continue to deepen the revolutionary process there, taking the needs of the Grenadian masses as its starting point. (Bishop's speech is available in pamphlet form — see ad on this page.)

Far from supporting those NJM figures who overthrew Bishop's government, the Cubans denounced this act, pointing to the great danger of a U.S. intervention that it opened up.

**Q.** *One final question. If everything you've said is true, why have so many Grenadians been shown on TV saying they're glad the United States invaded? And how come only Cubans fought back against the invasion?*

**A.** Many Grenadians did fight. After U.S. troops had killed or taken prisoner all Cubans on the island, there were still battles going on. So Washington then claimed there were 1,100 Cubans, not the 700 it originally said. But Cuba released the exact number of Cubans it knew were there — 784. The U.S. government was caught lying again and had to admit the Cuban figure was accurate.

Why do the polls show support among Grenadians for the invasion?

One reason is there are massive round-ups in Grenada today of supporters of the former government. People are subject to arrest, jailing or worse for being supporters of the NJM. Today, Grenada really is an armed camp, with U.S. troops all over the place. You'd think twice, too, about going on television or telling some "poll-taker" that you opposed the invasion and supported the Bishop government.

It's also true there is disorientation and demoralization on Grenada following the execution of Bishop and the other leaders. That's why the United States picked that moment to invade — they knew the resistance would be qualitatively weaker than it would have been under the former government.

## For Further Reading.

Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

## Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



48 pp., \$1. Fifty percent discount on all orders of 5 or more.

### Also

### Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean

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

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



# Why does Reagan fear Grenada?

BY HARRY RING

Why did Washington invade Grenada? The real reason is not that complicated. After more than 350 years of colonial rule, the Grenadian people made a revolution in 1979 that brought them genuine independence and the opportunity to build a new and better life.

Washington, and the business and financial interests it represents, feared that the example of the Grenadian revolution would prove catching among the other Caribbean people, who suffer the same social problems inflicted on Grenada as the result of imperialist exploitation.

For nearly two centuries, beginning in 1609, Great Britain and France had engaged in a tug of war for possession of Grenada. Meanwhile, both waged a genocidal war against the native Indian people, exterminating them completely.

By 1783, British colonialism had won control of the island. African slaves were brought in to do the work.

The slaves heroically resisted their oppression and, by 1834, Britain was compelled to end slavery.

But London held its grip on the island and only in 1974 did Grenada obtain formal independence.

The island still suffered under the dictatorship of Eric Gairy, however. His rule ended abruptly March 13, 1979, with the victory of the popular revolution led by the New Jewel Movement.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government was established with the late Maurice Bishop as prime minister. It was a government that represented the interests of Grenada's workers and farmers and put people before profits.

Despite big obstacles, and heavy pressure from a hostile Washington, the Grenadian revolution made astonishing progress in a brief four and a half years.

Grenada had inherited a classical colonial legacy.

It was a fertile tropical country. But three-quarters of its food had to be imported. The land was monopolized by cash crops for export — nutmeg, cocoa and bananas.

## Mass unemployment

When the revolution occurred, 49 percent of Grenada's work force was jobless.

The minuscule amount of health care available was strictly for the few who could afford it.

There were less than 70, mainly dilapidated, grade schools on the island. Only 30 percent of the elementary school teachers were professionally trained.

## Grenada's international airport

A while back, in a TV performance, President Reagan displayed a sinister-looking aerial photo of the airport being built in Grenada. The airport, Reagan stated, showed Grenada was being converted into a Soviet-Cuban military base. Why, he demagogically inquired, does such a tiny island need such a big airport?

He knew. Like most of the Caribbean islands, Grenada is dependent on tourism. But unlike the others, Grenada has only a tiny airport that can't handle large passenger planes. To get to Grenada, you have to fly to Barbados and there transfer to a small plane. If it's after sundown, you have to stay over in Barbados because Grenada's airport isn't equipped to safely handle night landings.

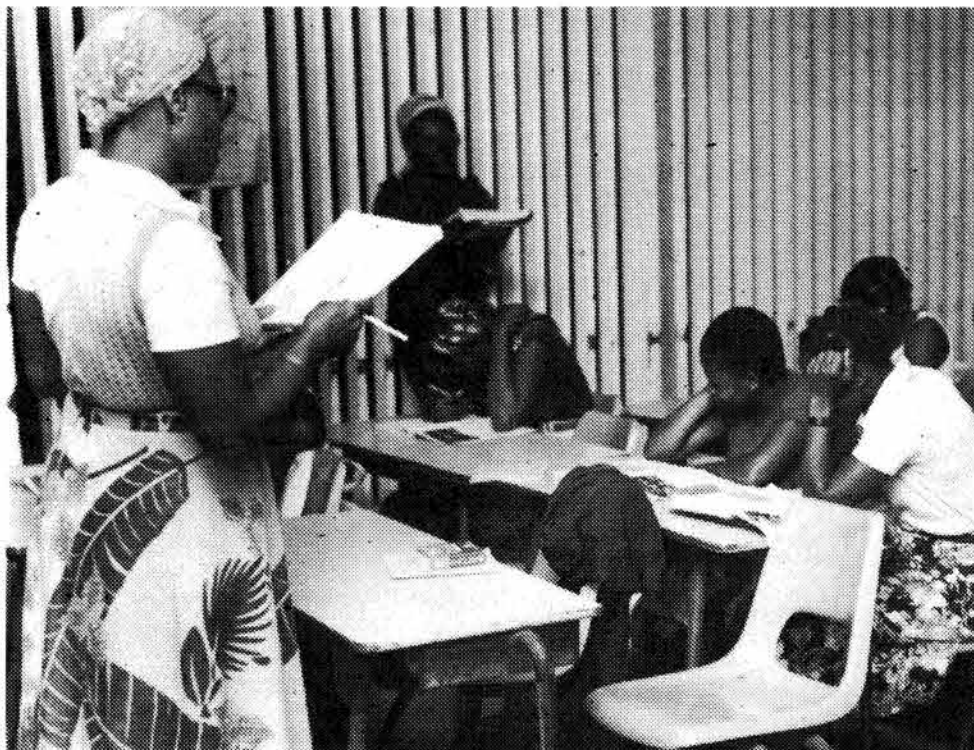
The new airport had a slated 9,000-foot runway to accept direct flights by big passenger planes. Five small neighboring islands have airports as big or bigger.

For instance, Antigua, which is smaller than Grenada, has an airport with an 11,000-foot runway. Aruba, smaller yet, has a 9,000-foot runway.

Grenada was simply trying to better compete for tourist trade.

But don't take our word for it. This is what was reported November 1 by *Newsday*, a major New York area daily:

"LONDON—The Grenadian airport that President Reagan foresaw as a Cuban and Soviet military base was planned by the Canadian government, is being underwritten by the British government and built in part by a London firm."



Grenada Government Information Service  
Among many gains Grenadian working people accomplished with their own government were free education and government training and loan programs, which helped reduce unemployment. At left is adult education class; at right, student at Mirabear Agricultural Training School.

In an impoverished country, tuition was required to attend high school.

The revolutionary government proceeded on the idea that if people were going to run their own lives, and government, they must have education.

There was a drive against illiteracy. Over a two-year period, high school tuition fees were phased out and all education became free.

Training courses were established for the grade school teachers who needed them. Meanwhile, community organizations kept the schools running. They did painting and repairs and taught the pupils such practical skills as auto repair and agriculture.

Health care was made a big priority. When the revolution won, there were but three hospitals on the island with 320 beds. There were only 25 doctors.

Hospital facilities were expanded and upgraded. The number of doctors grew to 40, with a number of volunteers coming from Cuba.

All public health care was made free. Three of every four children on the island were immunized against the five major infectious diseases there.

The new government set about ensuring the democratic rights of the people.

Antilabor laws imposed under Gairy were quickly repealed. A Trade Union Recognition Act was passed ensuring the right of workers to join a union without fear of victimization. Unions grew quickly.

Other mass organizations were developed to give the people input into the country's decision-making process. These included the National Women's Organization and the National Youth Organization.

## Secret ballot

All officials and executive committee members of mass organizations were voted on by secret ballot at annual or semiannual election meetings.

The organizations were represented on the boards of government bodies. The principal leaders of these organizations became full members of the Provisional Revolutionary government.

In each parish, or district, monthly meetings were held to discuss local and national issues.

The people had "the right to summons." This meant any government minister or official could be called on to attend and respond to particular concerns.

Basic issues were brought to the people. For example, when the 1982 national budget was drawn up, it was presented for discussion to 1,000 delegates from the unions, mass organizations, and People's Revolutionary Army.

Following their discussion, the budget was taken to the monthly parish meetings and to workplace gatherings. Rarely have working people had such a voice in determining how their money should be spent.

And it was spent in their interest. Using that particular budget as an example, half the expenditures were allocated for development of the island — new housing, new roads, electric and telephone facilities, a new bus system, etc.

Of the noncapital expenditures, a solid 60 percent went for health, education and housing.

Under Gairy there were nominal price controls. But under the new government controls were enforced.



Militant/Wayne Carter

Price lists were posted in markets. Fines for violators were trebled and jail sentences for persistent offenders doubled.

The island was divided into 10 districts, with a price control inspector for each. The inspectors were rotated so they didn't get too chummy with the merchants.

## Pension rights

A national insurance plan — the first — was established. It provided old age pensions, sickness benefits, maternity benefits, survivors' pensions, and funeral grants.

With expanded government employment, and government support to the unions, real wages increased 7 percent in 1981 and 3 percent in 1982.

By 1983, the prerevolutionary unemployment rate of 49 percent was reduced to 12.

This was of particular benefit to women, who had traditionally suffered double exploitation and oppression.

One of the first acts of the new government was passage of a Grenadian version of the Equal Rights Amendment, which still awaits approval in the United States.

On June 15, 1979, in the fourth month of the revolution, Prime Minister Bishop addressed a national conference of women.

He declared it a government responsibility to ensure women's rights. But, he emphasized, women had to be organized "to make sure the practice is not lagging too far behind promises and behind declarations and proclamations."

And women were actively involved in advancing their own liberation. In the first year of the revolution, the National Women's Organization had 120 members.

By 1981 it had grown to 1,500. By 1983, it enjoyed a membership of 6,500, with active chapters in every town and village.

A government Ministry of Women's Affairs included a section called Women in Production. Its responsibility was to promote training and opportunities for women to break into nontraditional jobs. The department aimed to establish a center in every parish to teach women carpentry, masonry, surveying, and other skills.

Amid these inspiring gains, a prophetic note was struck.

In 1982, Pat Kane, a British socialist, spent several months in Grenada as a correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*, the international news magazine.

In the March 29, 1982 issue, Kane reported on the opening of a plant that would provide asphalt for the runway of the new international airport being built with aid from Cuba and other countries.

A Grenadian worker at the asphalt plant told Kane:

"This is what the Cubans bring, aid so that we can build our country."

"What do you think the American soldiers will bring with them when they come? Books and milk for our children? No, brother, they will only bring guns and death for our people."

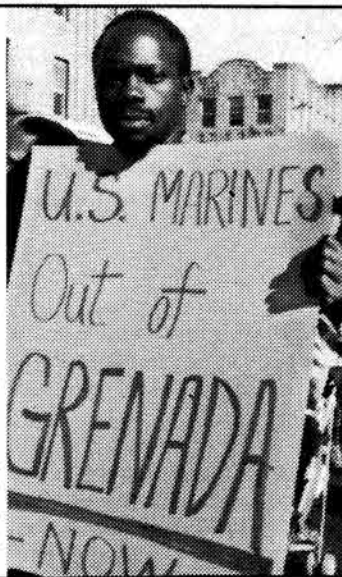
## COME TO THE YSA CONVENTION

Dec. 28-Jan. 1, the Young Socialist Alliance will meet in St. Louis, Missouri, to discuss the fight against Washington's wars in Lebanon, Central America and the Caribbean and the tasks of U.S. revolutionary youth.

A celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution will be featured.

For more information write to YSA, 14 Charles La., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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# Argentine elections: military rule ends

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Presidential elections in Argentina, held October 30, resulted in the victory by a large margin of Raúl Alfonsín, candidate of the Radical Party.

Alfonsín's inauguration in mid-December will end almost eight years of military rule in Argentina. Originally set for January 30, the inauguration, under popular pressure, was moved up by the discredited military government.

Alfonsín's electoral victory, by 52 percent of the vote against 40 percent for Italo Luder of the (Peronist) Justicialist Party, was the first defeat in elections for the Peronists since their party was founded in the 1940s by Juan Perón. Both candidates are procapitalist.

The defeat of the Peronists was not so severe in the Chamber of Deputies, where the Radicals won 131 seats to the Peronists' 111. With seven other parties taking 12 seats, the Radicals have an eight-member majority in the 254-seat chamber.

U.S. press reports of returns are not complete, but the Peronists "appeared to have won the governorships of at least eight of Argentina's 22 provinces," according to an October 31 dispatch from Buenos Aires.

The military seized power in March 1976, toppling the regime of Isabel Perón who had succeeded her husband as president when he died in 1974. Having failed to impose an austerity program on Argentina's rebellious workers, she was about to default on \$1.1 billion in foreign debts.

A period of terrible repression of work-

ers and political activists followed. More than 10,000 were killed and 7,000 imprisoned. More than 22,000 were kidnapped by security forces and "disappeared." More than 300,000 people were forced into exile.

All political and trade-union activity was banned. Workers' wages were driven down while inflation spiraled.

The junta's austerity program had the warm approval of U.S. bankers. A vice-president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust said of the junta's finance minister that the "banking industry considers him one of the best economic ministers Argentina has had."

A finance director for International Telephone and Telegraph said it "is indubitable that confidence in the Argentine situation exists, and there is international recognition that the policy followed by the minister is correct."

By 1978 workers' real wages were down to 28.7 percent of their 1974 level. Between 1976 and 1982 workers lost \$80 billion in real wages.

Foreign debt increased from \$10 billion at the time of the coup to \$40 billion today because of what one U.S. study described as "military spending and private greed." Argentina has the third-largest foreign debt of any country in the world.

An estimated \$11 billion in capital left the country, much of it to military officers' secret accounts. The economy virtually collapsed, with Argentina's employed industrial work force down from 1.8 million in 1976 to 1.3 million today.



September strike in Argentina by public employees

But the working class fought back, recovering from the terrible blows it had taken, mounting strikes and demonstrations. Protests for an accounting of the military's murders and torture also grew.

On March 30, 1982, several hundred thousand workers and others marched against the junta. On April 2, hoping to strengthen its political position, the military government recovered the Malvinas Islands which the British government had illegally occupied since 1833.

The Argentine workers and masses supported the fight to recover the islands while denouncing the government in huge demonstrations.

The military government was discredited and humiliated when it proved incapable of resisting the British re seizure of the Malvinas, and the masses were emboldened to demonstrate against it.

Large protests by relatives of the junta's victims grew. The workers organized three general strikes within 10 months, the most recent on October 4 of this year.

The junta had alienated Argentine businessmen and had lost the confidence of Washington and other imperialist powers, which sided with Britain in the Malvinas war.

The generals and admirals decided they could no longer govern. They scheduled elections after declaring an amnesty for the soldiers and cops responsible for widespread murders and tortures.

The amnesty was repudiated by Luder and especially by Alfonsín, who won votes because of his role in opposing the military's repression. But the military will certainly resist any investigations, regardless of popular clamor for them, and Alfonsín has stopped short of calling for them.

Argentina's international creditors still want their pound of flesh. Talks between the new government and the International Monetary Fund were due within 10 days after the elections to discuss repayment of the country's debt.

Both Alfonsín and Luder had made campaign promises to pay the country's "legitimate" debt. That the "illegitimate" part of the debt was left open made the international bankers nervous.

The big-business press in this country reacted to Alfonsín's election with approval, in large part because the Peronists, traditionally based in the unions, have raised the specter of default on debts to foreign banks when they have been in power. They believe that Alfonsín is more likely to pay, and are urging the bankers to be cooperative in granting relief to the new government on loan payments.

Despite misgivings about setting a precedent by softening their collection terms, the bankers appeared to be willing to go along.

The *New York Times* gloated over the Peronists' electoral defeat in hopes that Alfonsín will move against the leadership of the unions, which retains close ties to the Peronist party, despite the Peronists' complicity with the military's repression of workers.

Some U.S. papers pleaded with the U.S. government to give the new civilian regime a chance. It may. But it'll keep its military option open. As *Business Week* noted, a top U.S. official was looking forward to selling arms to the Argentine military. Such sales had been suspended because of the notoriety of the military regime's repression.

Selling arms would "help reestablish links" between the U.S. and Argentine military, he said: "They need that contact. And so do we."

## Icelandic unions say U.S. out of Salvador

The Icelandic Workers Federation, that country's leading trade-union body, issued a sharp denunciation of U.S. intervention in El Salvador at its October 14-16 congress.

The U.S.-backed Salvadoran government, the federation declared, has made it impossible for trade unions to defend working people, with hundreds of their members and leaders imprisoned.

A resolution passed by the congress called attention to "the struggle of workers and farmers in El Salvador for jobs, land, the right to organize, and the right to govern their country themselves independently from a small proprietor class, which now governs the whole wealth and all the resources of the country, and without the intervention of the imperialist power in the north, the United States and its big companies."

## Protests against invasion of Grenada continue

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Protests of the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada continue across the country. Black groups and individuals continue to take the lead in initiating them.

At the center of the Grenada protests is a deepening understanding of why the U.S. invaded: to try to destroy a socialist revolution in a Black nation and prevent its influence spreading to other Caribbean countries.

Also discussed is the role of Cuba. Many, if not most, of those protesting the invasion greatly admire Cuba's internationalism and aid to Grenada and reject the U.S. government's charges that Cuba was trying to dominate Grenada.

A New York City memorial meeting November 4 for slain Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop turned into a Grenada solidarity rally. A crowd of more than 1,500, most of whom were Black, filled Hunter College auditorium, where Bishop had spoken in June.

The meeting heard representatives from the Hunter College Student Union, the National Black Independent Political Party, National Black United Front (NBUF), National Conference of Black Lawyers, Casa Nicaragua, Committee in Defense of Haitian Territory, Caribbean People's Alliance, and others.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry of NBUF explained that what Reagan feared in Grenada was the example of a Black nation

whose leaders were "distributing national resources in the best way to help all their people."

During a visit to Cuba, Daughtry said, he "found a great and gallant people who were willing to give of their meager resources, in spite of their being blockaded [by the United States] 20 years." Daughtry said Cuba is a country that "can tell countries across the world we will send you our doctors, we will send you our technicians and teachers."

The defense of Angola by Cuba's internationalist fighters against racist South Africa was also strongly cheered when Daughtry mentioned it. An editorial from the Cuban newspaper *Granma* about Cuba's role in Grenada was read by a representative of Casa de las Americas and received a standing ovation.

Those at the meeting also saw *The Future Is Coming Towards Us*, a film about the gains of the Grenada revolution.

A meeting November 2 at Pennsylvania State University in State College drew 200 people who decided to form an emergency committee against the U.S. invasion.

A featured speaker at the meeting was Katherine Sojourner of the Socialist Workers Party in Harrisburg. The crowd responded very well to her defense of the socialist revolution in Cuba and Grenada, and to her conclusion that the way to prevent counterrevolutionary U.S. interven-

tions is to replace the capitalist U.S. government with one representing workers and farmers.

People cheered every mention of Cuba by her or others.

About 20 percent of the crowd at first supported the U.S. invasion. Sojourner told the *Militant*, and there was a real discussion at an open mike.

One Black army veteran said the U.S. "had to invade to restore democracy in Grenada." He was answered by a Black ex-marine who said it "wasn't freedom the U.S. was defending in Vietnam," where he fought, or in Grenada.

"The arms profiteers win wars," he said, while it's "working people and Black people who die. It's always the brothers of color on the front lines."

Often mentioned at this meeting, as at others, was the need to demonstrate in Washington, D.C., and other cities on November 12 against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Many people at the meeting, Sojourner said, saw the danger of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua or El Salvador as much more likely following the invasion of Grenada.

A meeting in Los Angeles on October 27 sponsored by the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society at St. Brigid's Catholic Church in the Black community drew more than 250 people. That same day an armed forces recruiting station in a Black neighborhood was picketed by 250 people.

In Washington, D.C., Ike Nahem reported to the *Militant* a number of Grenada solidarity actions: an October 23 memorial meeting for Bishop at the Metropolitan AME Church that drew 300; an October 25 meeting of 200; a picket at the White House October 26 by 300 people; and an October 29 rally of nearly 400.

The Black media have also condemned the invasion. An editorial in the *Portland Observer* titled "Why Grenada?" answered the question:

"What the Grenadians have done too well is to serve as an example, an inspiration, to Black people in the U.S. They achieved their own liberation and used their resources to help their people. They became the first liberated, Black, English-speaking nation in this hemisphere. And that was their crime."

"This is an invasion that strikes at every individual in this country, especially those who are Black."



Militant/Lou Howort

Part of October 26 protest of 4,000 at UN against U.S. invasion of Grenada



# Eyewitnesses dispute U.S. Grenada story

The following are excerpts from an interview done by *Socialist Voice*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada. In the interview, which was conducted November 1, Canadians Harvey Totten and Sue Mitchell give an eyewitness description of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Both were on the island when U.S. troops landed. They left October 28 and returned to Canada.

Totten and Mitchell had been living in Grenada for 21 months and working for CUSO, a Canadian nongovernment aid and development organization. Totten helped the Grenadians design agricultural tools and Mitchell worked with the food and nutrition council on the island.

**Question.** Where were you on October 25 when the invasion started?

**Totten.** I was in St. George's [the capital]. I was awakened about 5 o'clock in the morning by the sound of these warplanes. I got up to look out the window and here were these gigantic planes flying across the face of the moon. Daylight comes at about 5:45 in St. George's.

We were restricted to our house over the next few days, caught in crossfire.

The tension was unbelievable — the terrorism of the invading forces. You would have to be there to appreciate it. There was very heavy warfare, with very heavy equipment brought to bear by the invaders.

**Mitchell.** The first thing we noticed were the planes in the sky. Then they started dropping paratroopers at the new airport. Around 6 a.m. some naval shelling started and it went on pretty well all day. There was a lull around 9 a.m., but the shelling started again and it lasted until dusk. Then later, in the darkness, it started up again.

**Q.** The U.S. government said that they were avoiding the use of aerial and naval bombardment in order to spare the civilian population. Is this true?

**Totten.** That is a total falsehood. We actually have pictures of some of the bombardment. They blew up Fort Rupert from the sea. The warplanes bombed Fort Frederick, and this is where they hit the mental hospital. Then Grand Anse Beach, the Radio Free Grenada building, and Butler House [prime minister's residence] were bombed from the air.

**Q.** Could you see or hear fighting going on elsewhere on the island?

**Totten.** We knew that some ferocious battles were taking place because you could hear them, but often we didn't exactly know where. Down in St. David's there was fighting and also at Westerhall, Calivigny, and of course at the new airport. We heard all these battles and we saw the warplanes maneuvering in the air.

They were using a plane with a delta-wing. It goes terrifically fast and it dives at a target, then pulls up away straight into the sky. As it pulls away from the target, the pilot presses the trigger and out of the tail it fires a pattern by computer, so that every part of the ground where it aims is covered very precisely at 6,000 rounds per minute. The slugs it fires are about four inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter.

**Q.** Was the population organized and prepared to meet the invasion, or had the events of the previous week demobilized

and disorganized defense efforts?

**Totten.** There was a lot of demobilization, but nonetheless there was a resistance I never would have believed.

What happened is that the People's Revolutionary Army [PRA] grabbed their rifles in one hand and a machete in the other and headed for the hills. The U.S. troops didn't have the guts to go in after them, so they used their aerial bombardment to flush them out. It's like using a bulldozer after a mouse.

The resistance the PRA has been able to put up in the face of such a large number of extremely well-armed marines is something.

When we went to the airport to leave, I was appalled. The island is like something out of the movie *Apocalypse Now*, except within a 133-square mile terrain.

**Q.** How did the U.S. troops enter the capital of St. George's and how were they received by the population?

**Mitchell.** First there was a handful of marines dropped off at the waterfront. There was no response to them. Then a large cavalcade arrived. There were a few people in the streets, and a few did go to greet them. But the place was silent. It was a very eerie feeling.

The troops were positioned in battle formation and they looked very scared.

**Totten.** In the early hours of Wednesday morning, they started dropping flares. This has a devastating psychological effect. The delta-wings would then buzz past amidst this.

The marines entered the capital on Thursday morning. They were very jumpy, looking very scared. There was dead silence.

As the marines passed below us, there were some lumpen types who started following them. A woman at the fire station was screaming at these Grenadians: "What are you following for? You should be spitting on them!"

The marines didn't shoot the woman, but she sure took an awful risk.

This story we've been hearing in the press about the marines being welcomed is unbelievable. We would have to say from our experience that there was no welcome given to the troops. Now, in the villages, this may well have been different. The people were hungry after several days of being confined to their homes during the invasion, and then the curfew before that, and you also have to understand that still for many Grenadians North America represents the land of plenty.

**Q.** Were you able to talk to the U.S. soldiers?

**Totten.** Oh sure.

**Q.** What was your impression?

**Totten.** They did not know where they were, and they were scared. They wanted to go home.

I remember the lieutenant who did our paperwork when we were leaving. He took Marlene Green's passport. She's a CUSO worker and a Canadian landed immigrant with a Dominica passport.

The lieutenant looked at her and said, "Dominica, where's that?"

"Well," she said, "it's just down the road a little."

"Is it part of Grenada?" he asked.

"No," she said, "it's a sovereign country."

One of the fellows behind her said, "Don't you know? It's one of the countries that's part of your invasion force!"

"Oh," said this lieutenant. "In that case you can move along."

**Q.** The newspapers here are now reporting only pieces of information about the invasion force rounding up supporters of the revolution for detention. Did you have any evidence of that?

**Mitchell.** There were some reports of that beginning on Thursday. One woman we knew who is a Jamaican was boarding a plane to leave the island, and as she was getting on the plane, a former PRA member pointed her out to an American officer and said, "That's a communist." They held her for questioning for 24 hours before she was able to leave.



Canadians Sue Mitchell and Harvey Totten say U.S. bombing of island was intense

## Marine's GI rights victory

Continued from front page

couraging all off-duty GIs, and everyone else, to participate in this important national public expression of opposition to the war policies of the Reagan administration."

The statement continued: "My beliefs are shared by the majority of American people and a large number of my fellow Marines. My legal actions in furtherance of my beliefs have led the Marine Corps brass to harass and threaten to victimize me. They claim that my opposition to the invasion of Grenada is incompatible with service in the armed forces."

Dozens of Cincinnati and national figures appeared or issued statements at the news conference in support of Sgt. Stryffeler's right to hold and express his views. Susan Schnall, former lieutenant in the U.S. Navy and a leader of GI protests against the U.S. war in Vietnam, stated: "It is obvious to me that the U.S. invasion of Grenada is another step in the U.S. government's 'Vietnamization' of the entire Caribbean." She explained, "As part of the war drive, Reagan is cutting back on civil liberties, on the rights of the American people to know the truth, and on the rights of members of the military to speak out." She stated that "the men and women in uniform have more of a right to voice their opinions because their lives are on the line, not those of the old men in Washington."

Betty Jean Carroll, senior vice-president of American Federation of Government Employees Local 1138, which organizes civilian employees at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio, said, "I must go on record against this latest action by the U.S. military to suppress free speech."

Additional statements were released from Thomas E. Louis, a leader of the Cincinnati A. Phillip Randolph Institute and an official of the Operating Engineers Union; Congressman Mickey Leland of Texas; David Cortright, executive director of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; Daniel Berrigan; Anne Braden; Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Jr.; John T. Williams, trade unionist and member of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; the Jobs, Peace and Freedom Coalition of Cincinnati; the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors; Rev. Maurice McCrackin of the Cincinnati Community Church; the American Friends Service Committee; and many others.

Mel Mason, socialist city council member in Seaside, California, home of Ft. Ord, stated, "military personnel who are being asked to fight and die in Grenada and Lebanon have the constitutional right to discuss, debate, and openly oppose U.S. war policy when they see that wars against workers and farmers in other countries are not in their interests."

At issue in Sgt. Stryffeler's case is whether military personnel can express their opposition to U.S. foreign policy and join with others to demonstrate against these policies.

Sgt. Stryffeler's victory is a powerful weapon for anti-intervention forces and all supporters of civil liberties.

## Stryffeler's letter to 'Cincinnati Post'

The following letter by marine Sgt. James Stryffeler was printed in the March 25, 1983, *Cincinnati Post*. The March 19 editorial Stryffeler was responding to, headlined "Salvadoran talks," supported President Reagan's rejection of peace talks proposed by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

In response to your March 19 editorial on El Salvador:

You chose to ignore the fact that the rebels are the popular force in Salvador. Their goal will be accomplished even if the U.S. intervenes.

Just because the *Cincinnati Post* chooses to be the voice of capitalism does not mean that the American people agree. We don't want another Vietnam and the people of El Salvador have a right to self-determination.

The *Post* fails to recognize the gains of Marxist revolutions such as in Nicaragua, where the people no longer live in fear of government, as under the U.S.-backed Somoza.

The Nicaraguans now fear U.S.-backed counterrevolution just as Salvadorans fear U.S. intervention.

Stay out of El Salvador.

And if the *Post* isn't scared, it will print this letter and become the people's paper instead of the voice of capitalism.

## San Francisco voters say: 'Out of Salvador'

SAN FRANCISCO — In the November 8 election San Francisco voters approved Proposition N, a ballot proposition to "call upon the federal government to immediately end all military aid to the government of El Salvador and withdraw all United States military personnel from that country."

The vote was 74,627, or 53 percent, in favor of the proposition and 65,366, 47 percent opposed. The entire election was marked by a low voter turnout of 41 percent.



# Court voids 1942 internment convictions

BY MILTON CHEE

In legal action on October 4, the United States government moved to void the 1942 conviction of a Japanese-American for refusing to be sent to an internment camp during World War II.

In *Korematsu v. U.S.*, the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1942, upheld the constitutionality of President Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, which "relocated" 110,000 Japanese-Americans.

At the time, the U.S. government argued that Japanese-Americans posed a national security threat and the only solution was relocation and internment. Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi and Minoru Yasui were three who refused to comply with the relocation order. Their convictions were appealed to the Supreme Court.

In presenting its case, the U.S. government altered, suppressed, and destroyed evidence which contradicted its position. This came to light years later when law professor Peter Irons of the University of California, San Diego, recovered the evidence under a Freedom of Information Act inquiry in researching for a book.

As a result, *Korematsu v. U.S.*, and the other two cases were refiled in January of this year, with the court setting October 4 as the deadline for the government to respond.

Professor Irons, who became co-counsel in the Korematsu suit, said, "The case is based entirely on materials from the government's own files." The materials clearly show that the government's case against the three men "was based on intentional falsehood and fabrication."

FBI and Navy Intelligence reports, one as early as 1939, probed the question of Japanese-American "loyalty." Among the conclusions reached were that less than 3 percent were potentially "disloyal" and those persons were well-known.

The navy report further concluded that, "The entire 'Japanese (American) Problem' has been magnified out of its true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people . . . and should be handled on the basis of the individual . . . and not on a racial basis." Further evidence of suppression of this report and memos have also come to light.

## Miss. labor focuses on bakery strike

BY ELLEN KERR

MERIDIAN, Miss. — A strike at Hardin's Bakery here is the focus of statewide attention by the labor movement in this "right-to-work" state.

So-called right-to-work laws act, as intended, to prevent or weaken unions. But the 110 workers at Hardin's voted a year ago to join the Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers International Union (BCT).

The company, one of the region's largest suppliers to grocery stores and fast-food chains, offered raises of 3 percent twice during the life of a one-year contract. It had been paying \$5 an hour, on the average, with few benefits.

The company, however, insists that union membership in BCT Local 149 be made optional after 30 days, rather than the full year the union wants. The company also demands the right to fire workers it claims "instigated violence" on the picket line, which went up July 26.

The *Militant* recently talked to strikers on the line. We were greeted by a solidarity banner, an effigy of a scab, and by several picketing workers.

Jimmy George, chief steward and a member of the local's four-person bargaining committee, told us, "The survival of our union and not money is now the main issue."

The Meridian City Council, he said, "is made up of all the rich folks in town. They want to destroy our union."

Jay Walker, a Black striker, said he had seen the city manager escort a scab across the picket line.

The courts and cops have helped the company by issuing an injunction limiting the number of pickets to three and diligently enforcing it.

The local paper, the *Meridian Star*, has chimed in, trying to pit striking telephone workers against the bakery workers, calling their two unions one "run by profes-



Japanese-American internees at Hayward, California, during 1942 racist roundup. Dorothea Lange

Faced with the airing of such evidence in court, the government decided instead to move to void Korematsu's conviction.

At an October 5 San Francisco news conference, Professor Irons commented, "The government's action not only represents a total victory for Fred Korematsu, it is also an historic victory for civil liberties . . ."

Co-lead counsel Dale Minami pointed out that the government's "capitulation"

was "not an act of graciousness or generosity, but a recognition that the wrong done . . . was politically, legally, and morally indefensible."

On September 27, the California Attorney General filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the Korematsu case on behalf of Korematsu. This was another victory.

In the 1942 trial, the California State Attorneys General, Earl Warren and Robert Kinney, filed a friend-of-the-court brief on

## Get out Grenada truth: help SWP fund

BY HARRY RING

The Socialist Workers Party is currently raising a \$125,000 Party Building Fund and is appealing to readers of the *Militant* to help achieve this goal.

Like so many others, SWP members and supporters redoubled their efforts in past weeks to build the November 12 demonstration and other actions in opposition to U.S. aggression against Grenada and the other countries of the Caribbean and Central America.

The \$125,000 socialist fund, a necessary

supplement to the weekly contributions of members and supporters, comes at a moment of particular need.

Since the Grenada events, the SWP has intensified efforts to reach the maximum number of people with the truth about the U.S. invasion and the mounting threat to Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador.

Sales of the *Militant* in the communities and at factory gates have been increased by an encouraging number.

Within a week of Maurice Bishop's assassination, Pathfinder Press issued a pamphlet featuring his remarkable June 5 speech at New York's Hunter College.

Special efforts have gone into circulating this important pamphlet. At a Hunter College memorial meeting for Bishop last week, one particularly able socialist salesperson alone sold 135 copies.

Despite the added cost, complimentary copies of the Bishop pamphlet are also being offered to those taking introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*.

In its campaign to get out the truth about Grenada, the SWP has placed special emphasis on the workplace. In addition to weekly plant gate sales across the country, members and supporters have increased their on-the-job sales of the *Militant*, the Bishop pamphlet, and related material.

In the initial days of the invasion, this wasn't always the easiest thing to do. Many working people were snowed under by the incredible disinformation campaign.

But, across the county, socialists found that as they patiently but persistently argued for their point of view, they gained some ground among their coworkers.

And socialists found a heartening number of coworkers, especially Blacks, Latinos, and Vietnam War veterans, who had a healthy mistrust of U.S. aims from the go.

With the support of such workers, socialists in the coal mines, garment shops, textile mills, and auto plants slowly but steadily began to gain ground among coworkers.

This was, of course, but a beginning effort and a huge job remains to be done in rallying the ranks of the labor movement against Washington's criminal course. But with intensified efforts it can be done.

However, as every movement activist knows, intensified political activity demands additional funds. It is this that lends special importance to our present fund drive. And, as our scoreboard indicates, at this moment of particular need, we're behind schedule and have to catch up.

Fortunately, with the present political

challenge, there is a growing realization of this need.

In New York, a Central American solidarity activist phoned in a calendar announcement to the *Militant*. She expressed her appreciation for the SWP response to the Grenada invasion and asked how she could help financially. The answer, of course, was simple. Send a check to the Party Building Fund.

In Los Angeles, a supporter walked into the SWP office with a \$60 contribution.

This week, a New York supporter backed up his stepped-up activity with a \$1,000 contribution to the fund.

Not many of us can contribute that generously. But we can all contribute with the same spirit. We appeal for your support. Every dollar contributed to the SWP Party Building Fund will advance the fight against U.S. intervention abroad.

Further action on the other two suits of Hirabayashi and Yasui is still pending, but the same outcome is expected by their attorneys.

In a separate action, on September 30, a class-action suit for compensation for all losses due to the relocation was filed in U.S. district court in Washington, D.C. The National Council for Japanese-American Redress, based in Chicago, and 25 former internees filed this first civil damage suit to arise from the internment.

In this suit the government attorney argues that the statute of limitations has long past, and that congress voted in 1946 for monetary compensation. Therefore the suit should be thrown out of court. Further action is still pending.

The trade union movement should hail the Korematsu case as a gain for the civil rights of all. Labor endorsement of the compensation suit by Japanese-Americans is also needed. These types of actions can contribute to the fight against the rise of anti-Asian violence currently underway. More importantly, such a program can help educate about one of the true causes of racism and oppression, the U.S. government.

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Party Building	FUND	GOAL	\$125,000
		WHERE WE SHOULD BE	\$97,500
		WHERE WE ARE	\$65,000

**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.



BY LEE MARTINDALE

Sales at plant gates and on the job have been an important part of the socialist response to the invasion of Grenada, putting the *Militant* and *PM* in the middle of the debates and discussions going on among workers in key industrial unions.

Sales at some plants doubled or tripled, particularly at plants where socialists had been selling regularly.

Fifty papers were sold at the Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia, which is organized by the United Steelworkers of America. Around 10 of these were sold to sailors stationed on Navy ships in the yard for repair. The response was polarized, reflecting the discussions going on. Some people walked right up and gave salespeople a dollar for the *Militant*, while others passed by with hostile remarks.

Sixty-one were sold to United Auto Workers union members at the Jeep plant in Toledo: 27 at the gates, and 34 single copies and 4 subscriptions on the job. Many of the 34 copies sold inside the plant were bought by people who had rejected the paper at the gate. After some discussions about the role of Cuba and Russia, they decided to check it out.

Outside the London Fog garment plant in Baltimore, Maryland, organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, socialists set up a literature table with books and pamphlets on Grenada and Central America. They sold *Militants* and copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Young Socialist* and distributed leaflets for the November 12 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against U.S. involvement in Central America and the Caribbean. They sold a total of 12 *Militants* both at the table and inside the plant.

*Militant* salesperson Susan

Lamont reports that because of the invasion of Grenada more people were interested in discussing political questions. One particularly interesting discussion began when a worker asked, "Well, what did your man Fidel have to say about what happened in Grenada?" Lamont showed her the Cuban statement on the invasion printed in the *Militant*.

After she read the statement over lunch, she and Lamont and a number of other workers in the shop began discussing what was so special about Cuba. Since most of peoples' information about Cuba comes from the big-business newspapers, it was a real eye-opener to them that Cuba had taken steps to improve the living conditions of its people and that it was willing to fight to allow Grenada to take the same steps.

The discussion then turned to whether or not it would be possible to do the same thing in the United States, where the working class is so consciously divided and pitted against each other by the ruling class. How would it be possible to overcome this disunity?

Lamont also noted that the latest issue of the *Young Socialist* is of particular value in this discussion because of its article describing the history and gains of the Cuban revolution.

Another socialist worker in the same shop related that some of his discussions have centered around where the real threat of war lies. Coworkers had expressed to him the fear that "some nuts" were going to touch the wrong button and the whole thing would go up in a mushroom cloud. He was able to give a short history of the development and use of nuclear weapons, explaining that the United States is the only country that has ever used them and that the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Grenada are arming themselves in self defense.

He pointed out that the United

States at various times has invaded Soviet Russia, Cuba, and now Grenada. The reverse has never taken place.

Socialists in Cincinnati sold 39 copies at plant gates, more than the total they had sold during the previous seven weeks. Nine of these were sold to people driving into work at the General Electric plant where Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cincinnati City Council Kathleen Denny works. She reports that these sales sparked more discussions inside. Despite redbaiting and malicious pranks by a few right-wingers, other workers sought out the socialists to talk about the invasion.

"One machine repairman, a Vietnam veteran who hasn't spoken to me since May when I started selling at the gate, began talking with me Friday after the invasion. We talked about Vietnam, about who runs this country, who ends up paying for everything — and he had to agree with a lot. Still he doesn't like a lot of the labels on my ideas, but this was a breakthrough."

From Pittsburgh, socialists report that sales at plant gates were not unusually high last week, but there were many more discussions. They have been selling regularly at Clairton Steel, one of the largest steel mills in the Monongahela Valley steel producing center.

Sales team member Clare Fraenzl reports that over the weeks they have gotten to know quite a few of the people who work there. Even if they didn't buy a copy of the *Militant* every week, they would say hello. "After the invasion of Grenada," she reports, "there was a marked increase in interest in the *Militant* and in our opinion about Reagan's invasion. Whether people supported or opposed Washington's action, they wanted to stop and talk."

## SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

(Totals as of *Militant* issue #40, *PM* issue #21)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Los Angeles	100/90	75/86	175/176	101
San Antonio	60/53	25/25	85/78	92
Brooklyn	110/104	40/31	150/135	90
Twin Cities	120/106	10/7	130/113	87
Salt Lake City	70/56	5/6	75/62	83
Price, Utah	35/31	5/2	40/33	83
Seaside, Calif.	45/38	5/3	50/41	82
Detroit	85/69	5/5	90/74	82
St. Louis	120/92	0/1	120/93	78
Greensboro, N.C.	50/38	0/1	50/39	78
San Jose	75/54	15/15	90/69	77
Albany, N.Y.	70/54	5/3	75/57	76
Wash., D.C.	90/73	25/13	115/86	75
Virginia, Minn.	75/54	0/2	75/56	75
Harrisburg	35/29	5/1	40/30	75
Boston	95/65	15/16	110/81	74
Milwaukee	110/81	10/6	120/87	73
Manhattan	150/109	50/37	200/146	73
Lincoln, Neb.	35/25	0/0	35/25	71
Indianapolis	80/52	0/3	80/55	69
Denver	80/61	15/5	95/66	69
Toledo	70/48	5/2	75/50	67
Oakland	90/63	15/7	105/70	67
Louisville	55/37	0/0	55/37	67
Philadelphia	100/67	25/16	125/83	66
Newark	110/71	30/17	140/88	63
Atlanta	85/52	5/4	90/56	62
Morgantown, W. Va.	70/43	0/0	70/43	61
Phoenix	75/45	25/12	100/57	57
San Diego	70/40	30/15	100/55	55
Dallas	50/29	15/7	65/36	55
Miami	70/40	10/3	80/43	54
Cincinnati	70/35	0/1	70/36	51
San Francisco	90/48	40/17	130/65	50
Kansas City	65/35	10/1	75/36	48
Portland	45/18	10/8	55/26	47
Tucson	30/14	10/4	40/18	45
Albuquerque	50/26	15/3	65/29	45
Seattle	75/33	5/2	80/35	44
Newport News, Va.	75/32	0/0	75/32	43
Cleveland	80/34	5/0	85/34	40
Charleston, W. Va.	45/18	0/0	45/18	40
Houston	60/26	30/9	90/35	39
Birmingham	70/26	0/0	70/26	37
New Orleans	80/31	5/0	85/31	36
Pittsburgh	135/46	0/0	135/46	34
Baltimore	65/17	0/0	65/17	26
Gary	45/11	5/0	50/11	22
Chicago	135/29	15/1	150/30	20
<b>Totals</b>	<b>3,750/2,348</b>	<b>620/397</b>	<b>4,370/2,745</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>Should Be</b>	<b>2,812</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>3,277</b>	<b>75</b>

## Grenada protests spark sales, but push needed

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

As readers can tell from the subscription scoreboard, a big push is needed in the last days of the drive to meet the goal we set ourselves of winning 4,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. The response to these socialist publications, especially since President Reagan's invasion of Grenada, indicates that we can do it.

Los Angeles, the first branch of the Socialist Workers Party to reach and go over its goal, has decided to continue special efforts to sell subscriptions. They are organizing to win subscribers at the November 12 Los Angeles demonstration against U.S. involvement in Central America and the Caribbean. Socialists in Toledo, Ohio, raised their goal this week from 55 to 75 subscriptions, challenging themselves to meet new people politicalized by recent events. Socialists in Seaside, California, raised their overall goal to 50.

Socialists in other cities report that although they got off to a slow start in the drive, they have discussed plans to organize getting as many subscribers as possible following the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Many now think they may go over their original goal.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, 16 subscriptions were sold door to door. A Lebanese supporter of the *Militant*, outraged by U.S. intervention in his country, sold five subscriptions to Palestinian friends.

In San Diego, socialists sold 21 *Militant* subscriptions and 6 *PM* subscriptions last week. Thirteen of these were sold at a *Militant* Forum on the invasion of Grenada.

The regular literature table set up by *Militant* and *PM* salespeople at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City was a focus of in-

tense political discussion following the invasion. The table quickly sold out of literature on Grenada.

At the heart of the socialist response to the invasion of Grenada are sales at plant gates and to coworkers. Over 850 copies of the "U.S. Hands Off Grenada" issue were sold to union members at steel mills, rail yards, auto plants, machine shops, oil refineries, and garment shops.

Sales at plant gates and on the job were significantly higher than usual in many places. Socialists in Kansas City sold 92 papers at auto plants last week. Seventy-six of these were sold on the job. In addition, they sold 14 papers at three other plant gates. Forty-two of the 325 *Militants* sold in Philadelphia were sold on the job and at plant gates. New York socialists sold over 160 on the job and in plant-gate sales; Newark sold over 100; Atlanta sold 27 to industrial workers.

Workers at these factories and mines are

debating out the country's foreign policy, its relationship to the employers' union-busting campaign, and the escalating attacks on the hard-won civil rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women. After buying the paper regularly, an increasing number are deciding to subscribe.

Socialists in Price, Utah, and Tucson, Arizona, sold subscriptions to railworkers last week at rail-yard sales.

Eight subscriptions were sold on the job by Brooklyn socialists in the course of discussions on the Grenada invasion.

The same heightened interest in politics resulting from the invasion is also apparent in selling on the street, on campus, and door to door in workers' neighborhoods.

Nationally, over 13,000 of the "U.S. Hands Off Grenada" issue (#40) of the *Militant* were sold.

Reports from many cities indicate that active supporters of the Socialist Workers Party played an important role in this suc-

cessful week of sales. St. Louis socialists report that seven active supporters went out on sales with them. One took a bundle of five papers to sell at Granite City Steel, a basic steel mill in the area. An at-large member of the Young Socialist Alliance at Springfield, Illinois took a bundle of 20. Total sales of issue #40 in the St. Louis area were 390.

Seattle sold 390 copies with two active supporters participating. One hundred twenty of these were sold at two demonstrations against the invasion of Grenada; 20 at a high school; and 47 at a Black community college.

We're also meeting potential new readers and supporters at protest activities in other cities. New Orleans socialists sold seven subscriptions at a Grenada protest, and in New York four subscriptions to *PM* were sold at an anti-invasion demonstration organized by Dominican groups.

Selling subscriptions will be one of the main tasks of socialists participating in demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Central America and the Caribbean taking place on November 12 in Washington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities. Special subscription teams will be circulating at the demonstrations making sure every demonstrator has a chance to subscribe.

These actions represent an important step in building the kind of mass, working-class movement needed to challenge Washington's war policy. A political tendency of workers is developing that sees that defense of the Grenada, Nicaraguan, and Cuban revolutions, not the military aggression of the imperialist government in Washington, is in workers' interests. Building the readership of the *Militant* and *PM* is a contribution to building this tendency.

### Subscribe to '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 in-

terview 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.



# Phoenix union rally backs copper strike at Phelps Dodge

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

PHOENIX, Ariz. — Over 125 people representing 15 different unions and other community organizations attended a rally to express solidarity with striking copper miners and to oppose the open union-busting of the Phelps Dodge Corp. Thirteen unions have been on the picket lines in several copper towns in the state for more than four months.

Angela Avillar, representing the women's auxiliary in the copper town of Morenci spoke first. She pointed to the dangerous use of strike-breaking and union-busting tactics at Continental Airlines and Greyhound Bus lines too. Greyhound, which maintains its corporate offices here, has threatened to replace strikers and has demonstratively handed out employment applications across the country since Greyhound workers hit the picket lines November 3. The company is demanding big wage and benefit givebacks.

Avillar described the often brutal harassment that Phelps Dodge strikers have suffered at the hands of the company, scabs, and state police. She recounted one incident in which a woman waiting in a pickup truck for her sister who was on the picket line, was approached by a state cop. "Get out or I'll blow your head off!" the cop told her, and then forced her to the ground where he searched her in a "vicious manner," Avillar reported.

She stressed the aid the strikers need and noted that the Morenci Women's Auxiliary has less than \$300 on hand. However, she also affirmed that the company is not doing as well as it claims. As recently as two weeks before the rally, said Avillar, Phelps Dodge was still appealing to workers to come back on the job.

Alex López of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the chairman of the strike negotiating committee spoke about the history of the strike and the issues at stake. Whatever the copper unions have won over the past 40 years, he said, was the result of unity and the union's refusal to allow the companies to pit one union against another. "They were no longer able to pay you less wages simply because you live in the Southwest, or simply because you were a different color," said López of the predominantly Chicano, *mexicano*, and Native American miners.

Phelps Dodge has been preparing to try to bust the unions since 1981 López said. He pointed to the large number of copper miners who had been on extended layoff for months before the strike even began.

## U.S. to set up new military training base in El Salvador

Washington plans to complete construction of a large training center for troops of the Salvadoran dictatorship by next January. The new U.S. training center is located in eastern El Salvador, just across the Gulf of Fonseca from Nicaragua.

One thousand Salvadoran soldiers will be trained there each month, according to a report in the *Washington Post*. A U.S. training base in Honduras is already processing Salvadoran troops in groups of 350 each.

An idea of the kind of instruction the U.S. "advisers" give is suggested by the fact that one battalion has already been turned out at the new base in El Salvador. It is called the *cazador*, or "hunter" battalion.

The announcement of the new base comes as the Salvadoran liberation fighters have scored a number of military successes in the past two months, killing 800 Salvadoran soldiers and capturing 400 as prisoners, in addition to expanding the territory under their control. According to media reports, the troops of the dictatorship have often fled rather than fight the liberation forces.

With angry words he blasted the government for its support to Phelps Dodge. The company "has control of the political machine," he said. Phelps Dodge has "one powerful ally — the governor of Arizona," said López of Democrat Bruce Babbitt. Babbitt had been considered a "friend of labor" by some prior to his open union-busting role in this strike. "He's not the friend of labor in Clifton, Ajo, Bisbee, and Douglas," said López listing the copper towns.

López also explained his view that Phelps Dodge is being encouraged by Kennecott, Magma and the other copper companies, including those that settled with the unions last spring to avoid a strike.

"Phelps Dodge was chosen to spearhead this drive because it still has company towns, with people living in their houses, buying at their store, using their utilities." Nevertheless, Phelps Dodge has "failed to break the spirit of our strikers," he affirmed, "and we will continue fighting. We will win this war."

An important speaker at the rally was Ellis B. Franklin, an international representative of the Amalgamated Transit Union, which represents Greyhound workers. "I am an ex-Virginia coal miner," said Franklin expressing his deep-felt personal support for the copper miners. "The story I

## San Diego unionists face new attacks

SAN DIEGO — Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical, one of San Diego's major war industry manufacturers, announced in a meeting with union officials from United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 506 that five laid-off union members would not be permitted back in the plant until the company had completed "reinvestigating their applications."

The meeting occurred on October 20, with union officials grieving violations of seniority, harassment, and discrimination against Jan Aragon, Merrill Cohen, and Judy White, three workers from Teledyne Ryan's pooling and plastics fabrication department.

The company also linked two other union members to this "reinvestigation." They are Tom Barton and Gina March, also from the plastics fabrication department. These five virtual suspensions are part of a general campaign against UAW members stemming from a contract signed last spring.

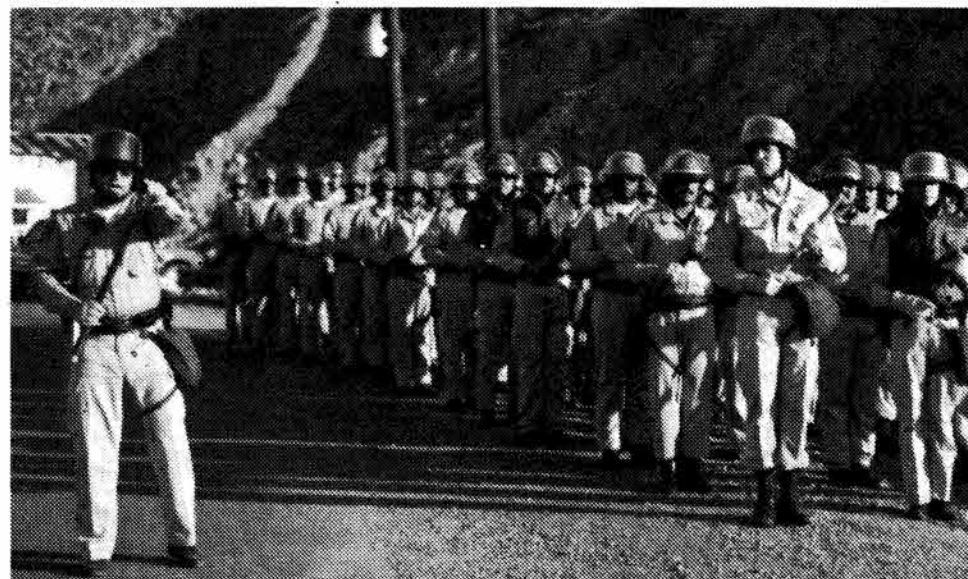
In the latest contract, all new hires were given as much as \$3.81 per hour less than a worker already hired last spring. But in reality, workers doing the same job next to each other make as much as \$5 per hour less. This is because new hires came in at the bottom of their scale and the older work force is at the top of the old scale. It would take five years for the new hires to reach the same rate as the older work force.

The dual pay scale was the central demand of the company last spring when it pleaded poverty and claimed that it would lose its Hughes Apache helicopter contract if the work force did not take a pay cut.

With the hiring of hundreds of new workers this fall, sharp conflicts developed in the plant. Scores of grievances have been filed for new workers who have been forced to work out of classification and who have been under a general campaign of disciplinary harassment by the company.

Taking advantage of a younger work force, safety procedures have been ignored and flagrantly dangerous conditions left uncorrected. Union officials report that the whole work force is on edge. More than 20 workers attended the second-shift union meeting last month and angrily denounced the company's discriminatory conduct and harassment. The union filed a general grievance with the entire second shift.

In this context, the company decided to



Militant/Rich Stuart

Show of force by police, ordered by Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt last August, to intimidate striking copper miners at Morenci, Arizona.

hear tonight is a carbon copy of what Mr. Greyhound has in store for us."

"They want to destroy the labor movement," said Franklin of the employers, "or render it ineffective. This plan has the endorsement of the White House, the State House, City Hall, and even the justices of the peace," he explained.

Working people "have to wake up," he said. When workers go on strike, "the laws are against you, the press and the media are against you and the politicians that some of our people helped to elect are against you."

"Don't think you are safe because you have a contract," Franklin warned. "You are only half organized until you are organized politically."

Other speakers included John Blake, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local

274; Mike Bielecki, vice-president of the Phoenix fire-fighter union; Sister Doran of the United Farm Workers union and Francis Cavazos of the Arizona Farm Workers. Sister Doran announced that UFW President César Chavez planned to visit the mining towns to express his union's support for the strike.

A collection at the meeting raised \$1,025 which was presented to Annie Jones, president of the Ajo Women's Auxiliary by Chris Smith, president of American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 2050. Smith's local initiated the rally which was co-sponsored by the the Phoenix Central Labor Council.

The meeting was co-chaired by Jackie Hayes, vice-president of American Federation of Teachers Local 2050 and Roy Santa Cruz, sub-district director of the USWA.

single out Aragon, Barton, Cohen, March, and White for further attacks.

These five union members were active in the discussion of the contract and were among the most vocal in opposing the dual pay scale. Almost one-third of the local voted to reject this contract, which was the largest percentage to vote against any contract in many years.

These five union members were also active in convincing the union to bring Sal-

vadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara to Local 506 to speak last spring.

Local leaders of the UAW and a regional representative characterized the violation of seniority as a "witch-hunt" because four of the unionists are members of the Socialist Workers Party and one is an SWP supporter. The UAW is fighting the company attacks in what is expected to be a serious battle.

## Greyhound forces bus strike

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A nationwide strike forced on drivers and terminal workers by Greyhound Corp. began November 3.

The strike was forced when Greyhound presented the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) with demands for sweeping wage and benefits cuts and then refused to negotiate.

In a major threat to the union, Greyhound has sent letters to its 12,000 striking employees warning them that they would be replaced if they were not back at work by November 14. The company has taken applications for potential scabs in cities across the country.

Greyhound is demanding a 9.5 percent pay cut, under which drivers would lose \$18.50 per day.

A solidarity meeting in Cleveland of 350 ATU members and supporters was told by a union official of other concessions Greyhound is demanding, which have not been reported by the big-business media:

- A freeze on cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) for the first two years of the contract, and a 35 cents per hour cap on COLA the third year. Half of that is to go into a pension fund.
- Loss of four paid holidays.
- Sharply reduced medical benefits.
- Increased nonpaid layovers, including time spent by drivers going to runs.
- No Saturday or Sunday overtime pay until a weekly minimum number of hours is reached.
- Reduced mileage rates for charter-bus drivers and for deadheading (returning an empty bus).
- Hiring of part-time workers and ignoring job classifications.

The meeting in Cleveland also heard how the ATU had first offered to continue working with the present contract, then

without a contract. Greyhound turned down these offers and refused to resume talks with the union.

On November 7 Greyhound ran full-page ads in 170 newspapers across the country to put further pressure on its employees to end the strike.

The company claims its main bus line, Greyhound Lines, lost \$16 million last year, but concedes that the corporation's entire transport division made a profit of \$19.6 million.

Greyhound Lines lost business because its main customers — workers, retired people, and students — have traveled less because of the recession. In addition, the corporation's leasing division, which rents airplanes, construction items, and other equipment to Mexico, Brazil, and other countries was hit hard by the capitalist economic crisis. The company now claims some of these debts are delinquent.

Greyhound is run by John Teets, the company's chairman and chief executive officer. He is so determined to cut labor costs that even the big-business media concede that he forced the current strike.

Striking drivers note that if they are replaced Greyhound will be using scab drivers with only two weeks' training. Two months is the norm, and the strikers have warned that untrained drivers will be unsafe, especially on winter roads.

The ATU says Greyhound is trying to bust the union, an opinion shared by pickets in cities across the country.

Strikers also noted with irony Teet's strong support for industry deregulation, which has resulted in temporary fare wars as bus and airline companies try to capture shares of the market from each other. Now Teets claims Greyhound needs concessions from its workers because of this competition.



# Debate on winning Black political power

Continued from front page

The Jackson candidacy is causing a great deal of discussion and debate, particularly in the Black community. The views being expressed range from one end of the political spectrum to the other — from total support to outright racist hostility. Jackson is charged by some as being "divisive" to the Democratic Party; others see his campaign as a step toward Blacks and other working people building an independent base both inside and outside the Democratic Party.

What stance Blacks and other working people should take to Jackson's campaign will be among the topics discussed at the National Black Independent Political Party's (NBIPP) third national party congress, November 11-13 in Jersey City, New Jersey.

NBIPP represents a political vanguard for the Black community and working people in general. With its anticapitalist perspectives, NBIPP urges Blacks to create a mass-based Black political party to fight for political power. It explains that this will require a break from the parties of big business, the Democratic and Republican parties.

The NBIPP program put forward in its charter is based on the last 20 years of experiences and struggles of Blacks for full equality and self-determination. It points the way ahead for all working people.

Because of the Jackson campaign's importance and what it reflects about political moods in the Black and labor movements, it is useful to consider some questions being raised about the campaign, and how they should be answered

\* \* \*

**Question.** What is the significance of the Jackson candidacy? Why is Jackson getting such sympathy and support, especially among a significant number of young Blacks?

**Answer.** The Jackson campaign reflects something important going on in U.S. politics — among Blacks and the entire working class. Working people, particularly Blacks who are suffering from unemployment, inflation, worsening working conditions, racism, and new wars, are increasingly fed up with the present elected officials. They want more political representation — that is, political power — to defend themselves from the blows raining down on them.

Jackson very effectively points to the disproportional representation of Blacks in Congress. If the number of Blacks in the Senate and the House of Representatives was the same proportion as our numbers in the population, there would be 12 Black Senators instead of none and 51 Black representatives instead of 21. In Alabama, for example, Blacks are 30 percent of the population. Yet of the seven congressmen, none are Black.

Jackson explains that his "rainbow coalition" is to be made up of those most affected by the racist, antilabor policies of the employers and government.

The Jackson campaign is attempting to tap the growing anger and politicalization of Blacks, Latinos, and others in order to strengthen their position inside the Democratic Party.

**Q.** Is Jackson right when he says that Blacks can do without the Democratic and Republican parties, but they can't do without Blacks?



Militant/Lou Howort

**Black party contingent at Sept. 19, 1981, Solidarity Day action. Party's program charts anticapitalist perspective for Black struggle.**

**A.** Yes. But this fact should not lead us to Jackson's conclusion that we should try to become a stronger force within the Democratic Party. To the contrary, it shows that if we charted our own independent course we would be a much greater threat to the Democratic and Republican parties and have much greater power in fighting for our interests.

We would have more clout. If Black workers and farmers told the Democrats that they can't count on our support any more we would put greater pressure on winning concessions.

The gains that we have won have been the byproduct of mass movements and big struggles where we have acted independently in our own interests. Isn't that a lesson of history?

In the 1930s the industrial unions were created after massive struggles including sitdown strikes and other militant actions by working people. It was the mass civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s that destroyed the Jim Crow segregation system in the south and forced the passage of important civil rights legislation.

None of these gains were the result of us strengthening our position inside the Democratic Party. To the contrary, it was our independent mobilizations that forced the employing class to "open up" the Democratic Party to us. After years of barring their doors to us we were permitted to run some candidates and get some Black elected officials. Their aim has been to buy us off and keep us out of the streets. They want to prevent an independent Black political movement that would challenge the capitalist system — the source of our oppression.

The key today is to get ourselves going on the road to build a mass movement with the objective of overturning this racist, capitalist system.

**Q.** But doesn't Jackson oppose the present economic system?

**A.** Jackson is critical of the economic system and many of its evils. But he doesn't oppose the system. He believes the capitalist system can be reformed and that we can win our full equality and freedom in this system. This is totally interconnected with why he's for building a power base inside the Democratic Party, rather than breaking from it.

Jackson says his candidacy will be a success if several million more Blacks register, and if it leads to the election of more

Blacks to public office at a city, state, and national level. This, he says, will force the Democratic Party to give us our share of power.

That's why Jackson's candidacy cannot lead to a break with the Democratic and Republican parties. Rather, it miseducates Blacks, Latinos, women, farmers, and all other working people he appeals to by giving false hopes about how political power is to be achieved. It doesn't help to break Blacks from the illusions they have in the capitalist system and the Democratic Party or explain the necessary road forward.

**Q.** Does that mean Blacks and other workers should view the Jackson campaign like the John Glenn or Walter Mondale campaigns? That he's just another capitalist politician like them?

**A.** No. While we reject the Jackson candidacy as a way forward for Blacks and other working people, we believe those inspired by it — especially young Blacks — are genuinely seeking a new course, a new leadership to fight back. They want something more than just defeating Reagan at all costs. They don't want their politics just defined by what they're against but also by what they're for. They recognize that some kind of a "rainbow coalition" is necessary if we are going to have any power.

Many Jackson supporters will face a crisis following the Democratic Party convention. When Glenn or Mondale is nominated by the convention, they will confront the choice of supporting the nominee or pushing for an independent campaign.

Because the Jackson campaign reflects a deeper thinking-out process underway in the Black community and in society as a whole, it is important for those with a different perspective to participate in the 1984 elections and present their ideas.

In 1980 the National Black Political Assembly's convention, which called the organizing conference that launched the NBIPP, urged Blacks not to vote for the three capitalist candidates — James Carter, Ronald Reagan, or John Anderson. It explained that they represented the class that is responsible for Black oppression.

From the same standpoint NBIPP, in the 1984 elections, will be able to explain to those supporting Jackson that the strategy of seeking to reform the Democratic Party is a dead end and win many activists to an independent perspective.

**Q.** If Jackson is simply seeking to strengthen the position of Blacks in the Democratic Party and get more Blacks elected to office, why then are so many Black liberals opposed to his candidacy?

**A.** It's true that many Black liberals oppose Jackson's campaign. This includes such figures as Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young, Georgia state legislator Julian Bond, and the NAACP's executive director Benjamin Hooks. They oppose it because they fear the Jackson candidacy could lead those backing him to bolt from the Democratic Party when Jackson loses the nomination. This may include, they say, not only newly registered voters but many others who normally vote Democrat.

The Black liberals who oppose Jackson feel that the masses galvanized into action by his campaign could be further politicalized by the experience. Higher ex-

pectations could lead to new challenges to their leadership.

Furthermore, they are worried that the campaign will deepen the polarization in society and lead to a racist backlash against Blacks. They know that many rightists and reactionary elements strongly oppose a Black even being considered for president — no matter how loyal that candidate is to the system. These racist attacks against Jackson's right to run for president must of course be opposed by all supporters of democratic rights. The aims of such racist attacks are not only to deny Jackson's rights but the democratic rights of all Blacks.

A polarization does exist. But it is caused by the employers' attacks and can't be avoided by sticking to the status quo. That's why more and more working people, led by Blacks, are becoming open to new perspectives.

Those Black liberals who oppose Jackson also fear his radical-sounding program — for the Equal Rights Amendment; against the "right to work" laws; for union, Black, and Latino rights; and criticisms of the government's foreign policy. In the context of a national presidential campaign they worry that this can fuel the politicalization in the Black community and go beyond their, and even Jackson's, political control.

For the liberals it is one thing to tap the deepening ferment among Blacks and many white workers in the Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston mayoral campaigns where victory is possible. But it is another thing to raise hopes by launching a presidential campaign that can't come close to winning.

**Q.** Well, it seems clear why many Black liberals and other top Democrats would oppose a Jackson campaign. But doesn't that prove the point argued by some Black radicals and socialists who oppose the capitalist system and support the Jackson campaign as a way forward for Black liberation? They say that it shakes up the status quo and may eventually lead to an independent anticapitalist third party. Is that possible?

**A.** It is true that many Jackson supporters, through the experience of his campaign, may become disillusioned with the Democratic Party and break with it. Some may join NBIPP which advocates a mass independent Black party.

But the main way to help them break from their illusions in the capitalist parties is not to become supporters of the Democratic Party or Jackson's campaign to increase Black representation in it. Rather it is to tell the truth about the system and the kind of movement needed to replace it. To do the opposite is a trap and error. Unfortunately some radicals are making this mistake.

Brenda Dixon of the Communist Workers Party, for example, writes in the August 17-30 *Workers Viewpoint* that, "To oppose Jackson's candidacy from the standpoint of maintaining 'purity' of political principles is narrow and immature. It is not the task of communists and revolutionaries to oppose the likes of Jesse Jackson."

She concludes that, "We must be in Jackson's campaign because where the people are, so must revolutionaries be."

The issue of course isn't 'purity' of prin-

Continued on Page 21

## Reading on the Black struggle

### Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

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**Jesse Jackson: his campaign raises questions on how working people can advance politically.**



# Will nationalization of industry save

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

As plant closings, permanent job losses, and high unemployment continue to plague steelworkers, a broad discussion and debate is taking place about how the labor movement can defend itself from these attacks. The approach of the top leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) is to accept big concessions in wages and benefits and urge workers to oppose imports of foreign steel as a way to fight back. This approach wrongly puts the blame for unemployment on fellow workers from other countries and points away from a determined fight against the U.S. steel giants who are actually handing out the layoff notices.

In a recent article, the *Militant* took up the idea that workers should seek to buy those plants the capitalists threaten to shut down (see "Can 'employee-owned' plants operate in labor's interest?" in the *Militant* October 21, 1983). This article explained why companies operated under "Employee Stock Ownership Plans" (ESOP) are subject to the same laws of the capitalist economy as all other corporations. It pointed out that workers at Weirton Steel, who had recently approved an ESOP proposal, had also been forced into massive concessions while 2,600 of their fellow union members remain laid off.

In recent issues of the *Daily World* (DW), the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party (CP), another idea has been raised that deserves examination. A front-page headline in the October 13 issue reports that CP General Secretary Gus Hall "Demands Gov't Take Over Mill."

The article refers to threats by the United States Steel Corp. to permanently close its South Works mill in South Chicago. This mill has been devastated by layoffs for almost two years. In September 1982 U.S. Steel announced that South Works would only be kept open if the USWA agreed to fundamental work rule concessions in the staffing of a proposed rail mill there. No concessions, no rail mill, said the company. No rail mill, no South Works.

Despite widespread membership opposition to this blackmail, USWA Local 65's president and the top leadership of the international union agreed to the deal. But now U.S. Steel may no longer be interested. Evidently, with or without the rail mill or the concessions, South Works may not be profitable enough to suit U.S. Steel's stockholders.

## Nationalize South Works?

This then is the context for Gus Hall's proposal that "the government should seize the mill" and nationalize it. This step "would be done in priority of workers' interests," said Hall. He suggested that the takeover be accomplished through the establishment by the government of a "regional steel authority." This authority's board of directors "would be democratically elected to include community and worker representation," according to Hall.

"Other steel mills in the area threatened by closing or closed . . . could come under the authority's operation," the *Daily World* reported. "Once the mills were taken over," the DW continued, "there is a tremendous market for steel. . . . Over one billion tons . . . are needed to help rebuild

the cities' decaying infrastructure, including roads, water and sewage lines, bridges, transit rails and new schools, hospitals and low cost housing."

To accomplish all of this Hall "called for a 'mass people's movement'" and "at the same time . . . urged that a 'Dump Reagan' campaign be tied into the movement."

A previous article in the September 23 DW reports on a statement issued by the CP in Western Pennsylvania calling for the nationalization of "the United States Steel plants in the Pittsburgh area." This statement called upon "Allegheny County and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to take over these plants 'to satisfy Pennsylvania's need for steel' . . . Such an action . . . would guarantee" that all laid off steelworkers in the area "would be recalled and kept working for years."

This statement, according to the DW, "urged nationalization as the first step toward changing the system in order to 'put people back to work.'"

Finally, an October 14 DW article reports on another speech by Gus Hall, at a national leadership meeting of the CP that discussed activity among industrial workers. There Hall presented a program "to speed the process . . . to turn the depression around. . . ." This included "nationalizing basic industry especially steel and coal. . . ."

## Sounds good

To many workers these may sound like good ideas. This is especially so when contrasted with the top USWA leadership's open collaboration with the profit-hungry employers.

But there is a problem. Under capitalism, nationalization of either individual steel mills, or the entire industry, will not solve unemployment.

To see why this is the case let's untangle the CP's demands and look at them one at a time. The weaknesses of nationalizing a single plant are among the clearest.

If a "regional steel authority" took over South Works for instance, the situation would not be much different from that confronting the new owners of Weirton Steel.

For the plant to stay in business someone still has to buy the steel. A nationalized South Works would still have to operate in a capitalist — production for profit only — economy. The capitalist government which would own South Works would have to strive to be competitive with privately-owned plants in order to find a market for its product.

Just as at Weirton, the need to be competitive would require attacks on workers' wages, benefits, safe work rules, and other rights. The managers of a nationalized plant would not recall workers from layoff unless it were profitable.

The idea that the capitalist government, which defends the private-profit system at every turn, would agree to operate South Works at a loss is not persuasive. This is especially so today when the government is cutting wages and attacking union rights of public employees as part of a phony effort to "balance the budget."

What about Hall's proposal to nationalize the entire steel industry as a means of saving jobs? This would not work either.

The capitalist government would aim to run a nationalized industry, like an individual plant, at a profit. Just as big U.S. corporations must do now, a nationalized steel industry would have to compete against corporations producing steel for profit in other countries. The profit drive would dictate the very same attacks on workers' rights in a nationalized industry as in a privately-run industry.

In fact this is precisely the reason why some capitalist governments do decide to take over particular industries. The entire point of nationalization under capitalism, from the point of view of the employers, is to use the power of the government to restore profitability. — and to soak the working class for the cost of doing so, through higher taxes, and so forth. In some cases, after profitability is restored through nationalization, the industry is turned back to private owners.

## British Steel example

In those capitalist countries where particular industries have been nationalized, the very same capitalist plant managers and executives — as well as the original owners themselves in some cases — have been retained by the nationalized industry. These people are experts at squeezing the maximum possible out of workers in their industry and are kept on the job by the capitalist government for exactly that purpose.

A case in point is Britain, where the steel industry has been nationalized. Ironically, one of Gus Hall's supporters points to this example — ineffectively however.

In the September 27 *Daily World* a letter calling for "Jobs through nationalization" appears, signed by Roberta Woods, an activist in USWA Local 65 at South Works who has been laid off since June 1981.

"England has a nationalized steel industry," writes Woods. "Some people say it doesn't work too well," she allows, "but at least the workers have their jobs." (emphasis added.)

This would be a compelling argument — if it were true. Unfortunately Roberta Woods appears to be a bit mixed up about the facts.

For at least the past three years, British steelworkers have been under relentless assault from their governmental employers. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has targeted British steelworkers in her drive against the entire British labor movement.

Since 1980 more than 80,000 British steelworkers have lost their jobs — permanently.

What accounts for the attacks on British steelworkers, and why would U.S. workers at a nationalized industry face more of the same?

Just as one plant can not be separated out from the workings of the entire capitalist economy, neither can one industry — especially one as central to the functioning of the entire economy as the steel industry.

The truth of the matter is that it is more and more difficult to separate out any one industry from the complex, integrated advanced capitalist economy. In such an economy each part depends on and is related to others.

Steel production requires coal. Auto makers need steel to make cars. All three of these industries depend on the railroads and trucking firms to transport their products. And each relationship works two ways. That is, those who are selling products need buyers, just as the buyers need sources of supplies.

All of the economic workings of industry are intertwined with the finance system and the banks.

In fact the industrial capitalists and the financial capitalists are often the same. (Take for example the Rockefeller family which owns and controls both the world's largest industrial corporation — Exxon — and also owns and controls some of the largest banks — Chase Manhattan, Chemical, etc.)

Every industry requires new investment in order to modernize and take other steps to insure a high enough rate of profit. The U.S. steel industry is a prime example. The

steel corporations are modernizing more slowly because the banks and other sources of investment capital believe their funds, for the most part, can be better invested in other industries and ventures where they can obtain a higher rate of profit.

A nationalized industry would confront the same problem. It would have to compete for investment with other industries in the United States. To do this successfully would require satisfying its economic partners that it could be operated at a profit — and a high enough one at that. This is why nationalized British Steel is attacking British steelworkers to create a "leaner" and "more efficient" industry — with tens of thousands fewer workers.

Furthermore, just as is the case today at U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, and elsewhere, if the bankers and others can be persuaded to invest in the needed modernization, workers in a nationalized steel industry would still be the losers. Precisely because the profit drive will still be at work in a nationalized industry, such modernization will not be carried out to create more jobs. Rather it will be a tool to eliminate them. This has been the reality at British Steel.

But the workers employed by a nationalized industry are not the only ones to pay the price. The employers and their government make the public — that is working people — pick up the tab in many ways for restoring profitability. They raise taxes for instance. In some cases they use bond issues to finance their plans. This insures that the banks will reap high interest payments from any "improvement" of the nationalized industry. A social cost is exacted as well. For instance, pollution controls are often relaxed for "ailing" industries — including those still directly in private hands.

None of these problems of nationalization under capitalism are solved by Gus Hall's suggestion that an expanded market

## Why workers

Under certain circumstances a fight by the labor movement to demand that the capitalist government nationalize a particular industry can be a big step toward workers becoming politically active and seeing the need for the working class to replace the government.

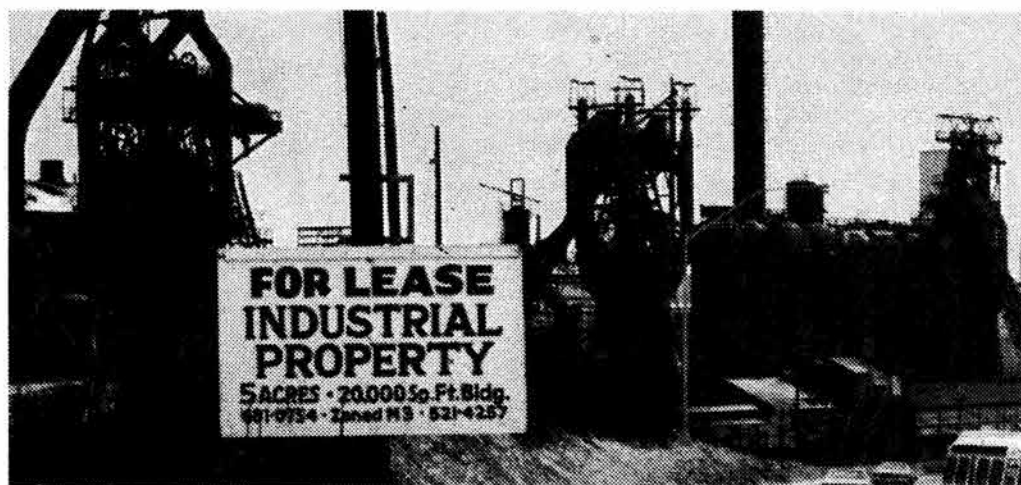
The 1979 "oil crisis" is a recent example of a severe breakdown of the economy that affected and angered millions of workers, who demanded government action.

At that time the giant energy monopoly was hoarding oil and refused to refine adequate quantities into gasoline and heating fuel. The oil cartel did this in order to artificially jack up the price of these necessities even further and raise the oil companies' already spectacular profits to a new high.

This created a contrived crisis for all working people. The crisis itself was very



Labor demonstration during 1979 energy mand to nationalize energy monopoly, boards as step in fight to change govern



Restructuring of capitalist economy and its increasing crises make shut-down blast furnaces like these in Pittsburgh a common sight. Labor movement must put forward demands to defend workers from effects of crises.



# re jobs?

for steel would be created by a government public works program.

The labor movement should demand a broad public works program to provide some immediate relief to the army of the unemployed. This could be one part of a broader fight to defend workers from the effects of the economic crisis.

But a public works program administered by a capitalist government is likely to be a penny ante proposition. It may provide some socially useful work. But the suggestion by some top labor officials that the solution to unemployment is to go back to the "good old days" of the public works programs of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration is based on a distortion of history that is not unrelated to the labor officialdom's complete subservience to the Democratic Party.

FDR did not "solve" unemployment in the "good old days." High unemployment plagued the working class throughout most of the 1930s. To the degree that Roosevelt cut unemployment significantly it wasn't through his public works program. It was the result of World War II. It was war production that kicked steel production into high gear.

In any event a public works program does not mean that nationalization under capitalism will create jobs.

(It should also be added that one idea that seems to be implicit in Hall's approach is quite wrong and ill befits someone who calls himself a communist because it can lead to protectionism. That is the idea that plants in Illinois should have the franchise to meet Illinois' steel needs, plants in Pennsylvania likewise, etc. The next step is suggesting a ban on all steel imports and reserving the U.S. market for U.S. steel-makers.

(If this is not the intent of such an argument, the only other explanation is that Hall believes each state should become a separate economic island, supplied by its



**U.S. Steel's South Works. Despite union concessions, corporation now threatens to close mill. Communist Party proposes government takeover of plant, but this will not end threat to jobs.**

"own" workers. This too would undermine solidarity throughout the working class. As a strictly economic proposition in an advanced economy, it is as impractical as it is wrong.)

## If not nationalization, what?

The drive for profit is built into the capitalist system. Poor and inadequate wages, unsafe working conditions, racism, discrimination against women, military invasions and wars abroad are all among its effects. So long as capitalism exists workers can not eliminate these problems. In fact the crises of the system will worsen these conditions.

But the working class can struggle to defend itself from the effects of these inevitable consequences of the profit drive. In many different ways that is what workers are constantly doing. That is why trade unions were formed as defensive organizations of the working class. Those who founded the unions saw the need for workers to unite in order to struggle effectively to protect themselves.

Workers struggle to defend themselves by fighting against unemployment and war, for better wages and union rights, and so on. As accidents and speed-up on the job increase, workers defend themselves by demanding union control over safety and conditions of work. As the capitalist economic crisis deepens and severe dislocation of the economy occurs, workers will begin to challenge the prerogatives of the employers to shroud their financial dealings, profit rates, inventories, etc. in secrecy by demanding they open their books.

As workers struggle to defend themselves they meet fierce resistance from the employers and the government they control. The employers, for example, strongly oppose the demand for a shorter work week with no cut in pay, which would spread the available work around and create more jobs, because it would mean a cut in their profits. But in the course of struggles like these, workers can radicalize, learn, and draw conclusions about the source of the problems they face and what to do about it.

A key conclusion is that workers face a bigger problem than the drive for profit by their own employer. Workers as a class are exploited by the employers as a class. The employing class brings the power of its government to bear as they resist workers' just demands. This poses the need for workers to develop a political movement and a political party that can fight to overturn the government of big business and the banks and replace it with one representing the majority — a workers and farmers government.

Advancing this understanding should be the aim of the most conscious working-class fighters. Demands, proposals, and methods of struggle that help workers to see this need clearly are useful. Those which obscure that goal act as a brake on advancing workers' consciousness and moving toward taking political power.

That is why it is wrong for the labor movement to concern itself — as most top labor officials today do — with making capitalism "work better."

## Nationalize and 'Dump Reagan?'

Gus Hall's proposal that workers call for nationalization under capitalism to provide jobs, while "tying" that movement to a "Dump Reagan" campaign will not help workers see the need to struggle for political power. However, Hall's stance is a consistent one. His proposal to solve unemployment and his proposal for political

action by the labor movement are both intended to avoid challenging capitalist power.

While Hall's proposals sound more radical, they are not fundamentally different from the approach of the misleaders of the labor movement who also want to "Dump Reagan" and replace him with Democrat Walter Mondale. This is another important place where Gus Hall and the Communist Party go wrong. The labor movement does need to become active politically. That does not mean becoming better — or "more radical" — campaigners for defeating Reagan at all costs. It means using union power to act in labor's interest by forming an independent labor party.

This is key because the struggle to defend the working class from the capitalist profit drive demonstrates the need to get rid of capitalism itself by fighting for political power. The present government must be changed. Workers and farmers need a government that will represent the overwhelming majority. The Democrats and Republicans will not form such a government. Only labor and its allies can do it by taking power out of the hands of the capitalist class.

## For expropriation

Once workers and farmers have taken political power, a new government would nationalize — that is expropriate — the steel industry and take it out of the hands of those who have profited from the labor of working people for so long.

This would be done at a pace commensurate with the needs and level of understanding of the masses of working people. It would be undertaken as part of a total reorganization of the economy and society that would include expropriating all basic industry and running it in the interest of the majority. This would include developing the maximum control by the workers themselves, in each industry, over work rules, safety conditions, production quotas, etc.

This is the foundation for socialism.

# demanded oil-trust takeover

real as mile-long gas lines attested. But the real cause of the crisis was the profit drive of Exxon, Texaco, Mobil and the other oil monopolists.

This highlighted a particularly dangerous feature of advanced — monopoly — capitalism. As capital is concentrated in the hands of even fewer industrialists and bankers this leads to greater monopoly control of key industries. A few giant corporations are able to dominate the market, rig prices, and force workers and farmers to pay an even greater cost.

Their tremendous wealth and control of vital industries puts enormous power into the hands of these monopolies — the oil giants are a prime example. They insist on their "right" to keep all the ins and outs of their business completely secret — even from the capitalist government at times.

In 1979 millions of angry workers de-

manded government action to bring the oil monopolies under some control. Many workers pointed to the clear need for public scrutiny of the oil industry.

Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States in the 1980 election responded by demanding that the entire energy industry be put under public ownership — nationalized — immediately. He further proposed that publicly elected boards oversee the industry in order to make the facts about its financial workings open to all.

A militant campaign of working-class action to demand such steps can play a big role in mobilizing working people and raising political understanding. This will not solve unemployment or break the energy industry out of the framework of the capitalist economy or imperialist exploitation. But it can help the working class understand more clearly the need to fight for political power. Some concessions can be won from the employers and their government through this fight.

It is the struggle itself that is of key importance in such circumstances. Fighting for nationalization — government action — poses the need for workers to mobilize and act politically to change the government. When workers fight to open the books of the energy trust to public view, they challenge the authority and prerogatives of capitalist power. The right of the majority to vital economic information must take priority over the capitalist "right" to business secrets.

This motivated the SWP's call for publicly elected boards. Contrary to Gus Hall's assertion that such a board "would be democratically elected to include community and worker representation," as in all capitalist elections any working-class representation on such a board would depend on independent working-class political action through a labor party, Black party, or other working-class formations.



**Militant/Arnold Weissberg is. Socialist Workers Party joined in del put it under control of publicly elected at.**

## Steelworkers Under Attack

*How to fight back and defend jobs*  
by Geoff Mirelowitz, 95 cents, 40 pp.

In March 1983 the steel corporations imposed big wage, benefit, and work rule concessions on steelworkers. Despite their claims, not a single job was saved by these givebacks. Steelworkers still face tough times and signs are that they may get worse. In this pamphlet, Mirelowitz, a laid-off steelworker, answers the employers' attempts to blame workers for the economic crisis in the steel industry. This pamphlet proposes a course for the steelworkers' union and the entire labor movement to fight back.

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



# Farm protest actions a step toward unity with unions, Blacks

BY JOHN GAIGE

VIRGINIA, Minn. — The Farmer-Labor Solidarity and Survival Day events in Minnesota and parallel activities in Iowa November 1 marked a significant step forward in solidarity between farmers, unionists, and Blacks in this region.

Nearly 200 people packed Carpenter's Hall here to enjoy a free meal and participate in a spirited rally protesting unemployment, union-busting, and attacks on farmers.

Farmers from Minnesota and Wisconsin donated hundreds of pounds of food for the meal and for workers on the Iron Range, where 12,000 out of 14,000 miners in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are out of work due to long term shut-downs.

The rally was sponsored by the Iron Range Labor Assembly, and the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA). It was endorsed by the following: USWA locals 1938, 6860, 4757, and 6115; Communications Workers Local 7202; and the Duluth Central Labor Body. It also was endorsed by Minnesota American Agriculture Movement (AAM), Wisconsin Farm Unity (WFU), and U.S. Farmers Association.

In a related protest in the north Minneapolis Black community, 125 people participated in a free pancake breakfast at the Ruth Hawkins Community Center. It was sponsored by the Coalition of Conscience (COC) and NAFA.

The November 1 events originated from a call for a nationwide "Farm Revolt" by the Colorado AAM — a series of protests against the economic disaster driving family farmers off the land. NAFA, a coalition of farm, labor and community groups, endorsed the "Farm Revolt" September 17.

The featured speakers at both rallies were Ava Bates, a Black farmer who farms with her husband, Bernard, in Nicodemus, Kansas, and Jim Krass, chief picket captain for the copper miners striking Phelps Dodge Co. in Morenci, Arizona. Krass is a member of USWA Local 616. The Bateses were the center of an October 3 protest over a foreclosure sale of nearly a third of their land, which drew 300 people.

Frank Stuckel, president of the Iron Range Labor Assembly, welcomed everyone to the Iron Range; Tom Quinn of WFU chaired; and Jim Langman, president of Minnesota AAM, spoke briefly.

Langman, holding a USWA and AAM cap in each hand, said, "I'm a two fisted cap man. We brought potatoes and beans here and I want to take back to farmers this hat," the USWA hat.

Jim Daniels, president of USWA Local 1938, traced the history of the hard-won union gains on the Iron Range, then stated: "People are headed into the roughest winter ever seen on the Iron Range. People who get away from here are lucky to get work. People have to give up everything they have worked for their whole lives, their homes, cars, and, many times, even their families."

Raising his fist, Daniels said, "I would like to show farmers what this means, the clenched fist of solidarity, farmers and workers fighting together — unity and solidarity."

The audience, predominantly union members and farmers, listened carefully to Ava Bates tell the story of the loss of 240 acres of their farm.

"The issue is foreclosure," Bates explained, "like you getting behind in your payments, for your house or car, for reasons beyond your control. In our case we were hailed out and had a drought."

Speaking for the interests of many farmers, she said, "They are trying to get rid of the family farm. Corporations and banks are getting the land, not family farmers."

## 'Must work together'

Bates said, "City people, union people, and farmers must work together. We have been told our troubles are all because of the city."

She closed by saying, "When I look

back on my ancestors, the slave days, people fought and died to free us. We have to fight back to get anything accomplished." She brought the audience to a standing ovation when she said, "We aren't fighting between Blacks and whites any more, we're fighting together."

## Support to copper strike

"One and the same, we're under the copper collar," Jim Krass, the copper strike leader, said when he reached the podium. He added, "What happened to the Bates family cannot go unpunished. The great unemployment problem on the Iron Range I can identify with. The copper mines have been depressed for as much as 11 out of 24 months. With the economic conditions now we can't let the companies take our hard-fought-for gains, won over 50 years. To win, we will need solidarity for the future."

Many people inspired by the speeches, stayed to discuss issues informally. There was singing of "Solidarity Forever", and all the caps and pins from Minnesota AAM were sold out.

At the breakfast rally in north Minneapolis, Anita Gay, COC, welcomed everyone by saying, "Farmers in our state and nation are facing bankruptcy unequaled since the 1930s. I welcome the opportunity to build unity, human solidarity, to seek solutions for much needed social-economic change. What affects one directly, affects all indirectly."

Bob Killeen, director for Sub-region 10 of the United Auto Workers (UAW), said he encouraged UAW locals to work with farmers.

He said Washington claims to be for democracy in Grenada but supports a dictatorship in Haiti, where workers make \$2.70 a day. He said: "The city is full of jobs — minimum wage jobs at McDonald's and Wendy's. The only jobs are in the army, navy, marines, and air force. It is tragic to waste bodies and minds in Lebanon and Grenada."

# Union hosts big Iowa farm-labor rally

BY JAY RESSLER

WATERLOO, Iowa — In a massive display of solidarity between farmers, workers and Blacks, nearly 1,000 people jammed into the headquarters of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 838 here November 1 for a rally, free bean soup lunch, and sausage giveaway.

Local 838 organizes the workers at the huge John Deere farm implement plant in Waterloo. Four thousand John Deere workers are presently on layoff.

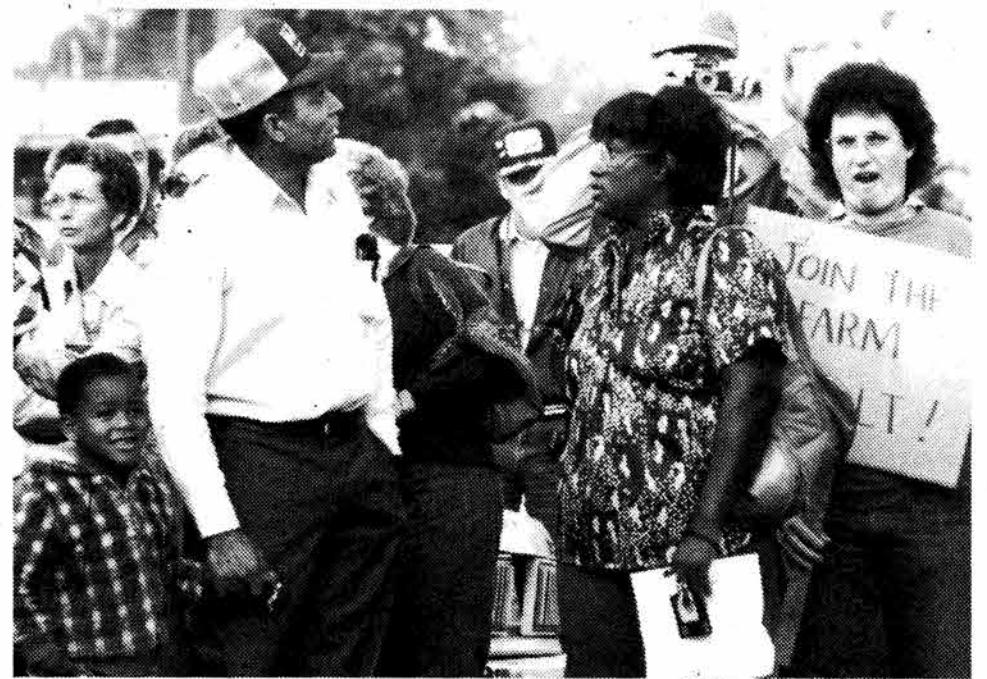
The overwhelmingly Black audience enthusiastically applauded calls for coalition-building between farmers, organized labor, Blacks, and women to fight against foreclosures of farms, low farm prices, high unemployment, and growing demands by bosses for givebacks. Rally participants also loudly approved denunciations of the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the U.S. nuclear build up.

Jim Riordan, representing the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition, chaired the event. He explained that it was planned to show the need for solidarity between those who bear the brunt of the economic crisis today.

Farmers donated 11,000 pounds of sausage to unemployed workers. Iowa farmers contributed 69 hogs to the effort. Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers donated the labor to process and package the sausage at the employee-owned Rath Meat Processing plant in Waterloo.

Riordan also explained that the bean soup lunch was donated and prepared by UAW 838 "Brownbaggers" — a volunteer community service committee of the local made up mainly of retirees.

Men and women wearing Local 838 jackets, shirts, caps, or pins directed traffic in the overflowing parking lot, staffed the kitchen, directed TV cameras, ushered



Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski  
Ava and Bernard Bates at Kansas protest in October. She told Minnesota rally that family farmers, unionists should unite against their common exploiters.

Spike Moss, director of the Way, a community group, talked about the importance of farmers to the economy and the issue of foreclosure on homes of people in the city.

Tom Quinn, a Wisconsin farmer representing NAFA, said, "It is not just Reagan, something is wrong with the whole fabric, the whole direction of the country. For farmers, a cruel joke has been played on us; we were made to think labor and people of color were the problem and could not support us."

Following the formal speeches, there was time for questions and comments. A member of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society read a statement denouncing the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

## 'Like the Nicaraguans say'

Mark Ritchie, board member of the U.S. Farm Association and an activist in NAFA, said in closing remarks, "farmers have learned two things from the Black struggle. One is as the Nicaraguans say, 'freedom doesn't come like a bird on the wing;' and second, that just as racism was not a Black problem, the farm crisis is not the farmers' problem alone — it is a social issue."

About 30 people from the breakfast rally went to Duluth, en route to the evening event in Virginia. The caravan stopped for a reception and protest at the Duluth Labor Center.

people to seats at long tables, signed people up to receive free sausage, and distributed the sausage.

Farmers wearing U.S. Farmers Association and National Farm Organization caps also assisted with some of these tasks.

A farmer who had donated a hog, Gary Lamb from Toma County, represented Iowa Farm Unity on the platform.

He said, "It is my dream that those who produce the food and fiber on the land will join with the workers in the factories."

"Something is wrong in the country today," Lamb went on, "if there is overproduction of food and fiber, which causes low prices we are told, and yet people are starving. Something is wrong when the workers at Wilson Meatpacking are forced to take wage cuts while the president of Wilson gets a salary hike to \$700,000 a year. Something is wrong when the color of your skin is used to decide whether or not you have a job and a fair wage."

Local 838 Pres. David Neil announced that Rath Packaging, which is employee-owned, filed for bankruptcy earlier that day.

Neil told the crowd, "We must band together to fight the multinational corporations who play off one against the other — the workers against the farmers."

His view was that the way to do that was to "buy America." He asserted that protectionist measures would help both workers and farmers.

Riordan explained that "We came to Waterloo to give away sausage because it's a shame that there are people going hungry right here in the heart of the world's breadbasket. It's a shame that farmers are paid not to grow food, when people are starving right here in our midst. We want to grow food."

The building process leading up to and out of November 1 activities was an important part of the solidarity achieved in these protests. Farmers from NAFA, AAM, and WFU spoke before local meetings of the USWA in October and worked closely with the Iron Range Labor Assembly. Laid-off members of the USWA also spoke before meetings of farmers.

In the Twin Cities, Ava and Bernard Bates spoke before two churches in the Black community and were interviewed by radio stations and *USA Today*. There are standing invitations in a number of unions and community groups for farmers to come and explain the farm crisis.

There was progress in getting solidarity for the copper strike. Krass, on November 2, was able to meet with 14 union leaders on the Iron Range, including Elden Kirsch, director of District 33 of USWA, and presidents of locals 2660, 1938, and 4108 and officers of the Operating Engineers and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Krass also spoke before two shifts of UAW Local 879, the Ford plant here. These workers agreed to send the copper miners \$500. International Association of Machinists Local 1833, workers at Northwest Air Lines, also voted to send \$500. At both meetings a bucket was passed to defray transportation costs.

"You need jobs," he continued, "and we need a fair price for farm commodities to make a living."

Riordan pledged, "We're going to do some serious coalition-building today."

Reverend Gains of the Antioch Baptist Church represented Waterloo's Black community. "We're all in this boat together," he said, "we must all come together. This event is a tremendous push for all of us."

Mark Smith, state secretary-treasurer of the Iowa AFL-CIO, declared, "We're here to demand an end to unemployment, an end to poverty, an end to hunger, an end to the arms race."

North American Farm Alliance spokeswoman Carol Hodne explained that today family farmers face an "unparalleled crisis."

Nebraska State Sen. Ernie Chambers from Omaha's Black community received an enthusiastic ovation when he denounced Washington's invasion of Grenada.

Chambers said, "There are two standards in this country: one for the rich and one for the poor. The rich make the wars and the poor fight them."

Also speaking at the rally were Iowa Lt. Gov. Bob Anderson and Waterloo's mayor, who was resoundingly booed when he took the platform. Later about 60 people attended a strategy session.

Several farmers opened the discussion by stating the problems they faced, particularly the growing price of fuel.

Joe Swanson, a rail worker from Lincoln, Nebraska, took the floor and explained the need for "workers and farmers to break from the two big-business parties once and for all."

His comments about independent political action received loud applause.



# CLUW takes up problems of union organizing

## Discusses fight against sex discrimination, attacks on undocumented



There are over 3,000 women at Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia, where workers won right to Steelworker representation and contract with bitter strike in 1979 (above). CLUW conference hailed Steelworkers Local 8888's recent victory in beating back decertification attempt.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW ORLEANS — More than 400 trade union women from across the country gathered here on October 28 and 29 for the Coalition of Labor Union Women's (CLUW) conference on "Organizing the Unorganized."

The workshops and plenary sessions focused on how to organize the millions of unorganized workers, particularly working women, into unions.

Participants felt that in order to win women to its banner, the union movement must be in the forefront of the fight against discrimination against women.

Emphasis was placed on the fact that organizing the unorganized doesn't end when the first contract is won. Involving the ranks in the union on an ongoing basis to defend themselves against the employers is key to preserving and strengthening the unions that have been built.

The conference discussions showed that many women present had been thinking about and beginning to draw some lessons from their own union experiences over the past couple of years, including in union organizing drives.

These have been years when the labor movement has been under siege from the employers and their government.

The union officialdom has not been able to mount an effective response to the attacks on the labor movement, and the women there expressed dissatisfaction with many of the policies of the AFL-CIO leadership.

### Bigger than expected

Conference organizers had expected about 250 people, but 419 showed up. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) from New York sent 150 members.

About 50 percent of the conference participants were Black, and there were many Latinas. While most of the women were middle-aged or older, there were scores of young union activists.

Unionists were there from all over the South, and from as far away as California, New Mexico, and Massachusetts.

They came from almost every major union: United Auto Workers (UAW); Communications Workers of America (CWA); Service Employees International Union (SEIU); Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW); International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT); Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); American Federation of Teachers (AFT); International Association of Machinists (IAM); International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); United Steelworkers of America (USWA); International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); and the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW).

This was the second national CLUW organizing the unorganized conference. The

last one was in 1980 in Dallas and was about the same size.

CLUW was founded in 1974 as a national organization of trade union women. Its origins are rooted in the rise of the women's liberation movement and the impact of the growing millions of working women on the labor movement. It is open to all trade union women.

Its March 1984 Chicago convention, which will mark the 10th anniversary of the founding of CLUW, will include a one-day conference on affirmative action. This convention was seen as an important event for union women to attend.

The conference began the day after USWA Local 8888 won a representation election at the giant Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia. Elmer Chatak, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, reminded the conference of the long and bloody strike in 1979 which won the first USWA contract for Tenneco workers.

Chatak highlighted the important role played by the 3,000 women in the yard in the fight to get and maintain the union. CLUW Pres. Joyce Miller said she hoped this meant 3,000 more Steelworker women would be joining CLUW.

### Wage gap

Miller, who is also a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and a vice-president of ACTWU, delivered brief opening remarks to the conference. She

blamed the 40 percent wage gap between men and women's paychecks on the fact that women are less unionized, and on the fact that 80 percent of all women workers are forced into traditionally low-paying female jobs.

Fifty percent of the unions' membership increase in the last 20 years has been women, said Miller. She also pointed out that the labor movement has begun to fight for pay equity for women. Pay equity means women in predominantly female jobs getting the same wages as higher-paid men in predominantly male jobs that require comparable skills and education levels.

### 'All in Favor'

A new CLUW film titled *All in Favor* was premiered at the conference and received an enthusiastic response. Miller said its purpose was to show why unions are important to women and why women are important to unions. She urged CLUW chapters, unions, and women's committees to utilize it. The film includes a short segment on the Hispanic women's committee of New York CLUW, which involves Latina garment workers.

The second part of the Saturday morning plenary was presided over by Vicki Saporta, the cochair of CLUW's Organizing the Unorganized committee, and director of the Teamsters Organizing Department.

She began by saying that the biggest

challenge facing labor in the 80s and 90s is organizing unorganized workers. She said this is a difficult task and the labor movement "has not been as effective in recent years" in carrying it out. Eighty percent of U.S. workers are unorganized.

Saporta pointed to plant closings, layoffs, high unemployment, and the concessions many unions are making to employers as one set of obstacles to organizing efforts.

Another problem, she said, is that "more and more employers are becoming more and more enlightened, not for any altruistic reasons, but they're becoming better employers and you're getting fewer issues. I know that you can go around New Orleans or any other town and find sweatshops or sweat-like shops. But employers are getting a little bit better and they're paying more comparable benefits."

### Employers pushing harder

The discussions of the women at the conference contradicted Saporta's view that employers are getting more "enlightened." In fact, the employers are pushing harder against all workers, trying to take away past gains. For women, Blacks, and the undocumented, it's even worse.

Far from there being fewer "sweat-like" shops today, their number is on the rise. The *New York Times* recently ran a two-part series on "The New Sweatshop." It quoted Jay Mazur, ILGWU secretary-treasurer, saying that these sweatshops "are the shame of the 1980's in this state [New York] and in many parts of the country."

Saporta emphasized the increasing use of professional union-busting firms as another obstacle to organizing efforts. Two union-busting films utilized by such companies were shown to the conference.

At the Saturday luncheon, two successful organizing drives of women workers were described: one at New York's Columbia University, and one in Boston.

Dorine Levasseur, president of SEIU Local 925, talked about 90 women answering-service operators who her local organized in Boston.

These women originally came to the union because they had no benefits, low pay, and suffered from arbitrary company practices. After winning a contract that improved their wages and working conditions, a new company owner launched a union-busting attack that forced them to strike. The strike began on May 14, 1982, and lasted 278 days. The union won.

### Undocumented workers

The main part of the conference consisted of two sets of workshops addressed by panels of union officials.

Among the most important was the workshop on undocumented workers.

Continued on Page 18

## Women unionists aid Hector Marroquin

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

NEW ORLEANS — More than 50 participants at the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) October 28-29 "Organizing the Unorganized" conference signed petitions calling on the Immigration and Naturalization Service to halt the deportation of Héctor Marroquín. They were responding to a special "Appeal to Trade Unionists" distributed by CLUW members who are active supporters of Marroquín's fight for political asylum.

Marroquín is a Mexican-born socialist who fled Mexico in 1974 when he and three of his friends were framed up in the murder of a librarian at the university. The Mexican police gunned down two of these friends and "disappeared" the third. Marroquín's decision to come to the United States saved his life.

Marroquín found work at the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Houston, where he helped in an organizing drive to win representation by the Teamsters union. About a year later he was arrested by immigration cops.

For the past six years, he has been fighting a legal and political battle to stay in this country. He now faces his final appeal before the Supreme Court. If he loses, he

faces immediate deportation.

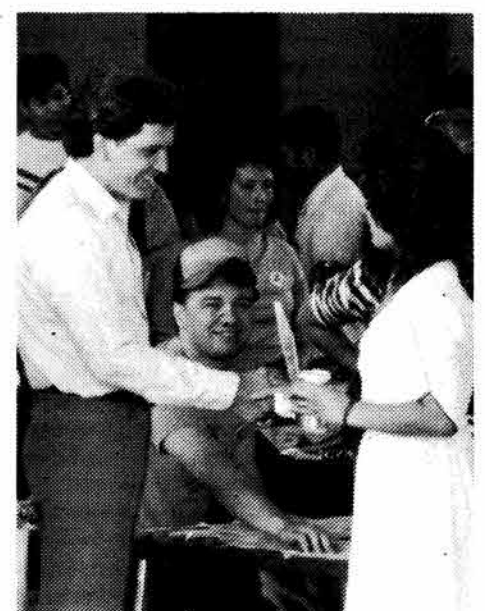
At the CLUW conference, supporters of Marroquín's case were able to talk with hundreds of women about the stakes for the labor movement in this fight.

Mary Moore and Marsha Zakowski, international staff representatives of the United Steelworkers of America, and Herdastine Williams, president of Local 11 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Springfield, Illinois, added their names to the growing list of labor endorsements for Marroquín.

Others took literature on the case back to their union locals and CLUW chapters. Unionists from New York pledged to help get out the word about a rally to stop the deportation of Héctor Marroquín that will be held in New York City on December 3.

The rally, culminating Marroquín's fall tour, will feature South African poet and educator Dennis Brutus, Aurora Camacho de Schmidt of the American Friends Service Committee's Mexico-U.S. Border Program, and other well-known advocates of refugee rights.

The rally will be held at 8:00 p.m. at the Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th Street, New York.



Militant/Larry Lukeart  
Héctor Marroquín (left) at United Farm Workers convention. Marroquín and his supporters have visited many union meetings, picket lines, and plant gates to win support for his right to political asylum in U.S.



# FBI, CIA use disruption lawsuit against SWP to boost informers

## Socialists seek damages, condemn gov't move

BY LARRY SEIGLE

LOS ANGELES — At an October 24 hearing in federal court here, Judge Mariana Pfaelzer repeated what she has said on earlier occasions: the lawsuit filed by Alan Gelfand against the Socialist Workers Party was a fraud.

"The case never had merit, and the plaintiff never had any evidence," Pfaelzer stressed.

Gelfand had charged that his expulsion from the party was the work of government agents who have taken over the SWP. He demanded that the court order him reinstated and remove the elected leadership of the party.

Despite repeated efforts by the SWP to have the case thrown out of court, Pfaelzer refused to do so. She allowed Gelfand and his lawyers, from the firm of Fisher & Moest, to continue harassing the party and draining its financial resources for four years. When the case finally went to trial last spring, Pfaelzer had no choice but to admit the case had been a sham.

At the end of the trial, Pfaelzer summed up by telling the lawyers for Gelfand: "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing."

How does Pfaelzer square her earlier steadfast refusal to throw the case out with her admission that the whole lawsuit was a lie? At the October 24 hearing, she put on a long face and said, "I made a mistake. I was so anxious to give the plaintiff a chance to prove his case."

Therefore, Pfaelzer said, she herself was "somewhat at fault" for allowing Fisher & Moest and Gelfand to carry out their spurious lawsuit, slandering and abusing the party and forcing it to divert funds and personnel to defend itself in court.

The apologies from the judge, however insincere, are a sign of the political pressure she is under from a growing number of defenders of democratic rights who have protested against this courtroom outrage.

But hypocritical judicial regrets won't pay the legal fees and other expenses run up by the SWP and by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which has organized publicity and fund raising for the defendants. Even more important, such regrets won't serve to deter similar disruption suits brought by other impostors and prosecuted by other corrupt attorneys willing to violate anybody's rights if the price is right.

To deter such future disruption suits, the SWP is demanding that the judge make Fisher & Moest pay the attorney's fees and other legal expenses of the SWP defendants. Pfaelzer is now preparing her writ-



Militant/Della Rossa  
Attorney for SWP David Epstein

ten opinion on this motion, and her decision is expected soon.

While this battle is underway, the Department of Justice has opened another front in the case. Seeking to take advantage of the Gelfand suit to further invade the rights of the SWP and all other working-class organizations, the government has asked Pfaelzer to issue a legal opinion authorizing the FBI and CIA to use informers and provocateurs against the SWP and similar organizations.

The FBI and CIA were nominally defendants in the Gelfand suit, but this was a legal fiction. The government lawyers sat for four years with their hands folded. They were satisfied that Gelfand, with the aid of Fisher & Moest and the connivance of Pfaelzer, was doing a good job of harassing the SWP. But after the trial, when the disruption operation seemed to be coming to an end, the FBI and CIA mouthpieces made their move.

The form of their offensive is a legal document known as "proposed conclusions of law." We are reprinting this document here, along with major excerpts from SWP's response to it. The response was submitted by David Epstein, a partner in a well-known Los Angeles law firm headed by Ben Margolis and John T. McTernan, two veteran fighters against government witch-hunts and frame-ups.

Ironically, Gelfand and Fisher & Moest, who have masqueraded as fighters against the secret police, have not opposed the FBI and CIA move. Likewise, the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) has completely ignored this government effort to bolster its legal right to use informer-provocateurs. The WRP financed and organized Gelfand's lawsuit as part of its worldwide slander and disruption campaign to smear the SWP as a front for the FBI.

The legal issues the government has now put before Pfaelzer are exactly the questions at the heart of the SWP suit against the FBI, CIA, Immigration Service, and other federal agencies. That case, known as *SWP v. Attorney General*, has now been pending for more than a decade. It is referred to several times in the legal documents we are printing on these pages.

The trial in that suit was held before Judge Thomas Griesa in New York more than two years ago. Griesa has not yet issued his ruling, and won't say when he intends to do so.

While Griesa stalls, the FBI and CIA are seeking to use the Gelfand-Fisher & Moest suit to get a ruling in its favor on the informer issue, hoping the move will be made without much public attention and therefore without much protest.

As Epstein points out in the SWP's brief, the government's proposed legal conclusions "would compound the violation of the First Amendment that has already occurred in this lawsuit. The Government, which has stood by in passive acquiescence to the malicious prosecution of this action against the Socialist Workers Party, has now come forward to seek further advantage from this abusive lawsuit."

It would be a serious misreading of the

dangers involved, and of the political context in which this move is being made, to lightmindedly dismiss the government's effort as a frivolous move. It is deadly serious. A rapid and vigorous response is needed to expose this government sneak attack on the Bill of Rights and to demand that Pfaelzer repudiate it in the most decisive manner.

Pfaelzer has announced that she will hold a hearing on the "proposed conclusions of law" submitted in the case. The date for this hearing has not yet been fixed.

## Government's 'Proposed Conclusions of Law'

The following document lists the three rulings on informers the government is asking Judge Pfaelzer to make.

1. The use of informants within political parties for investigative and data gathering purposes does not constitute a violation of individual rights. *Laird v. Tatum* (1972).

2. The use of informants for investigative and intelligence gathering activities may not be enjoined. *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* (1974); *Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press v. American Telephone & Telegraph Co.* (1978).

3. The identities of informants who have conducted activities within the Socialist Workers Party are protected from disclosure by the informant privilege. *Black v. Sheraton Corporation* (1977); *In re United States (Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General)* (1977).

Respectfully submitted,

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Assistant Attorney General

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## Response by Socialist Workers Party

### Introduction

The Government defendants propose three Conclusions of Law, each of which should be rejected by the Court.

It is settled that the Court should adopt only "such findings as are necessary to the disposition of the case between the parties." *Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. v. Thermoco, Inc.* (1941). None of the Government's proposed conclusions of law is necessary to the resolution of the issues properly before the Court. In fact, the proposed conclusions are nothing but an attempt by the Government defendants to gain the sanction of this Court for activities by police informers which they have not been able to justify to any other Court, or to the public.

Further, if adopted, the proposed conclusions would compound the violation of the First Amendment that has already oc-

curred in this lawsuit. The Government, which has stood by in passive acquiescence to the malicious prosecution of this action against the Socialist Workers Party, has now come forward to seek further advantage from this abusive lawsuit. The Court should not countenance this attempt to aggravate the injury to the SWP and to the Constitutional Rights of all Americans.

### I. The Government's First Proposed Conclusion of Law Violates the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution

The federal defendants have asked this Court to hold that "[t]he use of informants within political parties for investigative and data-gathering activities does not constitute a violation of individual rights."

With this sweeping proposal, the Government would have this Court grant license to the federal police to invade political organizations, in violation of both the First and the Fourth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The Socialist Workers Party and other private associations of political activists, even though engaged entirely in protected First Amendment activities, would be held fair targets for informer penetration. This would amount to a denial of the right of the SWP and other political organizations to function free from disruptive intrusion by hostile Government agents.

#### A. *Laird v. Tatum* Provides No Support for This Conclusion.

The Government cites but one case in support of its proposed conclusion. *Laird v. Tatum* (1972), however, provides no support whatsoever. First, there was no allegation in *Laird* that informers were used to penetrate any closed meetings or private discussions of a political party or association and second, the Court did not even reach the issue of the propriety of informer activities, but rather decided the case on narrow grounds of justiciability.

#### B. The Government's Proposed Conclusion Has No Basis in Law.

The Government is attempting to transform *Laird* into support for the proposition that the FBI and other police agencies have a blanket right to send informers into political parties. *Laird* simply says no such thing. Moreover, the Government cites not a single other case, for none can be found, to support the vast expansion of the Government's power that it is asking this Court to decree.

Such a holding would, in fact, amount to a charter for informer activity that no Court has ever granted, and would contravene the First and Fourth Amendment rights of the SWP and other political organizations.

### 1. Government Informers Engaged in "Investigat[ion] and Data-Gathering" Within Dissident Political Organizations are Not Mere Passive Observers.

The Government's proposed conclusion describes the function of informers in groups such as the SWP as carrying out "investigative and data-gathering purposes." This vague characterization glosses over the fact that the presence of hostile Government informers in activist groups like the SWP, where a high level of activity is a requirement of membership, and where every member votes on the full range of policy questions, is by its very nature disruptive of the activities of the association as well as a violation of its members' rights of associational privacy.

Indeed, the fact that FBI informers have routinely engaged in disruption activities against the SWP was indisputably established by Judge Thomas P. Griesa's review of FBI informer files describing such "investigative and data-gathering activity" in the SWP's pending litigation against the Attorney General.

"The documents show FBI plans to place informants within the SWP and YSA

PR  
DF

Defend  
political  
rights

Fighting the disruption lawsuit against the Socialist Workers Party has entailed big expenses, and the battle is not over yet.

Send your tax-deductible contribution to the Political Rights Defense Fund at P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made payable to PRDF, Inc. Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_



[Young Socialist Alliance] to split the organization structure and foment dissent . . . . It appears that in some cases informants directly participated in the carrying out of the disruption activities. In other instances the informants furnished the FBI with information which enabled regular agents of the FBI to conduct the disruption activities. The observations of the informants assisted the FBI in assessing the success or failure of disruption activities." *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* (1978).

For this Court to find that FBI or CIA informer penetration of political parties and associations engaged in First Amendment activity does not "constitute a violation of individual rights," as the Government proposes, would be to grant the FBI the power to act in precisely the manner that the First and Fourth Amendments now prohibit.

## 2. Use of Informers Against Political Organizations Engaged in First Amendment Activity Violates the Rights of Associational Privacy.

a. Even the identities of members and supporters of First Amendment groups subjected to Government and Employer harassment are protected from disclosure.

Even if the activities of the informers could somehow be restricted "only" to collecting the names of members and supporters of the SWP and other dissenting political groups, such activity would still constitute a violation of the First Amendment.

It has long been established that compelled disclosure to the Government of membership in an organization engaged in political advocacy constitutes interference with freedom and privacy of association, particularly where the group espouses beliefs in opposition to the policies of those in office, *NAACP v. Alabama* (1958); and that such interference can be justified only if it is shown to substantially further a compelling state interest.

The principles articulated in *NAACP v. Alabama* have been reaffirmed in numerous subsequent cases, most recently by the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee (Ohio)* (1982).

Government informer operations against the SWP and similar private associations also violate the rights of such groups to determine their political platform and organize their activities free from government interference.

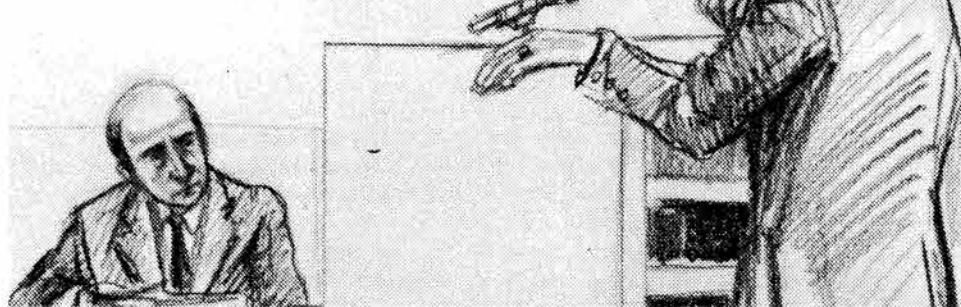
In *Democratic Party of U.S. v. Wisconsin* (1981), the Supreme Court ruled that a state could not constitutionally require a national political party to accept delegates who may have been selected in part by political rivals. The Court stated:

"This First Amendment freedom to gather in association for the purpose of advancing shared beliefs is protected by the Fourteenth Amendment from infringement by any State. And the freedom to associate for the 'common advancement of political beliefs,' necessarily presupposes the freedom to identify the people who constitute the association, and to limit the association to those people only. . . .

"On several occasions this Court has recognized that the inclusions of persons unaffiliated with a political party may seriously distort its collective decisions — thus impairing the Party's essential functions — and that political parties may accordingly protect themselves 'from intrusion by those with adverse political principles.'"

But, police operations involving penetration by Government informers of the SWP and other associations advocating a revolutionary change in the policies and form of Government make a mockery of these groups' rights to "protect themselves 'from intrusion by those with adverse political principles.'" Informers acting under the control of a hostile FBI or other Government agency invade every party function and decision-making process, casting votes on disputed questions and interfering with the rights of the bona fide members to exercise control over their own organizations.

*Democratic Party of U.S. v. Wisconsin*



Nancy Bekavac, attorney for Fisher & Moest law firm, at October 24 hearing. At left, Alan Gelfand. Gelfand and his backers have ignored government move to bolster informers.

involved state enforcement of a provision which would have resulted in private citizens of a different political persuasion being admitted to the Democratic Party convention. If such a provision violates the First Amendment rights of the party, then the use of FBI informers against groups such as the SWP does so *a fortiori*, because it involves penetration of political associations by hostile informers under control of the Government itself.

c. First Amendment rights are chilled by surveillance by informers.

In *White v. Davis* (1975), the California Supreme Court held that undercover spying on classroom discussions and public and private meetings of campus-based groups "is likely to pose substantial restraint upon the exercise of First Amendment rights "which could only be sustainable if the police could demonstrate a compelling state interest that could not be served by less intrusive means. White, a professor at U.C.L.A., sued to enjoin the Los Angeles Police Department from using Public Disorder and Intelligence Division officers as "secret informers and undercover agents" to report on discussions at classes at the university and on meetings of university-recognized organizations.

The court held that the complaint, which alleged that the informer reports "pertain to no illegal activity or acts," demonstrated a *prima facie* violation of First Amendment rights, and that furthermore, the complaint stated a cause of action under the right of privacy recognized by Article I, Section 1 of the California Constitution. See also *Local 309 v. Gates* (1948) (injunction granted excluding state police from attending union meetings in violation of members' First Amendment rights.)

## 3. The Use of Informers Against Political Parties Engaged in Lawful Advocacy Violates the Fourth Amendment.

While courts have often sustained the use of informers in criminal investigations, no authority exists for the use of secret informers against political organizations which are not reasonably believed to be engaging in or planning illegal acts. Such a conclusion would constitute a violation of the Fourth Amendment because it would permit Government intrusion into areas in which one has a reasonable expectation of privacy. Members of political parties such as the SWP have a reasonable expectation of privacy regarding discussions at meetings closed to non-members, held in their own offices and meeting halls. Informer monitoring and reporting on such internal deliberations would therefore constitute an unreasonable search and seizure in violation of the Fourth Amendment.

The proposition that the Fourth Amendment prohibits the use of informers to infiltrate and spy upon those engaged in constitutionally protected speech and assembly is consistent with the history of the Fourth Amendment itself, which was adopted to protect the people against exactly such arbitrary Government interference. Justice Brandeis described the underlying purpose of the Amendment in his dissenting opinion in *Olmstead v. United States* (1928):

"The makers of our Constitution . . . conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone — the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men. To protect that right, every unjustifiable intrusion by the

Government upon the privacy of the individual, whatever the means employed, must be deemed a violation of the 4th Amendment."

As the Supreme Court observed in *United States v. United States District Court* (1972):

"The price of lawful public dissent must not be a dread of subjection to an unchecked surveillance power. Nor must the fear of unauthorized official eavesdropping deter vigorous citizen dissent and discussion of Government action in private conversation."

## II. The Government's Second Proposed Conclusion of Law Is Unsupported by Any Existing Authority

The Government proposes that the Court adopt as a conclusion of law that "the use of informants for investigative and intelligence gathering activities may not be enjoined." No authority exists for this asser-

**“The Government would have this Court grant license to the federal police to invade political organizations, [denying] the right of the SWP and other political organizations to function free from disruptive intrusion by hostile Government agents. . . .”**

tion; in particular, the cases cited by the Government do not lend any support whatsoever to this sweeping claim. In fact, even the cases cited by the Government defendants contradict their proposed conclusion.

In *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General of the United States* (1974) the Government defendants appealed from a preliminary injunction prohibiting FBI informers from spying on the 1974 national convention of plaintiff Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The Court of Appeals vacated the order.

The Court, however, expressly reserved judgment on whether the use of informers against the YSA or SWP could ultimately be enjoined: "Such an issue deserves treatment on a full record and with ample time for reflection . . . [t]here was no urgency requiring the district judge to decide issues of such gravity by granting an injunction. . . ." In fact, the Court assumed the opposite of the Government's proposed conclusion. The use of informers may be enjoined if a proper showing is made.

## III. The Government's Third Proposed Conclusion of Law Is Unsupported by Any Existing Authority

The Government proposes for its third conclusion of law that "[t]he identities of informants who have conducted activities within the Socialist Workers Party are protected from disclosure by the informant privilege." As with the Government's other proposed conclusions of law, this is a misstatement of the law.

In *Black v. Sheraton Corp. of America* (1977), on which the Government relies, plaintiff had unsuccessfully moved for an order compelling disclosure of the names of hotel employees who had cooperated

with the FBI in an illegal eavesdropping operation in an investigation of criminal activity. The Appeals Court affirmed the denial of the motion. The Appeals Court held that the documents were "essentially irrelevant" to plaintiff's case and that plaintiff had not succeeded in making a showing of need sufficient to overcome the government's interest in concealing the identities of the informers.

Clearly, the "essentially irrelevant" interest described is far different from the interest in disclosure that the Socialist Workers Party — or any other voluntary political association — might assert in defense of its constitutional rights to function free from government intrusion and disruption.

This was exactly the situation in *In re United States* (1978) which the Government inexplicably invokes as support for its conclusion. The holding is not as the Government claims.

There, in the course of the litigation between the SWP and the FBI, CIA, INS, and other federal agencies, the defendants had appealed an order directing the FBI to produce informer files for inspection by plaintiff's attorneys. The Appeals Court refused to disturb the judge's order, saying, "[w]here the identification of an informer or the production of his communications is essential to a fair determination of the issues in the case, the privilege cannot be invoked."

The subsequent history of Judge Griesa's attempts to enforce his order illustrates even more graphically the degree to which the Government has misstated the law here in an attempt to elicit from the instant case a ruling it has been unable to get in any other Court. The Government un-

successfully sought *certiorari* [review by the Supreme Court] of the Second Circuit's refusal to overturn the order concerning the informer files. *Bell v. Socialist Workers Party* (1978).

Having thus failed to get the discovery order overturned, the Attorney General then took the extreme step of informing Judge Griesa that he would refuse to comply. Faced with the flagrant disobedience of a valid discovery order, Judge Griesa, after repeated warnings, held the Attorney General in contempt of court. *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General of the U.S.* (1978).

This judgment was then appealed to the Second Circuit, which ruled that the Attorney General could not properly be held in contempt. *In re Attorney General of United States* (1979). Once again, however, the Court of Appeals did not disturb the underlying order, although it did deprive the district court of the means of enforcing the order against the Attorney General.

Thus, it is clear that there is no blanket privilege that can be invoked as to disclosure of informers in the SWP, particularly where there are indications that the informers have been involved in unlawful activities.

## Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, all three of the Government's proposed conclusions of law should be rejected.

DATED: 27 OCTOBER 1983

Respectfully submitted,

MARGOLIS, MCTERNAN, SCOPE, SACKS & EPSTEIN

By DAVID B. EPSTEIN  
Attorneys for Defendant  
Socialist Workers Party



# Open letter to Polish union leader Lech Walesa

Dear Brother Walesa,

I recently attended the AFL-CIO convention as a reporter for the *Militant*. Despite the serious situation that the U.S. trade union movement finds itself in, this was a rather routine and boring affair. However, the delegates perked up when your message was read. As a supporter of the struggle of Solidarity and the Polish workers for trade-union rights, I also listened to it with interest.

In your letter you wrote:

"The problems facing the American working people seem to differ fundamentally from those confronting us in Poland. First and foremost, the difference lies in the

## AS I SEE IT

possibility of legal existence and functioning of trade unions, independent of the State and/or the employers. For you this problem now belongs to past history..."

It is true that the *legal existence* of the U.S. trade union movement is not being openly challenged by the employers at this time. Nevertheless, the U.S. labor movement is under serious attack. Open strikebreaking and union-busting are becoming more common.

The majority of U.S. workers are not members of trade unions. The government and the employers strive to block new union organizing efforts. For the working class, winning — and in some cases maintaining — trade union rights is only the result of ongoing struggle. It cannot be said that this is part of our "past history."

Furthermore, even those powerful unions which have been forged through previous struggle do not by any means function "independent of the state and the employers."

In Arizona and Texas copper miners are in their fifth month on the picket lines. They have been the victims of an open drive by the Phelps Dodge Corp. and the government to break their strike and bust their unions. Court injunctions limit the number of pickets to a small handful. The National Guard and state police have escorted scabs into the mines. The strikers have been falsely charged with "mob violence" and many have been jailed.

Certainly you are familiar with the experience of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) two years ago. When these workers were forced on strike to win better wages and more humane working conditions, their strike was broken by direct government order. All 12,000 were fired and then blacklisted from working in their field. Today PATCO no longer exists.

There are other examples. Many public employees are denied the right to strike by law. And others, like rail workers, while maintaining the legal right to strike, are routinely denied it by court injunctions forcing them back to work.

So you can see that in the United States, the struggle for unions that are genuinely able to function independently of the government and the employers, is not "past history" at all.

There is another fact that is not part of the past history of the U.S. working class, that is part of the past history of Polish workers. After World War II you overthrew capitalism, got rid of the rule of big business and landlords and established a planned economy. We in the United States have not done that.

Capitalism, with its relentless drive for profit, remains the fundamental problem facing our trade union movement. A tiny class of bankers and industrialists still controls the wealth produced by the workers. They also control the government and use it to protect their interests.

This explains the attacks on the copper miners.

This explains why PATCO was busted.

This explains antiunion legislation on the books of federal and state governments.

This explains the massive layoffs and unemployment which are among our chief problems today.

The tiny capitalist ruling class in the United States in its quest for profits also oppresses and exploits tens of millions of other working people in the colonial and semicolonial countries. So you touched on an important point when you wrote in your message:

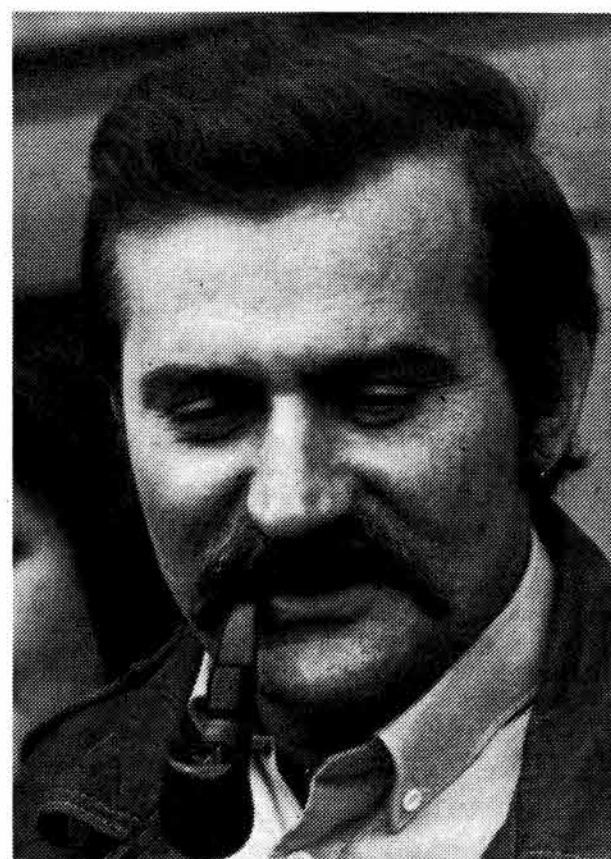
"The solidarity of the working people has shown to be stronger than national borders."

But you make a mistake in thanking the AFL-CIO leaders for their "solidarity" with Polish workers. Their "solidarity" has little to do with genuine support for workers' struggles. As they were proclaiming their support for Solidarity in Poland, they stood by and took no progressive action to defend the PATCO workers. Instead they called for an embargo on Polish trade.

Moreover, most of these union officials refuse to extend any solidarity to working people around the world — like those in Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador, or Lebanon — who are forced to fight the armed might of the U.S. government.

These same officials take every opportunity to attack revolutionary Cuba and try to slander it in the eyes of U.S. workers.

What explains this? Why is the AFL-CIO officialdom for "solidarity" with Polish workers but opposed to solidarity with workers and peasants in Central America and



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Lech Walesa

the Caribbean? Because the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO leadership is not based on solidarity at all. It is based on anti-communism. They use their ill-intentioned support for Solidarity's legitimate battle against bureaucracy for their own anti-communist purposes.

You, Brother Walesa, enjoy tremendous moral authority with workers in the United States who have correctly been inspired by Solidarity's struggle. An appeal by you for genuine solidarity with fellow workers who are fighting imperialism would have a great impact here and around the world.

The working people of Central America and the Caribbean especially, who are on the front lines of the fight to extend the socialist revolution, deserve the international solidarity of the world working class.

In solidarity,  
Geoff Mirelowitz

## CLUW takes up problems of union organizing

Continued from Page 15

which was addressed by seven Latino unionists. It was attended by more than 60 women, including many Blacks and Latinas.

Several speakers praised the resolution adopted by the 1979 CLUW convention on undocumented workers.

CLUW's 1979 resolution includes: support for efforts to organize the undocumented; opposition to Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) workplace raids; opposition to employer penalties for hiring undocumented workers; and support for a full, permanent amnesty for all workers currently living in this country.

It is no accident that CLUW — which represents trade union women — has a better position on undocumented workers than the AFL-CIO leadership does. As part of the oppressed sex, women workers can identify with many of the problems that also confront the undocumented.

Workshop participants pointed out that many of the undocumented are women and face even worse working conditions and sexual harassment on the job than do other women.

### Unions must organize undocumented

Several speakers pointed out that the undocumented are concentrated in the lowest-paying jobs — fields, garment shops, hotels, and restaurants. The existence of the unions who organize these industries hinges on their ability to organize the undocumented. To do that, they have to educate on the rights that the undocumented do have, and fight against all attempts by the government and the employers to violate their rights.

José Medina, an SEIU lawyer, explained that undocumented workers are not antiunion or impossible to organize. Many of these workers have a rich and long-standing labor background in their native lands. Fear of their immigration status and of *la migrá* (INS) sometimes keeps them from being outspokenly prounion.

Kathy Andrade, Education Director of ILGWU Local 23-25 in New York, estimated that half the members of her local are undocumented. Andrade, who is from El Salvador, mentioned that thousands of Salvadoran immigrants who were forced to flee their homeland by the U.S.-backed dictatorship there are among the undocumented workers.

Ida Torres, vice-president of Local 3 of the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union in New York, discussed some of the activities of the New York Central Labor Council in support of human rights in El Salvador and in touring labor leaders from Central America in their locals.

Medina took up the racist history of immigration laws, tracing the roots of the current racist legislation such as the Simpson-Mazzoli bill to the 1950s witch-hunt against the labor movement and democratic rights.

Several speakers expressed their opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli bill and their feeling of relief that it wasn't passed by Congress this time around. The AFL-CIO leadership's support for the many reactionary features of this legislation came in for harsh criticism.

Also discussed was the role of the INS as a strike breaker and as a police force used to smash union organizing drives by raiding shops that are being organized and then deporting prounion workers.

Andrade said that it was important to look toward the March 1984 CLUW convention as a place to further this discussion on organizing undocumented workers and changing the position of the labor movement on this question.

### Sex discrimination

The two sessions of the workshop on sex discrimination focused on the need for the union movement to fight sex discrimination uncompromisingly if it is to ever be able to organize the millions of unorganized women workers.

Marilyn Depoy, assistant coordinator of

women's activities for AFSCME, explained the importance of making women workers aware that the culprit in sex discrimination is the company, not their coworkers, who the company seeks to pit them against at every turn.

CLUW's general counsel, Winn Newman, contended that in order to organize women into unions, it is necessary for the labor movement to fight against sex discrimination on the job. Virtually every employer in the United States, Newman said, is guilty of sex discrimination. Unions could use the fight for pay equity as a way to make women see that the unions are for them. Newman felt that the feminist movement and the labor movement have to get together on this.

There was some discussion about the fact that the AFL-CIO must make fighting sex discrimination a priority issue.

Another issue that came up in the discussion is sexual harassment on the job and the need for the union to combat it.

### Quality-of-Work-Life Circles

There was a workshop on "Decertifications, Quality Circles, and Concession Bargaining." Employers are using all three of these as part of their union-busting offensive.

A lively debate broke out on the whether workers should support Quality-of-Work-Life programs in their plants. Many workshop participants had first-hand experience with these.

The workshop on Internal Organizing included a discussion on how to establish women's committees in the unions.

In the final plenary report on the workshop on Union Busting, stress was put on the need to get back to the kind of organizing drives that built the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), with strong rank-and-file involvement.

The final plenary also decided to send a message of support to the striking copper miners in Arizona.

Sonia Galán, a member of the Salvadoran labor federation, FENASTRAS, attended the conference. She was there as part of a nationwide tour to seek out the solidarity of U.S. trade unionists for the struggles of Salvadoran workers and peasants against the U.S.-backed dictatorship there.

Dozens of CLUW members were able to meet Galán, and several came to a reception for her at the end of the conference, which was sponsored by OCAW Local 4-447, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Sonia Galán Tour Committee in the New Orleans area. Many members signed up to get more information about El Salvador and to possibly get Galán to speak at their locals.

There was a small layer of officials and others at the conference who were not pleased with the warm response Galán was receiving.

At the Saturday luncheon, CLUW President Miller referred to a meeting being held by an "outside group" that evening. She said those building the meeting were falsely claiming that CLUW was supporting the meeting and said that the people advertising the meeting have "nothing to do with" CLUW.

This attack on the reception for Galán, which was being built by CLUW members, did not go over well. Many women told Galán they were angry about Miller's remarks. They pointed out that the leaflet *didn't* claim that CLUW was sponsoring the event. Others remarked that they were glad Galán was there.

The CLUW conference was the first national trade union gathering since the beginning of the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Informal discussions revealed a lot of opposition to the invasion and an interest in getting more facts on Grenada. Women from AFSCME in New York described the union meeting they had, which debated the U.S. invasion and then passed a resolution opposing it.



# Hawaii: the record of U.S. colonial domination

**Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence**, by Noel J. Kent. New York & London, Monthly Review Press, 1983, 215 pages, \$22 hardback.

BY MORRIS STARKSKY

The story of Hawaii, according to this useful book, is not too different from that of other oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Their development, under the domination of foreign capital, became attuned to the economic needs of the advanced capitalist center on which they were dependent for their capital, technology, skills, and organization. Consequently, these countries suffer from high unemployment, low wages, high cost of living, an immense debt burden, and increasing oppression of the toiling masses.

*Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* is not a "technical" or "theoretical" book. It is a general account of the economic, political, and social development imposed on Hawaii by U.S. domination for the better part of 200 years.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part, consisting of six chapters, Kent analyzes the impact on Hawaiian society of interaction with the world capitalist system from Captain Cook's arrival in 1778 to the end of the "plantation society" era after World War II.

The first hundred years of contact with foreign capital plundered the island's sandlewood, destroyed the Hawaiian subsistence economy, displaced the Hawaiian people from their land, ended their political independence by force, and reduced the native population to one-sixth of its size through poverty and disease.

When Captain James Cook, the British explorer, ar-



Hawaiian protest of Navy bombing of an island held sacred.

capitalists. They arrested leaders of the revolt and occupied government buildings.

Fifteen years later, in 1887, a Bayonet Constitution was imposed on the Hawaiian people after a successful coup, organized by Sanford Dole and other plantation owners. The new constitution gave U.S. citizens the right to vote in Hawaiian elections, while a large sector of the Hawaiian population was excluded through strict property qualifications. Asians were excluded as aliens.

## Republic of Hawaii

The showdown on Hawaiian sovereignty finally came in 1893 when another coup, again organized by U.S. plantation owners working with a U.S. diplomat and backed by U.S. Marines, deposed Queen Liliuokalani and abolished the monarchy. A year later, the U.S. government recognized the "Republic of Hawaii" with none other than Sanford Dole as its president. In 1898, Congress passed the Newlands Resolution which, in effect, annexed the Hawaiian Islands.

In the second part of *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*, Kent examines the transformation of Hawaiian society from an agriculture-for-export economy to one based on tourism. The foundation of the economy was undermined by years of reduced sugar quotas and increased beet sugar production in mainland states.

In addition, the plantation owners hated the organization of plantation and mill workers by the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Until the ILWU came on the scene in the 1930s, organizing plantation workers was a lost cause. Racism, antiunion legislation, coercion, violent strike-breaking, and even some paternalistic measures maintained absolute control of labor conditions and wages in the hands of the plantation owners. Since the Big Five firms, which owned all the plantations, also controlled shipping, communications, energy and banking in Hawaii, they enjoyed high profits through a union-free environment. The ILWU changed all that, and over the years won wages and benefits for Hawaii's workers far exceeding those of farm workers in Louisiana, Texas, the Caribbean, and the Philippines.

After World War II, U.S.-based corporations implemented a division of labor in the Pacific in which some countries supply raw materials and cheap manufactured goods for the benefit of capitalists in other countries. As the multinationals moved in and the Big Five transformed themselves into multinationals, the strategy of developing tourism in Hawaii was adopted.

It was implemented by both the Democratic and Republican parties and supported by the "house broken" ILWU whose militant leadership was purged in an anti-communist witch-hunt.

The development of the tourist industry has been a disaster for all working people in Hawaii, especially for the native Hawaiians. A few years ago, the cost of living in Honolulu was 40 percent higher than in a comparable mainland city. Yet, the average wage was 8.4 percent less than the U.S. average. Native Hawaiians, the 190,000 of them left in the islands, now only constitute 17 percent of the population. Of these, 40 percent are employed in the tourist industry, which has the lowest-paying jobs.

## Land policy

Long before statehood in 1959, 188,000 acres of land were set aside for native Hawaiians. Since that time only about 3,000 homesteads have been granted and 80 percent of the land is still unavailable to native Hawaiians. Land is now even more valuable than it was during the era of the plantation society. Not much grows on it these days but hotels and resorts. Two years ago 60 percent of the vegetables, 76 percent of the fruits, and 72 percent of the meats consumed by residents of these fertile islands were imported.

Taxes in Hawaii are the highest in the nation to pay for the roads and public services required by the tourist industry. This tax burden falls heaviest on those with the lowest income.

Recently, an article on Hawaii appeared in the *New York Times* under the headline, "90 Years After Americans Took Charge, Some Hawaiians Still Distrust U.S."

The *Times* reported that the Native Hawaiians Study Commission, appointed by Congress in 1980, recommended against federal reparations for native Hawaiians in payment for U.S. responsibility in the coup that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. The three native Hawaiian members of the commission, the *Times* commented, "were outvoted by the six mainland members." Small wonder that some native Hawaiians still distrust Washington.

Readers of *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* will learn that there is a growing antideveloper, antitourism sentiment in Hawaii. According to Kent, "A new constituency is gradually emerging for a break with Hawaii's role as a dependent tourism society."

He concludes that the people of Hawaii can break the chain of dependent development and foreign control if they can formulate a political program based on fundamental social change, and "build an organization capable of implementing such a program."

*Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* is much too good a book to be available only in hardback for \$22. There should be a paperback edition of this excellent primer on the political economy of Hawaii.

## BOOK REVIEW

rived in Hawaii in 1778, political power was in the hands of chiefs or kings, who controlled large areas or even whole islands. Soon the foreigners backed King Kamehameha of the Big Island in his struggle for hegemony over the powerful kings of Maui and Kauai.

## Capitalism introduced

During the next few decades, the capitalist development of Hawaii undermined the old Polynesian institutions. A new governmental structure and legal system were required by the needs of a growing capitalist class. This task was carried out by missionaries. The story of the missionaries' role in the colonization of Hawaii shatters the myth of them as harmless peddlers of sexual puritanism and the protestant ethic.

In 1848, a radical revision of the land tenure law was adopted to dispossess the Hawaiian people and to make room for capitalist agricultural development.

With land and business in the hands of U.S. owners, the fate of Hawaiian sovereignty was sealed. In 1872, when King Lunalilo died, the Royal Electors had to choose between King Kalakua and Queen Emma. The electors were bribed and threatened into voting for Kalakua. The masses, favoring Emma, took to the streets and were joined by the Royal Hawaiian police, who tore off their badges. One hundred and fifty U.S. marines and British soldiers were sent in to back the foreign

# 'Under Fire': stirring film about Nicaragua

***Under Fire***; produced by Jonathon Taplin, written by Clyton Frohman and Ron Shelton, and directed by Roger Spottiswood; Orion Pictures release starring Nick Nolte, Gene Hackman, and Joanna Cassidy.

BY LEE MARTINDALE

*Under Fire* is an inspiring and important film because it gives a vivid picture of why the Nicaraguan people made the July 19, 1979 revolution; how; and at what cost.

The film is about three U.S. journalists working in Ni-

## FILM REVIEW

caragua in the weeks leading up to the Sandinista victory. The central character, a young photographer named Russell Price (played by Nick Nolte), is a veteran of wars in Africa, Asia, and Latin America fomented and manipulated by the U.S. government. He has illusions that his news photographs are neutral, objective reporting. As he claims at the beginning of the film, he takes "pictures, not sides."

Nicaragua's revolution changes that. Price has come to Nicaragua for the "inside story" of the war, so he begins looking for the real powers behind the scenes, for who's manipulating who.

It doesn't take much to discover that the U.S. government stands behind the dictatorship.

Then he starts looking for the "kingpin" of the revolutionary forces. This search takes him through major battles of the war.

But what he finds is the anonymous, daily heroism of hundreds of ordinary Nicaraguan workers and peasants. They speak to him frankly and eventually hide him from Somoza's murderous National Guard. Nobody's pup-

pets, they are fighting for their country and their lives.

Confronted by this selfless, implacable mass struggle in the face of incredible odds, Price "falls in love" with the revolution. Through a farfetched turn in the plot, he is given the opportunity to aid the revolution by taking sides, and he does.

A lot of the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution comes across in the film, not so much because of its historical accuracy as because it gives a good portrait of the contending class forces in the struggle.

While Somoza is portrayed as a weak buffoon, rather than the accomplished butcher that he was, the brutality of the National Guard against the people and the total corruption of the oligarchy come across very well.

In particular, the contrast between the obscene wealth and playboy lifestyle of the oligarchy, and the poverty of the Nicaraguan masses, is remarkably well conveyed by one figure in the film — Somoza's mistress, Miss Panama. This woman appears several times in the film, giggling or pouting, always posing in a new dress. She also sleeps with the local CIA chief. Somoza takes her with him when he flees the country.

The film shows the mass executions of Nicaraguans, the use of tanks and helicopters against teenagers armed with rifles, and Somoza's deliberate bombing of Nicaraguan cities in the last days before his regime's fall.

The film does an excellent job of dramatizing the role of the U.S. government as backer of the Somoza dictatorship. In the movie the systematic elimination of Nicaraguans sympathetic to the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) is organized by a CIA agent, and the actual killings are carried out by a U.S. mercenary. Somoza's press agent is straight from Madison Avenue, and his National Guard dependent on U.S. aid.

The movie is also accurate in its portrayal of the people who made the revolution: the teenagers and even children

who served as couriers and combatants in the revolutionary war; the women who form part of the FSLN leadership team; the old woman slumdweller who risks her life by taking Price in, knowing nothing about him except that he's running away from the National Guard.

The truthfulness of the film is seriously flawed, however, by the central place given a fictional "maximum leader" of the FSLN named "Rafael." Rafael's picture is carried in demonstrations, and his name is painted across the scene of actions by the revolutionaries. Rumors that this one individual has been killed supposedly determine whether Washington will give Somoza more military aid.

This aspect of the film is historically inaccurate and politically misleading. Rafael is modeled after Carlos Fonseca Amador, a founder of the FSLN who in fact was killed in 1976, three years before the popular insurrection. No single leader of the FSLN served as a symbol of the revolution. The popular symbol of national liberation in Nicaragua is Gen. Augusto Sandino, who fought the occupation of the country by U.S. Marines in the late 1920s and 1930s. It is from him that the FSLN takes its name and its political roots.

The Nicaraguan revolution had no Rafael. The struggle was led by a party, a team of leaders formed by the struggle to oust Somoza and to establish a government of workers and farmers. The revolution was made by the masses, and every poor neighborhood in Nicaragua has its own heroes and martyrs, neighbors who fell in the struggle against the dictatorship.

Despite this flaw, though, this is a movie to be seen several times — with a different group of friends and coworkers each time. It's a valuable tool to use in explaining the Nicaraguan revolution, defending it against the U.S. government's continuing attempts to overthrow it, and winning North American workers to active solidarity with it.



**No doubt about it** — Laurance Rockefeller's world holdings include a small Vermont cottage, which he rents. When the tenant, a woodcutter, fell behind, a Rock-



**Harry Ring**

efeller attorney went into action, winning \$220 in back rent, plus \$10 court costs. Speaking of his employer, the lawyer observed,

"He's a businessman like any other businessman."

**A truly wonderful country** — New federal regulations will deny food stamps to even more of the destitute. However, a family with an income of less than \$150 a month will still be able to receive stamps in five days, provided they can produce a birth certificate or passport to document the eligibility of each family member.

**Tis the season to be jolly** — Robert Leard (rhymes with nerd), federal "nutrition" director, told state food stamp directors the more stringent new regulations would be in place by December

and they could regard them as "a Christmas present."

**That's that** — Discussing the difficulties created by rigid enforcement of Catholic church tenets, a bishop said it was hard to tell a young girl that the church permits only altar boys. A cardinal reached for a book of canon law and said, "Just show them that it's impossible."

**Extra insurance** — The occult, the supernatural, and paranormal have become a billion-dollar business says *U.S. News & World Report*. And it's not limited to simply cashing in on ordinary fears

and superstitions. For instance, Laurie Cabot, a declared witch, is a member of the Salem, Massachusetts, chamber of commerce, and her professional activity includes "casting good spells for corporations."

**Foolproof** — Canada had to shut down four malfunctioning nuclear reactors in a two-week period.

**Just muffle your voice** — Cincinnati Gas & Electric is pushing to complete its Zimmer nuke plant despite major safety problems and galloping costs. (The original price tag was \$240 million but it

will wind up costing as much as \$3.5 billion.) A telephone complaint line has been installed so workers can report safety problems without fear of being fired.

**They do it all for you** — In the first nine months of this year, McDonald's burgers, fries, shakes, etc., produced a take of \$2.28 billion. Compared to the same period last year, sales were up 13 percent, and profits 16.

**At best** — "Most textbooks present students with a highly simplified view of reality." — The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

## Big strike battle shapes up in British Columbia

Continued from back page

• Began publishing its own weekly, the *Solidarity Times*.

The BCGEU went out on November 1 in response to the government's threat to fire 1,600 of its members. When the Socred government offered to postpone the firings temporarily in order to head off the strike, BCGEU Pres. Norm Richards declined and said there would be no end to the strike until the government agreed to permanently exempt all BCGEU members from the effects of its antiunion legislation. The BSGEU has also vowed to remain on strike until other public sector unions reach satisfactory agreements with the government.

The addition of the teachers, together

with thousands of support staff, to the ranks of the strikers is a major escalation of the struggle. The government has focused its attacks on the teachers, who do not have the right to strike over economic issues, and has threatened to fire them and permanently revoke their teaching certificates.

B.C. Federation of Teachers (BCFT) Pres. Larry Keuhn responded that such threats would only heighten the resolve of B.C. teachers. "The minister's heavy hand helped us to do that," he said. The BCFT's position is that the present strike is a political action, which is legal for teachers.

The British Columbia Federation of Labor's response to this attack on the teachers gives a good sense of the level of

solidarity among workers here.

BCFL Pres. Art Kupe, who is also the president of Operation Solidarity, said that if even one teacher is victimized all public workers will strike the same day. He further warned that if one labor leader is jailed or one union attacked all unionized workers will walk out in a province-wide general strike.

This massive display of union solidarity is mirrored in dozens of instances daily. When a shopping center on Vancouver Island tried to expel some Solidarity Coalition volunteers, the International Woodworkers of America, the largest industrial union in the province, threatened a boycott of the mall. The volunteers stayed.

Messages of solidarity and funds to support the strike are pouring into British Columbia from all across Canada. The National Union of Provincial Government Employees alone has pledged \$3 million in support to the strike. CUPE Pres. Jeff Rose said November 7 in Vancouver that his union — Canada's largest — is making its entire defense fund of \$10 million available to B.C. members.

Dennis McDermott, president of the 2-million member Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), said that because the outcome of the strike has major ramifications for all Canadian workers, the CLC will use every means at its disposal to aid the strikers, including massive financial support.

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Panel Discussion on the Arms Race.** Fri., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. Hulsey Recital Hall, University of Alabama-Birmingham campus. Ausp: United Campus Against Nuclear War.

**Antiwar Presence When Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger Speaks.** Fri., Nov. 11, 11 a.m. Gather at Wilson Park, across from Boutwell Auditorium. Ausp: Birmingham Committee in Solidarity With Central America. For more information call (205) 786-4101.

**Candle-light Vigil Against U.S. Intervention in Central America.** Sat., Nov. 12, 5 p.m. Magnolia Park. Ausp: Birmingham Committee in Solidarity With Central America. For more information call (205) 786-4101.

**Chile: Repression and Resistance.** Speaker: Bob Bruce, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**The Continuing Fight to Organize Agricultural Labor in California: the United Farm Workers Campaigns Today.** Speakers: Rev. Fred Eyster, executive director, Farm Workers Ministry and UFW spokesman; Raúl González, *Militant* reporter. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

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### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**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.

### NEW YORK

#### Albany

**Lebanon: Why Are the Marines There?** Speakers: Julie Steinberg, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

#### Manhattan

**Palestine: Past, Present, and Future Israel and the Third World**  
**Palestine and the U.S. Peace Movement**  
**Zionism, Judaism, Anti-Semitism.** A series of panel discussions. Speakers: Noam Chomsky, others. Sun., Dec. 11, 12 noon to 8 p.m. Washington Irving High School, 17th St. and Irving Place. Ausp: November 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 695-2686.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**U.S. Out of Grenada!** Speakers: Sarah Ryan,

After Nov. 12 demonstrations . . .

**Come to Open House with the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.**

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

Sat., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. 2536 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$1. For more information call (213) 380-9640.

#### Oakland

2864 Telegraph Ave. Sat., Nov. 12, 4 p.m. Open house to be followed at 7:30 p.m. by

forum, "Cuba and the U.S. Invasion of Grenada." Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, Bay Area organizer, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sat., Nov. 12, 3-7 p.m. Executive House Hotel, 1515 Rhode Island Ave., NW. Donation accepted.

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.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**The Real Cuba. Eyewitness Accounts and Slide Show.** Speakers: Kipp Dawson, and Clare Fraenzl, members of United Mine Workers. Fri., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland, Room 18. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### Dallas

**Employers Offensive Against Labor. What Can Be Done to Fight Back.** Speakers: James Kendrick, auto worker and member of Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

more information call (214) 826-4711.

### 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 Organizing Committee; Andrés González, 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.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Socialist Workers Campaign Party: Chris Rayson for Mayor of Milwaukee.** Sat., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. 2637-A W National Ave. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Coming soon . . .

## Maurice Bishop Speaks

A collection of more than 20 major interviews with and speeches by the slain leader of the Grenada revolution and New Jewel Movement, including his June 1983 speech in New York City.

Contents also include a major new introduction covering the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the devastating blow dealt to the Grenada revolution by the murder of Prime Minister Bishop and other outstanding leaders of the New Jewel Movement; the October 20 statement by the Cuban government on the killing of Bishop and the other leaders; and the October 25-26 statement by Cuban President Fidel Castro on the U.S. invasion and Cuba's role in Grenada.

To be published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



## Bernadette Devlin McAliskey on U.S. speaking tour

Noted Irish socialist leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey will tour the United States to explain the current situation in the struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland.

McAliskey's tour will focus on the British government's use of show trials and paid perjurers to jail Irish Republican activists.

On November 14, McAliskey will speak in **Los Angeles** at a meeting sponsored by the Friends of Ireland. For more information call (213) 592-3910.

On November 15 she will be in **Tucson, Arizona** speaking for the Irish Forum; (602) 623-8015.

McAliskey will speak in **Eugene, Ore-**

**gon** on November 16; (503) 686-1988 and in **San Francisco** on November 18 for the H-Block/Armagh Committee; (415) 861-1355.

On November 19, McAliskey will be the featured speaker at a **New York** rally against the show trials in Northern Ireland. She will speak at 7:30 p.m. at John Jay College, Auditorium 1311, 59th Street between 9th and 10th avenues. The New York H-Block/Armagh Committee is requesting a \$5 donation.

On November 20, McAliskey's U.S. speaking tour will conclude with an address at the Irish American Community Center in **Mineola, New York**, at 7:30 p.m.



# U.S. troops poised to attack Syria

Continued from front page

The four governments meeting in Paris reaffirmed their commitment to maintain their respective contingents in the 5,400-man "peacekeeping" force in Lebanon. These imperialist troops seek to bolster the rightist regime of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, which faces stiff opposition from Lebanon's working people. In addition, Washington and its allies hope to crush the independent existence of the PLO, and drive the 40,000 Syrian troops now in Lebanon out of the country.

Expelling the Syrian army from Lebanon will take a war. The political preparation for such a war is being laid with the false charges against the Syrian regime regarding the recent Beirut and Tyre bombings. U.S. government officials have continued to say that "retaliation" was still under consideration for the Beirut bombing. The November 8 *New York Daily News* reports that the French government is planning military strikes against Lebanese villages in the Bekaa Valley, where most of the Syrian troops are located.

On November 4 — within hours after the Israeli occupation post in Tyre was bombed — Tel Aviv's warplanes bombed the villages of Aleih, Bhamdun, and Sofar in the mountains east of Beirut. At least 60 people were killed in this vindictive attack. In addition to increasing its naval power off the Lebanese coast Washington has stepped up other provocative threats. On November 5, 12 U.S. F-14 jet fighters flew menacingly over Beirut for the first time since September.

In response to these war moves by Washington and its allies Syrian President Assad placed his 220,000-man army on alert and called up the army's reserves. This general mobilization of the Syrian armed forces is aimed at readying the country for the expected U.S.-Israeli assault.

## Syria attacks PLO

Unfortunately, the Syrian regime has also responded to the imperialist pressure with a murderous attack on the PLO forces under Arafat's command near Tripoli.

After three days of intense rocket and artillery shelling, PLO fighters loyal to Arafat were driven from the Nahr al Bared Palestinian refugee camp on November 5. According to the November 7 *New York Times*, Mohammed Shaker, an Arafat spokesperson, said "special units of Syrian commandos moving in front of tanks" had overrun the camp.

The Syrian-backed PLO dissidents then surrounded and began shelling the Beddawi refugee camp, nine miles south of Nahr al Bared. Hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians have been killed as shells slammed into Beddawi at a rate of more than 60 a minute. Most of the artillery and mortar fire hitting the camp has

been coming from a Syrian military base south of Tripoli.

The anti-Arafat PLO faction, headed by Col. Saeed Musa, claims it doesn't seek to drive the Arafat forces from Lebanon, but only, as Musa is quoted in Lebanese papers, on "calling him [Arafat] to a dialogue of reform." Musa charges Arafat with seeking an accommodation with Washington and Tel Aviv, and running the PLO in an undemocratic fashion.

While there are actual differences within the PLO and Fatah, the Palestinian guerrilla organization founded by Arafat and by far the largest group within the PLO, these are not the underlying reasons for the current factional warfare. The combat in northeastern Lebanon is the bloody result of the Syrian regime's attempt to gain more leverage in the PLO and restrict its independence.

## Syrian goals

Assad is waging war against Arafat's forces to clear the way for a deal with Washington and Tel Aviv — precisely what Assad accuses Arafat of doing.

The PLO has carried out an uncompromising struggle for the rights of the Palestinian people. For that reason, as the *Militant* noted in its July 15, 1983, issue, "the PLO has always come under fire when the capitalist rulers in the Arab countries have sought to close a deal with imperialism. Collaboration with imperialism in the Middle East means above all acceptance of the Israeli colonial-settler state — something that the PLO and Arafat have never agreed to."

Assad's attack on the PLO began during the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, when his troops were deployed in Lebanon as a "peacekeeping" force. Had it not been for the Syrian army, Palestinian and Lebanese leftist forces would have surely toppled the proimperialist regime in Beirut.

The most recent moves by Assad against the PLO began in May with the mutiny of several Fatah leaders. These Arafat opponents were based in a single camp in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. They took control of several PLO supply centers near Damascus, the Syrian capital, which were supposedly guarded by Syrian military police. But their "revolt" began to fizzle until Syrian tanks spearheaded an offensive by the PLO mutineers in the Bekaa in June. At the end of that month Assad booted Arafat out of Syria. The Syrian president hoped that by deporting Arafat to Tunisia the PLO leader would lose contact with his forces still in Lebanon.

But the PLO chairman returned to Lebanon on September 16 in response to the stepped-up combat role of imperialist forces in the Lebanese civil war. Two days before the September 25 cease-fire agreement between President Gemayel's troops and the militias of the opposition forces

went into effect, the Syrian army forced 1,200 PLO guerrillas in the Bekaa Valley to move to the refugee camps near Tripoli.

In Syria itself the offices of Arafat's Fatah organization were shut down October 2, and on October 8 the PLO's publicity offices there were raided and their staff and records seized.

Assad's present drive against the PLO occurs in the framework of the "national reconciliation" talks going on in Geneva, Switzerland, between representatives of the Gemayel regime and opposition Lebanese leaders. The negotiations were recessed for 10 days on November 4. The Syrian government, which is participating in the talks, hopes to enhance its negotiating position by driving all PLO fighters who disagree with its policies and perspectives out of Lebanon. Assad wants to use his position in Lebanon to bargain for the return of the Golan Heights, which Israel has occupied since its June 1967 war of aggression.

"The support for Mr. Arafat on the West Bank is startling in its unanimity," reported the July 1 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Elected mayors, student groups, professionals, and trade union leaders have all

placed prominent ads in the Arabic press opposing Syrian pressure on the PLO and supporting Mr. Arafat as its leader."

Support for the PLO and its leadership remains overwhelming among the Palestinian people. On November 7 thousands of Palestinians demonstrated at Bir Zeit University near Ramallah on the West Bank. Shopkeepers in East Jerusalem and Nablus, the largest towns on the West Bank, closed their stores to protest the attacks on the embattled PLO fighters in Beddawi and Tripoli.

According to the November 8 *New York Times* in the last week several West Bank leaders, including the former mayors of Hebron and Ramallah, have issued statements accusing Syria and other Arab states of being involved in the campaign to overturn Arafat's leadership in the PLO.

*Al Fajr*, an East Jerusalem newspaper, conducted a poll and found 93 percent of the Arabs on the West Bank support Arafat.

Syrian President Assad's machinations hurt not only the Palestinian national liberation struggle, but the Arab revolution as a whole. Assad is weakening Syria's defense against U.S. and Israeli aggression.

# Debate on Black political power

Continued from Page 11

ciples but the historical record of the Black and working-class movement. It is no accident that Malcolm X 20 years ago and NBIPP today explain that the Democratic and Republican parties are the enemies of Blacks. They are the tools used to keep us in a second-class status in all aspects of U.S. society.

It is true that NBIPP activists, socialists, communists, and nationalists should be where our class, the working class, is in fighting the injustices of this system — on the picket lines, in antiwar demonstrations, pro-women's rights marches, anti-police brutality protests, and so on.

*Q. What perspective should be taken by Blacks and all working people?*

A. The necessary task now is to present what is in the objective interests of working people in order to defend ourselves from the capitalist assault. Black revolutionaries and socialists should be actively intervening in the Jackson campaign. But not as supporters of his course. We should present our own program and perspectives — to become an alternative pole, to win the best activists to an independent working-class and Black perspective.

NBIPP in particular can play an important role in this discussion. NBIPP's charter points the way forward for Blacks and other workers.

The charter explains that the Democratic and Republican parties have historically betrayed Black people, and the source of exploitation and oppression is capitalism.

The logic of the NBIPP charter is for Black revolutionaries, along with other revolutionaries, to participate in the day-to-day struggles of working people. It points to joining struggles against the U.S. wars abroad.

NBIPP is a small nucleus — a party in formation. Its program represents the political vanguard of the Black oppressed nationality today. This program provides the basis of winning more and more revolutionary fighters and can be an example to other workers who are beginning to radicalize.

Because those inspired by the Jackson campaign are in fact looking for a strategy to win power, the NBIPP program thus can provide a framework and orientation. It is by participating in the day-to-day struggles in our communities and work places that the program can be given flesh and move us toward winning our full liberation and freedom.

It is by aggressively intervening in the 1984 elections including in the Jackson campaign, that NBIPP activists, socialists, and communists can win many more radicalizing Blacks and other working people to an anticapitalist political perspective.

## —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: 63118. 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.



# U.S. targets Central America

Continued from front page

the revolutionists who led the Bishop government and the unions, militia, women's organization, and youth group.

Of particular concern for U.S. antiwar activists is the fate of leaders in the former NJM government who supported Bishop and have survived in U.S.-occupied Grenada. Three members of Bishop's cabinet — George Louison, Kendrick Radix, and Lyden Ramdhanny — have been able to make contact with reporters or members of the U.S. Congressional delegation that recently visited the island. Louison told the *Wall Street Journal* that the U.S. invasion is "an illegal international crime."

The lives of these leaders are clearly in danger. It is urgent that opponents of the invasion demand that their safety be guaranteed, that they have their full democratic rights to speak out and to travel without fear of reprisal.

A clear signal of the utter violation of rights by the new U.S. puppet government is the treatment of Grenada's former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and Gen. Hudson Austin, who are expected to be tried for their role in the killing of Bishop and his supporters. Ignoring the Geneva Convention accords on the rights of prisoners of war, the U.S. occupation force has paraded the two before TV cameras stripped to the waist, blindfolded, and manacled. They have been denied the right to speak to the press.

In a further outrage, Coard and Austin are to be tried by courts set up by and subservient to Washington, not by the Grenadian people. This has nothing to do with "restoring democracy" or seeking justice for the slain leaders of the Grenada revolution. Its goal is to set the stage for further repression against revolutionaries in Grenada and to intimidate popular opposition to the invasion.

What Washington is doing to Grenada is what it wants to do to Nicaragua as well. What has held the imperialists back from directly sending in U.S. combat troops thus far is the fact that the Sandinista government has armed and mobilized its people to defend their revolution from precisely such an attack. Despite the stronger position the Nicaraguan masses are in, the Sandinistas have no illusions about Washington's plans. They know U.S. troops, as well as the armies of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, are poised for an invasion of Nicaragua and they are ready to fight for as long as it takes to repel them.

Meanwhile, the General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador issued a communiqué November 5 to sound the alert that thousands of Guatemalan and Honduran troops have been massed on El Salvador's borders. U.S. naval and troop buildup in the region is also taking place, they said. "These steps are similar to those that preceded the U.S. invasion of Grenada," the communiqué warned. "Once again Reagan uses a group of puppet governments . . . to commit their troops to an aggression against a neighboring country. . . . The plan is to then have these governments request U.S. military intervention to play the decisive role. . . . Reagan will decide the date of the aggression and whether it will be directed first against the Salvadoran people and then Nicaragua, or vice versa."

Top politicians in Washington have already begun to more openly call for an invasion of Nicaragua. Senate majority leader Howard Baker, asked about such an invasion, said, "I don't rule that out. . . . I think it is clear by now . . . that America is not going to roll over and play dead in Central America and [it] should not."

Threats against Cuba have also sharply escalated. While U.S. troops still refuse to release all the Cubans they are holding prisoner in Grenada, a task force of nine U.S. warships is steaming toward Cuba, where it will hold provocative "maneuvers" off Guantánamo, the U.S.

naval base located on Cuban soil.

The U.S. rulers focus their attacks on Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba because these three countries are a beacon for the working masses throughout Latin America and the rest of the world. Nicaragua and Grenada extended the socialist revolution in the Americas begun by Cuba in 1959.

The role of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada in leading the fight against U.S. imperialism has placed them in the forefront of the international struggle for peace. It is for this reason that U.S. antiwar fighters must place special emphasis on defense of these three revolutions from the warmakers in Washington. The outcome of the U.S. assault against these revolutions is vital for the liberation movements in El Salvador, Guatemala, Lebanon, and others struggling against imperialist domination and class exploitation. The coalition organizing the November 12 demonstrations has taken a positive step in this regard by placing the invasion of Grenada at the center of its actions.

The rush of Democratic "doves" in Congress to now praise the invasion helps expose another myth — that the U.S. wars around the world can be stopped simply by getting Reagan out of office. The problem is much deeper — the U.S. war drive is based on the profit needs of the U.S. capitalist class, which both the Democratic and Republican parties serve.

That was illustrated by the Congressional delegation that just visited Grenada. Delegation head Rep. Thomas Foley (D-Wash.) said he thought U.S. troops should occupy the island for as much as six months longer. Rep. Michael Barnes (D-Md.), who has cultivated an image of opposing U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean, told reporters, "the invasion was justified. . . . It was reasonable for a neighbor to come down and help its people here."

This "good neighbor" policy, which reeks of the "white man's burden" justification for colonial domination, has also led to the war Washington is waging, along with three European allies and Israel, in Lebanon. This conflict threatens daily to escalate into a war with Syria also. It was Barnes, in fact, who spearheaded congressional approval for keeping the U.S. Marines in Lebanon for another 18 months. They serve the same function there as they do in Grenada — as an occupation force to prop up an unpopular government imposed by the imperialists.

It is the U.S. working class that has the potential power to stop the bipartisan U.S. war drive and the greatest stakes in doing so. The U.S. wars in Grenada, Central America, and Lebanon are extensions of the war being waged by the employers against working people here at home — lowering wages, cutting back on social services, busting up unions, and intensifying race and sex discrimination. That's why Black workers are in the vanguard of opposing the invasion of Grenada.

Within the labor movement as a whole, U.S. intervention in Central America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East has provoked a deep debate and discussion. Thousands of U.S. unionists have turned out at meetings to hear labor leaders from El Salvador explain why U.S. aid to the dictatorship there must be halted. Many unions have gone on record in favor of stopping this aid, and some have also called for ending funds to the counter-revolutionary killers attacking Nicaragua.

The November 12 demonstrations, which will be joined by many unionists, can be an important springboard for deepening the involvement of the labor movement in the fight against U.S. military intervention around the world.

# King holiday is big victory

On the morning of November 2 several well-known Black leaders, including Coretta Scott King, stood in the White House Rose Garden and sang "We Shall Overcome." It wasn't a civil rights protest, but a celebration. President Reagan had signed legislation creating a national holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr.

Reagan didn't join in the singing. He was still smarting from the blow struck by Blacks, other civil rights activists, and the labor movement, who have been demanding for years that King's birthday become a federal holiday. The Congress was forced to adopt a resolution that makes the third Monday in January a day of homage to King only after many years of struggle. The bill goes into effect in 1986.

Congressional opposition to the bill was led by Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina. Helms claimed that King had ties to the U.S. Communist Party, and, therefore, should not be honored as a national hero. The Senator tried to delay the vote on the holiday proposal until after senate lawyers could get FBI files on the slain civil rights leader. The documents are sealed until the year 2018.

During a nationally-televised news conference, reporters asked President Reagan whether he agreed with Helms. Reagan replied, "Well, we'll know in about 35 years, won't we?" and went on to express confidence in Helms' sincerity.

Helms' red-baiting ploy was a racist attempt to scuttle the holiday bill. Liberal supporters of the King legislation denounced Helms' charges as "slander," but didn't reject his anticommunism. It was, in fact, liberal Democratic Pres. John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy, the U.S. Attorney General in his brother's administration, who ordered their secret police to spy on King and other civil rights leaders and to disrupt the movement.

Anticommunism has long been used by the U.S. capitalist rulers to try to divide and weaken the fight for Black rights. One of the big achievements of the movement in which King was a prominent leader was that it helped to end the anticommunist witch-hunt of the 50s and early 60s.

The new holiday not only honors King, but pays tribute to the gigantic achievements of the millions who participated in the civil rights movement and those who died fighting for freedom. They showed all working people that determination and action are necessary to defend and extend our civil and human rights.

But the struggle is far from over. Blacks still suffer from the cruel effects of racial oppression. The new holiday, and what it represents, should remind us of the struggle ahead of us and what it will take to wipe out racial discrimination once and for all.

# Comintern on nationalization demand

The Communist International was founded and led by the leaders of the Russian revolution including Lenin, Trotsky, and others. At its first four congresses, held between 1919 and 1923, the Comintern, as it was known, discussed many important matters of revolutionary strategy and tactics. The Comintern's discussions and conclusions retain great value today.

Below are excerpts from the third Comintern congress resolution "On Tactics," dealing with the subject of nationalization. The entire resolution is available in *Theses, Resolutions and Manifestoes of the First Four Congresses of the Third International*, published by Humanities Press in Britain. Copies of this book are available in hard cover for \$20 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y., 10014.

Communist Parties must start from the understanding that no long-term improvement in the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism and that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the destruction of capitalist states will make possible the transformation of working-class living conditions and the reconstruction of the economy ruined by capitalism. *This does not mean, however, that the proletariat has to renounce the fight for its immediate practical demands until after it has established its dictatorship.*

The demand advanced by the centrist parties for the socialization or nationalization of the most important branches of industry is . . . a deception because it is not linked to a demand for victory over the bourgeoisie. The centrists want to divert the workers from the real vital struggle for their immediate goals by holding out the hope that industrial forms can be taken over gradually, one by one, and that "systematic" economic construction can then begin.

# OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

The Communist Parties do not put forward minimum programmes which could serve to strengthen and improve the tottering foundations of capitalism. The Communists main aim is to destroy the capitalist system. But in order to achieve their aim the Communist Parties must put forward demands expressing the immediate needs of the working class.

The Communist Parties should be concerned not with the viability and competitive capacity of capitalist industry or the stability of the capitalist economy, but with proletarian poverty, which cannot and must not be endured any longer. If the demands put forward by the Communists correspond to the immediate needs of the broad proletarian masses, and if the masses are convinced that they cannot go on living unless their demands are met, then the struggle around these issues becomes the starting-point of the struggle for power.

In place of the minimum programme of the centrists and reformists, the Communist International offers a struggle for the concrete demands of the proletariat which, in their totality, challenge the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat and mark out the different stages of the struggle for its dictatorship. Even before the broad masses consciously understand the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, they can respond to the individual demands.

As more and more people are drawn into the struggle around these demands and as the needs of the masses come into conflict with the needs of capitalist society, the working class will come to realize that if it wants to live, capitalism will have to die.

The bourgeoisie mobilizes to respond to every step the working masses take in fighting for even a single demand and, on the occasion of any major economic strike, the whole ruling class comes swiftly to the side of those employers threatened, in order to prevent the proletariat from winning even a partial victory.

In the struggle against the workers the bourgeoisie mobilizes its entire government machine: in Poland and France workers have been called up into the army; emergency laws were passed in Britain during the miners' strike. In this way, workers fighting on single issues are automatically forced to take on the whole bourgeoisie and its government apparatus.

The Communist Parties should make certain that the demands they put forward not only correspond to the demands of the broad masses, but also draw the masses into battle and lay the basis for organizing them. Concrete slogans that express the economic need of the working masses must lead to the struggle for control of industry — control based not on a plan to organize the economy bureaucratically and under the capitalist system, but on the factory committees and revolutionary trade unions. . . .

The present epoch is revolutionary precisely because the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the continued existence of capitalist society, and the struggle for these demands is therefore bound to develop into the struggle for Communism.



# Philadelphia unionists build Nov. 12 protests

BY MARK EMANATION  
AND DON MACKLE

PHILADELPHIA — In shops around this city members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) are posting leaflets about the November 12 demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and getting signatures in support of imprisoned Salvadoran electrical workers.

Our efforts are a result of a presentation at the last

## UNION TALK

meeting of our union's social services committee by a representative of the Philadelphia Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Bernard Dinkin, education director for the union here, explained at the outset of the meeting that the labor committee on El Salvador is being spearheaded nationally by our Secretary-treasurer Jack Sheinkman and Union Label Director Dave Dyson. The committee has set up an office in our national headquarters in New York.

Dinkin told the 50 unionists at the meeting that following a fact-finding tour of El Salvador last summer by national representatives of ACTWU, United Auto Workers (UAW), National Education Association, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

(AFSCME), a report has been issued recommending an end to all U.S. government aid to the current regime in El Salvador.

ACTWU, said Dinkin, also adopted a resolution at our last national convention calling for an end to U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government.

*Americas in Transition*, a film detailing the history of U.S. interventions in Latin America, was shown at our union meeting. After the movie a representative from the labor committee on El Salvador spoke about the murderous attacks against unionists in El Salvador carried out by "death squads" organized by the U.S.-backed dictatorship.

What's needed, he explained, are acts of solidarity by trade unionists in this country in support of their embattled union brothers and sisters in El Salvador.

It was awareness of the U.S. government's support for the Salvadoran regime's brutal union-busting tactics that recently led 10 local unionists to set up a chapter of the National Labor Committee on El Salvador here in Philadelphia.

They included members of the UAW, ACTWU, International Association of Machinists (IAM), American Federation of Teachers, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, Hospital and Health Care Employees 1199-C and AFSCME.

The committee has obtained endorsements from Norman Loudenslager, directing business agent for IAM

District 1; Thomas Cronin, president of AFSCME District Council 47; Dinkin; Henry Nicholas, national president of Hospital and Health Care Employees 1199; Art Dougherty, secretary-treasurer of the American Postal Workers Union; Nick Onofaro, president of United Electrical Workers District 1; and many others.

In addition to our meeting, the committee has spoken before several IAM local meetings.

At these meetings the committee is seeking resolutions calling for an end to U.S. aid, building support for the November 12 demonstration, and circulating petitions for 11 members of the Salvadoran electrical workers union now in jail.

After the meeting, four ACTWU members took copies of the petition to circulate in their shops. Another half dozen took leaflets for the November 12 demonstration and promised to put them up at work. More than 20 people signed the petitions and asked to be put on the mailing list for committee activities.

As one union sister said as she signed the mailing list and took petitions, "I have two boys serving in the military now who could end up in El Salvador or over there in Lebanon. We've got to do something now to stop these wars."

Mark Emanation and Don Mackle are members of ACTWU Local 143 in Philadelphia.

## LETTERS

### Nicaraguan draft

How ironic! Not only was the October 7 article in your paper supporting Nicaragua's male-only conscription written by a woman, but so was the reply to my letter. If we assume, for argument's sake, that Nicaragua indeed needs conscription to defend itself from outsiders, then no excuse exists to exclude a class of people from defending it, especially if this group has now been given equal rights by the present regime there. Reporters Jane Harris and Margaret Jayko, if they were Nicaraguan citizens, would be exempt solely due to their gender from having to serve their country. Other groups of Nicaraguan citizens along with women, like the Misquito Indians, for example, suffered centuries of oppression by Europeans and Somocistas, but are they draft-exempt like women?

It's bad enough when right-wing arm-chair patriots like Phyllis Schlafly, Gerald Solomon, et. al. attack young men in the United States who refuse to register while supporting the *antimale* Selective Service System. But to hear leftists, especially alleged feminists, attacking males for resisting antimale conscription in a supposedly sex-egalitarian country gets on my wrong side. It's easy and hypocritical for Harris, Jayko, et. al. to criticize Nicaraguan males who disobey their country's draft law. Harris's and Jayko's motto seems to be, "Do as I say, not as I do."

If any of this sounds like I support Reagan, I don't! Indeed, I place most of the blame for Central America's troubles on Washington's decades-old foreign policy of imposing *de facto* colonialist status on this region. The U.S. people must force Reagan, et. al. to treat Latin American peoples as equals.

Presently, the United States' treatment of Central America differs little from Russia's treatment of Eastern Europe or Afghanistan. Reagan's cold war policy is isolating the United States from Latin American nations and causing the Sandinistas, in turn, to up the ante. Nicaragua's rearmament, moreover, is leading to serious allegations of repression committed by the Sandinistas themselves against those who disagree with them. If these allegations of human rights abuses committed by Sandinistas inside Nicaragua should prove true, it could cost the Sandinistas needed support from democratic elements in Western Europe.

But ultimately, responsibility for this whole mess rests on Wash-

ington's doorstep. If Reagan continues his present course, the United States can expect nothing but trouble, but if we offer goodwill to the Sandinistas, perhaps then the United States will have a genuine chance to achieve real peace in the region — a peace based on respect for third world aspirations. The United States cannot afford to stay on bad terms with those nations south of her borders.

William R. Delzell  
Nashville, Tenn.

### Just got copy

I just got hold of a copy of the *Militant* a few days ago and liked it a lot. Furthermore, I am interested in distributing it on my university campus with the help of local progressives. If you can send me some information, I'd like to work something out starting with 10 to 20 copies a week.

Also, please send some information about the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in St. Louis.

C. Hicklin  
Carbondale, Illinois

### A criticism

Though your coverage of the Korean Airlines downing and the U.S. propaganda blitz was good, I have some criticisms of the way you dealt with other left groups and papers.

First, no serious leftist is going to lump the *Guardian* with the anticommunist *In These Times*. To do so as you did can only be seen as a deliberate insult to the *Guardian* and its readership.

Second, your polemics with other papers leave no room for stating your agreements with them, only your criticisms. Do you seek to deliberately ignore the similarities of your positions with that of the *Guardian*? Why do you completely ignore what *Workers World* wrote? Because it covered the whole KAL incident so well? You also brush off what *Frontline* wrote, insultingly calling it the paper of a "small radical group" (are you now a big one?), even though its position is also close to yours.

I fail to see why, for good, non-sectarian reasons, you play down your differences with the Sandinista National Liberation Front [in Nicaragua], Cubans, and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [in El Salvador] since they support building socialism and the overthrow of imperialism, while here at home you play up

your criticisms and play down your agreements with leftist currents with the same general aim.

Who benefits from that?

Third, criticizing the *Guardian* you say, "it's poor politicians who sit, with pens poised, in another country and try to fine tune the tactics of someone else involved in a tense international situation when they know very few of the facts," referring to the complaint that the USSR waited too long to reveal details of what happened. This type of baseless and self-righteous sarcasm belongs to the Spartacist League, and you make yourselves look like them by using it. Is this kind of tone appropriate for comradely criticisms among leftists?

Stansfield Smith  
Chicago, Illinois

### Needs information

Having just heard the news about Maurice Bishop's murder and what looks like a coup in Grenada, which I strongly suspect is not just a sectarian squabble but has the earmarks of U.S. intervention . . . and seeing Lebanon shaping up as the new Vietnam . . . and watching Kissinger traipsing around Central America itching for another Chilean-style blood-bath. . . .

I think it is long overdue that I find out what in fact is going on in the real world. So please find my enclosed check for a subscription to the *Militant* — and, if possible, start my sub with this week's issue. Also send me a sub form for *Intercontinental Press*.

Lou Shalit  
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

### Hyde protest

Here in Schenectady, N.Y., nearly 50 picketers demonstrated in favor of Medicaid funding for abortion as Congressman Henry Hyde addressed a "Right to Life" dinner at the Ramada Inn on October 21.

Congressman Hyde launched his campaign in 1976 to deny poor women equal abortion rights with the passage of the first "Hyde Amendment" which restricted the use of federal funds for abortion services. The only exceptions were for rape and incest victims and in cases where the woman's life would be endangered without an abortion.

By 1980 restrictions denying the use of Medicaid funds even in cases of rape and incest were passed.

This September the most re-



strictive version of the "Hyde Amendments" passed the House of Representatives, prohibiting the use of Medicaid funds for abortion even if the pregnant woman's life is endangered.

Hyde's opposition to women's rights and human rights knows no bounds. He also supports the use of U.S. dollars to finance the terror, rape, torture, and murder of Nicaraguan and El Salvadoran people. Participants in the picket line here reflected the dual aspect of the protest. Representatives included members of NARAL, National Women's Political Caucus, NOW, and Citizens Party; students from various colleges; Bill Baird; as well as members of the Central American Solidarity Alliance, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Everyone was urged to attend the November 12 protest in Washington, D.C., as a way to continue the fight.

Mary Selvas  
Schenectady, N.Y.

### Militant gets around

Your information gets around. The local Black newspaper here used the Cuban statement on the overthrow of the Bishop government in Grenada (printed in issue number 40 of the *Militant*), almost in its entirety.

The local solidarity coalition used information from *Intercontinental Press* to write a fact sheet on Grenada that was printed on the back of leaflets for the November 12 demonstration.

T.F.  
Portland, Oregon

### ACLU liberal?

As a member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), I found your editorial "ACLU and Rosenberg case" a real eye-opener. It is depressing to think about this betrayal by the ACLU

of its own principles, and I wholeheartedly agree that we need to review and reconsider this serious mistake.

However, I feel constrained to point out that the ACLU is not, as your article implies, a "liberal" group — lumping us in with bona fide liberal groups like the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) with its obvious ties to the Democratic Party (ADA's current president is former Rep. Robert Drinan of Massachusetts; George McGovern is a former ADA president).

The ACLU's sole purpose is to protect the Bill of Rights. True, some of our more recent actions seem liberal. For example, we stopped the "scientific creationism" movement cold in its tracks by getting that nonsense declared unconstitutional in Arkansas and Louisiana. But when we defended the right of the Nazis to march through Skokie, I doubt if anybody was accusing us of being liberals!

Our opposition to "scientific creationism" was based on the fact that it would violate the religious freedoms of anyone except fundamentalist Protestants. We defended the Nazis because we believe (as much as we might hate their ideas) that they, like any other U.S. citizens, have the right to free speech.

By the way, I supported SWP mayoral candidate Sonja Franeta in our recent municipal elections and will have nothing to do with the Democratic Party.

Patricia Hefner  
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.



## Interview with Eddie Carthan

### Former Tchula, Miss., mayor promises to keep fighting for Black rights

BY TONY DUTROW

TCHULA, Miss. — As the result of the national and international protests, a big victory was scored when former Tchula mayor Eddie James Carthan won an early release from federal prison. He had been jailed for the past several months at the Maxwell Air Force Base near Montgomery, Alabama, on trumped-up charges of defrauding the federal government of funds.

According to the *Jackson Advocate*, Mississippi's largest Black newspaper, a standing-room-only crowd of supporters staged a "homecoming" celebration October 23 in this community of 2,000 mostly poor, Black working people and farmers.

Carthan had spent a total of 14 months behind bars, part of it in the notorious Parchman Farm penitentiary, as a result of a series of racist frame-ups to remove him and six members of his administration, later known as the Tchula 7, from office.

In 1977, Black workers, family farmers, and some poor whites in Tchula elected Carthan, 27, their first Black mayor to better their conditions. Tchula is located in the poverty-stricken Delta, in the heart of the "cotton belt."

To the white planters and other rulers who profit from the cheap labor of Blacks who work the cotton fields, Carthan's crime was the example he set.

Rather than enrich himself and carry out the bidding of the rich, as other officials in the county had done, Carthan turned resources at his disposal to help poor working people and farmers.

He repaired dilapidated homes, attempted to build and pave badly needed roads, provided access to medical care, sought to bring running water into homes where none had been before, and built the town's first library, among numerous other modest improvements. For this effort, the Tchula 7 were targeted as criminals who misused funds by "the county's white power structure," as Carthan dubbed his enemies.

On November 1, Eddie Carthan invited the *Militant* to discuss his recent victory and hear his assessment of the whole experience. We met with him in the Tchula 7 office, not far from the Carthan family store.

Carthan told us that the support he had received from around the country was crucial to winning his freedom. This support, especially from "the people here in Holmes County, was of such a magnitude that I was confident something would happen that would correct this gross injustice," he said.

One example that illustrates the backing Carthan was talking about was explained to us by General Vann when we visited him in Tchula earlier. (Vann was Eddie Carthan's campaign manager and a leader in his fight for freedom.)

He told us that on very short notice, 75 people from Tchula and Holmes County were mobilized to make the 200-mile trip to Biloxi, Mississippi, September 1, to attend Carthan's sentence reduction hearing.

Another example of the depth of Carthan's support is shown by the backing

he received from Black farmers in the area.

Shadrach Davis, a Black family farmer, told the *Militant* that when Carthan was first put behind bars in 1981, he and several other farmers put up the more than \$200,000 bond for Carthan's release by taking out property bonds on their land. This allowed Carthan and the Tchula 7 to speak around the country.

Petitions were submitted from poor and working people in Tchula demanding that the court free him.

"Because the judge originally based his sentence on the false claim that I abused the trust of the citizens of Tchula," he explained, "to have those same citizens, a majority of the citizens of Tchula, sign a petition asking for my release" totally undermined the baseless charges used to railroad him to prison for three years.

Since a voter registration drive was launched in Mississippi this year, many Blacks are challenging the entrenched ruling families that control many of the counties in the state. Like Eddie Carthan before them, many Blacks running for office in these counties are coming under attack.

For example, on August 15, Pertis Williams, a Black candidate for Lincoln County Board of Supervisors, was gunned down in Brookhaven. His killer was let off scot free.

Leonard Brown, another Black candidate for office in Yolabusha County, was wounded in a hail of bullets fired at him as he left his campaign office in Water Valley.

We asked Carthan to comment on these continued attacks and the impact his struggle has had on Blacks running for office.

Carthan explained that attacks like this will take place wherever there is the potential for Blacks and other oppressed "to control the government, to participate in it to determine their future, not only here in Mississippi, but all over the country and all over the world."

This gives "support to what we've been saying all along, that it was a conspiracy and harassment on the part of the power structure here in the state of Mississippi to use overt and covert means of denying Blacks in particular from having access in the political process."

"Although their tactics of intimidation



Jackson Advocate

Eddie and Shirley Carthan at October 23 "homecoming" ceremonies in Tchula, Mississippi, to welcome former mayor home from prison where he served time on frame-up charges.

and harassment have changed a bit over the years," he said referring to the violence of racists during the civil rights movement and the Ku Klux Klan, "we have a more sophisticated way of being denied the right to hold office, to vote and to carry out our duties and responsibilities as American citizens."

In summing up the lessons of the struggle to win freedom, and that of the Tchula 7, Carthan said, "It has brought a lot of people together, a lot of organizations together, it has educated people, and I'm talking about the whole crisis, particularly in the South, as well as all over the country. I think this was our greatest accomplishment."

As far as his future plans are concerned, Carthan said, "I plan to be as active as I can humanly be."

He told us he wants to use his first-hand experience as a political prisoner to speak out for the many who remain in Parchman Farm.

He pointed to the important cases of

Benjamin Hoover, framed up by Holmes County officials, and Christopher Moore, a young Black set up for a rape-murder charge by white officials in the Gulf coast area of the state.

As far as running for office again, Carthan feels their experience has prepared the way for bigger battles.

"What we have gone through — what I mean by 'we' is my family, my friends, my supporters and the Tchula 7 — I think we're prepared to take anything now, we're prepared to go against any foe. I've done everything but die. We all have got to do that, so there's no need to be fearful of that," he said smiling.

General Vann told us that, except for one of the Tchula 7 who fought his firing as a school teacher, none of the Tchula 7 have been able to find work in the town or Holmes County as a result of harassment from the case.

Tony Dutrow was part of a four-person *Militant* reporting and sales team that spent four weeks in Mississippi this fall.

## Gigantic strike battle shaping up against gov't in British Columbia

BY DAVID McDONALD

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — One of the largest class battles in English Canadian history gained more momentum here November 8 as 30,000 teachers and 14,000 support staff went on strike, joining over 40,000 members of the British Columbia Government Employees Union (BCGEU) already on strike. The strikers are fighting the Social Credit (Socred) gov-

ernment's austerity program. The teachers and other school workers belong to the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE).

The BCGEU and education workers walkout are the first installments in a snowballing strike that will bring out other unions in stages until, on November 18, all 250,000 B.C. public sector workers are expected to be on the streets. The overall strike action is organized by Operation Solidarity, a united front of unions representing half a million British Columbian workers.

British Columbia (population 2.5 million) has the largest percentage of unionized workers, 40 percent, and the strongest tradition of labor militancy in English Canada.

The Socred budget and accompanying legislation is by far the deepest attack yet on the rights and living standard of Canadian workers. The struggle in B.C. follows a similar attack in Quebec mounted earlier this year, which resulted — after stiff resistance — in a defeat for Quebec's Common Front of public sector unions.

The Socred budget and other legislation

— 26 bills in all — gives public sector employers the right to fire any worker without cause; abolishes 10,000 civil service jobs without regard to seniority; allows the government to declare any expired labor contract null and void, opening the door to the imposition of minimum wages; freezes welfare and pension payments and extends wage controls on public sector workers indefinitely; legalizes tenant eviction; repeals legislation protecting women and oppressed minorities from discrimination; and more.

Since July, opposition to the Socred legislation has mushroomed into a movement that has:

- Organized four mass rallies, including one in Vancouver on October 15 that drew 70,000.

- Held large demonstrations in every corner of the province.

- Drawn scores of women, oppressed minorities, unemployed, students, tenants, local units of the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party), and other organizations into a massive Solidarity Coalition, which is currently organizing community support for the strike.

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## Carthan denounces Grenada invasion

TCHULA, Miss. — Recently freed from federal prison, Eddie Carthan told the *Militant* that he viewed Washington's invasion of Grenada as cruel and savage.

"Grenada is a small, independent country, which attempted to do as George Washington and others here in the U.S. did," he said. The Grenadian people were "practicing what we preach."

Just like Vietnam, Korea, and many other places around the world, Carthan said, "the U.S. is taking advantage of these countries fighting for their freedom."

"I get so emotional, especially having

met some of the leaders from Grenada earlier, to know them, and to know how hard they have worked, and how they have sacrificed to do what they did to gain their independence just a few years ago."

Carthan said he strongly supported what the people of Grenada had achieved. "I think that anyone in this country who believes in justice, who believes in freedom, who believes in independence, who believes in sovereignty — which is democracy," Carthan said, would support what the people of Grenada had done. Carthan said people would then "denounce the United States for what it has done there."