

Nicaraguan revolution celebrates fifth year

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Mobilized around the slogan, "Everything for the war front, everything for the fighters," some 200,000 or more people rallied here July 19 to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. The crowd totally filled Managua's new Carlos Fonseca Plaza, spilling over into the neighboring grounds of the Rubén Darío Theater and beyond it along the Simón Bolívar Boulevard. It was difficult to gauge the total attendance. Estimates ran as high as 300,000.

The turnout for the celebration exceeded by far the predictions of Sandinista officials, who had aimed to mobilize 150,000 people. Given the resources needed to maintain defense against the U.S. war here, government leaders decided not to provide transportation for massive turnouts from other cities.

Carlos Fonseca Plaza had just been completed through a round-the-clock effort by workers from the Junta for the Reconstruction of Managua, the local government. The plaza is named after the founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) who fell in battle in 1976.

CDS vigils

Although the rally did not begin until almost 10 a.m., the neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) began rousing people well before dawn. In some areas, CDS activists held all-night vigils and parties. In others, especially those relatively distant from the plaza, people began gathering as early as 4 a.m. for the trip to one of the assembly points from which contingents marched to the rally site.

In the first ranks of the immense throng at the plaza were units of the Sandinista People's Army and Sandinista People's Militias. Many of the army units were composed of *sombreritos*, (little hats), as the young men drafted through the Patriotic Military Service are affectionately called.

In the weeks leading up to the celebration, the revolutionary government had been on a massive campaign to get tens of thousands of young Nicaraguans to register for the draft, and to volunteer to be called up.

The *sombreritos* at the front of the crowd set a militant and enthusiastic tone for the entire rally. Building human pyramids, Sandinista soldiers would wave high the Nicaraguan and FSLN flags and lead their comrades in chants.

One would shout, "From the border" and the rest would answer, "No *pasarán*" — "They will not pass!" Other popular chants included "People's power"; "National Directorate — we await your orders," referring to the FSLN national leadership; and "A single army," meaning that all working people in Nicaragua need to form a solid front against the imperialist aggression.

In addition to these chants, which are already common, a new one appeared at this rally: *De frente con el Frente*, which means "Forward with the [Sandinista] Front." It had been prominently featured at a meeting two days earlier where the FSLN, vanguard of the Nicaraguan revolution, announced its candidates in the November 4 presidential and legislative elections.

Adding to the theme of military preparedness, there was a display of Sandinista army equipment at the back of the plaza: armored personnel carriers, trucks,

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Democrats no answer to bosses' war, austerity

BY MALIK MIAH

The Democratic Party is attempting to present itself as the "savior" of working people in the elections in November. To project this image, it nominated former Vice-pres. Walter Mondale for president and Geraldine Ferraro for vice-president at its recent convention in San Francisco. Ferraro is the first woman to ever run on a U.S. capitalist party presidential ticket.

The Democratic ticket will be running against Pres. Ronald Reagan and Vice-pres. George Bush, who are expected to be nominated at the Republican convention in August.

The Democratic convention ended on an exhilarating note of unity. The delegates hailed the party's platform. They cheered the decision of Jesse Jackson and Sen. Gary Hart to urge their supporters to campaign wholeheartedly for Mondale and Ferraro. And they hoped a vice-presidential nominee who is a woman will help rally the support needed to win the election.

The platform adopted opens by saying, "A fundamental choice awaits America — a choice between two futures." This choice is between four more "bad" years of

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Delegates at Democratic Party convention

González demands: free Puerto Rico

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — The final leg of a solidarity and fact-finding tour in the Caribbean took Andrea González to the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico.

González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, earlier attended the first convention of the Socialist Bloc in the Dominican Republic. From July 17-19 she attended a conference of Caribbean anti-imperialist organizations held in Fort-de-France, Martinique.

A well-attended news conference was held for the U.S. socialist on July 23 at the Puerto Rican Lawyers Guild office here.

Pedro Grant, president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), explained to the media that a range of organizations on the island were planning to meet González to "discuss the political situation in the United States and Puerto Rico with her, as candidate for the Socialist Workers Party." Grant said her visit would "emphasize meetings with trade union leaders and workers."

González stated that the SWP campaign supports independence for Puerto Rico. "I'm here," she said, "to extend solidarity to the forces fighting for national liberation and to learn more concretely about the impact of U.S. colonialism on Puerto Rican working people."

In response to a reporter's question, González said that Washington presents

Puerto Rico as a showcase of progress and freedom in the Caribbean. "But the colonial reality is that Puerto Ricans suffer high unemployment and drug addiction, as well as political repression at the hands of U.S. grand juries and the FBI."

She emphasized that "Right now there are 25 Puerto Rican independence fighters jailed by the U.S. government for their political ideas."

Asked about Puerto Rico's role in the U.S. government's foreign policy, González said that "U.S. colonialism has turned Puerto Rico into a huge military base, as a springboard for its war against

our sister peoples in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, and Grenada." This, she added, "is being done against the will of the Puerto Rican people, as shown by the demonstration of 30,000 people organized last April against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean."

The day before, González took part in a rally against Washington's use of the Puerto Rican National Guard in Central America.

The socialist candidate's news conference was immediately followed by another one involving Pedro Grant, PSP General

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UAW pickets GM headquarters as auto contract talks begin

BY ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — More than 3,000 auto workers picketed General Motors world headquarters as national contract talks began July 23. They came by bus from at least 30 United Auto Workers (UAW) locals, mostly from Flint, the Detroit area, and other cities in Michigan where GM is centered. Thirty buses were counted by this reporter.

Some workers evidently were left behind in Flint because there were not enough buses.

In a show of solidarity, striking workers from Toledo's AP Parts plant were invited to the rally. One hundred fifty strikers came on three buses, including members of the Women's Auxiliary. AP Parts workers hadn't brought enough buttons supporting their four-month strike to satisfy the demand at the demonstration. So they sold their personal ones to their fellow unionists.

This demonstration was called by presidents of many UAW locals at General Motors under the slogan, "Restore and More in '84." This slogan, which is also the name of the national committee formed by these presidents, refers to the demand to get back the wages, benefits, work-rule changes, paid personal holidays (PPH),

and other concessions imposed by General Motors in 1982.

An airplane circled the GM building pulling a sign behind it also demanding "Restore and More in '84!"

As workers marched around the GM building, which occupies an entire block, they chanted "Eliminate unjust absentee programs," "No concessions in benefits," "Restore PPH," "Stop outsourcing," and "Cost of living on all pensions." The chanting got louder when UAW international Pres. Owen Bieber briefly led the pickets before going in to negotiate with GM.

Most workers came from GM plants. But some came from Ford, including workers carrying a banner from Local 600, representing workers from the giant River Rouge plant here. The UAW began negotiating with Ford July 24.

In addition, a few workers from the big Jeep plant in Toledo participated. Socialist members of UAW locals participated as well. Protesters bought 60 copies of the *Militant* from them. Helen Meyers, member of UAW Local 1200 and Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Michigan, was also on hand. The Detroit National Black Independent Political Party distributed a leaflet supporting the UAW's fight.



Militant/Betsy Soares
Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Andrea González.

BY LEE MARTINDALE

Socialists in Newport News, Virginia, have been organizing weekly sales for nearly two years at the gates of the giant Tenneco shipyard.

The yard stretches for two miles along the waterfront. More than 18,000 production workers are employed at the yard, working mostly on Navy ships. Sailors stationed on the ships also travel in and out of the plant gates.

In the late 1970s, a successful battle was waged to organize workers at the yard into the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

Tenneco has never accepted the union, however, and last fall was behind an attempt by the old company union, the Peninsula Ship Builders Association (PSA), to oust the Steelworkers in a union

representation election. This attempt was beaten back by the USWA, and a new contract won with the company.

War and war spending are big questions for unionists who build and repair warships.

Eli Green, who works at Tenneco and is a member of the USWA, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 1st Congressional District.

At the press conference held to announce his campaign, the first question — and the lead in the local paper's article on his campaign — was on Green's proposal to abolish the war budget and convert the war industries to producing things people need. Green's coworkers reacted favorably to this idea, although most don't see how it's possible to accomplish.

Through plant-gate sales of the

Militant, socialist campaigners have reached more workers with the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, Mel Mason and Andrea González. They, along with Green, blast the Democrats' and Republicans' bipartisan support for funding the war in Central America. They call for eliminating the war budget and using the money to put all the unemployed to work at union wages on projects that will benefit workers and farmers here and abroad.

The regular presence of *Militant* salespeople at the gate over the last two years has led to workers recognizing the paper and buying it when some political issue arises that they want a socialist point of view on. Sales average five to 10 papers a week.

Sailors stationed on ships in the

yard for repairs also buy the *Militant*.

For the past year, the giant nuclear-powered aircraft carrier the U.S.S. *Nimitz* has been in the yard for an overhaul, with its crew of 3,000. As the carrier moved along the yard at different stages of the work, the socialists moved their sales to those gates to reach the concentrations of shipyard workers who moved with the ship. This meant they were selling to sailors, too.

The sailors are generally attracted by the *Militant's* coverage of Washington's wars against workers and farmers in Central America and other parts of the world. They want to check out all the information they can about the places they may be sent to fight.

While many refuse to buy the paper because it "talks against their boss," or out of fear of

harassment by the brass or right-wingers, the socialists have seen indications that each copy sold gets passed around on the ship.

Some of the sailors also took an interest in the fight last fall to defend the union. For many young sailors who have never worked a union job, this involved discussing what unions are and whether they're good for workers.

The socialists' best sales ever at the gate took place immediately after the October 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada. They noted a big increase not only in sales but also in hostile comments, as the questions workers had about imperialism's war policies broke out into more heated discussion. The socialists expect both sales and arguments to increase as the war against Nicaragua and El Salvador escalates.

NBUF conference takes up international struggles

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

CHICAGO — Building opposition to the U.S. occupation of Grenada and winning support for the national liberation movements in southern Africa figured prominently in the deliberations of the fifth national convention of the National Black United Front (NBUF). The convention, held here July 19-22, was attended by 350-400 Black activists, who participated in the many workshops and several plenary sessions.

A panel discussion on international affairs took up the fight against apartheid in South Africa and what could be done here in the United States to aid that struggle. The panel included Dessima Williams, former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States, who discussed the present situation in Grenada and how U.S. Blacks could help fight the U.S. occupation of that Caribbean island.

Adeyemi Bandle, vice-chair of NBUF's international affairs committee, told convention attendants that they should be proud of the work they did in solidarity with the Grenada revolution.

NBUF has produced two videotapes — one an interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary for Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, and the other based on an NBUF fact-finding tour of Grenada last March.

In addition, NBUF actively raises funds and other aid for the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation. This group was formed to help preserve the revolutionary legacy of Bishop and the other central leaders of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government who were murdered in a counterrevolutionary coup last October. Their assassinations were followed by the U.S. invasion of the island.

At its convention NBUF established a "Maurice Bishop Pan-African Award" — the first recipient of which was Alimenta

Bishop, mother of the slain prime minister. She was given the award by Rev. Herbert Daughtry, national chairperson of NBUF at a July 21 rally during the convention.

Bandle said NBUF had carried out important anti-apartheid activity over the last year. He mentioned in particular the group's work in building a boycott of Black artists who have performed in South Africa.

In her talk, Dessima Williams thanked

NBUF both for its aid in getting out the truth about the Grenada revolution and for its opposition to the U.S. occupation. She outlined what she called "the two tides of history," which are the "history of the oppressed peoples seeking liberation and the history of those trying to hold back that revolutionary tide." Both these tides, said Williams, show themselves in Grenada's history.

Supporters of the Grenada revolution, explained Williams, should center their ac-

tivities on demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Grenada. She also said that it's important for supporters of the revolution to travel to Grenada.

Noting how "politically inspired" she was by the "victory of the Jesse Jackson campaign," Williams invited Jackson to come to Grenada himself.

Jackson was supposed to have been a featured speaker at the July 21 rally. How-

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Wide variety of classes at SWP conference

BY ILONA GERSH

A wide variety of classes will be held at the 1984 Socialist Workers Party Educational and Activists Conference, which is combined with the party's national convention, scheduled for August 4-9 in Oberlin, Ohio.

Major class series will be based on new and recent publications of the socialist movement. These include a five-part series based on the Pathfinder book, *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party*. This series will examine the central questions that formed the programmatic basis of the Socialist Workers Party when it was founded in 1938.

Another five-part series will center on Lenin's struggle for a revolutionary International. This will be based on the newly published first book of the series, *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. The classes will be a guide to beginning to read and study the rich collection of documents in the new book, which will be on sale for the first time at the conference.

A four-part series will be based on four books written by Farrell Dobbs, titled, *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*. These classes will focus on the les-

sons that revolutionary and radicalizing working people can learn from the historic Teamster rebellion in 1934, and the first-hand account by Dobbs of the rise of the powerful union bureaucracy of today.

The fourth major series is entitled "The workers and farmers government and communist political continuity."

This six-part series is based on the article in the Spring-Summer 1984 issue of the theoretical magazine *New Internationalist* titled, "The Workers and Farmers Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship," by SWP national chairperson Mary-Alice Waters. Some of these classes will be given by SWP leaders who have just completed a five-month study of the writings of Marx and Engels at the SWP leadership school.

Students from the school will present two additional class series: a four-part series on Marx and Engels on the national question and a six-part series on Marx, Engels, and the First International.

Classes and discussions will be organized during the conference for those who are attending their first socialist conference.

These activities include a welcome reception on the first night of the conference,

hosted by the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Mel Mason and Andrea González, and Peter Thierjung, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Discussions will be organized following major political reports at the convention, and a series of introductory classes on Marxist politics will run throughout the week.

If you are interested in attending the convention and conference, fill out the coupon below and send it to the SWP branch nearest to you (see directory on page 20).

I am interested in attending the 1984 Socialist Workers Party convention and educational and activists conference, August 4-9, in Oberlin, Ohio.

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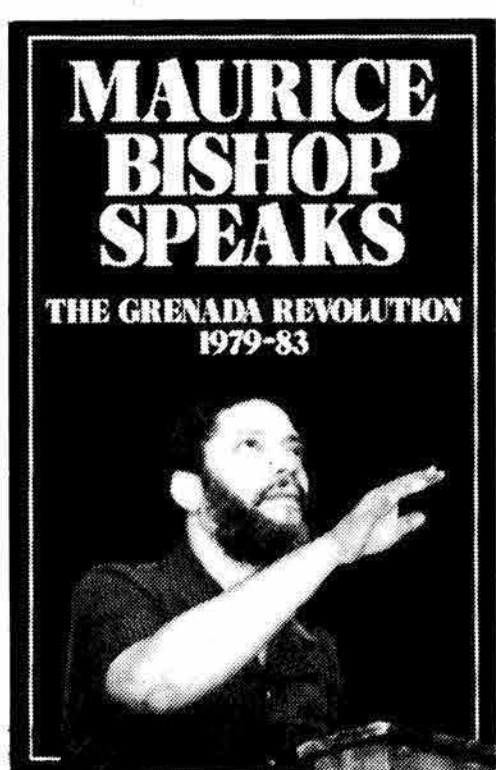
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Democrats no answer to employers' war

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Ronald Reagan or four "good" years of traditional Democratic liberalism, they claim.

The actual platform, however, is not substantially different than current government policies, except for some liberal windowdressing. For example, it openly advocates an austerity program that includes cutbacks in social services. In fact, it is more conservative than the platforms adopted at the last few Democratic conventions.

This rightward trend, however, does not signify that working people are getting more conservative. Rather it reflects the rightward drift of capitalist politics flowing from the employers' need to weaken the labor movement and drive down the living standard of working people.

Generally, however, the platforms of both the Democrats and the Republicans don't mean much. They are primarily vote-catching devices and do not have much to do with what policies candidates will carry out when elected.

Mondale, in his acceptance speech, admitted that whoever is elected in November will have to carry out the same basic austerity measures. "Whoever is inaugurated in January, the American people will have to pay Mr. Reagan's bills. The budget will be squeezed. Taxes will go up. And anyone who says they won't is not telling the truth to the American people."

The bipartisan agreement between the Democrats and Republicans on foreign policy is even clearer.

Sounding little different than Reagan, the platform says, "A Democratic President will be prepared to apply military force when vital American interests are threatened, particularly in the event of an attack upon the United States or its immediate allies."

The platform continues, "The Western Hemisphere is in trouble. Central America is a regional war. Latin America is experiencing the most serious economic crisis in 50 years. . . . Mindful of these realities and determined to stop widening, militarizing and Americanizing the conflict, a Democratic President's immediate objective will be to stop the violence and pursue a negotiated solution in concert with our democratic allies. . . ."

The document also adds, "the Democratic Party affirms its commitment to the selective, judicious use of American military power in consonance with constitutional principles and reinforced by the War Powers Act."

While a few minor amendments were proposed, the basic platform was agreed to by the entire convention.

'Historic convention'

The convention was presented by the capitalist media, the labor officialdom, and the Black, Latino, and women misleaders as a "historic" event. *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker declared that "the modern Democratic Party has become a new instrument in American politics."

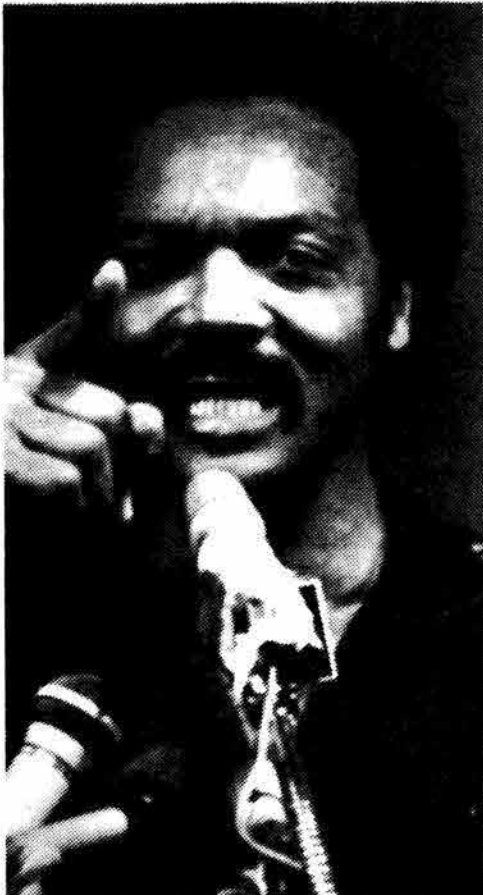
The labor officialdom was especially overjoyed by the outcome of the convention. "We are all very pleased with the outcome," said Glenn Watts, president of the Communications Workers of America.

But unlike Black and women delegates who were quite visible and vocal at the convention, most labor skates kept a low profile. They accept the antilabor smear that the unions are a "special interest group" seeking to control Mondale.

Mary Hatwood Futrell, president of the National Education Association, said, "We are playing a major role behind the scenes, but we did not want to give the appearance of domination. . . . We hope we have influence, but we did not want to give the impression that Mr. Mondale is controlled by the unions."

The leadership of the AFL-CIO had been campaigning for Mondale in the Democratic primaries since last October when it made an unprecedentedly early endorsement of a presidential candidate.

As they have traditionally done, the labor officials are projecting the elections as the most important arena of political activity for the unions, and the capitalist parties as effective vehicles for advancing the interests of working people. They counterpose this electoralist approach to organizing and leading independent struggles —



At Democratic Party convention Jesse Jackson claimed Mondale-Ferraro campaign will be step forward for Blacks and other working people.



strikes, demonstrations, and solidarity activities — of the workers against the employers and their political representatives.

Most of the left was also jubilant about the Democratic Party convention.

The Communist Party, which is running its own presidential ticket, hailed the convention as a big advance for working people. The July 19 *Daily World* headline read: "DEFEAT REAGAN! Unity prevails as Dems sharpen attack on issues."

The *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, ran an editorial on Ferraro's nomination entitled, "Better late than never," and welcomed it as a major achievement for the women's rights movement. An article in the same issue stated, "Walter Mondale will be the Democratic Party's presidential nominee, but Jesse Jackson will function as its soul and conscience."

The main reason why the left and many liberals were enthusiastic about the Democratic Party convention was Jackson's role there.

Flora Lewis, a liberal columnist for the *New York Times*, said the convention revealed "signs of a new populism." The "new" Democratic Party, she said, now "include[s] women and blacks, those internal migrants who arrived late on the political scene."

Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" was quite visible on the convention floor. There were over 700 Black delegates — the most ever at a Democratic Party convention — and many more Latinos and women than normally seen at past Democratic Party conventions.

Victory for ruling class

This registered the Democratic Party's success in drawing the "internal migrants" and the "leftouts," as Jackson calls them, into the mainstream of capitalist politics. This was a victory for the employing class.

Jackson admits that this was an objective of his campaign. While declaring the number one goal for all liberals and "progressives" is to defeat Ronald Reagan in November, Jackson said this could not happen unless the Democratic Party broadened its base of support — top to bottom. The Democratic Party had to let more liberal capitalist politicians who are Black, Latino, or female participate in decision-making.

When the convention opened, Jackson told his delegates, "We don't have to win, but we have to raise the right issues."

He added, "We shall leave this place on Friday with our minds made up. We must retire the repressive Reagan regime, and with our minds made up we have the power."

"This fall we are going to work with passion because our eyes are on the prize. We are going to elect school board members and supervisors. . . ."

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Socialists get good response at marches outside S.F. convention

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 100,000 unionists joined in a massive "Labor Parade" down San Francisco's Market Street July 15 on the eve of the Democratic Party convention.

Organized by the AFL-CIO, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the march was designed primarily as a show of strength to reinforce the union officialdom's bargaining power at the Democratic convention.

Many rank-and-file unionists, nevertheless, saw the parade as a way of expressing their anger at the government and employers' joint antiunion offensive. They carried signs and chanted slogans reflecting their concerns.

"We want jobs, not bombs," said banners and signs carried by the Printing Trades United contingent. Thousands of unionists in nearly every contingent held signs saying, "No U.S. troops or arms to Central America."

"No cuts in Social Security," demanded retired International Association of Machinists (IAM) members.

CWA Local 9410 carried a huge banner, which reflected the thinking of many march participants: "Reaganomics — the rich get richer, the poor get poorer, the fuse gets shorter."

Officially, however, the parade was organized around no specific political demands or slogans other than "We can do it." And the "it" that we can do was made very clear: replace Ronald Reagan with Walter Mondale.

"The primary duty of all unionists," thundered AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland in his address to the march participants, "is to march to the polls in November. We must march to the polls and elect Walter Mondale."

An alternative perspective was put forward at the march by unionists supporting the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González. Machinists, oil workers, garment workers, Teamsters, and others campaigned vigorously for the socialist candidates, talking about their program and distributing campaign material to thousands.

As the marchers turned off Market Street to the rally at San Francisco's Civic Center, a striking sight was a large banner proclaiming: "Jobs not war, Mason for president, González for vice-president." The banner was mounted atop a large wooden campaign literature booth, which did a brisk business all day.

The Mason-González campaign hosted an open house following the march, which

featured Laura Garza, a national youth coordinator for the socialist presidential campaign and a National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Well over 100 unionists attended the open house during the course of the day, including nearly 40 people new to the Mason-González campaign.

Introducing Laura Garza at the open house was Marilee Taylor, SWP candidate for State Assembly in San Francisco's 16th District and a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Taylor is also chairwoman of the San Francisco YSA.

"No one who was here today could fail to see the enormous potential power of the labor movement," Taylor began.

"Just think what all this potential power could do, if instead of hitching itself to the parties of the bosses, suppose the labor movement used this power to organize a real fight against the antiunion drive by the government and the employers," Taylor continued.

Garza explained that the YSA is supporting the socialist presidential campaign, "because Mason and González are putting forward the only truly realistic perspective for working people, family farmers, and the oppressed. Not one of the legitimate demands made by the unionists marching today can be met by the Democratic Party. The power of labor needs to be marshaled independently to fight for our rights — on the picket lines, in the streets, in the plants, and in every political arena."

Garza encouraged everyone present to join in supporting the socialist presidential campaign. She especially urged the many young people in the audience to join the Young Socialist Alliance, which is helping to spearhead this effort.

Two other large events took place the same weekend in conjunction with the opening of the Democratic Party convention. Following the conclusion of the Labor Parade, 100,000 supporters of gay and lesbian rights marched to the convention site. The next evening, some 20,000 people gathered at the Moscone Center for a "Vote peace '84 rally" featuring Jesse Jackson, peace activists, and speakers from Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Nearly 500 copies of the campaign newspapers, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, were sold at the three rallies. A banner behind the literature table at the "Vote peace" rally proclaimed, "Grenada lives! Read about the Grenada revolution in *Maurice Bishop Speaks*," a book of speeches by the slain prime minister. The table drew scores of people who wanted more information about the new book and recent events in Grenada.

Democrats no answer to employers' war

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According to this strategy of building a base (what Jackson calls a "progressive" wing) inside the Democratic Party, Blacks and other working people should focus their energies on voting in November to dump Reagan and to elect more Blacks to local offices. This is consciously counterposed by Jackson to organizing a serious fight against the blows raining down on working people, especially Blacks and women.

Depoliticizing campaign

Because the Jackson campaign did not break from the framework of capitalist politics, it has served to depoliticize those who were attracted to it; divert attention from organizing fightbacks; and is an obstacle to developing independent working-class political action.

Those who came to the convention hoping Jackson would refuse to endorse the ticket unless more Blacks and "leftouts" were given greater authority in the official campaign quickly learned otherwise. Jackson was already committed to helping turn out Black voters for Mondale and Ferraro.

"Tonight we come together," he began his sermon-pledge of loyalty, "bound by our faith in a mighty God, with genuine respect and love for our country, and inheriting the legacy of a great party — the Democratic Party — which is the best hope for redirecting our nation on a more humane, just, and peaceful course."

"To be strong leaders," he continued, "we must be long-suffering as we seek to right the wrongs of our party and our nation. We must expand our party, heal our party, and unify our party. That is our mission in 1984."

"We are often reminded that we live in a great nation — and we do. But it can be greater still. The Rainbow is mandating a new definition of greatness."

To show his total loyalty to the Democratic Party higher-ups and "60 families" that control the country, Jackson gave a groveling apology to the racists who have attacked him during his campaign.

"If in my low moments, in word, deed or attitude, through some error of temper, taste or tone," Jackson said in a clear reference to his initial refusal to repudiate Louis Farrakhan, a Black nationalist and strong opponent of Israel, "I have caused anyone any discomfort, created pain, or revived someone's fears, that was not my truest self."

"If there were occasions when my grape

turned into a raisin and my joy bell lost its resonance, please forgive me," Jackson pleaded. "Charge it to my head and not to my heart."

Jews and Blacks, he went on, "are copartners in a long and rich religious history — the Judeo-Christian traditions. . . . We are bound by shared blood and shared sacrifices."

"We must share our burdens and our joys with each other once again. We must turn to each other and not on each other and choose higher ground."

This apology, of course, won quick praise from the more conservative sectors of the Democratic Party as well as the middle-class leaders of the major Jewish organizations.

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, referred to Jackson's "personal statement and apology" as "welcome, and one hopes it's for real and will be a contribution to civil discourse."

Jewish leaders' response to Jackson

Rabbi Henry Michelman, executive vice-president of the Synagogue Council of America, was pleased, but added Jackson will have to prove himself further: "I appreciate Rev. Jackson's confessional and found it heartening. However, we will watch to see if he truly emerges as a responsible leader dedicated to pluralism."

Perlmutter also cautioned that Jackson had "excoriated South Africa, but said nothing about his embrace of [Fidel] Castro, Hafez al-Assad, [Yasir] Arafat and the Sandinistas, all of whom are echo chambers of anti-Zionism and anti-Americanism."

These middle-class leaders of the major Jewish organizations share little with Blacks. It is a myth that Blacks and Jews have "shared blood and shared sacrifices," as Jackson claimed. Blacks are an overwhelmingly working-class oppressed nationality; Jews today are mostly middle-class and professionals. Under the rightward drift of capitalist politics, most Jews have become more conservative as reflected in their opposition to issues of great importance to Blacks and all working people such as affirmative action programs that use quotas.

Perlmutter's concern about Jackson "embracing" Castro et al. was reflected in Jackson's speech. Jackson kept the Sandinistas, the Palestinians, and Cuba out of the hour-long talk. His only reference to Central America and Grenada was his la-

ment over the "loss of our boys" in the invasion of Grenada last October and in El Salvador and Honduras while fighting against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan people.

Despite all the hoopla in the media about Jackson's more radical social program, his speech and proposals were little different than Mondale's.

Jackson's one proposal that the convention did agree to — a small modification of the section of the Democrats' platform on affirmative action — was not much of a concession. Jackson proposed that the federal government play a more active role in the enforcement of affirmative action programs. There was no mention of quotas.

On enforcement of the Voting Rights Act, an early issue of the Jackson campaign, Jackson's and Mondale's proposals to the convention were nearly identical. Mondale proposed, and it was adopted, that the Democratic Party do a "serious in-depth study of the use of second primaries." Jackson called for the "complete elimination of the runoff primary."

During his campaign Jackson had said that if the convention did not take a stand against the runoff primary he wasn't sure he could back the ticket. Not only did he back down on that position but his speech failed to mention other important social issues such as busing to achieve school desegregation, which is under heavy attack by the government and courts.

Why rulers make adjustments

The employing class recognizes that the ferment in the working class will increase as the attacks on working people increase. This is why they no longer exclude the idea of a woman or even a Black becoming their representative in the White House.

They would prefer this not to be the case. They liked it better when they had a "whites only" and "only males apply" two-party system. But as a result of big social gains won by Blacks, women, and labor through struggle, the ruling class has had to make these adjustments in order to maintain their rule over society. They continually seek to undercut new struggles by absorbing their leaders.

In the 1930s, for example, when the labor movement was on the march and organized most of basic industry, the bosses were able to co-opt most union militants and get them involved in electoral politics, mainly in the Democratic Party. The labor bureaucracy played a crucial role in this process. That's where the famous Roosevelt coalition arose — Blacks and unionists in the North, and racist Dixiecrats in the South.

In the 1960s, during the height of the civil rights movement, the electoral system was altered again to allow thousands of Blacks to be elected to public office. Today there are liberal Blacks heading several major cities.

The Democratic Party even includes "socialist" congressmen like California's Ron Dellums. Everyone is welcome as long as they observe the rules and defend the system.

The Jackson campaign is in that tradition of capitalist politics. The success of the Jackson campaign for the ruling class is that it drew in new layers of the "leftouts" into active participation in the capitalist electoral system.

Where leadership will come from

The heavy weight of the labor officialdom in working-class politics is the main reason the liberals who lead the major Black, Latino, and women's rights organizations can succeed in pushing pro-Democratic Party, pro-electoralist policies. The lack of a class-struggle leadership in the unions undermines the development of militant leaderships among its allies.

This problem of leadership is mainly a result of the level of class struggle in the country. The working class hasn't yet gone through enough struggles to be able to develop new leaders who can challenge the class-collaborationist leadership of the trade unions and the liberal misleaderships of the mass Black and women's organizations. These new leaders who will come along will be predominantly young, Black, Latino, and female. They will be workers — not bureaucrats.

New methods of struggle will emerge as social and economic crises and imperialist war tear apart the current political framework of relative social stability. Under these conditions workers' consciousness will be transformed. Then and only then will millions of workers opt for a class-struggle approach to politics and begin to transform their unions into instruments of struggle. This includes the fight to build a mass labor or Black party. Such parties will not arise short of those mass struggles.

This, of course is not the case today. Thus the illusions in the Jackson campaign as an advance for Blacks and other working people.

This pressure of electoralism is so great that most of the radical and left organizations claiming to be socialist or communist succumb to it. Many believe it is necessary for workers to go through a Jackson or even a Ferraro experience to reach revolutionary consciousness.

The Workers World Party, for example, is running its own presidential ticket. But it presents the Jackson campaign as progress for Blacks and other workers. It took the sucker bait.

Its approach proves in the negative why running an "independent" socialist campaign is not identical to independent working-class political action. Independent working-class political action can never begin with elections. Only the struggles of workers and their allies to improve their wages, working conditions, and lives, and finally moving toward taking political power through a revolution, is independent working-class politics.

Mason and González campaign

There is only one voice in the elections that is explaining that the working class cannot advance its struggles by looking to the electoral arena, particularly to the capitalist parties. This voice is the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party.

Mel Mason and Andrea González, SWP candidates for president and vice-president, are using the electoral arena to explain their revolutionary perspectives and proposals to working people. Mason and González explain that genuine social change will not be brought about through the results of the November elections. They explain that participation in elections is not the road to transform society, in fact, it is a barrier to advancing toward independent political action.

The heart of their campaign — and that of other SWP candidates around the country — is explaining revolutionary ideas as a way to advance and win a layer of vanguard workers to their revolutionary program and party.

While the Democratic Party convention showed the depth of illusions in the capitalist electoral system, the response Mason and González are receiving for their revolutionary program shows the great potential to win many working people to socialist ideas.

González on Puerto Rico

Continued from front page

Secretary Carlos Gallisá, other PSP leaders, and Puerto Rican nationalist hero Rafael Cancel Miranda.

Gallisá announced a July 25 rally to mark the sixth year since the police assassination of two young independence fighters at Cerro Maravilla. The protest will demand justice in the case and an end to the cover-up being carried out by the U.S. and Puerto Rican governments.

Cancel Miranda also urged participation in another rally on the same day in Guánica for the 86th anniversary of the U.S. military invasion and occupation of Puerto Rico.

González will take part in these actions. She will later meet with fishermen in Mayagüez and the island of Vieques, as well as organizations fighting against political repression and for independence.

González, whose news conference appeared on the 6 p.m. television news, was also interviewed by the PSP newspaper, *Claridad*, at its offices. Several more television, radio, and newspaper interviews are scheduled.

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Nicaraguan revolution

Continued from front page
and 122-millimeter field artillery pieces.

In addition, to one side of the speaker's stand, there was a battery of seven more 122-millimeter cannon.

The rally itself was relatively brief, about an hour long. Its overriding theme was defense of Nicaragua and the revolution against U.S. imperialist aggression.

'Sons of Sandino'

Following the national anthem, there were introductions of the FSLN National Directorate, the government junta, and other dignitaries. Then the Sandinista musical group Carlos Mejía Godoy y los de Palacagüina presented a new song dedicated to the "sons of Sandino," the young men in the Patriotic Military Service.

The song ended:

"Happy Birthday homeland.

"We swear in your honor

"To the last bullet, to fight for the principles

"That Carlos revived."

Then a tape of Carlos Fonseca speaking was played.

This was followed by another song by Carlos Mejía Godoy y los de Palacagüina, "Comandante Carlos Fonseca," which is based on the final section of FSLN leader Tomás Borge's book, *Carlos, Dawn Has Ceased to be a Temptation*. Borge wrote the book while in Somoza's prison after learning that Fonseca had been killed by the National Guard.

In the middle of the song, the battery of the 122-millimeter artillery fired off a 21-round salute. The boom from the powerful cannon could be heard all over Managua. As each round went off it drowned out momentarily the roar of applause, cheers, and shouts of "People's power," "No pasarán," and "Carlos Fonseca, presente!" that welled up from the crowd.

Once the cheering had subsided, Commander Jaime Wheelock, on behalf of the FSLN National Directorate, gave agrarian reform land titles to members of the Augusto César Sandino Cooperative of the Río Coco area, right on the border with Honduras. The peasants, who were dressed in their militia uniforms, are the children of farmers first organized into cooperatives by Sandino in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when he led a struggle against the U.S. Marines.

In the two weeks before the rally, FSLN leaders gave out titles for a total of 720,000 acres to 12,000 peasant families.

The main talk was given on behalf of the FSLN leadership by Daniel Ortega, the coordinator of the governing junta and FSLN presidential candidate in the November election.

Ortega's speech, like the whole month-long commemoration of the insurrection that toppled Somoza five years ago, was focused on the imperialist war of aggression against Nicaragua. Though short — a half hour, if that — the talk was interrupted more than 20 times by applause and slogans from the crowd.

"We believe that words are superfluous," Ortega began, "because this speech about the fifth anniversary of the victory of the Sandinista People's Revolution has already been given by the people." The crowd answered with applause and chants of "People's power, people's power."

State of Emergency

Ortega devoted the bulk of his remarks to answering the noisy, imperialist-inspired campaign by Nicaragua's capitalist political parties and the Catholic Church hierarchy demanding the lifting of the State of Emergency that has been in effect here for more than two years.

"We would like the emergency to be suspended now, at this very moment," Ortega said, "because first of all suspending the emergency means suspending the aggression against Nicaragua, suspending the emergency means thousands of youth returning to their homes, their schools, their workcenters."

"We say to the U.S. rulers: stop the aggression so that the emergency can stop, and under those circumstances the State of Emergency would automatically cease.

"The emergency has not been imposed by the people and government of Nicaragua," Ortega continued, "the emergency has been imposed by you. Gentlemen U.S.

rulers, don't be demagogic, cynical and antidemocratic: stop the aggression!"

7,391 killed

Ortega gave facts and figures illustrating the toll the U.S. war of aggression has taken on Nicaragua.

In the past three years some 7,391 Nicaraguans — many of them civilians, especially peasants in isolated settlements — have been killed by mercenary forces armed by the CIA.

The economic cost has been staggering: 2.28 billion córdobas, roughly \$200 million. Ortega compared Nicaragua's losses to those suffered by U.S. families "that were victims of the rapacious and aggressive policy of their government" against Vietnam.

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

During his speech the Sandinista leader announced that, given the U.S. war, the State of Emergency would be extended another 90 days. Nevertheless, some restrictions are being relaxed. The ban on outdoor political meetings has been lifted so that "all the parties participating in the election can carry out rallies both indoors and outdoors, mobilizations and demonstrations in public plazas."

Also, until now all Nicaraguan publications were subject to prior censorship. Now, only reports dealing with military or other national security information will be subject to review before publication.

Likewise the amnesty offered to misguided Nicaraguans who may have joined the counterrevolutionary forces has once again been extended, this time until November 4, so that such persons "can participate in the election process." Leaders of counterrevolutionary organizations, however, are excluded from this offer.

Church hierarchy provocation

Ortega also took up a new provocation by the Catholic church hierarchy, which in the past months has sharply escalated its political campaign against the revolution.

The Nicaraguan government recently announced that Fernando Cardenal would be taking over as minister of education, replacing Carlos Tunnerman, who is Nicaragua's new ambassador to the United States. Cardenal has been a teacher and directed the highly successful literacy crusade. He is also a Catholic priest belonging to the Jesuit order and a member of the FSLN.

Since the announcement, the Vatican has been proclaiming that Cardenal must resign from his government post. The Managua capitalist daily *La Prensa* claims that a delegation from Jesuit headquarters is on its way to Managua to expel Cardenal from the order should he refuse to abandon the Ministry of Education.

Ortega pointed out that "This is a revolution that respects the religious sentiments and practices of the people.

"It is said that the Church is made up of the people of God. It is said that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

"There are those who lodge themselves up in temples and plug their ears with egoism," he continued. "Whitened sepulchers and pharisees," Christ called them, and with a whip drove them from the temple."

Ortega then proposed — and the crowd unanimously reconfirmed — the naming of Cardenal as education minister. "Hopefully there will be ears that won't be deaf to the voice of the people of God in Nicaragua and to their incessant cry of, 'We want peace!'" Ortega said.

Message to U.S. people

In his speech, Ortega also appealed to the people of the United States to oppose the U.S. government's war of aggression.

"We want to send our militant embrace to all the peoples of the world," he said, "and especially to the people of the United States. We tell the people of the United States that this revolution is also their revolution."



Managua, July 19: fifth anniversary celebration.

Militant/José G. Pérez

Cuba-Nicaragua: 'friendship grows stronger every day'

The following letter was sent by Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the governing junta of Nicaragua, to Cuban leader Fidel Castro. It was printed in the July 13 *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Managua, July 12, 1984
At 50 years . . . Sandino lives!

To his excellency, Commander Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Council of State and of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Havana

Esteemed Commander Fidel:

The 23rd of July, 1979, scarcely five days after the revolutionary victory of our country, we began to experience the fraternal and timely collaboration between our peoples, parties, and governments, with the arrival of the first brigades of doctors from your country. With this noble gesture a beautiful process of friendship was initiated by a people who, despite the indiscriminate imperialist blockade which they have suffered for years, directed their heart and efforts toward a sister people who, torn apart by the war, held their head up and looked toward the future with great hope. From that date, five years have passed and our bonds of friendship and brotherhood are being consolidated and grow stronger every day.

It is appropriate to mention on this occasion that in all that time, the collaboration you have offered our country has reached incalculable magnitude and has been of diverse kinds, the most noteworthy being what we have received in the areas of education, health, and construction.

With the help of your people we have built bridges, hospitals, schools, plants for prefabricated houses, and a cement factory. We have also received large donations of food, medicine, school supplies, machinery and spare parts, feed, fishing boats, construction material, sports equipment, and finally, a vast amount of aid of great value to our people.

Equally, about 5,000 young Nicaraguans are being prepared in Cuban educational institutions in the various areas of science and techniques. They are future professionals who will put at the service of our revolution the knowledge they are acquiring from you, setting their sights on fortifying and consolidating the Nicaraguan Government of Reconstruction.

This account, dear Commander, is a small summary of the collaboration that we have received from you who, despite suffering your own limitations, share your resources, experiences, and friendship with our young revolution.

Of immeasurable value to the Sandinista People's Revolution are the lives which our Cuban brothers have offered in the fulfillment of the first tasks assigned them by our

governments. You can be sure that among our people the memory of these *compañeros* will live forever, and as our revolution develops we will continue paying homage to their memory, granting them the place of our immortal heroes.

We wish to express to you our unwavering decision to defend our conquests as we have been doing up until now. Similarly, we wish to express our desire for peace and for mutual respect in our relations with the rest of the countries of the world. We reiterate that we are a people who love peace; we are making great efforts to achieve it. But if our imperialist enemies attack us, they will find a people ready to defend with their lives and their blood the achievements they have obtained.

On this fifth anniversary of our collaboration, on behalf of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and of the battle-hardened Nicaraguan people, we want to make known our undying recognition of the Cuban party, government, and people, with the certainty that these bonds of friendship between our peoples are and will be unbreakable.

With a fraternal embrace,
Daniel Ortega Saavedra

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Electrical workers face layoffs, employer attacks

Socialists in IUE urge solidarity

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The "factory of the future."

That's what the General Electric Co. calls the flexible machining center it plans to build in Lynn, Massachusetts, alongside its giant aircraft engine plant there. The new facility will be a modern, highly automated operation.

GE put its "offer" to spend the \$51.7 million to build the new plant to a vote among the members of International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried and Machine Workers (IUE) Local 201 at Lynn on June 26. It passed by a vote of 3,903 to 1,502.

Clever union busting

Union-busting blackmail is what was really involved, Local 201 member Don Gurewitz told a leadership meeting of socialist IUE activists held in New York July 14. The work rules and working conditions at GE's "factory of the future" will be a giant step backward for the union, said Gurewitz.

The 140 workers to be employed there will be forced to do the work of 200-300. Twelve-hour shifts will be the norm and the result will be an average 42-hour work-week. Pay rates may also suffer, Gurewitz explained.

GE told IUE members in Lynn that the new facility could be built there — or at a nonunion GE site elsewhere such as the "satellite plant" it operates in nearby Hookset, New Hampshire. The choice, GE claimed, was up to the unionists. Thus the company blackmailed workers into accepting a union-busting scheme that will undermine the national contract the IUE and other unions have with GE.

The company's conditions for opening the new plant in Lynn were "non-negotiable" from the start. Many workers, including those who didn't like the plan, saw it as a vote for or against jobs in the Lynn plant, said Gurewitz.

Response of IUE officials

Most top union officials accepted the company's framework for the debate, explained Local 201 member Chris Gauvreau. These IUE officials told workers "if you're for progress, you'll vote yes," she reported. A minority in the local's leadership opposed the plan but did not campaign actively against it until the last minute.

The majority of the local's leadership accepted the idea that the union has to work with GE against its competitors. James Krebs, general manager of GE's military and small commercial engine operations, explained the company's views on this in a

NBUF holds conference

Continued from Page 2

ever, Jackson did not appear at the convention. Amiri Baraka, a well-known Black writer and political activist, was also scheduled to speak, but failed to show. It was announced that they had remained in San Francisco following the Democratic Party's convention to negotiate with Walter Mondale over what role Jackson and his supporters would have in the Democratic Party's presidential campaign.

Daughtry arrived late to the NBUF meeting due to his participation in the Democratic Party's convention and the subsequent talks. The NBUF gathering, which came on the heels of the Democratic convention, had no organized discussion assessing the Jackson campaign and what it accomplished.

Daughtry told the NBUF gathering that discussion of what to do next in the electoral arena should wait "one more week" on the outcome of negotiations between Mondale and Jackson.

letter he sent to all the 8,000 IUE members of Local 201.

The flexible machining center is needed, said Krebs, "to help achieve cost superiority — to assure a clean-cut competitive edge over our rivals: Pratt & Whitney, Garrett, Lycoming, Allison, Rolls Royce and others."

Krebs posed as one of those in GE management who believe that "creative management, a dedicated workforce, and a cooperative union can work together. . . ." Others, he said, thought the plant should be built nonunion from the start. These, he intimated, were the company equivalent of unreasonable union "hard liners" who are "uncomfortable with high technology."

Gurewitz and Gauvreau explained that socialists in the IUE local urged a vote against GE's blackmail. This was not out of any fear of high technology. Rather it was because they believe that the union's goal should be to fight to protect the interests of workers and insist that they benefit from any modernization.

The "factory of the future" scheme came up, they explained, in the context of other setbacks for the union including job losses and the introduction of a "Quality of Work Life" plan, also aimed at undercutting union power and furthering the false idea that workers and GE share common interests.

Socialists at the Lynn plant explained that the competition among workers pushed by GE is a permanent feature of workers' existence under capitalism. But unions, they explained, were built precisely to protect and defend workers from the harmful effects of this competition by fighting for the maximum working-class solidarity.

One example of attacks

The experience at Lynn was just one example of the deepening employer assaults on the IUE across the country that were cited by Gurewitz in a report to the New York meeting. The meeting was held to prepare a larger meeting of all members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who are members of the union, to occur during the party's August convention and educational conference.

Tens of thousands of union jobs have been lost over the past decade at plants owned by the big electrical companies like GE and Westinghouse, and elsewhere, said Gurewitz. In 1970 the IUE boasted 300,000 members. Today the figure stands at about 170,000.

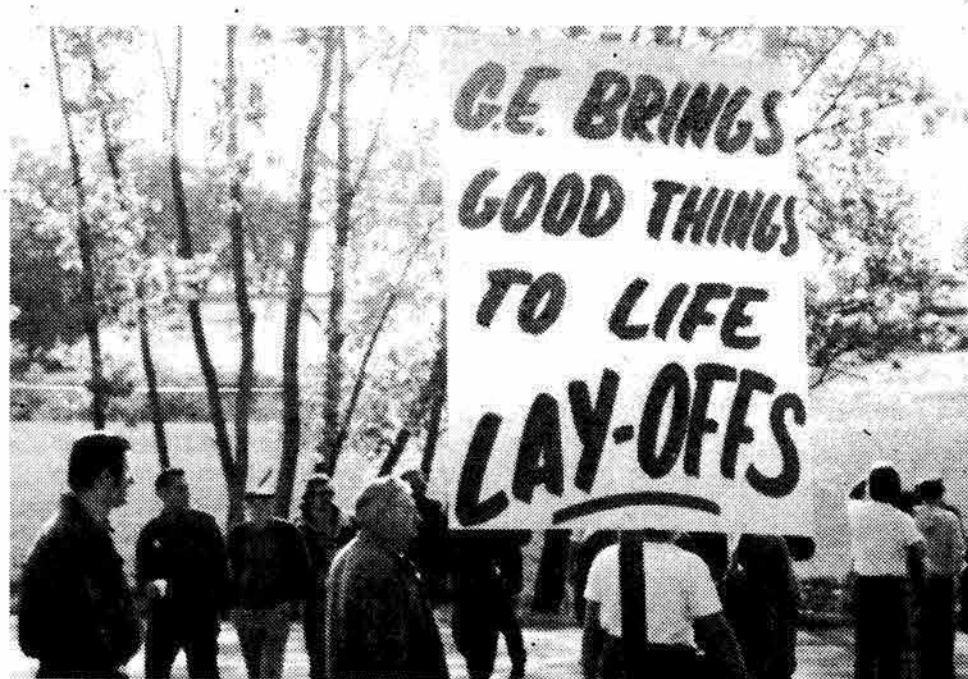
In addition to organizing workers in the war industry, like those at Lynn, the IUE also includes workers who produce other electrical and electronic equipment, appliances, computers, and office equipment. The IUE is also the second largest union in the auto industry with 20,000 members at General Motors plants.

All have felt the blows of the employer offensive. Gurewitz cited several examples.

At GE's giant Schenectady, New York, plant, half of the 12,000 workers are laid off. In the early stages of the last economic recession, GE's Louisville appliance park cut its work force in half. Despite the pick-up in GE's appliance sales as a result of the upturn in the capitalist economic cycle, thousands in Louisville remain out of work. At the Packard Electric division of General Motors in Warren, Ohio, the work force has gone from 14,000 to 9,000.

Mary Gutekanst, an IUE member at ITT in New Jersey, said that the attacks on the union are especially graphic in some of the older centers of the electrical industry like New Jersey, where GE has shut down and where Western Electric and Otis Elevator are closing plants.

She also pointed to ITT's efforts to undermine union power by employing hun-



dreds of temporary workers. These workers are provided by "job shoppers," subcontractors who pay the temporaries little above minimum wage for work in a plant where unionized workers earn several dollars an hour more. Pete Brandli, an IUE member from St. Paul, described a similar phenomenon where he works. Both pointed to the way this undermines union work rules and conditions for all workers in the plant.

Default by IUE officialdom

Like the other top officials of the U.S. labor movement, Gurewitz explained, the IUE leadership offers no effective answers to these attacks on the union. President Reagan, they claim, is the main source of the problem. They encourage unionists to work for Democrat Walter Mondale in November as the way out of the crisis.

The IUE officials, said Gurewitz, also support "new industrial policy" schemes which provide government loans to super-rich corporations — like GE — at low interest rates. Such plans will only lead to more "factory of the future" setups, at the expense of union members and other workers.

Anti-imports campaign

The IUE officialdom also actively embraces the protectionist drive against imports promoted by other AFL-CIO officials. Socialists, said Gurewitz, "need to explain the deadly logic of fostering competition with workers in other countries."

It is true that the employers in the electrical and electronics industry are shifting production to Latin America and Asia where they exploit workers unmercifully and reap superprofits. But the union's answer to that must be to step up international working-class solidarity, Gurewitz said.

The logic of the anti-imports drive will lead to more competition among workers — among union members who work for different companies, and even among members of the same local who work in different buildings of the same plant. This can reduce the union to little more than a mouthpiece for company productivity propaganda aimed at increasing the company's share of the market for its products — at workers' expense.

Signs of resistance

The meeting also noted initial signs of resistance to the employer offensive among the IUE membership. Gurewitz pointed to Packard Electric's Warren, Ohio, plant where the company promoted a plan called the Final Assembly Option (FAO). Like the factory-of-the-future scheme, this called for building a new operation in Warren. It would have paid workers only \$6 an hour. The two-tier wage scheme would have divided and weakened the union.

IUE Local 717 members voted the plan down. Packard officials then hinted they might take the plan to another IUE-organized plant in Mississippi. But the three IUE locals involved banded together to resist the corporate blackmail.

Dave Prince, an IUE member in Edison, New Jersey, pointed to frequent skirmishes involving workers on the shop floor over issues of safety, speedup, and job combinations. At the Edison Products plant, he reported, Black workers have been fighting for more Black representation in the union. Black workers recently helped to organize the IUE local's participation in a rally in

nearby Rahway in support of an Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local locked-out by Merck and Co.

Women workers

Several of the New York meeting participants noted the large number — perhaps 40 percent — of women who belong to the union. The IUE has participated in the Coalition of Labor Union Women from CLUW's inception. The electrical and electronics industries are among those where women have been more established for some time — although, as Gurewitz explained, "in the lowest paid and dullest jobs."

The fight for women's rights has roots that go back many years in the IUE and other electrical unions, Gurewitz noted. The meeting agreed to discuss this further at the August gathering.

Brandli observed that socialists got the best response to their ideas from younger, more militant workers.

The meeting agreed that it is primarily among such workers that a current of revolutionary-minded Marxists can be built in the IUE. As in other unions in which socialists are active, those in the IUE strive to win other workers to the ideas of solidarity, union democracy, and independent working class political action, and to fight for these ideas in the union around specific issues of the day.

British strike and Central America

The meeting devoted much time to discussing openings for advancing the idea of international working-class solidarity. This discussion focused on supporting the British coal miners' strike and fighting U.S. intervention against the advancing revolutions of workers and farmers in Central America.

Participants in the meeting agreed that a big priority would be trying to send a socialist electrical worker to Britain to see the coal strike firsthand and report back to other workers about it. Noting that socialist coal miners have already made the trip, they agreed that electrical unionists, like all workers, could learn a lot from the class-struggle methods of the British miners.

Several socialist members of the IUE have already been to revolutionary Nicaragua. Gurewitz noted that slide shows and socialist forums reporting on such trips are among the most useful political activities socialists can conduct among fellow workers today.

The meeting also agreed that there are some special opportunities within the IUE for advancing the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America. IUE International Pres. William Bywater is among the members of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. The union leadership's public position opposing U.S. intervention in that country can provide openings for involving the ranks of the union in discussions and action aimed at mobilizing union power against the U.S. war.

Prince called attention to a recent national appeal put out by the labor committee. It urged efforts to free 10 Salvadoran electrical union leaders who have been imprisoned for four years by the brutal regime. One IUE member in Schenectady suggested that socialists make greater use of the labor committee's report titled, *El Salvador: Labor, Terror, and Peace*. Issued as a pamphlet following a trade union fact-finding tour to El Salvador last summer, it has recently been reprinted.

Carl Skoglund: example for communist workers

BY DOUG JENNESS

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the Teamster strikes that made Minneapolis a union town. This dramatic victory laid the basis for an organizing drive throughout the upper Midwest that brought tens of thousands of members into the union in the next few years. Along with the Toledo Auto-Lite and San Francisco general strikes in the same year, the Minneapolis Teamster strikes inspired workers throughout the country and helped pave the way for the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The Minneapolis Teamsters showed what workers with honest and politically clear-sighted leaders can accomplish through struggle. These leaders were communists, experienced class-struggle fighters who had no interests apart from those of the working class.

Among them was Carl Skoglund. This year is also the 100th anniversary of his birth.

He was an active part of all the chapters of the Teamster struggles that Farrell Dobbs has described in the four-volume series — *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*.

It was Skoglund and Ray Dunne who first mapped out the campaign to crack the employers' open shop stranglehold on the city's workers. Working through General Drivers Local 574 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), they emerged as central leaders of the victorious rebellion that accomplished this objective.

Carl helped lay out the course to use this union power to organize over-the-road truck drivers in 11 states and to help workers in other unions win battles against their employers.

His political experience and Marxist outlook helped steer the union along an independent course and avoid the pitfalls of relying on any capitalist politicians. He and the other union leaders recognized that the existence of a Farmer-Labor Party government in the state afforded certain opportunities the union could turn to its advantage, while at the same time they refused to permit the union to be subordinated to this reformist-led party.

As World War II approached, Carl helped lead the fight to resist the combined drive of Pres. Franklin Roosevelt's administration and the Teamster bureaucracy, headed by Daniel Tobin, to line the union up behind the imperialist war. As a result he was among 18 socialist workers railroaded to jail under the Smith Act for opposing the war.

On the anniversaries of the Teamster strikes and Skoglund's birth, it is appropriate to celebrate with an account of Carl's life. This rich story has never been put together in one place and published before. This article will not be a substitute for the full biography that should be written some day; rather it will summarize some of the highlights.

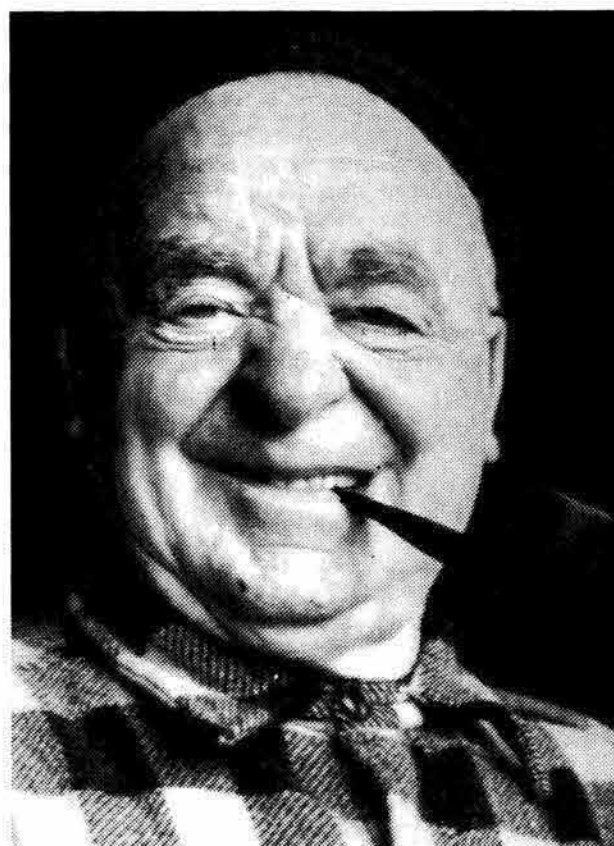
Particularly important are the years before the Teamster strikes. Skoglund, 50 years old in 1934, was by then a battle-seasoned communist with rich experience in the union movement. His entire life before the strikes had helped prepare him for the central role he was to play in them and in the Minneapolis labor movement in the 1930s.

I. Swedish years

Carl was born April 7, 1884, in southwestern Sweden not far from the Norwegian border. He and his five brothers and two sisters grew up in a two-room log cabin in a thickly-forested area called Svaürdlongskogen near the town of Bengtsfors.*

When he was born there were no factories or mills and no railroads in the region. There were no roads, only trails, leading to his town. In his early years a sawmill

*The principal sources for this article were two unpublished interviews that Skoglund gave in the 1950s to Fred Halstead and George Weissman. Other sources used include: Farrell Dobbs' four-volume account of the Teamster union and his two-volume series on *Marxist Leadership in the United States* — *Revolutionary Continuity*; the *Militant*; files in the Library of Social History in New York; the tape of a 1981 interview with Oscar Coover, Jr.; a series of five articles by Kjell Östberg that appeared in the Swedish weekly, *Internationalen* in 1981; and translated copies of articles by Skoglund from *Svenska Socialisten* (*Swedish Socialist*) and *Ny Tid* (*New Age*), published respectively by the Scandinavian Socialist Federation and United Scandinavian Socialist Federation. Art Sharon also offered helpful suggestions.



This year marks 100th anniversary of Skoglund's birth and 50th anniversary of Minneapolis Teamster strikes he helped lead.

and later a paper pulp mill were built on a nearby lake. Then the dynamite manufacturer, Alfred Nobel, built a nitroglycerine plant in Bengtsfors. When he was 9 or 10 Carl attended the celebration marking the opening of the first railroad in the area.

Carl's grandfather and his ancestors for many generations had been feudal serfs. His father lived by tilling a small plot of land he rented from a big landlord. When the sawmill was built, he also cut trees in the winter and floated them down the lake to the mill in the summer.

Carl's father was a jack-of-all-trades and worked part of the time making various necessities for the home. He made most of the family's household belongings, including furniture and eating utensils. He also made shoes for the eight children, and guns, which he bartered with neighbors for clothes and other essentials. There was seldom any money exchanged.

In the winter time much of the family's food came from hunting. The forests of Sweden abounded with rabbits, elk, deer, and game birds.

Until industrialization reached this area, there were no doctors there. The family treated illness with herbs and berries and by bloodletting.

There was no church nearby so each Sunday Carl's father read sermons to the family at home. Sometimes circuit preachers would come through and hold services in neighborhood homes. His parents adhered to the state church (Lutheran) and believed in predestination. Like many other people in the area, they also attributed mysterious occurrences to demons or trolls.

In the evenings, especially during the long dark winters, there was little to do except sit around the fire and tell stories. These usually centered on the activities of trolls and similar creatures that lived in the woods. The stories terrified the young Carl so much that he feared to go out at night.

His parents had probably never been further than 50 miles from home. They had taught themselves to read, although there were no newspapers other than the church bulletin.

First lesson on class society

When Carl was nine he started school and went for three years. School was in session only during the summer months, as it was too cold and snowy to make the two-mile walk in winter. Although it was a public school, the curriculum was especially weighted to studying catechism and memorizing material from the Bible. The reader concentrated on the history of kings and their deeds. Carl rebelled against the heavy religious indoctrination, and when he turned 15 refused to be confirmed.

At school Carl got his first taste of the class divisions in capitalist society. Students from better off families in town made fun of him because of his worn clothes and simple lunch (usually mashed potatoes between slices of bread). The teacher also clearly favored the children from town. As a result Carl did not like school and often played hooky.

But even this bit of schooling, as well as his childhood, abruptly came to an end when Carl was 12. That year his father died and he and his brother Gustav, the two oldest children, had to go to work in a nearby pulp mill. The mill converted pulpwood to a mass that went to a paper factory.

Eventually his other brothers were to work at the mill too. The employer demanded they change their name from Andersson to Skoglund, because there were "too many" Anderssons on the job. "Skoglund" means "wooded area." Other workers were also required to change their names.

Carl was to work in the pulp mill in Skåpafors for most of the time in the next 13 years. Those years saw the rapid industrialization of Sweden, as factories and railroads penetrated areas that had been isolated for centuries.

Big mining and lumber companies bought up large tracts of land and tens of thousands of small farmers were driven off their small plots and into the factories. Carl was part of an entire generation of young men and women who were thrust into jobs in textile plants, sawmills, pulp mills, shipyards, and iron and copper mines. They rapidly crossed over from the traditional, rural way of living from the land to become wage laborers, working 12 hours a day to survive.

The long working day was made even longer by the distances the workers often had to walk to get to work. The work was often very hazardous and there were many accidents. The miserable conditions spurred workers to organize unions and conduct struggles to improve their situation.

The period that Carl worked in the pulp mill were years of tumultuous political and economic struggles involving hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country. Unions grew rapidly and thousands joined the Social Democratic Party and its youth group. By 1914 the Social Democratic Party was the largest in the country.

Part of big political struggles

In 1902 the Social Democratic Party launched a major drive to win universal male suffrage by eliminating property qualifications. Big demonstrations were held in Stockholm and other towns, and a two-day strike of more than 100,000 workers was held while the Riksdag (parliament) debated a suffrage bill. The campaign led to victory in 1907 when universal male suffrage for the second chamber of the Riksdag was adopted.

Carl's older brother, with whom he was very close, first introduced him to socialist ideas. By 1905 Carl had joined the Social Democratic Youth League. That year was one of the most politically intense that his generation went through in that period.

First, the workers and peasants of Russia rose up in a massive uprising. The waves of this revolution swept to Sweden's borders as Finland, on Sweden's eastern border, was then under Tsarist rule and also engulfed in the

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revolution. The Youth League in Sweden organized meetings in solidarity with the Russian revolution and helped raise funds to aid Social Democratic workers in Russia.

In June of the same year Norway decided to sever its union with Sweden and declare its full independence. Since 1814 Norway had been under the sovereignty of the Swedish king and the Swedish Riksdag. In response to Norway's unilateral act, the Swedish capitalists threatened military action. Swedish troops were moved to the Norwegian border and military fortifications were built all along it.

However, the Swedish workers, in their big majority, were opposed to war with Norway. Rather than calling for opposition to military action, however, the opportunist leadership of the Social Democratic Party circulated a petition calling for a conciliatory policy toward Norway.

The Youth League's leadership, on the other hand, issued a proclamation calling on young workers to refuse to go if drafted or refuse to go to the front if ordered. Most young workers, while sympathetic with the call, did not risk jail sentences by defying draft orders. Forced into the army, they continued to express their opposition to the war and fraternized with Norwegian fellow workers in uniform who they met on the border.

Among those drafted that year were Carl and his older brother, who were sent to the Norwegian border to build fortifications. Carl served 180 days in 1905 and was released shortly before the Swedish government was forced to recognize Norwegian independence.

The opposition of Swedish workers was decisive in preventing an invasion of Norway. Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, writing about these events a few years later, stated, "The close alliance between the Norwegian and Swedish workers, their complete fraternal class solidarity, gained from the Swedish workers' recognition of the right of the Norwegians to secede. This convinced the Norwegian workers that the Swedish workers were not infected with Swedish nationalism, and that they placed fraternity with the Norwegian proletarians above the privileges of the Swedish bourgeoisie and aristocracy." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 429)

Carl was also called back for 30 days' duty in 1906 and again in 1907. During his short term in 1906, he participated in a protest with thousands of other workers in uniform. The soldiers contended that 16 days should be deducted from their term of duty for the extra days they had served the previous year. Carl was among those arrested by the military authorities for participating in these actions.

Struggle for education

On joining the socialist movement, Carl was hungry to read and study in order to broaden his world outlook. Like many young socialist workers of that time he participated in study circles organized by the International Order of Good Templars (IOGT), one of the principal temperance organizations. The IOGT also had a library where he was able to borrow books.

The Social Democratic Youth League was active in the temperance fight and barred alcoholic drinks from all of its functions. Many Social Democrats in that period belonged to the IOGT.

When he was 24 Carl decided that he would try to escape factory life and get an office job. So he took six months off to attend business school. He paid his own way out of his savings. There he studied Swedish grammar, German, math, and shorthand, among other subjects. But instead of getting an office job when he left the school, he went back to the pulp mill in the spring of 1909. He had lost all of his seniority, however, and was rehired as a temporary worker. He had to work his way up again to a better-paying position.

He continued to work at the Skåpafors mill until the fall of 1910. This final year and a half was one of the most eventful in Carl's youth.

For more than a decade Sweden's relatively new working class had been steadily making gains. Increasing numbers of workers were organized into unions and more victories than defeats were scored in struggles with the employers.

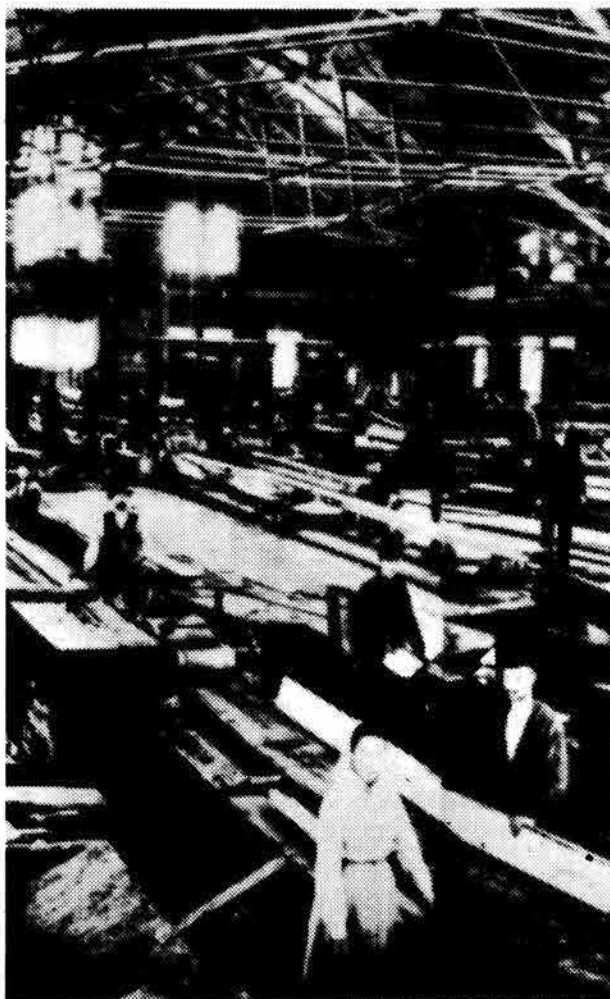
1909 general strike

But in 1909 the employers banded together to take the offensive and break the growing power of labor. In July they organized a nationwide lockout of most of Sweden's industrial workers — about 300,000. The workers responded with a general strike that lasted until early September. Sporadic strikes continued in some areas for a few months more.

This was the first real showdown between the capitalist class and the working class in Sweden and was one of the fiercest battles ever fought by Swedish workers.

Workers throughout Europe offered their solidarity, and Lenin, writing about the strike at the time, noted it was "one of the biggest general strikes of the recent period."

When the general strike began, the management of the Skåpafors mill where Carl and his brothers worked



Swedish sawmill at turn of century. Skoglund gained his first experience in labor and socialist movements while an active trade unionist in Sweden.

locked the workers in at the end of the workday, so they could not be reached by striking workers at nearby plants. But the workers at the mill struck anyway, and Carl became head of the local strike committee.

While the workers waged a determined struggle, the top leadership of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions took a passive stance. The workers suffered a bad defeat. Big wage cuts were imposed and trade union membership dropped by half. Thousands of the most militant workers were fired and blacklisted. Faced with these hardships, many were forced to emigrate to the United States.

Carl was among this layer of class-struggle fighters who were victimized in the aftermath of the strike. In the fall of 1910 he was demoted to a common laborer in the mill with reduced pay, so he quit. His employer saw to it that he was blacklisted from employment in other plants.

In addition to his role during the strike, Carl attributed this discrimination to his attempts to start classes for workers in the mill. These classes were to teach reading and writing and basic arithmetic. He also promoted the idea of a workers' library. His goal was to help young workers get a broader picture of life beyond the small corner of Sweden where they were born and where they had lived and worked all their lives.

Another reason, he thought, for his victimization was that he was dating the mill foreman's daughter. The foreman highly disapproved of Carl's revolutionary activities and wanted to get him away from both the plant and his daughter.

During this period Carl was also a delegate to a district convention to select socialist candidates for the 1910 Riksdag elections. He served as secretary of the convention.

After more than six months of unsuccessful job hunting, Carl decided to go to the United States. Shortly after his 27th birthday, he sailed from the seaport city of Göteborg, not far from Bengtsfors. His girlfriend saw him off and urged him to write and to come back soon. But with the cards stacked against him at home and not certain when, if at all, he would return, he suggested they call it quits. He never wrote to her; nor did he ever return to the country of his birth and formative years as a revolutionary socialist fighter.

II. First years in the United States

Carl arrived in Boston on May 8, 1911. From there he took a train to Minneapolis, a city where there was a large Swedish immigrant population. At first he got seasonal work for two summers working for a cement contractor. Then in September 1913 he went to the logging camps in northern Minnesota. He got a job as a sawyer working for the Crookston Lumber Co.

Most of the workers in the lumber camps were foreign-born — Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, and some

Irish. Many were migrant laborers who worked in the camps in the winter and in the wheat fields in the summer. They were hired by the logging companies through employment agencies. The workers had to pay the agencies a small fee plus railroad fare from Minneapolis, St. Paul, or wherever they were hired.

The workers lived in barracks that were kept either too hot or too cold and were crawling with lice. The work day was arbitrarily determined by the boss and was usually more than 10 hours a day, six days a week. The biggest demand of the workers was for decent food. Due to the conditions, there was a high turnover rate, which also made it difficult to organize the workers into unions.

The pay varied from \$14 to \$45 a month, depending on the supply of lumberjacks. Carl received \$45 a month for the period he worked and saved much of his early earnings with the intention of returning to Sweden. But he worked less than six months before a tree fell on his foot and severely injured it.

From the end of January until October 1914 Carl lay in a hospital bed in Bemidji, the town nearest to the camp, waiting for his foot to heal. When it didn't get better he went to the University of Minnesota hospital in Minneapolis, where it was diagnosed as tuberculosis of the bone. But the doctors there failed to treat it adequately, and he began to fear he was going to lose his foot.

Finally, he found a doctor who put him in his clinic for three weeks and cured the foot. But even after the TB was cured, it was several months before Carl could walk well enough to work.

During this period he lived in a boarding house. Not by nature a loafer, Carl set up a regular schedule and each day packed a lunch and walked on his crutches to the public library. He would arrive when it opened and stay until it was closed.

In spare hours he participated in soapbox discussions in a public park near the boarding house. Many Swedish immigrants gathered there and discussed religion, science, socialism, and many other topics. In addition to studying English in the library, Carl used his studies to help hone up his arguments for the debates in the park.

Scandinavian Socialist Federation

Several other Swedes in the boarding house put Carl in contact with the Scandinavian Socialist Federation (SSF), which he joined in the latter part of 1914.

The SSF, founded in 1910, affiliated to the Socialist Party (SP) in 1911. It was one of a number of language federations that played a big role in the SP. Initially immigrant workers who formed socialist groups based on their own languages had little or nothing to do with the SP. Then in 1910, the SP adopted the policy that language federations with 500 or more members could affiliate by assigning a translator to work in the national office. They were paid by the SP.

For national SP conventions each state organization was entitled to a certain number of delegates based on the size of its membership. These were apportioned out among the language federation affiliates and the English-speaking branches. Then each language federation and the English-speaking sections elected delegates on a statewide basis. The language federations also had their own national conferences.

In 1917 the SSF had 3,700 members nationally and 13 branches in Minnesota, one of its strongest centers. The SSF was a very big factor in the working-class movement in Minnesota during this period.

There was a wide range of political views in the SSF including members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), reformists, and left Social Democrats. Carl soon emerged as a major leader of the SSF in Minneapolis and in the state. In the fall of 1917 he was elected to serve both as secretary of the Minneapolis federation and chairman of the Minnesota district.

After the Russian revolution in October 1917, he also joined the English-speaking branch, where he served on the Hennepin County Executive Committee. He attended national conferences of both the SP and the SSF as a delegate.

'Mill City Chronicle'

In 1916 he was assigned to be the Minneapolis correspondent for *Svenska Socialisten* (Swedish Socialist), the weekly newspaper of the SSF, published in Chicago.

Most of his articles appeared in the form of a column, "Mill City Chronicle" (the reference was to Minneapolis, a major wheat milling center). His columns were written in a folksy style, sometimes with allusions to the Bible or Nordic myths. The articles informed Swedish readers around the country about the activities of the Minnesota organization and served as a tool for helping to organize the Minnesota branches.

The SSF chapters, like the SP as a whole, was loosely organized, which reflected the political heterogeneity and different levels of political commitment. In this framework, Carl attempted to convince the members of the SSF to take party organization seriously and to develop a professional approach to party building.

His columns tried to get members to see financial responsibilities as an important obligation of membership.

He was critical of public meetings or social events that lost money. He urged that subscription work, recruitment of new members, "free speech" forums, and education be systematically organized.

As he had done in Sweden, he emphasized the importance of education and explained that it was integrally connected to winning new members. In one column in November 1916, for example, Carl wrote:

"To those socialists who read these words, I'd like to say: in case you're not already basically at home in the principles and theories of socialism, take the time now to seriously study the philosophy of socialism, as well as its economic basis, not so much for your own sakes, but rather so you will be able to, in an easy and clear way, explain to your friends and acquaintances what the goals of the movement are, as well as the reason we have put ourselves in the ranks of the struggle for freedom.

"Now is the right time to prepare yourselves to explain to your coworkers what is meant by the materialist conception of history; the labor theory of value; and the reason for the class struggle, its goals and end results, because it is on these that the entire philosophy of socialism rests.

"My opinion and firm conviction is that only those who are willing to spread knowledge of the principles of socialism in all wider circles are of any real value to the movement."

Carl recognized the importance of utilizing elections for getting out socialist ideas by running candidates. However, he rejected the electoralist approach held by those in the party's reformist wing. His perspective was to build a revolutionary working-class organization with members who devoted their lives year 'round to its activities.

"Those who call themselves socialist," he wrote just after the 1916 presidential elections, "but don't for a year and a day use the least bit of agitation, but rather wait until election day in order to then bring about freedom—those people are of almost zero value and no worth for a movement such as ours.

"That man or woman," he continued, "who sells a socialist book or pamphlet or gets a subscription for our paper does more for the socialist movement than the one who votes our ticket from top to bottom.

"It is only appropriate that those who have the right to vote not only cast their ballot for the candidates supported by the Socialist Party, but also endorse our principles and register their protest against the present wrong situation.

"Agitation and propaganda on social questions is the main thing, and in this work young and old, men and women, voters and nonvoters can all participate."

'Free speech' forums

"Free speech" forums where individuals from different political persuasions were welcome to attend and participate in the discussion were a popular institution among Wobblies (as IWW members were known) and socialists during that period. The SSF in Minnesota organized many meetings of this type for Swedish-speaking socialists. The topics ranged from industrial unionism to temperance, from religion to women and socialism, and from imperialist war to basic socialist education.

One of Carl's columns in October 1917 reports that he was to participate in a debate at one of these forums on the topic, "Is there salvation in Jesus, or should we save ourselves?" As in Sweden, the question of religion and temperance were big issues in the United States for Swedish socialists. Many joined the IOGT in this country and its headquarters were often used for radical meetings.

It is clear from Carl's columns that there was an ongoing discussion in the SSF about how to win more women to socialism. Carl, in encouraging recruitment to the SSF, emphasized winning more women. In one column he underlined this point by urging each member to bring "a male and two female workers to the Club."

In 1915, soon after Carl joined the SSF, he met Vincent Raymond Dunne at a street meeting in Minneapolis. The two working-class revolutionists became life-long friends and political collaborators. Ray, like Carl, had been forced to leave school at an early age to go to work. He worked as a lumberjack, harvest hand, and itinerant laborer in many states.

Ray had been a member of the IWW for nearly a decade when Carl met him, and he was in the process of breaking from its anarcho-syndicalist orientation. He was not in the SP.

Carl had a big impact on Ray, which Ray described many years later as follows:

"Skogie, as he was affectionately called from the earliest days by his comrades and intimate friends, was my teacher and close comrade. He was not only a skilled mechanic; he was an intellectual of considerable stature. He had a fine library of Marxist literature and in most of our spare time we were together. . . . I spent a good deal of time reading books and pamphlets in between short 'curtain lectures' from Carl.

"At times there would be six or eight other comrades with us in his room or in the IWW headquarters or in the IOGT on the north side in the sawmill district, which was the headquarters of the largest Socialist Party local in



Ray Dunne and Skoglund. The two met in 1915 and remained lifelong collaborators and friends.

Minneapolis or St. Paul. He explained the strong and the weak sides of the IWW. Even in those days he was as much at home with Wobblies as he was in the Socialist Party. Both recognized him as a leader. But he was a party man, first and always; an internationalist, of course." (Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion*, p. 31)

Opposed to anarcho-syndicalism

Carl, who had become a Marxist before arriving in the United States, was opposed to the ultraleft and sectarian tactics of the IWW and its abstention from the political arena. He disagreed with its refusal to participate in AFL unions and its opposition, in principle, to using the electoral arena to conduct socialist propaganda.

In many instances the IWW refused to conduct any legal defense for its members who were jailed, on the grounds that it was unprincipled to have anything to do with the capitalist legal system. Carl was dead opposed to this policy, which unnecessarily created obstacles to winning support from broader layers of the working class. He felt so strongly about this that when his younger brother Richard, who had become an IWW leader in the state of Washington, was indicted under an antisindicalist law and refused legal aid, Carl broke personal and political relations with him.

However, many Swedish socialists were attracted to the IWW. Some had become syndicalists even before coming to the United States. An anarcho-syndicalist movement had grown up in Sweden in the immediate aftermath of the 1909 strike defeat.

Carl saw that there were many serious revolutionists in the IWW, and as a tactical move he joined the IWW in 1917 to meet and discuss with activists there and to win whomever he could to Marxism and to the SP.

For a short period during the war he was part of a committee that helped put out a Swedish-language IWW monthly called *Allarm*. The editor and business manager had been arrested in 1917 in a government round-up of IWW members.

Organizing in the rail yards

In the fall of 1914, Carl was able to go back to work. He got a job in a greenhouse firing the boiler for a year before he was laid off. He then worked as a janitor in several apartment buildings. He was fired from one job on a frameup of stealing a gold watch.

Then in 1916 he got a job working for the Pullman Co., the railroad passenger-coach maker. He first worked as an inspector and later as a mechanic. He worked in a rail yard owned by the Chicago Great Western Railroad in Minneapolis.

When the U.S. government declared war against Germany in April 1917, it took over the railroads and ran them throughout the war. Federal officials imposed a no-strike policy. At the same time they believed they could best enforce this if the formation of unions was permitted.

When Carl was hired by Pullman he was required, like all employees there, to sign a "yellow dog" agreement promising to have nothing to do with unions. But in light of the government's new policy, Carl and his coworkers disregarded this antiunion clause and organized a union at Pullman. Railroad management was at a disadvantage during the war, because there was a labor shortage. There had been no union at Pullman since 1894 when the American Railway Union led by Eugene Debs was defeated.

Each craft in Pullman was organized under the juris-

diction of one of the existing craft unions. Carl's local, which included 400 Pullman workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul, became Local 299 of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, AFL. Carl, who had played the leading role in organizing the local, was elected president.

The superintendent at Pullman resisted the unionization effort and attempted to withhold Carl's pay. But the ploy was unsuccessful and he was forced to turn over to Carl \$600 in retroactive wages.

Carl was a tireless recruiter to socialism and was continually trying to bring coworkers around the Socialist Party. One of his more important recruits during his first months on the railroad was Oscar Coover. Oscar, who worked in the same yard as Carl, was employed by Great Western as a chief electrician and was a leading union activist. He had earlier been a member of the SP, but at this time he was a staunch supporter of Pres. Woodrow Wilson. He had been taken in by Wilson's slogan that the war was "to make the world safe for democracy."

Carl, who strongly believed that the workers should not support either of the warring imperialist camps but deepen their struggle against capitalist rule in their own country, argued with Coover during lunch breaks. Over time Carl won him over and Oscar became a revolutionary socialist to the end of his life in 1950.

Revolution is road to peace

With U.S. entry into the war, the political divisions that existed inside the SP were more clearly revealed. Shortly after Congress declared war on Germany, the SP held an emergency convention in St. Louis. A majority bloc of left-wing militants, centrists, and pacifists advocated organized working-class opposition to U.S. involvement in the military conflict. A right-wing minority of reformists supported Washington's war effort.

However, the SP did not function by majority decision and the minority carried out its own line publicly. As the war went on and pressure from the capitalists mounted, the pacifists and centrists moved to the right. The left-wing militants, mostly workers, stood alone in continuing the struggle against imperialism. They waged a fight to get the AFL, whose leaders were strongly prowar, to organize and support the antiwar struggle. A good many workers were imprisoned for their irreconcilable opposition to the war.

But the left wing did not have a clear understanding that imperialism could be effectively opposed only within the framework of a revolutionary political course aimed at removing the capitalists from power and establishing the political rule of the workers and their allies. The left-wingers generally thought that militarism, not imperialism, was the key issue in the fight against war.

This was most clearly shown in their approach to the draft. The St. Louis convention had called for a campaign to oppose drafting workers into the imperialist armed forces. This campaign, however, failed to arouse a massive resistance to the draft. So individual members of the SP refused to be drafted and ended up in jail. This basically moral stance isolated them from conducting revolutionary work among fellow workers in uniform.

Carl was among the left-wing militants who was arriving at a Marxist understanding of the war and the tasks that it imposed on the working class. In an article published in *Svenska Socialisten* in November 1917, he explained that the war was caused by the capitalist profit drive and the forcible opening of new markets. The same capitalist army, he said, that was used to fight the war for profits abroad was used against striking workers at home. He pointed out that even if "the entire earth were one country, with one government, this would not stop the bloodbaths under capitalism." The only road forward, he said, is the "march forward to socialism."

Carl also followed the situation in the international
Continued on next page

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socialist movement and was able to counter the view that the entire socialist movement in Europe had collapsed when most leaders of the Second International supported their own imperialist governments in the war.

He wrote in May 1917, "From different directions you hear that socialism in Europe suffered defeat when war broke out, because leaders in the same movement went over to their respective nationalisms. This is not true, because I can count many who have remained true to their principles."

He cited the cleavage in the Swedish Social Democratic Party where a minority of the Socialist deputies strongly opposed the war, taking an internationalist stand.

The big majority of the SP's 5,000 members in Minnesota opposed the war. The mayor of Minneapolis, Tom Van Lear, and many of the city aldermen were among the SP members who spoke out against the war. There was also widespread opposition among small farmers, many of whom were organized in the militant Non-Partisan League.

As the war went on, the employing class accelerated its efforts to intimidate antiwar activists and revolutionists by whipping up jingoist hysteria and organizing gangs of vigilantes to tar and feather union and farmer militants, and use troops to break up demonstrations.

When the SP called a protest in November 1918 to demand no U.S. troops be used against workers' revolutions and freedom for political prisoners, the governor and the county sheriff banned it over the opposition of Mayor Van Lear. The SP defied the governor's order and 100 people, including Skoglund, marched anyway. There were many more on the sidewalks supporting them. The governor called out the national guard and 2,000 troops followed the marchers for 10 blocks before lining them up against a wall with their bayonets to stop the march.

Espionage Act

The ruling-class attack on antiwar militants and revolutionists was intensified after the Espionage Act was adopted. This notorious legislation made it a crime to obstruct the draft, incite insubordination in the armed forces, interfere with the sale of war bonds, or use the mails for "subversive" propaganda. Federal agents conducted raids on SP and IWW headquarters and hundreds of activists were arrested and imprisoned. It was under this act that such prominent socialist agitators as Eugene Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare were jailed.

In Minnesota, one of the leading victims of the Espionage Act was Jacob Bentall, a state leader of the SSF and the SP's candidate for governor in 1916 and 1918. He was charged with making a speech that "influenced drafted men and caused them to refuse military service."

A defense committee was set up on Bentall's behalf for which Carl acted as secretary. It organized a big public meeting in Minneapolis. Special efforts were made to win support for Bentall's defense from unionized workers in the Twin Cities. Through connections with rail workers, for example, Carl was able to present the case to a meeting of the Soo Line's shopmen, a local of 1,800 members. The local pledged \$1 per member for the defense.

In spite of the energetic defense efforts, Bentall served two years at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary. When he was released the Scandinavian Federation organized a big reception for him and took him to city hall. With the help of some socialist city council members, the council voted to present the city's key to Bentall.

Another big defense campaign in which Carl participated at this time was the case of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. Mooney and Billings were two union organizers who were framed up on a charge of bombing a chauvinist "preparedness" demonstration in San Francisco in 1916. Nine people were killed in the bombing. The two were leading a street car strike at the time and charged that antilabor agents provocateurs were responsible for the bombing. Billings, tried first, was sentenced to life. In 1917 Mooney was sentenced to hang.

In response to this sentence a massive international defense effort was galvanized to save Mooney's life. It was one of the biggest labor defense campaigns in U.S. history and Mooney's name became very well-known throughout the country. The campaign reached its peak in 1918 and was successful in staying the hangman's hand. Mooney and Billings, however, served time in San Quentin and Folsom prisons until 1939 when they were released.

During the spring and summer of 1918 there were attempts to get a general strike called on behalf of the defendants. Although this never materialized, many protests were organized including those held on July 28, 1918, which was declared Mooney Day. Hundreds of rallies in more than 40 cities were held that day.

Carl played a leading role in the Mooney defense committee in Minneapolis during that period and spoke before union meetings on behalf of Mooney's defense.



Jailed for opposition to imperialist war, 11 of Minneapolis defendants celebrate release from prison in 1945. Skoglund (at head of table) served 13 months.

III. 1919: a decisive turning point

By the end of the war in November 1918, the grievances of workers, who had been hamstrung by the no-strike policy, created an explosive situation. They demanded wage increases to catch up with inflation, an eight-hour day, and better working conditions.

When these demands were rejected by the employers, the largest nation-wide strike wave up to that time swept the country. Throughout 1919 textile workers, copper miners, coal miners, and many others went out. The wave crested with the big steel strike in the fall.

The government turned the railroads back to their private owners, who quickly moved to impose a wage cut. In July the workers in six shop craft unions in Chicago, without authorization from their national union chiefs, responded by striking. The strike spread to other locations, including the Twin Cities.

Carl was elected to head the strike committee in the Twin Cities. During the strike, President Wilson sent a representative, an official of the rail machinists union, to Minnesota to urge the workers to return to work. At a meeting of about 5,000 in the St. Paul auditorium, he shouted down every time he attempted to speak. This militant spirit led Wilson, who still had war powers over the railroads, to order the employers to drop the wage cut and guarantee no reprisals against the strikers. On this basis the workers went back to work about two weeks after the strike had begun.

During the strike, an organization was set up called the Twin City Railroad Council. All rail crafts elected delegates to represent them on this body. It was seen not only as a way to organize support for the shopmen's strike, but as the beginning of an ongoing organization to help overcome the old craft union divisions. It generated a great deal of enthusiasm among rail workers and most of the meetings were attended by between 200 and 250 delegates.

However, a serious problem developed when IWW members tried to turn the council into a branch of the IWW. IWW members had played a prominent role in the strike and were influential in the council. Their policy was to get the council to adopt the IWW program and join the IWW.

Many of the delegates opposed this proposal. They argued that while it was possible to unite the various crafts around common action against the employers, which could lead to a more industrial union set-up, it was not possible to unite all the unions and their members around the IWW's program. The opposition was spearheaded by Charles R. Hedlund, a railroad engineer who was involved in a national movement to amalgamate the rail crafts. Skoglund and Hedlund met at this time on a night train to Chicago, where they were both going to a union conference. They spent the entire night discussing and Hedlund found he was in agreement with Carl. He was won to Marxism and remained a part of the revolutionary socialist movement until he died in 1969.

The opposition fought for three months, but, in spite of its efforts, the IWW captured the rail council. All that was left was about 15 members of the IWW. In another three months it was dissolved.

Impact of Russian revolution

The militancy of the workers across the country was also greatly inspired by the Russian revolution. The revolution's impact widened the divisions inside both the SP and the IWW, precipitating a very heated debate.

Carl was among the left-wingers who firmly supported the Russian revolution from its beginning and recognized that an organization like the Lenin-led Bolshevik Party had to be built in the United States. He agitated so much

on the job about the new workers and peasants republic that he became known as "the Bolshevik" among his co-workers.

The debate inside the SP came to a head at the August-September 1919 national convention in Chicago. The left wing organized a conference in New York a few weeks before the convention, where it drew up a platform to serve as the basis of selecting delegates. The platform called for support to the Russian revolution, disaffiliation from the Second International, and building a revolutionary communist party. In Minnesota the left wing carried all the language federations and the English-speaking sections.

Straight from the rail strike, Carl went to the convention as part of the Minnesota delegation.

But the left-wing delegates were barred from the convention by the party's right wing, with the assistance of Chicago cops.

The left wing then proceeded to hold its own convention. There a fight broke out that led to a split and the formation of two parties — the Communist Party (CP) and the Communist Labor Party (CLP).

Carl did not think that the differences warranted the split that created two communist parties. Disgusted with the whole situation, he left before the left-wing convention was over.

During the next few weeks each group organized meetings throughout the country to explain their views and to win members to their respective organizations.

In Minnesota, where the left wing was a big majority, the SP called a state convention in early October where it decided to affiliate to the CP. A week later a Hennepin County convention was organized of which Carl was elected chairman. The meeting of about 100 delegates, influenced by the Russian language federations, also voted to go with the CP. Carl was still unhappy with the split and the unwarranted factionalism it generated. However, he went along with the majority decision.

Shortly after the two communist groups were formed, the government launched a fierce offensive against them. In November federal agents raided many of their offices and confiscated tons of literature and files.

The Palmer raids

This set the stage for Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to organize a massive dragnet on the night of Jan. 2, 1920. On that night government agents descended on meetings, homes, and dinner tables in more than 70 cities and seized 10,000 men and women. In some cities those arrested were handcuffed and paraded publicly through the streets. Foreign-born workers, who were a significant component of the communist movement, were the principal target and thousands were deported under the Deportation Act of 1918.

Carl, who was not home that night, was missed by the raiders when they came knocking at his door. However, with an order out for his arrest, he went to the courthouse a few days later and submitted to questioning by an agent of the Justice Department.

Carl, who had more than two decades of experience in dealing with the bosses and their agents, was not unprepared for the interrogation. He was careful not to contradict anything that the agents could have found in the stolen files, which included minutes of CP meetings. Nor did he tell the interrogator anything more about the party and its activities than what the government already knew. He didn't volunteer any information, except to create an impression that he might be losing interest in the CP.

He was allowed to go, thus surmounting the first of what would over time become an endless stream of deportation threats.

On arriving back at the rail yard, most of the workers shook hands and congratulated him. Carl was still president of the local and the relationship of forces between

the workers and management was such that the employer didn't try to victimize him at this time.

Following the raids the two communist organizations went underground. In May 1920, at an underground convention, the CP fused with the majority of the CLP to form the United Communist Party (UCP). Carl was elected to the UCP's district executive committee in the Twin Cities.

Fight for legal party

During the next couple of years one of the principal struggles in the UCP was over whether to remain underground or to establish a legal, public organization. Connected to this debate were other questions of strategy, including whether to form separate communist unions or to work in the existing AFL unions, whether to stand outside the movement for a labor party or to join it, and whether to boycott elections or use them for conducting revolutionary propaganda.

Carl was among those who strongly favored establishing a legal organization, working in the AFL, working in Minnesota's Farmer-Labor Party, and using the election arena.

When the Workers Party of America was set up in December 1921 as the legal expression of the UCP, Carl supported it and was elected to its Minnesota district executive committee. He continued to serve on this body until November 1928, when he was expelled from the party.

In the spring of 1922, a fight emerged over whether to dissolve the underground organization of the party. This was finally resolved only with the help of the Communist International (Comintern, Third International). The UCP formally dissolved in early 1923 and the Communist movement kept the name Workers Party. In 1925, it was changed to Workers (Communist) Party and in 1929 to Communist Party, USA.

One of the more famous episodes on the road to forming a united legal party was the underground convention of the UCP in Bridgman, Michigan, in August 1922. Carl attended this meeting as an elected delegate from Minneapolis.

The convention was held in the woods at an out-of-the-way summer resort on Lake Michigan. Carl later recalled that walking the mile and a half from the Bridgman railroad station, the delegates, with their suitcases and city clothes, were a curious sight, and anyone seeing them would immediately suspect something was up.

Carl spent the first few days waiting while those who favored continuing the underground organization caucused. Carl was among the minority that favored liquidating the underground party. However, his credentials were challenged by a member of the majority from Minneapolis, and he was not seated. He was assigned to be a look-out on top of a nearby hill.

Shortly after the convention got under way, the delegates got word that it was to be raided. Carl and another member — who later turned out to be a government agent — were assigned to bury the typewriters, briefcases, files, etc. The international guests and noncitizens were evacuated first. Carl and three others walked to a chicken coop on a nearby farm where they hid until a car picked them up and they safely escaped, covered with feathers. Seventeen party leaders, however, were arrested.

Scandinavian federation

Just as the Russian revolution shook up the SP and led to the formation of the CP, it also affected the Scandinavian Socialist Federation. In 1919 the majority voted to establish an independent federation oriented to the Communist International. In 1922 it merged with a left split from the Socialist Labor Party's Swedish affiliate to form the United Scandinavian Socialist Federation (USSF). It affiliated to the Workers Party, and the newspaper's name was changed to *Ny Tid* (New Age).

Carl remained active in the Swedish federation through this period and continued to write for its paper. He served on the national steering committee of the USSF and for a time was district organizer for District 9, which included Minnesota, North Dakota, Iowa, and northern Michigan.

Carl's articles in *Ny Tid* show that the USSF was active in organizing relief aid for Russian workers and farmers during the 1921-22 famine. It also organized public meetings to hear reports from Communist leaders who had visited the USSR and held discussions on such topics as "What is the difference between the Second and Third Internationals?"

The Palmer raids, which had dealt a sharp blow to the newly-born communist movement, were also part of a broader offensive that the employers and their government launched against the labor movement. The goal was to destroy and weaken the unions, which had grown considerably in the 1917-1919 period.

The Pullman bosses were among those employers who saw an opportunity to get rid of the union organized by the workers during the war. They started by mapping out a plan to establish a company union. At the national headquarters in Chicago, they drew up a constitution that specified the procedures for electing leadership bodies to this new organization. On the local level a committee of six

was to be elected — three company officials and three workers.

Local 299 charted out its own course to counter the employers' ploy. Rather than boycotting the election, which would have opened the door to the company choosing three workers to run, the union chose three of its own leaders, including Carl, to run in the company elections. Uncontested, the three won easily. When the company called a meeting of the new committee, the three worker representatives resigned.

Management, furious at being outwitted, called another election. This time the union decided not to run candidates and called on the members to cast blank ballots. The membership, well educated by this time about what the company was up to, overwhelmingly cast blank ballots. Only half a dozen votes were counted.

As in many unions at the time, Blacks were barred from membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, except for a phony auxiliary that did not function. Blacks working at Pullman were hostile to the union and were the only ones management was able to elect to the company union. But a meeting of that union was never called. The company's plans were blocked for the time being, and the bona fide union continued to function.

1922 rail shopmen's strike

But the attacks on the rail workers did not let up. The 1920 Transportation Act established a presidentially appointed tripartite U.S. Railroad Board with near-to-dictatorial powers over wages, work rules, and working conditions. This board's decisions in 1920-1921 to revise the wartime laws, abolish overtime pay for work on Sundays and holidays, amalgamate shop craft jobs, make drastic wage cuts, and reverse other gains precipitated a strike in 1922.

In the Twin Cities a strike committee was set up representing workers at Pullman and all the main rail lines. Skoglund was elected chairman, and Oscar Coover, secretary of the committee.

Early in the strike Pres. Warren Harding got a U.S. District Court to issue an injunction that virtually prevented picketing. The injunction permitted only two pickets at each entrance into the various yards.

The rail lines put extra cars on the trains to haul in scabs from other cities. They lodged them in Pullman sleepers in the yards and had dining cars put on tracks to feed them. Professional strike-breaking outfits furnished the employers with rent-a-scabs who were paid handsomely.

The strike was defeated in about three months when the president of the employees department of the AFL secretly negotiated a contract with the Baltimore and Chicago company. This shattered the possibility of an industry-wide contract and the unions had to settle with each employer separately. As a result most big companies organized company unions rather than settle.

Pullman refused to sign a contract, and over time the workers became demoralized. Carl formally was on strike for a year, but he was never able to go back to work at Pullman or on the railroad.

The Great Western, where Coover worked, signed an agreement, but scabs were given preference in filling the available jobs. The strike committee decided to create some vacancies so that strikers could go back to work. This was accomplished with a simple announcement designating a day when the union men would come to clear out the scabs. Most cleared out on their own as soon as they heard the announcement, and most of the workers returned to work.

Management, however, still refused to let Coover and another worker come back.

A special committee was set up headed by Carl to force the company to put the two workers back to work. After threatening a strike and convincing management that the committee meant it, the company backed down. Coover

continued working on the railroad for two more years until he too was fired and blacklisted.

Carl went for a year after the strike without a job. His first job was working one fall in the harvest fields. Then he took up operating a gasoline station for a year and a half or so before becoming a truck driver in one of the city's coal yards.

Resisting antilabor attacks

The defeat of the national rail strike and other important strikes put wind in the sails of the employers, and they pushed on with their attacks. They were aided in this effort by the AFL officialdom, which mounted a campaign to drive Communists and other dissidents out of the labor movement.

In Minnesota, the Communists in the unions attempted to resist these attacks. For example, at the Minnesota State AFL convention in July 1924, the Communist delegates countered the officialdom's attack on industrial unionism and communism with proposals to fight the employers.

According to a report by Carl in the August 9 *Ny Tid*, the Communist fraction called for organizing unions, amalgamating craft unions into industrial unions, jobs for the unemployed, better working conditions for women in industry, and for the right of Blacks to become union members with the same rights as white workers.

The same year, at the initiative of the AFL Executive Council, both Skoglund and Dunne were expelled from the Minneapolis Central Labor Union (CLU), a body made up of representatives from all AFL locals in the city.

Due to his role in the carmen's union, Carl had been elected a delegate to the CLU a few years earlier. The AFL officialdom, which dominated the CLU, frequently used it to impose its dictatorial control over dissident local unions. Even so, revolutionists could do useful work within it. They could try to block unjust acts by AFL officials and influence could be exerted to promote the building of a left wing throughout the labor movement in the city.

Shortly after the Communist delegates were expelled from the CLU, they joined with other left-wingers to run a full list of candidates in the January 1925 CLU elections. Standing on the program of the Communist-led Trade Union Educational League, they presented an alternative to the red-baiters who dominated the CLU. The slate included Skoglund as candidate for vice-president and Dunne for editor of the CLU newspaper, *Labor Review*.

Their platform called for an immediate union organization campaign; formation of an unemployment council; campaign for wage hikes and against lengthening the working day; a fight for a child-labor law; turning the *Labor Review* into a fighting organ; no persecution of members for their political views or affiliations; and a fight against all capitalist politicians, including U.S. Senator Robert LaFollette, who ran for president on the Progressive Party ticket in the 1924 elections.

The Communists in Minnesota were also active in the Farmer-Labor Party (FLP). The FLP had been established in 1918 in Minnesota as an alliance between the AFL unions and the farmers' Non-Partisan League.

In the early 1920s, the work of Minnesota Communists in the FLP was disrupted by an adventurous policy imposed by the CP national leadership. By the time this line was reversed, the best opportunities for exerting influence in the FLP had passed.

But Communists continued to participate in the FLP and tried to prevent its reformist leadership from liquidating what influence workers and farmers exercised over party policy through the unions and the farm organizations.

Skoglund and Dunne were both delegates to several

Continued on next page



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Continued from preceding page

FLP conventions. For most of the 1920s, Dunne was secretary of the 12th Ward FLP Club in Minneapolis. He was expelled when the CP announced his candidacy for U.S. Senate in 1928.

CP's state union director

In 1926, Carl was designated trade union organizer for the CP's Minnesota District, the third largest in membership in the country. In this capacity he probed for opportunities in Minneapolis to break the open-shop stranglehold of the Citizen's Alliance, one of the strongest and best organized employers' associations in the country.

One test came with a strike at an upholstery plant of several hundred workers. Carl worked with a group of CP contacts in the plant to chart out a policy that could win. The relationship of forces was such that it was not likely the strike would succeed, but the workers wanted to give it their best shot.

Revolutionists such as Carl had learned a lot about the employers' methods from previous strikes, mostly defeats. On Carl's advice, the workers decided to make preparations by establishing a headquarters near the plant, equip that headquarters with a kitchen, set up well-organized picketing, start immediately to mobilize the labor movement to support the strike, and make it clear that the union would take responsibility for anyone injured on picket duty.

The plant was closed down and the employers were not able to open it up with scabs. The strike lasted for months and the strikers were finally starved into going back to work. The company was only able to hold out because of the considerable financial aid it got from other employers. But while the strike lasted it was effective, and it became widely known as one of the best organized strikes to have been conducted in the city. The strike served as a dress rehearsal for some of the tactics that would be employed six years later in the Teamster strikes.

Expulsion from the CP

In November 1928, Carl along with Ray Dunne, Oscar Coover, C.R. Hedlund, and a couple dozen other CP members in Minneapolis were expelled from the party. This action reflected both changes occurring inside the party and in the Communist International.

The party was never able to establish a homogeneous centralist organization along Leninist lines. The internal situation degenerated into one of permanent factionalism, which became particularly acute after the 1925 party convention. At that convention two major factions contended for leadership of the party. The faction led by William Foster and James Cannon had a majority of the delegates and the faction led by Charles Ruthenberg and William Lovestone were a minority. During the convention the leadership of the Comintern sent a telegram declaring that the Lovestone group was more loyal to the Comintern and ordered the party to give them a majority of the positions on the Central Committee. Skoglund and Dunne, both delegates at the convention, supported the Foster-Cannon faction as they had at previous CP conventions.

They had met Cannon in 1923 when he had come through Minneapolis on a national speaking tour following a six-month stay in the Russian Soviet Republic. Ray became a member of the Cannon caucus in the party. Carl was closer to the trade unionist Foster than to Cannon up to 1928.

The supporters of Foster and of Cannon usually blocked together against the other party factions, although after the 1925 convention relations between them became more strained.

Foster was the principal leader of the party's trade union work. In 1925 Cannon and his closest collaborators assumed responsibility for organizing the International Labor Defense.

Outside of New York, the Foster and Cannon groups tended to function more closely. In the Twin Cities, where Carl and Ray had been collaborators and friends for a long time, relations were very close.

Anti-Trotskyist campaign begins

Riding back on the train from Chicago to Minneapolis after the 1925 convention, Ray and Carl discussed the internal situation in the party and agreed that something was seriously wrong, but they could not explain it.

They did not yet have a clear picture of the fight inside the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern being waged by the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition led by Leon Trotsky. Nor could they see yet how this affected the situation in the U.S. party.

The Bolshevik-Leninist opposition was attempting to reverse the overturn of the program of the first four congresses of the Comintern by the Stalinists who were bureaucratically taking control of the Russian CP and the Comintern.

Following the 1925 convention, talk against "Trotskyism" in the U.S. party began to mount. This became a veritable campaign after the expulsion of Gregory Zinoviev and Trotsky, two leading Bolsheviks, from the

Russian CP in the fall of 1927.

Carl later recalled that in the Twin Cities he attended a half-dozen membership meetings organized for the purpose of explaining what was wrong with "Trotskyism." No counter documents or organized presentations of alternative views was ever permitted. After hours of denouncing Trotsky as a counterrevolutionary and traitor to the working class, a vote would be taken at each meeting. Everyone who voted yes on the international policy was okay. Those who abstained were to be investigated, and those who voted against were to be expelled.

At one of the meetings Carl sat in a corner reading an article from the *Nation*, a liberal weekly, about Trotsky. The district organizer seeing this denounced Carl in the meeting, charging him with Trotskyist sympathies.

The situation in the party continued to worsen and it became increasingly difficult to carry out constructive work. Carl and Ray became more and more discontented with the party's course.

In the early spring of 1928 when Cannon came through Minneapolis on tour on behalf of the International Labor Defense, Carl and Ray asked him what he thought about the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev.

He answered them, "Who am I to condemn the leaders of the Russian revolution," thereby indicating that he was not very sympathetic to the expulsion. They were to remember this a few months later when the fight in the party broke into the open.

Then in the summer of 1928 the sixth congress of the Comintern was held in Moscow. Foster, who was the first of the leaders to get back, was assigned to make a national tour to report on the congress to the party membership. Although he was not scheduled to give a report in the Twin Cities, his train west took him through there.

Carl and Ray went to St. Paul to make the 10-minute train ride with Foster to Minneapolis in order to find out what happened at the congress. He told them that Trotsky had submitted the draft of a programmatic resolution in opposition to the one submitted by the majority. Trotsky's document had some valid criticisms, he said, but beyond that he wouldn't volunteer any information. Carl and Ray's suspicions were greatly aroused by this brief encounter. Carl's reaction was that they should break from the party right away. Ray convinced him that it was premature.

Shortly afterwards, Cannon arrived back in the country. As a member of the program commission at the congress, he had obtained a copy of Trotsky's resolution, read it, and agreed with it.

When he returned he used Trotsky's draft to win over other central leaders of his caucus in the party, most notably Max Shachtman and Martin Abern.

After a few weeks of winning recruits one-by-one, Cannon, Shachtman and Abern were put on trial by a joint session of the Control Commission and the Political Committee. There they announced their support for Trotsky. They were immediately expelled.

In Minnesota, a district committee meeting was called to endorse the expulsion. Skoglund, Dunne, Coover, and two other CP leaders introduced a resolution demanding that Cannon and the others be given a hearing before any expulsion of them became effective. A counterresolution was moved to uphold the NC's decision and to expel the signers of the resolution Carl, Ray and the others had introduced. The counterresolution won by a slim majority.

A couple of days later a membership meeting was called where the same two resolutions were submitted to a vote. The majority of members supported the resolution presented by the executive committee majority. Some 30 more members supporting the minority resolution were expelled.

IV. The struggle for a new party

A week after Cannon and the others were expelled, the *Militant* began to appear. This, along with other material sent from New York, helped the Minnesota group to educate themselves on the issues behind their expulsion.

In May 1929, the expelled members met at a convention in Chicago to form the Communist League of America (CLA). Carl was a delegate to the convention and was one of seven regular national committee members elected by the delegates.

The CLA started charting the course toward building a new party based on the program of the first four congresses of the Communist International. While it paid attention to winning members from the CP, the CLA had no illusions about being readmitted to the CP, nor did it press for readmission. Rather it began the fight to build a new party based on the Marxist program.

In Minnesota, particularly, the CLA began to turn outward and probe opportunities for work in the mass movement.

Plans to organize drivers

Following up on the work they had been doing while in the CP, Carl, Ray and the other Trotskyists immediately began to consider possible ways of challenging the open shop set-up in Minneapolis. Even before they had been

expelled, they had been considering an organizing drive among truck drivers. Several of the CLA members, including Carl and Ray, worked in the coal yards where the drivers were unorganized.

Shortly after their expulsions, Carl joined Local 574 of the Teamsters union. In a letter to the Dec. 14, 1929, *Militant*, Carl wrote: "The League in Minneapolis is carrying on real good work, which will bring in many new members from among the American workers. We are about to start a campaign to organize the general drivers into unions. We have very good connections in this particular industry. . . ."

While they were laying their plans to organize the drivers, CLA activists also got involved in other labor activity. In 1930 Ray and Carl were approached by the newly-elected business agent of the AFL's building council for help in organizing the building trades. The building trades unions had lost many members in the 1920s due to the employers' success in defeating struggles of workers in that industry.

The discussions with the CLA leaders led to the formation of the Organization Education Committee of the Building Trades Unions — a delegated body with representatives from various building trades unions. Carl participated in its meeting as a member of Local 574.

The committee called a conference to discuss union organization that drew 10,000 workers in the municipal auditorium. At the meeting a Stalinist speaker attacked Carl and the CLA, and the president of the CLU made a red-baiting speech. Carl was scheduled to speak, but decided not to because of security considerations stemming from his not having citizenship papers. He later recalled that other League members thought he had made an error in not speaking.

The committee died of its own accord when it was not able to accomplish anything due to worsening unemployment. But it showed that in spite of their expulsions from the CLU, the CP, and the Farmer-Labor Party, the revolutionary communists in the CLA were not completely isolated.

The history of the Teamsters strikes and the subsequent role of the union in the Midwest has been told in Farrell Dobbs' four-volume series. Carl's life during that period was integrally connected with those developments, and Dobbs' books are the best source for studying them. It will suffice to highlight a few particular points about Carl's role.

Carl, along with Ray Dunne, played a decisive role in mapping out a strategy for the organizing drive. But on Carl's proposal, Ray assumed the role of the party's public spokesman and head of the party's fraction of members in the union.

In a memorandum to Dobbs, Dunne stated: "Skogie proposed that I, rather than he, accept the role of party public spokesman and leader of the party fraction. The reasons for Carl's proposal were as follows: we both knew, and he argued, that it was a touch-and-go matter. If we were successful the employers would pick up the matter of his noncitizenship. If he were a public spokesman for the union, this could add additional dangers. . . . I was a native-born citizen. In addition I was well-known to quite a large section of the prospective recruits. I had been a candidate of the Communist Party for U.S. Senator in 1928 and was therefore known quite widely in several important sectors of the state. . . . We came to agreement after long discussion and consideration of the local and state political climate." (Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion*, pp. 41-42)

Dobbs adds, "Also to be noted is the salutary fact that Ray and Carl always acted as a team. Neither was given to strutting about as an individual star or posturing as the fount of all wisdom. Both were serious revolutionists, organization men, who knew how to teach younger leaders by precept and example."

Union positions

Carl had intended to apply for citizenship when he was first eligible in 1916. But by then he was working on the railroad and never got around to taking time off from work to go through the necessary paperwork and interview. After his close call during the Palmer raids, he did not consider it a serious possibility.

His noncitizenship was always a factor, however, that he and the other party leaders weighed carefully when making decisions about his role in the mass movement. While he did not shirk from responsibilities in the labor movement, he did not act recklessly either.

After the three 1934 Teamster strikes had won a collective bargaining agreement for Local 574, the union elected key strike leaders to official positions for the first time. Carl was not among them, however. Dobbs noted that they decided not to run him because of his citizenship status.

But two years later, under changed circumstances, Dobbs reports that Skoglund was elected a trustee of the Teamsters local. The changed situation was that the local, which had been suspended from the IBT shortly after the strikes, was readmitted after an unsuccessful attempt by the Tobin leadership to crush it. The readmission was based on Tobin's support for launching a general organizing drive in the Midwest. Local 574 merged

with a small competing local that Tobin had set up and formed Local 544.

Under these circumstances, Dobbs wrote, "There was a definite reason for our change in policy concerning Skoglund's official role. Because of his extensive knowledge about organizational infighting, it was considered vital for him to play a direct role in the formal executive apparatus, where our delicate situation as a minority would present unusual difficulties. So we decided to take a chance regarding problems that could arise from his lack of citizenship papers." (Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Bureaucracy*, p. 79)

In May 1938 Bill Brown, president of Local 544, was murdered. A special election was called in July to elect a new president. Of four candidates nominated, Carl won by a majority of the votes cast.

One of the candidates, Tom McCue, a member of the independent truck owners section of 544, smeared Carl as a "red," a foreigner who couldn't speak English, and generally incapable.

Carl requested permission to speak to a membership meeting of the independent drivers section, which was granted with some protest.

He explained that he was there only to ask a few questions. "I am asking the following questions," he said, "because my opponent is spreading rumors that I can't speak English, I am a red and a foreigner, and to see if we can't clear up the atmosphere. I further say that if anyone in the meeting could answer the questions differently than I would, I will relinquish my candidacy to some other member."

"Question number one: is there anyone here in this hall that thinks they had any choice in picking your own mother? If you think so, please raise your hand." No one did, so he went on to the second question.

"Is there anyone in this hall who had anything to say about who your father was going to be? If you think so, please raise your hand." Again, no hands were raised.

"Three: is there anyone in this hall who had anything to say about what spot on this Earth you were going to be born? If you think so, please raise your hand." No hands went up.

"Question number four: is there anyone in this hall that had any choice about determining what nationality or color they were when born? If you think so, raise your hand." Again, no hands.

"Question number five, the last question: is there anyone in this hall who didn't understand what I said? If so, will you please raise your hand." No one did.

When Carl finished, there was loud applause. As he walked out the door, he turned to McCue and said, "Tom, who the hell do you think you is?"

Rules for negotiating

Carl was particularly adept at negotiating with the employers. The prestige and strength of Local 544 led to many requests that it help other unions with strike support and negotiations. Carl, as president of Local 544, was often called upon to participate in these negotiations.

He once explained that he had a general approach to all negotiations. He started by stating to the employers that, "We are going to be frank, use very simple words that have only one meaning, and whatever we agree upon we are going to live up to the letter. We expect you to do the same. And if you try to evade the agreement, we will show you that it won't pay."

"We are only interested," he would continue, "in the well-being of our members, and are sure that you as employers are able to take care of yourselves, which you did before the union existed."

He also proposed to the employers that it was a waste of their money to hire expensive attorneys to represent them. "Because of that," he said, "they dispensed with the use of attorneys to such an extent that the bar association in Minneapolis was talking about a suit against me for discrediting a profession."

Communist leader in the union

Carl was never a trade unionist in the pure-and-simple sense of that term, nor even just a revolutionary trade union leader. He was a communist leader who was striving to build a mass revolutionary workers party capable of leading the overturn of capitalist rule and establishing a workers and farmers government. All of his work in the unions was conducted along the lines of advancing that objective.

Through the 1930s Carl served on national committees of the CLA; the Workers Party, formed when the CLA fused with the Workers Party of America in 1934; and the Socialist Workers Party founded in early 1938.

Carl, never as comfortable in English as in his native tongue, did not write for the party press as he had done during his days in the SP and CP Scandinavian federations.

However, he contributed to many leadership discussions and brought with him to the party the same insistence on education and professionalism that he had tried to instill in the members of the SP and the SSF. Many young workers first coming around the movement got their first introduction to Marx, Engels, and Lenin from



With children at Mountain Spring Camp. Skoglund spent much time with young people at camp, giving them classes on science and politics.

him, as well as long discussions about the fundamentals of Marxism.

Dobbs relates that when he, as a young worker involved in the organizing drive in the coal yards in 1934, was taken to Carl's home and met Ray Dunne, "I finally got a start on the political education I had been seeking."

In the late 1930s Carl donated his "fine library of Marxist literature" referred to by Ray Dunne to the SWP branch in Minneapolis. This formed the basis for what was the best branch library in the party for many years. Carl knew from his own youth in Sweden the importance for young workers who are eager to learn to have a place where they can have easy access to books and meet fellow workers to discuss what they are reading.

In addition to the elected leadership positions that he held in the movement in the United States, Carl was also one of three party leaders who was elected to the first International Executive Committee of the Fourth International when it was formed in September 1938.

Carl followed closely the discussions in the world movement and was particularly interested in the discussions on the central programmatic document adopted at the founding conference, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International." One of his biggest regrets was that he was unable to participate in the discussion between SWP leaders and Trotsky on this program. He had been designated, along with Cannon, Dunne, Shachtman, and Rose Karsner, to participate in these discussions in March 1938. He had traveled as far as the Mexican border, but then it was decided he should not risk leaving the country because of his citizenship status.

Teamster bureaucracy

The days of Teamster rebellion and Teamster power drew to a close when the capitalist rulers began to step up their preparations for war. They took steps to tame the insurgent unions that had been formed with labor's giant uprising in the mid-1930s. In the IBT the Tobin bureaucracy ganged up with the employers and the Roosevelt administration to eliminate the left-wing leadership of Local 544.

In October 1940 a ruling on a suit filed in 1938 against Local 544's executive board was handed down. The suit was brought by five finks in cahoots with the employers charging the union officials with misusing funds and related offenses. The decision in the "fink suit," as it became known throughout the labor movement, stated that there was no basis to remove the officers for misuse of funds.

Generally this decision was highly favorable to the union, but there were a few negative aspects. One was that the judge ordered Carl to step down from the union presidency within 40 days. The basis was a reactionary clause in the IBT constitution barring noncitizens from holding union office. The capitalist press went on a campaign to prejudice the workers against Skoglund. Dobbs reports, "The attempt failed, though, as shown by the spontaneous ovation given the victimized official at the next membership meeting of the local."

Deportation order

Carl had, in fact, been attempting to get his citizenship papers prior to this decision. But the Roosevelt administration had thrown roadblocks in his way. It continued to obstruct his application until early 1941. Then an FBI agent told him that he could get citizenship papers if he repudiated the union and went over to the employers' company union. He rejected this cynical maneuver and nothing further on his application was heard until July 1942.

At that time the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) got a federal judge to deny his application and order him deported to Sweden. But because communications were cut off with that country due to the war, the order could not be carried out.

But even before this order was issued, a big blow to Local 544 and the SWP came when 29 leaders of the union and of the party were indicted under the Smith Act for allegedly conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States. The real reason for the indictments was the antiwar views of the defendants.

Twenty-eight of the 29 were booked and released on bail pending trial. Skoglund, however, was also arrested on a deportation warrant issued by the INS. He was held in jail and bail was set at the exorbitant figure of \$25,000. He was released in a week at a reduced bail only after nationwide protests poured into the White House.

An extensive defense campaign was launched by the party for the defendants and the Civil Rights Defense Committee (CRDC) was set up to mobilize broad support. On December 8, 1941, the court sentenced six of the defendants to a year and a day and 12 of them, including Carl, to 16 months in the federal penitentiary. The appeals, however, continued, as did the defense campaign. The defendants did not begin their terms until the end of December 1943.

Move to California

During this interim, Carl went to Los Angeles with his wife. Carl had married in the late 1930s, around the time he was elected president of Local 544. Up until then he had been unmarried. He had not really wanted to go to California, but his wife, who was not in the party, insisted. On their way they stopped in Las Vegas, where Carl worked on a housing project for about two months.

In Los Angeles he tried his hand at raising rabbits and chickens. But after five months of this, he realized his wife was trying to divorce him from the movement that he had been part of for most of his active life. So he left her and returned to Minneapolis.

When he got back he was broke. At first he got a job with a supply company. The now bureaucratically controlled Teamster Local 544 sent 15 goons to his workplace and threatened violence against him if he did not leave the job. He took the necessary precautions to defend himself at work and got out the word that he would not go down without a fight. He was also prepared to take some legal action.

But he soon left that job to go into business repairing washing machines with another one of the 18 defendants.

On December 31, 1943, the 18 labor defendants began their prison terms. Carl was among the 14 who were incarcerated at the U.S. penitentiary in Sandstone, Minnesota.

A few days before going to prison Carl spoke at a farewell banquet in Minneapolis. "I can guarantee you," he said, "that we are not the last ones who will go to prison for their political opinions. Many of the best thinkers in the past have gone, but I hope that such sacrifices will be reduced to a minimum and the working class will come to understand and to prevent them."

Carl was released on Jan. 24, 1945, three months before his term was up. The oldest of the defendants, he turned 60 while in prison.

When he walked out of the prison doors he still had a deportation threat hanging over his head. With the end of the war the deportation attack was relaunched. The CRDC organized a campaign in defense of Carl and for a few years it was able to keep him at liberty on bond.

When Carl got out of prison he went to work repairing washing machines again, but by the middle of 1946, it

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was clear he couldn't make enough to live on by doing that. Shortly after he and his partner sold their repair business, he was hit by an automobile and injured so badly that he couldn't work for about a year. He then got a job repairing roads for the Hennepin County Highway Department. The highway commissioner was an old associate of Carl's from his days in the SP, and helped him get the job. But reactionary political pressure was brought to bear on the highway department, and Carl lost that job. It was around then that members of the party purchased Mountain Spring Camp in New Jersey, which was used for some party activities, including a party leadership school. Cabins were also rented out in the summer.

Carl took on the assignment of heading up maintenance at the camp and lived there year round. This coincided with a big step-up in the deportation drive against him.

New deportation order

On December 15, 1950, the INS ordered that Carl be deported under provisions of the newly enacted McCarran Immigration Act. He was the second person to be found deportable under this nefarious law, just as he had been one of the first defendants tried under the Smith Act. The basis for the deportation order was that Carl belonged to the Communist Party in the 1920s. No other evidence was presented to show why he should be deported.

The CRDC waged a campaign and the case went through a series of appeals. Finally on May 20, 1954, a few weeks after his 70th birthday Carl was imprisoned on Ellis Island to await deportation. He was confined there for more than three months and then put on a freighter for Sweden. Ten minutes before it was to sail, he was removed from the ship. The CRDC had succeeded in convincing Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas to ask the State Department to halt the deportation.

Carl was released from Ellis Island on October 7 on \$1,000 bond after nearly five months' imprisonment. Less than 48 hours later he was rushed to a hospital for an emergency operation.

In mid-November, Ellis Island, for decades the point of embarkation for immigrants and disembarkation for many deportees, was shut down. The mounting protests against the barbarous treatment of detainees forced the government to close it. If Skoglund had still been there when it was shut down, he would have been transferred to a federal prison in Manhattan.

Carl's freedom of movement was greatly restricted for the remaining six years of his life. He could not travel far beyond New York City and had to report frequently to the INS, where he was subjected to humiliating interrogations. He occasionally did slip past *La Migra's* restrictions to visit Minneapolis to see old friends and also once or twice to California.

Issues in defense campaign

Shortly after the news of the 1950 deportation order against Skoglund reached Sweden, the SWP national office received a letter from a Swedish Trotskyist asking somewhat eagerly when Carl would be arriving in Sweden. This letter offered an opportunity to explain clearly what the issues were in the case. James Cannon, national secretary of the SWP, wrote a letter in response. Both letters were published on the front page of the Jan. 22, 1951, *Militant*.

"It is true, as you read in the press," Cannon wrote, "that the U.S. Immigration Department has ordered Carl Skoglund's deportation. However, you should not expect



Farrell Dobbs and Skoglund. At time of Skoglund's death, Dobbs wrote, "Young revolutionists can well afford to study the lessons of his life and continue to learn from them."

to see him in Sweden for some time, if at all, since his case is far from concluded.

"For over a decade government officials and other agents of the employing class have persecuted this veteran warrior of American labor, hoping to eliminate him from the union movement and expel him from the country. However, he together with his host of friends and supporters have never ceased combating these attacks and they intend to continue the fight for his rights and against his deportation.

"Skoglund's case," Cannon continued, "has widespread support in labor and liberal circles. Many prominent defenders of civil rights in this country have come to his aid through the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Skoglund merits this support first of all for his long and honorable record of service to labor's cause. For almost 40 years he has been active in union ranks and was foremost among those who helped build labor's present power throughout the Northwest."

Cannon pointed out that "his defenders have recognized that the persecution against him is more than a personal matter and involves issues affecting every American. Skoglund is the second victim of the recently-enacted McCarran Law, which has been condemned by every big labor organization and civil liberties body as unconstitutional, unjust, and a violation of all democratic traditions and principles. This instrument of oppression has been designed to harass foreign-born Americans, to victimize militant unionists, to gag anyone who criticizes the foreign policies of the capitalist rulers and who opposes big-business plots against the welfare of the people. Its aim is to outlaw Marxism and to suppress radical political organizations.

"If a man like Carl Skoglund, who has lived here for 40 years and devoted his life to productive labor and the advancement of the working people, can thus be deported

for his union activities and political ideas, who can consider himself secure in his rights? That is the basic issue presented in his case; that accounts for its importance."

Cannon stated that the SWP hopes the "fight will be victorious. Such an outcome would not only render justice to Skoglund, but would be an outstanding triumph for American liberties over reaction.

"Your letter indicates that if Skoglund should be deported," Cannon concluded, "he will receive a warm welcome in Sweden. It is gratifying to know that he would have friends among the workers there who would come to love and respect him as have the working people of the Northwest who know him best. However, we hope that if he does revisit his birthplace, he will go, not as a stigmatized deportee, but as a free man."

Carl, a consistent internationalist, explained that "There is one citizenship they cannot deprive me of, and that is citizenship in the working-class movement. I took out those papers back in Sweden when I was 16 or 17 years old, a member of the Young Socialists and of the union in the paper mill where I worked. Throughout the years, I think I have served that movement faithfully and to the best of my ability. The time is coming when governments all over the world will recognize loyalty to the interests of the working people as the highest form of citizenship."

Confronted with the constant threat of deportation in the last decade-and-a-half of his life, Carl was unable to maintain a direct role in the day-to-day life of the party. He was not able to attend meetings and he went off the national committee.

During his last years at Mountain Spring Camp, he kept a regular routine, usually spending at least eight hours a day working. Not being able to be active in the party, he intensely pursued a long standing interest in astronomy, which helped keep him intellectually alert until the end of his life. He read widely on the topic and was conversant with all the current theories about the origins of the universe. He scanned the skies on clear nights with a telescope given to him by friends. His telescope still remains with his party where students at the party's leadership school continue to use it.

During the leadership school sessions held at Mountain Spring Camp, Carl followed the studies of the students and was available in evenings for discussions. He occasionally gave classes.

In the summer when visitors came to the camp for recreation, a children's camp was organized. Carl institutionalized weekly classes for the children, especially on science.

The day he died, Dec. 11, 1960, Carl had just finished helping to put a new boiler in the furnace at the camp. The old one had broken down and the leadership school in session had been without heat for a week.

The party had severe financial difficulties and, rather than call on the national office for financial help to buy a new boiler, the party members on hand chipped in to buy it. Carl offered \$100. After he died it was discovered he had \$174 to his name.

At a small social gathering to celebrate the installation of the new boiler, Carl died from a heart attack at the age of 76.

From an isolated log cabin in a Swedish forest, surrounded with the backwardness of the past, Carl became an outstanding leader of the most advanced and conscious detachment of the working class.

At the time of Carl's death, Farrell Dobbs wrote in the *Militant*, "His credentials as a revolutionary-socialist fighter and teacher are powerfully set forth in the simple story of his life. Now that he can no longer teach them directly, young revolutionists can well afford to study the lessons of his life and continue to learn from them."

Visit to New Spring 'new economic zone' in southern Vietnam

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the government, with help from the mass organizations. Hoa told us that it will take two more years — about eight years in all — for this new economic zone to become financially self-sufficient. In the meantime it gets help from the youth association in Ho Chi Minh City. The youth association also helps enlist volunteers and signs up families in the city to move out here.

The youth association plays a special role at the new economic zone itself, too. Vu Dac Quy, secretary of the youth association at New Spring, explained that the youth association is in charge of cultural activities.

Each brigade has a unit of the youth association. It sets the pace, explains what the zone is trying to accomplish, and tries to help people with individual problems that interfere with work.

Touring the settlement at New Spring, Hoa pointed out the canal and the hard-packed dirt road we were strolling down. "All this we had to build ourselves," he explained. "During the war this was a free-fire zone, where every kind of bomb was used. When we came there was nothing but wild grass."

Volunteer teams pioneer the new economic zones.

They do the initial work to clear the land and install electrical service, sanitation, wells, and housing before families move out from the cities.

Down the road we stopped in the recreation and cultural hall. Traveling performances or films are shown every week. In addition, each brigade has a radio, a cassette recorder, and a TV. These help ease the isolation.

Next door, Pham Thi Bich Nga, a young woman, was taking care of about five babies and a dozen toddlers at the childcare center. Each child receives an allowance to provide lunch. Child care like this is one of the features to attract families to the new economic zones, since centers are not yet widely available in Ho Chi Minh City.

The school, a one-story building built two years ago with five rooms, has preschool classes and the first three grades of primary school for children. The administrator explained that as the children get older, the school will open the next levels.

In addition, there are adult education classes.

Each year the zone also sends people off to technical and professional school, Hoa explained. In this way the zone has trained four mechanics, two doctors, and nine technicians.

"Besides the production, we have a political task here," Hoa said. "The people who have settled here have a complex past," he explained.

About half of the volunteers who pioneered the work were students who signed up to rebuild the country. Another 40 percent were unemployed young people like Le Van My; the others were former soldiers from the Thieu army.

Most of these soldiers, of course, had been given no schooling or skills while working for the U.S. puppet regime. They had only been expected to serve the war machine.

Now they have a chance to start a new life, support their families, build new communities for their children to grow up in.

"We depend on the realities of life to convince people. We depend on these people," Hoa said. "The great majority have found a stable life here and want to stay here to work."

Diane Wang and Steve Clark spent 20 days in Vietnam and 10 days in Kampuchea last February and March for the Militant and Intercontinental Press.

Lenin's struggle for a revolutionary International

In this month's *International Socialist Review* we are reprinting the introduction to the new book *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, Documents: 1907-1916—The Preparatory Years*, which has just come off the press.

As the book's editor John Riddell explains in the introduction below, this is the first volume in a series titled *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*, printed by Monad Press. Pathfinder Press is the distributor of the series.

Monad Press has embarked on this publishing project because of the renewed interest in the lessons of the early Comintern among today's revolutionary worker militants. Much of the record of the early international communist movement led by the Bolshevik Party has never been available in English or has been out of print for decades.

What inspires the current generation of communist workers to study the lessons of the Comintern are the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, where for the first time since the Lenin-led Communist International, proletarian revolutionists took power and acted to extend the socialist revolution on a world scale. The emergence of these leaderships marked a historic advance for the working class.

Workers and farmers inspired to study the example of these revolutions will find valuable lessons in the struggle of Lenin and the Bolsheviks to construct a revolutionary international in the early part of this century. Contained in the first volume are rich lessons on the fight against imperialist war, the struggle against racism, communists' attitude toward bourgeois elections, national liberation and the colonial question, and many other political questions confronting serious revolutionists who are striving to lead the workers and farmers toward the seizure of political power.

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BY JOHN RIDDELL

This is the first in a series of volumes on the Communist International to be published by Monad Press. The series will encompass the preparatory years from 1907, through the Bolsheviks' call for a new International in 1914, until its foundation in 1919. It will then follow the political development of the Communist International (Comintern) until the end of 1923, the years during which the policies of the Comintern were shaped by V.I. Lenin and the team of Marxist revolutionaries led by him.

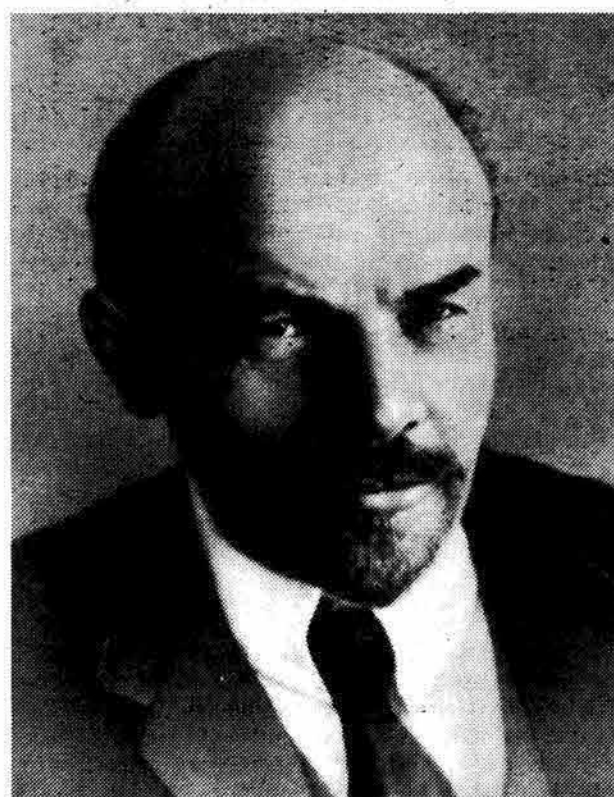
Forthcoming volumes will include further materials from the preparatory years shaped by the Russian revolution of 1917; resolutions and proceedings from the first four Comintern congresses; from the meetings of its Executive Committee; and from special conferences called under its auspices — conferences of revolutionary trade unionists, communist women, revolutionary nationalists from colonial countries, and young workers.

This series aims to make more accessible the example and lessons of the international communist movement that grew out of and was led by the Bolshevik Party. It will present the discussion and debates within this worldwide movement that were shaped by the great political upheavals of the first quarter of this century. It will include the key exchanges between the leaders of the new International and various reformist, centrist, and anarcho-syndicalist currents.

The *Collected Works* of Lenin, who was the dominant leader of the Comintern, have been in print in English for several decades. So, too, have been a few important works by other central Comintern leaders. But only a small portion of the debates surrounding the rise and development of the Comintern, or of the record of its proceedings, has ever been published in English. The editions that do exist are incomplete and often suffer from inadequate translation; most of them have been unavailable for many decades.

From the origins of the modern communist workers' movement in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, its leaders have worked to build an international organization to lead the worldwide struggle for socialism. The launching of the Communist International in 1919 was a continuation of that historic effort.

In taking the name "communist," the new International recalled the first international organization formed by revolutionary workers — the Communist League, founded in 1847 in London. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who were among the leaders of the League, accepted the assignment to draft its founding program. This document, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published at the beginning of 1848, is the foundation of the program of the modern revolutionary workers' movement.



Lenin and Bolshevik leadership team laid programmatic foundations, led political struggle, and took organizational initiatives that forged Communist International.

Marx, Engels, and other Communist League leaders threw themselves into the democratic revolutions that broke out in France, Germany, and much of Europe in early 1848. By the end of 1849 these revolutionary upsurges had been defeated, and by late 1850 it was clear to Marx and Engels that no early revival could be expected. In 1852, at their initiative, the Communist League was dissolved.

By the beginning of the next decade, the workers' movement in Europe had begun to show signs of recovery from the post-1849 reaction. In 1864 the International Working Men's Association was formed, which has become known as the First International. It included important workers' organizations from Britain, France, Germany, and elsewhere in Europe. Some of these were influenced by the communist current around Marx and Engels, who played a leading role in the organization from the outset, while others were influenced by anarchist and various petty-bourgeois socialist currents of the day.

Marx drafted what became the founding program of the new organization. Writing to Engels in November 1864, he commented that "it was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement," which was then only beginning to revive from more than a decade-long retreat under the blows of reaction. Contrasting this political situation in Europe to the revolutionary years of 1848-49, Marx explained that, "It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 139-40.) The early statements of the International were careful in tone but, from the very beginning, firm on principle.

The high point of the new period of struggles in Europe came in March 1871 with the establishment of the Paris Commune by the insurgent workers and other exploited producers of that city. Following the bloody crushing of that uprising the following May by the combined forces of the French and German exploiters, another period of reaction took hold throughout Europe. The First International, which had championed the Commune and worked tirelessly to generalize and spread its lessons, went into decline.

In 1874, two years before the final dissolution of the

First International, Engels expressed the firm opinion that "the next International — after Marx's writings have exerted their influence for some years — will be directly communist and will candidly proclaim our principles." (*Selected Correspondence*, p. 271.) This was not to be the case as quickly as Engels had hoped. An International that was "directly communist" would not be launched until 1919.

The founding of the Second International in 1889, however, did mark an advance toward winning the workers' movement to a consistent revolutionary perspective. During the first two decades of this International, sharp debates among its divergent ideological currents were on the whole decided "in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism," as Lenin put it following the organization's 1907 congress.

The rise of world imperialism that coincided with the early years of the Second International brought new pressures to bear. Class-collaborationist currents gained ground in the International, challenging more and more directly the proletarian internationalist tenets of its program. On the other hand, the Russian revolution of 1905-1907 was the harbinger of a new period of worker and peasant uprisings in Europe and Asia, providing rich lessons for the revolutionary forces within the International.

As this volume documents, however, the majority of leaders in the International's most authoritative parties continued to move to the right. By the end of the first decade of the Twentieth Century, most of its parties were severely eroded from within by class-collaborationist practices. Business unionism, electioneering, and horse-trading in bourgeois legislatures were standard operating procedures for the majority of party leaders, trade-union officials, and parliamentary deputies in the Second International. In their daily practice, the parties of the International more and more placed the reform of capitalism through legislation, deals with the bosses, and cooperation with "their own" governments above any orientation toward educating and organizing the workers and farmers for a revolutionary struggle to conquer power. The International mobilized little active solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples, and work to build parties in the colonial countries had a low priority.

The outbreak of the imperialist world slaughter in August 1914 revealed that the Second International had ceased to be an organization that reflected the interests of the broadest layers of the working class and others among the oppressed and exploited. The most prominent of its parties began openly acting as instruments of the ruling class in its attacks against the workers in their own countries and worldwide.

Three years of war brought European capitalism to the breaking point. The Russian revolution of February 1917 overthrew tsarism, and in October 1917 the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party established a revolutionary government. The victory in October won millions of working people around the world to a revolutionary perspective, and won the best of their leaders to the international communist movement.

The establishment of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' republic in Russia transformed politics, shifting the world relationship of class forces to the advantage of the working class and its allies. The young Soviet republic was an ally of revolutionary struggles both in the industrially advanced capitalist countries and in the colonial nations oppressed by imperialism.

The triumph in Russia made possible the launching of the Communist International in March 1919 at a congress held in Moscow. The Marxist program could now be enriched to encompass the world's first experience of the successful overthrow of capitalism by the workers and peasants, and of a revolutionary government of the exploited.

The international working-class movement, Lenin explained, "now rests on an unprecedentedly firm base" — the conquest of power by the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

The new International's program was founded on its understanding of the imperialist epoch as a new phase of world capitalism: a period of interimperialist wars, of colonial uprisings, of civil war and socialist revolution.

The Comintern recognized the vanguard role that the colonially oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were beginning to play in the world revolution. With aid from Soviet Russia, the Comintern held, the exploited peasants and small working classes in even the most economically backward countries could successfully organize soviets and follow the revolutionary road to power over the exploiters. It was vital to begin building communist parties in these oppressed nations, so that the working class could be organized to give consistent revolutionary leadership to the democratic revolution against imperialist domination and landlord-capitalist exploitation.

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In line with this perspective, Lenin and other central Comintern leaders were determined that the new organization would break from the pattern of the Second International, which had, "in reality, only recognized the white race," as one Comintern document put it. The Second International had been largely limited to parties in the industrialized countries in Europe and North America, or with populations of European origin; even in these countries, its parties had few members from oppressed nationalities. The Comintern, on the other hand, gave assistance and encouragement to revolutionists in building parties in the colonial world. Its parties in the imperialist countries began to orient to recruiting Black and Asian working people, and toilers of other oppressed nationalities. It acted on the slogan, "Workers of the world and oppressed nations, unite!"

Millions of working people were attracted to the parties of the Communist International during these years. Delegates and observers at early Comintern gatherings came from divergent political backgrounds: some from the Bolshevik-led revolutionary left wing that had broken from the Second International, some who had held centrist views prior to the Russian revolution, some influenced by anarcho-syndicalism, and some just passing through on their way back toward reformism. The meetings of the International heard wide-ranging debates on the issues they were deciding that enriched the participants' understanding of Marxism.

The Communist International was guided by a team of leaders of the Soviet Communist Party politically led by Lenin. These included Nikolai Bukharin, Karl Radek, Leon Trotsky, Gregory Zinoviev, and others. Under this leadership, the International became a great school of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

The Comintern developed a transitional strategy for the working class and its allies, aimed at building a bridge between their present struggles and consciousness, and the revolutionary fight by the workers and farmers to conquer political power.

It discussed and adopted reports and resolutions on revolutionary work in the trade unions; on how communists use bourgeois elections and parliaments; on the fight against the exploitation of agricultural workers, peasants oppressed by landlordism, and working farmers; on the national liberation struggle of peoples oppressed by imperialism; on the fight for the emancipation of women; on the struggle of Blacks against racism in the United States and worldwide; and on many other questions important to revolutionary working-class strategy. Most importantly, the Comintern acted on these decisions.

The October 1917 revolution in Russia was followed by several years of upsurge in the international workers' struggle, with its high points between 1918 and 1920. With the defeat of revolutionary struggles in Germany and elsewhere in Central Europe during those years, however, the international workers' movement went into a period of retreat throughout the rest of the 1920s.

Lenin's death at the beginning of 1924 coincided with the end of the period during which the Communist International on the whole charted a revolutionary course along the lines developed by the Bolshevik team he had led. Over the next decade, the Comintern came to reflect the setbacks of the world revolution, an expansion of the world capitalist economy, and the rising influence of a privileged bureaucratic caste identified with Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Communist Party and workers' state. By the second half of the 1930s it had charted a class-collaborationist course, promoting "popular front" alliances between Communist and capitalist parties in the "democratic" imperialist countries. The Comintern was dissolved during the Second World War as a concession by the



1910 antiwar demonstration by Social Democrats in Berlin. With outbreak of World War I in 1914, opportunist leaders of Second International sought to rally workers under banner of imperialist governments.

Soviet government to its imperialist allies in the war.

This counterrevolutionary course was the opposite of that charted by Lenin — the course that led to the founding of the Communist International and guided its activity from 1919 through 1923. The Comintern's achievements during these first five years, which will be recorded in these volumes, stand as an almost inexhaustible source of political lessons for revolutionary workers today.

* * *

This volume opens with proceedings from the 1907 Stuttgart congress of the Second International. The positions advanced by internationalists on three questions debated at that congress were to remain at the center of the Bolshevik-led fight for a revolutionary International throughout the next decade. These questions were posed by the opening of a new epoch in the history of world capitalism — the rise of modern imperialism.

The first question was how the International and its parties should respond to the growing threat of imperialist war. The second was how the International should respond to colonialism. The third was the position that Socialists should take on capitalist attempts to whip up racist sentiments against immigrant workers. As Lenin explained in his article on the Stuttgart congress, which appears in the first chapter of this volume, these debates revealed profound differences in the International, and showed that significant layers within it were giving ground to imperialist pressures.

The Stuttgart conference is also an appropriate place to begin a volume on Lenin's struggle for a revolutionary International, since it was there, following the 1905 revolution in Russia, that Lenin and the Bolsheviks began the process of drawing around them a revolutionary Marxist current in the Second International. This included efforts to deepen their collaboration with consistent internationalists in the German party such as Rosa Luxemburg. The rest of this volume traces the development of the initially small internationalist current through big tests in the world class struggle and a process of political debate, differentiation, and clarification. Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership team around him laid the programmatic foundations, led the political struggle, and took the organizational initiatives that guided this process forward over the next decade. Out of these efforts came the embryo of the Communist International.

The years after the 1907 Stuttgart congress saw the Second International increasingly dominated by its class-collaborationist wing. Seeking to reverse this process, the small left wing counted on further uprisings like that of 1905 in Russia, and above all on victorious revolutions, to provide the impetus that could make the Socialist International into a revolutionary instrument that would advance the historic interests of the exploited and oppressed.

Under the leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviks during the decade before World War I built a workers' party in Russia with a strategy for the revolutionary overthrow of tsarist autocracy and landlordism, and the conquest of power by the proletariat and peasantry. This program had been tested in Russia's tumultuous revolutionary upheaval of 1905-1907, and in the subsequent rise of mass struggles after 1911. The party was firmly based in the industrial working class in Russia, and it had developed an experienced cadre of party leaders.

During these years, a revolutionary left wing also

began to emerge in the German party.

Overall, however, revolutionary forces remained a minority in the International, and were not able to halt its degeneration.

When the First World War broke out in August 1914, the opportunist leaders of Socialist parties broke with every proletarian internationalist principle that had been adopted by congresses of the Second International. Most of the International's best-known leaders now became open chauvinists.

These social-chauvinists — the term used by Lenin to describe them — rallied the toilers under the banners of the imperialist states and sent them into fratricidal combat against their brothers and sisters of other countries. They supported the repression by "their" governments of colonial revolts.

The Socialist International had collapsed. Bankrupt as a leadership of the world working class, it had become, in the words of Rosa Luxemburg, "a stinking corpse."

A minority of leaders in the Second International refused to go along with the chauvinist betrayal of August 1914. Russian and Serbian Socialist parliamentary deputies voted against financial appropriations for the war budget ("war credits") at the outbreak of the war. The German revolutionist Karl Liebknecht did the same in December 1914, as did the Italian Socialist Party when Italy entered the war in 1915.

Only the Bolsheviks, however, called for a complete, public, and definitive break with the Second International, as part of an uncompromising struggle not only against the open social-chauvinist majority, but against those centrist forces who sought to maintain ties with these betrayers in hopes that the bankrupt International could be revived at the war's end.

The Bolsheviks fought from the outset to bring together, around a revolutionary program, the forces for a new International. While other revolutionary currents contributed cadres and important experiences to the movement that would accomplish this goal five years later, Lenin led the political struggle for that revolutionary perspective throughout the war. The Bolsheviks continued on their revolutionary course in Russia, which was to make possible the October 1917 victory and lay the foundation for a new, a communist, International.

The first international conferences of Socialists who sought to rally workers against the imperialist war took place in 1915. The most important, held in September 1915 in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, launched an international organization, often called the "Zimmerwald movement." This Zimmerwald conference brought together Socialist opponents of the imperialist war with sharply divergent positions. It included centrists who combined pacifist proposals for ending the war with continued support for "national defense" and who were still voting for war credits. It also included a left wing, led by the Bolsheviks.

Lenin responded to the call for the 1915 conference by organizing what became known as the Zimmerwald Left, the immediate forerunner of the Communist International. Composed of several revolutionary currents, its program advanced the struggle for the new International and called on workers and peasants to utilize the war crisis to advance the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalist rule. "Civil war not civil peace" was its slogan.

The appeal issued by the Zimmerwald conference for the workers of the world to unite in international solidarity against the war and for socialism helped inspire workers to resume their struggles. The Zimmerwald majority, however, refused to call for a definitive break with the Second International.

The Zimmerwald Left was led by the Bolsheviks as a public alternative to this centrist course of the Zimmerwald majority. It published and circulated worldwide its own documents, which had been rejected at the 1915 conference.

By the end of 1916, where the collection of documents in this volume concludes, any progressive role of the Zimmerwald movement had been exhausted. As Lenin insisted, it had become an obstacle to rebuilding a proletarian internationalist leadership.

As the war raged on, the imperialist governments increased their attacks on working people, and the workers of warring and neutral countries mounted increasingly combative mass resistance. By the beginning of 1917, many Socialist parties, including the German party, had split under these pressures, and others were clearly headed in that direction. The revolutionary Socialists, taking advantage of growing class polarization, strengthened their links with the working masses and won new forces. The Zimmerwald Left made progress in convincing more revolutionists on the centrality of the political issues separating it from the centrist Zimmerwald majority.

Lenin waged a political struggle to influence and win the revolutionary Spartacist group in Germany led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The Bolsheviks also made persistent proposals for collaboration to the Russian revolutionists around the left-centrist Paris newspaper *Nashe Slovo* edited by Leon Trotsky. These

Continued on ISR/12

For further reading

Revolutionary Continuity: The Early Years, 1848-1917
221 pp., \$5.95

Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922
240 pp., \$5.95

These two volumes, by Farrell Dobbs, should be studied along with *Lenin's Struggle For a Revolutionary International*. They describe the rise of the Marxist movement in the United States and its interconnection with the forging of an international communist leadership. The second volume takes up the first three congresses of the Communist International and the Zimmerwald conference.

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

Interview with Cuban art critic Mosquera

The following article appeared in the June 25 issue of the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial*, published in New York. The translation is by the *Militant*.

BY ANDRÉS PÉREZ
AND OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEW YORK — One of the most impressive gains of the Cuban revolution has been the raising of the educational and cultural level of the entire people.

The struggle to bring education and culture to the most remote corners of the country, and to guarantee every Cuban the opportunity to participate in the enjoyment and production of culture, began with the triumph of the revolution 25 years ago.

Tens of thousands of young volunteers spread out across the island to teach reading and writing to 1 million Cubans who were totally illiterate and another 1 million semi-literate (out of a total adult population at that time of about 4 million). After winning this and other educational battles, the Cuban workers and peasants today are progressing in the campaign to bring the entire population up to the ninth grade level.

The revolution has not only offered everyone access to education and culture. It has also encouraged a process of recovering, creating, and spreading the cultural values of the Cuban people.

In its cultural development, as well as in other social aspects, Cuba is in the forefront of Third World countries. Today, in fact, Cubans are able to speak of becoming a "cultural power."

Recently we had the opportunity to interview the distinguished Cuban art critic Gerardo Mosquera during a visit he made to the United States. Mosquera, who writes for the Cuban daily *Granma*, was invited by several prominent institutions and academic figures to give lectures in the United States.

Mosquera described to us the changes that have taken place in Cuban culture as a result of the revolution. He pointed to the revolutionary government's efforts to promote culture among the Cuban people.

Before the revolution, the cultural situation in Cuba was like that of many other countries suffering from imperialist domination. What little culture existed was accessible only to a wealthy minority, while the national culture was forgotten.

Playground for rich tourists

U.S. imperialism not only exploited Cuba's natural resources. It also turned the island into a playground for rich tourists and brought its own cultural deformities. Prostitution, gambling casinos, drugs, racism, the degradation of women — this was the predominant culture of the time.

Mosquera related his own personal experience as an example of the new opportunities that opened for Cuban working people with the revolution. He was always interested in writing and was a good student, "but because I came from a poor family, I couldn't afford a university education."

"In 1972 there was a change called the revolution in education," Mosquera explained. "One of the advantages brought by this change was that at night all courses in the universities were opened to the workers." The free classes enabled Mosquera to graduate with a degree in art history.

Now, besides his literary work consisting of short stories and novels, Mosquera is one of the best-known art critics in Cuba. He writes, not only for *Granma*, but also for *Bohemia*, *Casa de las Américas*, and other Cuban magazines. He also works as an adviser to the Ministry of Culture.

For working people, Mosquera said, the transformation of culture brought about by the Cuban revolution "has been extraordinary in every sense. In the first place, before the revolution, persons who dedicated themselves to art or literature were immediately classified as 'miserable bastards.' There were only one or two art galleries, in the hands of millionaire capitalists. To publish a book, a writer had to pay for it himself and distribute the edition among friends. The cultural atmosphere was rather grim."

Everyone can enjoy art

After the revolution, Mosquera said, "there was total support for cultural development. Institutions were set up, galleries founded, funds allocated for cultural activity, and an educational system created that enabled any child to study who wanted to."

"Artists are socially esteemed for the first time. In the past, a good painter was a marginal individual in society, but now any artist has extraordinary social prominence and is able to broaden his audience and find a place in the social fabric of the country."



Gerardo Mosquera

Militant/Andrés Pérez

Mosquera noted: "I think this is a silent revolution within the revolution itself, the system of teaching art in Cuba. It's the only case of an underdeveloped country where any child who wants to dance, play music, or draw can get a free, complete education as an artist through scholarships and free schools throughout the country."

"I think that for the first time in Cuba no Rubén Darío could remain in the backwoods wielding a machete," said Mosquera, referring to the famous Nicaraguan poet.

The explosion of culture has been so great in Cuba, Mosquera explained, that some years ago the government decided to establish a Ministry of Culture, separate from the Ministry of Education, "to provide more appropriate institutional attention to the wealth of Cuban culture that was emerging."

Artistic freedom guaranteed

In revolutionary Cuba, Mosquera said, artistic freedom is guaranteed in the constitution. Every artist enjoys complete liberty to use their own methods and themes even when their activity is part of a government cultural program. Artists have the freedom to show and sell their work, and a number of artists make a living from such sales. But the government guarantees every artist employment, so many have another job besides their artistic production.

Artists are also provided with complete facilities for displaying their work, Mosquera said. Painters, for example, are allowed to use galleries at no cost, and all the expenses they would incur personally in a capitalist country are covered by the government.

One of the most impressive things about an exhibition by Cuban painters is the varied racial and social origins of the artists. Among the most accomplished artists are several Afro-Cubans and some others with peasant backgrounds.

Mosquera explained that "in Cuba we develop any natural artistic inclination a child shows. The child comes from the world of a peasant child, the world of a child brought up in a Black environment, or from Afro-Cuban traditions. Artists have depicted the countryside many times, or Afro-Cuban traditions, but from the outside looking in. Now it is the peasant himself, the Black himself who is painting. It seems to me this can greatly enrich art. Because it brings to art new points of view."

Cubans often say children are the "privileged class" in Cuba. But the facilities provided for the development of adults are also noteworthy. Facilities have been created so every adult who wants to can study, and very fre-

quently one finds in Cuba a factory worker or a taxi driver who is studying in some field.

"I know a painter, Minerva López, who, at 52, with grandchildren, began to paint. In the workplaces and in the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution artists come and teach [different kinds of art] to those in the neighborhood or in the factory. Minerva began to do papier maché, then began to paint, and now she is working on a very interesting painting, very valuable. Now she spends practically all her time doing nothing but painting. She used to be a hairdresser; now she's selling her paintings."

Some statistics

The cultural explosion Mosquera referred to is evident from some statistics. In 1958 there was only one dramatic troupe in Cuba. By 1975 there were 13. Now Cuba has not only the National Theater, but various nontraditional forms of theater, such as those they call new theater, musical theater, and mobile theater. Before the revolution there were six museums in poor condition; by 1980 there were 78.

Basic facilities have been organized for cultural work in every municipality of the country. By 1980 there existed 117 such "houses of culture," which have carried out tens of thousands of activities.

The number of records produced and books published has increased rapidly; in 1980 it had reached 8 million and 200 million, respectively. Both traditional Cuban dance and ballet have been encouraged, and now Cuba has one of the most renowned ballet companies in the world.

Cuban films are also world famous, and by 1975 had won 136 major awards at international film festivals. The number of graduates of art schools grew from 426 in 1965 to 4,426 in 1975; the number of visitors to museums rose from 300,000 to almost a million and a half.

Among the cultural achievements of the revolution is the famous Casa de las Américas, founded immediately after the revolution's triumph to help fight the imperialist blockade aimed at isolating Cuba from the rest of the continent.

Casa de las Américas is devoted to the production and promotion of artistic works from throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Its renowned literary contest, in the 25 times it has been held, has received 10,000 manuscripts, 200 of whose authors have won awards.

'Amateurs movement'

Besides these and other cultural institutions, the Cuban government has established other forms to broaden the participation of working people. The revolution created what is called the "amateurs movement," which in 1980 consisted of 33,000 groups with 250,000 members.

The Ministry of Culture recently conducted an experiment to promote art in the factories and other workplaces. "It's a project we did last November," Mosquera told us. It involved well-known artists going to the factories and, together with the workers, doing some artistic work related to the materials in that factory.

"For example," Mosquera said, "in a factory that makes printed cloth, artists went there and worked with the designers. In that way they turned out printed cloth with designs done by many famous painters. This was one of many experiences whose aim was to have the masses enjoy culture more, and for the artists to be able to project their work in a more immediate social sense. It's a movement with a dual purpose."

"The response has been extraordinary. Workers have discovered the aesthetic possibilities of the materials they use every day, and at the same time they have improved the work environment of the factories. We want to make this a regular thing. That time it was done as an experiment, organized by the Ministry of Culture. We want this to be permanent, so that stable links are created between the artists and the factories."

Before the revolution, Mosquera explained, "in Cuba, as an underdeveloped country, the masses were pretty much removed from art and literature."

"But now, for example, the National Ballet of Cuba travels throughout the country. The Symphony Orchestra does too, and this in a country where we have no tradition of so-called classical music. The Orchestra has made tours of the sugar mills at harvest time. It doesn't matter that the acoustics there aren't perfect, the thing is to interest the people. Theater groups also do tours. When a musical group, a singer, or a show comes to Havana, we always try to have them visit the town plazas in the country's interior as well."

"We still have a lot to do. We would like to have galleries full of people, Vivaldi concerts full. But what's important is the transformation we have already made," the Cuban art critic concluded enthusiastically.

Visit to 'new economic zone' in Vietnam

BY DIANE WANG

"At first it was difficult to get used to living in the countryside," Mai Van Thong said. "But it has its advantages."

Thong was describing his impressions of New Spring, the new economic zone where he lives outside Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) in southern Vietnam.

Thong had a two-room house for his family. On the table, magazines and math books were scattered; a blackboard on the wall was covered with calculations. These, Thong explained, were for his evening trigonometry classes in the adult education program.

Soldier in U.S. puppet army

In the old days Thong had been a soldier for the U.S. puppet regime of Nguyen Van Thieu. Thong had been worried and had no idea what his future would be when Thieu's troops were defeated by the National Liberation Front (NLF) in 1975. He was sent to a reeducation camp for three years.

At the reeducation camp, Thong said, he spent one year in classes. After living under U.S. propaganda for so long, he learned for the first time about the rest of his country and the world beyond Southeast Asia, why the long war had been fought against French and U.S. occupiers, and what economic problems Vietnam faces.

He also worked on housing and bridge construction, and in agriculture.

Thong moved his family to the new economic zone in June 1982. The Ho Chi Minh City municipal government gave him enough for six months of supplies, equipment to get settled, and basic furniture for the house. Now he works at the state farm raising sugar cane. His wage is on a par with workers in the city.

Across the canal we visited the house of another family, this one younger.

Le Van My, the young man, originally had been from an area of the south hit hard during the U.S. war. As a result, he had moved to Saigon in 1970. The only work he could get was doing bike repairs or odd jobs.

In 1977 he volunteered to join a work brigade, in part because he needed work, but also because he wanted to help rebuild the new Vietnam. After working in various areas, from Tay Ninh Province to Vietnam's neighboring country, Laos, he married Vo Thi Hoang in 1982 and settled here.

Nguyen Van Hoa, the young director at this new economic zone, told us frankly that he and his friends were unsure what to expect when the liberation forces won in



Le Van My and Vo Thi Hoang outside home in New Spring economic zone.

1975. Hoa had been a student at a science university. He had not liked the U.S. occupation nor the repressive Thieu regime, but he had not been an NLF supporter either.

After the liberation Hoa responded to the appeals for young people to help rebuild Vietnam. That's how he was won to the revolution, and how he ended up at New Spring.

Altogether, including the volunteers and some 100 families, about 465 people live here in what looks like a small frontier town. It is one of seven new economic zones in the countryside outside Ho Chi Minh City.

Skewed economy left behind

The new economic zones are one of the most ambitious efforts to help deal with unemployment and economic development in southern Vietnam.

The U.S. occupation left Vietnam with a legacy of destruction and underdevelopment, an economy devastated in the countryside and skewed in the cities.

Chemical spraying of forests and rice paddies, heavy bombing of the fertile Mekong River delta farmland, village raids like the infamous My Lai massacre, "pacification" programs — all these drove people from the countryside into Saigon, swelling the city from one-half mil-

lion to about 4 million people in little more than a decade.

Vu Hac Bong, a spokesperson for the Ho Chi Minh City administration, described the problem to the *Militant*. "The really serious problem is that this had become a consumers city under the U.S. occupation, with little or no production going on." Most jobs depended on taking care of the gigantic U.S. occupation apparatus.

With the victory in 1975, marked by the renaming of Saigon as Ho Chi Minh City, economic recovery began, but slowly and with difficulty.

There is still substantial unemployment in Vietnam, Bong told us, the great bulk of it in the south. To solve the unemployment problem, Vietnam has to ease the bloated population of Ho Chi Minh City. The new government has to persuade people to move out into the countryside where there is productive work to be done. That's the purpose of the new economic zones.

In the United States, propaganda portrays these as virtual concentration camps. That is certainly not true. But Vietnamese officials themselves explain that there were mistakes and problems during the first years when the new economic zones were organized.

Many young people were inspired and many unemployed organized to go out to the zones before there were adequate supplies and organizational support. People who went to the zones often did not have enough seed or equipment. Living conditions were primitive. Many people were demoralized and returned to the city.

Now Vietnam takes great care to do the advance preparation of the new economic zones to assure their success and reasonable living conditions so that they will attract workers from the cities.

In addition, Bong said, rubber plantations that are being developed this year, opening up 150,000 new jobs, will be much closer to the city, so entire families won't necessarily have to relocate. Workers can choose to commute to these plantations, returning home to their families in Ho Chi Minh City on weekends.

Special role for young people

New Spring is a particularly successful new economic zone. It operates a sugar cane state farm organized into nine work brigades. Of these, seven cultivate cane, one refines the sugar, and one does handicraft work.

Most economic projects in Vietnam are financed by

Continued on ISR/8

New book on Lenin's struggle for a revolutionary international

Continued from ISR/10

forces were not part of the Zimmerwald Left during the period covered in this volume. The majority of them, however, responded to the revolutionary events in Russia in 1917 by, for the first time, charting a course that turned toward the revolutionary perspectives that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had been fighting for throughout the imperialist war, and rallied to the Comintern in 1919. Many became members of the Comintern's leadership bodies.

The collection of documents in this volume ends on the eve of the Russian revolution of February 1917, which toppled tsarism and opened a European-wide revolutionary upsurge. The establishment of the workers' and peasants' republic in October 1917 showed millions of workers the way out of the death trap of imperialist war. The outbreak of the German revolution in November 1918 brought the war to an abrupt conclusion and led to the formation, the following month, of the Communist Party of Germany. After the Communist Party of Soviet Russia, the new German CP was the second large workers' party to rally to the banner of the new International.

When the Communist International was founded in March 1919, it received a declaration from participants in the Zimmerwald movement that "everything in [the Zimmerwald association] that was truly revolutionary is passing over to the Communist International." This first congress of the Comintern formally registered the dissolution of the Zimmerwald movement.

* * *

The documents in this book present a representative selection of the debates and discussion through which the Bolsheviks began the process that culminated in the founding of the Comintern. Documents from the years before 1914 focus on the Stuttgart congress and the German party, where the conflicting positions in the Second International were most clearly expressed. After August 1914, its focus shifts to the forces that were to form the

Zimmerwald Left, the debates among its components, and between it and other currents that were eventually to form part of the founding cadres of the Comintern.

Documents from these years are mainly drawn from the debate among revolutionists in Germany and Russia. It was in these two countries that the most important attempts were made during the war to build revolutionary organizations. Emphasis has been given to the writings of those who were ultimately to join in launching the new International: the Bolsheviks themselves, who led the process; the Spartacists in Germany; Leon Trotsky among the left-centrist forces in Russia; and others.

The availability of documents in other English-language editions has been taken into account in selecting material for this volume. Selections from the extensive debate on the right of nations to self-determination that took place during this period, for example, have been limited because this material is readily available in several other forms. In the same way, Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* has not been included since it is the most widely republished book of this period and is easily available. It is assumed that the present collection will be studied together with the corresponding volumes of Lenin's *Collected Works*.

A Marxist analysis of the evolution of the Second International and the U.S. Socialist Party in this period can be found in Farrell Dobbs's two-volume work, *Revolutionary Continuity*, also published by Monad Press. Dobbs's two volumes served as a guide in preparing the present collection, and they can be profitably studied together with it.

* * *

New translations have been made of all the documents in this collection, with the exception of the writings of Lenin, where the standard translations in the most recent edition of the *Collected Works* have been reproduced without change. Occasional informational material by the editor has been inserted in square brackets in the documents.

A running commentary explains the historical background to the documents that have been selected, so that the documents can tell the story of Lenin's fight for a revolutionary International in a way understandable to readers who are not acquainted with the history of this period.

In some cases footnotes by the authors of selected documents have been preserved. Footnotes by the editor, giving the source of selected material and some explanatory notes, are printed at the end of each chapter. A glossary of individuals, publications, and political currents mentioned in this volume is provided. The chronology lists important dates related to documents in this collection. Existing English-language editions of related material are indicated in the bibliography or the footnotes.

* * *

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—YSA CAMPAIGNS FOR SOCIALISM—

BY RICH STUART

The decision of the Young Socialist Alliance to focus its activity on building the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential election campaign has enhanced the ability of the YSA to attract young fighters to its ranks.

This was the assessment made by leaders of the YSA from across the country who met in New York City on July 7 and 8.

YSA National Committee members and chapter organizers discussed the experiences of the YSA in getting out the word on the socialist campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president.

One of the main ideas the YSA discusses with the young workers, farmers, and students it talks to is its conviction that fundamental social, economic, and political change will not come about through elections, but through massive struggles against the employers and their government by the working class and its allies.

YSA leader Pat Silverthorn from Miami had participated in the recent national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW). Silverthorn said that explaining why elections will not solve the problem of escalating government attacks on women's rights was a big aspect of the discussions that YSA members had with the participants at the NOW conference.

The receptivity to the YSA's socialist ideas is directly related to the situation working-class youth face in 1984: jobs (if any) at low

wages — which will be even lower if Congress passes the sub-minimum wage bill; racist and sexist attacks on oppressed minorities and women; and the prospect of again being used as cannon fodder for Washington's wars, this time in Central America and the Caribbean.

The day before the meeting, the Supreme Court upheld the Solomon Amendment, which denies financial aid for education to students who refuse to register for the draft.

Gail Skidmore told the meeting that Chicago YSA members found support among many Blacks for the uncompromising anti-imperialist stance of Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro and the Cuban people. And there is a special identification with the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua as well.

This identification with the Sandinistas is strongest among young people who have visited revolutionary Nicaragua. Several YSA members have participated in international work brigades organized as acts of solidarity with the Nicaraguan people in the face of the U.S.-organized invasion.

The YSA leaders decided to put a priority on participating in rallies, picket lines, and other demonstrations opposing the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

A YSA leader from New York said that while building these activities, YSA members can explain to other antiwar activists that one of the best ways young fighters in this country can aid the rev-

olutionary struggles in Central America is by joining the YSA and helping to make a revolution right here in the headquarters of world imperialism.

The revolutionary ideas of the YSA are best received by young Blacks and Latinos. Derek Bracey and Francisco Picado from the Los Angeles chapter reported on their chapter's study of the writings of Black revolutionary leader Malcolm X, who advocated the independent organization of the oppressed against their oppressors.

Bracey and Picado said that using the example of Malcolm X's anticapitalist ideas has been effective in discussions around the 1984 elections and the liberal pro-capitalist candidacy of Jesse Jackson.

Many young Blacks see the need for Black political power, but lack a perspective for how to gain it. Malcolm X's ideas are a powerful weapon YSA members use to explain such a perspective. They contrast these ideas to the dead end represented by the Jackson campaign.

YSA leader James Winfield from Cleveland noted that another tool for SWP campaign supporters has been the example, especially for Blacks, of the Grenada revolution and its central leader, former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

The YSA has joined with the SWP in an international campaign to discuss the lessons of Grenada. The focus of this effort has been the distribution of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches by the slain revolutionary leader



Militant



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

YSA National Committee members Pat Silverthorn and Laura Garza.

published by Pathfinder Press.

Winfield pointed out that for four years the Grenada revolution showed in life the meaning of Black political power as the workers and farmers formed their own government and began to organize an antiracist, proworker, pro-farmer, prowoman society.

The Nicaraguan people, led by the Sandinistas, are organizing their country along similar lines, despite the aggression by U.S.-organized supporters of the former regime, of dictator Anastasio Somoza.

National Committee member Laura Garza, who is currently on a national speaking tour about the elections and the U.S. war in Central America, stated that educating young people in the United States on the superiority of socialism

over capitalism is a central theme of the YSA's activities in 1984.

The YSA leadership decided to pull out all the stops between now and the November elections to continue the progress made in building the YSA this year.

They were confident that the YSA will come out of 1984 having won more new members, and more supporters of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Salvadoran revolutions who want to make a revolution in the United States as well.

To find out more about the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential campaign, write to Young Socialist Alliance, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's bimonthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.

Mason brings Az. strikers solidarity from Britain

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason recently returned to Clifton, Arizona, where he had begun his campaign last February.

Mason made a special, unscheduled trip to Clifton on July 14 to bring gifts and messages of solidarity to striking copper miners and the Miners Women's Auxiliary from striking British coal miners and their women's action groups.

Mason had recently toured Ireland and the coal mining areas of Wales and England, expressing his campaign's solidarity with the miners strike.

Clifton and Morenci, along with Ajo, Douglas, and Bisbee, Arizona, and El Paso, Texas, are the scenes of the 13-month strike by 13 unions against Phelps Dodge Corp. Phelps Dodge has continued to operate with scab labor. The bosses' union-busting has been assisted by Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt, who has sent in hundreds of cops and, on two occasions, the National Guard.

When Mason and a team of campaign supporters that included Sylvia Zapata, SWP congressional candidate from Los Angeles, arrived in town, they went straight to the picket line at Phelps Dodge's main gate.

Pickers greeted Mason warmly. Many were familiar with his campaign from reading the *Militant* and from his previous visit in February. They listened intently as he recounted the strong identification the British coal miners felt with them. "They feel that you are both right up against it, against the government, in a life or death struggle for your unions," he said.

Mason pointed out the crucial role that women are playing in sustaining both strikes.

Strikers were especially impressed by Mason's description of the solidarity actions by other British unions, like the rail workers and longshoremen, in support of the miners. Several people repeated, "That's what we need!"

They were interested in his report on the attitude of the coal miners toward Britain's union-based Labor Party.

Mason also met with members of the Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary and

other strikers at the Clifton Social Club and on the afternoon picket line. He presented the women's auxiliary with a miniature miner's lantern, a symbol of international solidarity from the Aylesham women's action group in Kent to their sisters in Arizona.

One woman said, "Wouldn't it be great if they could come here and be on our picket line, or if we could go there!" Mason told them that the coal miners had said they would carry signs in support of the copper strikers on their picket line.

Mason was assured that another gift, a photograph of members of a Kent women's action group standing in front of their ban-

ner, had arrived safely and that the warm message of solidarity on the back of the picture had been read at a recent Women's Auxiliary meeting.

Later Mason was able to tell Angel Rodríguez, president of United Steelworkers Local 616, the story of the £5 note Mason had mailed to the striking unions' Unity Council. Bill Kelly, a British coal miner, had given it to Mason after a meeting in Manchester, saying he didn't have much money but he wanted Mason to send it to the copper strikers as a gesture of international solidarity. Rodríguez said they would frame the bill.

Mason returned to Phoenix early the

next morning for a brunch with campaign supporters. Some 30 people gathered to meet Mason and discuss his campaign travels.

Present were young Black supporters of the Grenada revolution; unionists from the Arizona Farmworkers, United Auto Workers, and United Steelworkers; Chicano and Black community activists; and feminists. For several people, this was their first socialist campaign event. Channel 5 TV covered the brunch.

After lively discussions people reluctantly said good-bye to Mason as he left to fly home to prepare for his departure for Nicaragua the next day.

Maurice Bishop's mother speaks in N.Y.

BY NAN BAILEY

NEW YORK CITY — Two hundred Blacks packed the House of the Lord Church in Brooklyn for a meeting hosted by the New York National Black United Front (NBUF) on July 15.

The meeting was a memorial service in honor of former Prime Minister of Grenada Maurice Bishop and a commemoration of the sixth anniversary of the founding of the New York NBUF. Guest of honor at the meeting was Alimenta Bishop, mother of the slain Grenadian revolutionary.

Adeyemi Bandle, international affairs chairperson of NBUF, chaired the meeting. He described the evening's theme as "Grenada: the spirit still lives."

Other speakers at the meeting included New York State Assemblyman Roger Green; Safiya Bandle, director of Medgar Evers College Center of Women's Development; Rev. Herbert Daughtry, national NBUF chairman; and former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States, Dessima Williams.

"Maurice Bishop was on the right side of history," assemblyman Green told the audience. "He was establishing a new beginning for Grenada. This meant not just political democracy, but economic democracy, too. This is the kind of system Maurice tried to institute."

In warmly welcoming Alimenta Bishop to the United States, Daughtry praised her

son as a "true revolutionary."

"He loved Grenada and was about the business of doing whatever was necessary to promote the welfare of Grenada. Maurice Bishop did not live long, but what he did will live forever," Daughtry said.

"Attempts have been made to distort and destroy what Maurice stood for," Alimenta Bishop told the audience. "But Grenadians will not forget what four and a half years of the Grenada revolution brought them," she said. "Despite the painful and tragic circumstances under which he died, I am extremely proud to be the mother of Maurice Bishop."

Dessima Williams denounced the October 1983 U.S. invasion of her homeland as well as the "militarist, ultraleft, and criminal behavior of the Bernard Coard clique." Coard led the counterrevolutionary coup that overthrew Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government, murdered Bishop and other government leaders; and set the stage for the U.S. invasion.

Williams described two "movements" which are seeking to lead the people of Grenada forward after the setback of October 1983.

"One is the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation, which is a broad, progressive social movement," she said. Williams explained that the New York-based Grenada Foundation, which she heads, is affiliated with this foundation

and seeks to educate about the accomplishments of the People's Revolutionary Government led by Bishop.

The second development she pointed to is the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, a new political party headed by "two of the outstanding leaders of the Grenada revolution: Kendrick Radix and George Louison."

"In four days the Sandinistas of Nicaragua will be celebrating five years of their revolution," said Williams. "I ask you to support their right to sovereignty and let us pray, let us work that they will be more victorious than we Grenadians have been in this immediate period."

The NBUF bookstore table prominently displayed *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a book of Bishop's speeches published by Pathfinder Press. Several copies were sold at the meeting, as were promotional posters.

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—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Wear your life belt — A letter from the Royal Viking Line offers a "fascinating and luxurious" Mediterranean cruise on which



Harry Ring

you can meet a world famous opera star, "Or, if you prefer, how would you like to talk — face to face — with the man who recently headed America's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)?"

They earned it — The International Monetary Fund celebrated the 40th anniversary of its founding with a get-together at its founding site in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. There was music, dancing, swimming, golf and, to top it off, a 1944 musical with Ronald Reagan.

Eau de Skunk — There's a new toilet water on the market — "Wall Street — The Fragrance of Power."

That's a relief — Rep. Bill Green (R-N.Y.) is under official scrutiny what with some fast juggling of family funds on the eve of a bankruptcy proceeding. Actually, Green insists, the family

lost an odd \$30 to \$40 million due to unauthorized activity by a brother-in-law. But, Green assures, this will not impair his ability to run for reelection. The asserted loss, he assures, was "significant but not overwhelming."

Eat and grow rich — We don't know what a box of Cracker Jacks goes for these days, but you might try Diamond Jacks, the new caramel-glazed popcorn with pecans and almonds. In one box out of every 2,000 there's a coupon redeemable for a \$1,000 diamond. \$12.95 a box.

Decline of civilization — The general manager for "strategic planning" at General Foods re-

ports TV viewers are increasingly using their remote control switches to "zap" commercials. The cost of TV time keeps climbing, he complained, and add in "the increasing loss of viewers at the commercial break and you begin to wonder at what point television is no longer worth the price."

Just like Social Security — When Carl Albert retired as Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1976, he was knocking down \$65,000 a year. Today, he's drawing a government pension of \$87,864.

Loss of oral gratification? — Despite special appeals to "prayer

partners," contributions to the cause of evangelist Oral Roberts have dropped heavily. The operation is now suffering a \$1 million monthly deficit and employees of Oral Roberts University and related institutions are getting the ax. Moreover, according to the operation's PR person, other similar bible-thumping operations are suffering a similar loss of take.

Situation normal ... — U.S. military advisers in El Salvador concede they sometimes train rebel soldiers in basic and advanced counterinsurgency techniques. When rebel partisans are forcibly recruited into the government army they stick around long enough to pick up some training.

—CALENDAR—

FLORIDA

Miami

The Truth About Cuba. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Sat., July 28, 8 p.m. 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For further information call (305) 756-1020.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Why Working People Should Oppose the Anti-Immigration Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. Speakers: Peggy Kreiner, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in 3rd C.D.; Myra González, student at Spencerian College. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Black Political Perspectives in '84 Elections. A panel discussion. Speakers: Mildred Kyle, Jesse Jackson delegate to Democratic Party convention; Selwyn Rogers, member United Auto Workers Local 262; Anderson Thompson, Chicago National Black Independent Political

Party chairperson; Kibwe Diarra, Detroit NBIPP. Sun., July 29, 7 p.m. NW Activities Center, 18100 Meyers, room 224. Donation \$2. Ausp: NBIPP. For more information call (313) 892-2428.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Mass and Activity in Memory of the July 30, 1975, Massacre in El Salvador. Film: *Camino de la Libertad (Road to Liberty)*; Speakers from Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí and other organizations. Sun., July 29; Mass, 10 a.m.; activity, 11 a.m. St. Augustine's Church, 170 Sussex Ave. Ausp: Comité Pro-refugiados Salvadoreños-Mons. Oscar Arnulfo Romero. For more information call (201) 242-1652.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

British Coal Strike: An Eyewitness Report. Speakers: Dave Ferguson and Kathy Mickells, members of the United Mine Workers of America just returned from tour of Britain's mining regions. Sat., July 28, 8 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Celebrate 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

U.S. Out of Grenada! Celebrate the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, *Militant* staff writer recently returned from Grenada; representative, National Black Independent Political Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 28, 3:30 p.m., wine and cheese reception; 4 p.m., program. Ruth Hawkins Community Center, 1801 James Ave. N. Donation requested. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Albany

Book Reception to Celebrate the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Sat., July

28, 2-4 p.m. 397 Madison Ave. Ausp: Pathfinder Press. For more information call (418) 449-2942.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Meeting to Celebrate Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: Charles Kindle, member Pittsburgh NAACP; August Nimitz; Molly Rush, Thomas Merton Center; Jeffrey Richardson, reporter for *Pittsburgh Courier*; Beth Boeger, Central America Mobilization Coalition. Sat., July 28, 4 p.m. Homewood-Brushton YWCA, 7340 Bennett. Ausp: Pathfinder Press, Thomas Merton Center, Central America Mobilization Coalition. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Talks break down between British miners, gov't

Continued from back page

paper for bankers and industrialists, also took stock of the situation in a series of articles after the breakdown of negotiations.

"The government's main objective in the next six weeks will be to hasten the drift back to work. . . . [I]t believes that this can start to happen in earnest once the summer pit shutdown period is over and miners realize . . . that there is now no hope of an early negotiated settlement," said the paper.

But it also pointed to problems with this strategy, noting, "Just how slow that drift has been so far can be seen from the national figures on former strikers returning to work . . . the last two weeks. Over that period — 10 working days — 222 men took the decision to return." The article continued, "At that rate, it would take two years to get North Derbyshire back to nor-

mal working." The article noted that there were now fewer miners working in the North Derbyshire area than before the government-inspired breakdown of the negotiations between the NUM and the NCB.

"If by the end of August," the *Financial Times* concluded, "the drift back to work tactic is not succeeding, it is freely acknowledged in Whitehall [government offices] that the government will have to do something, whether that be using the civil law to prosecute secondary picketing [solidarity actions] and hence possibly seizing union funds or attempting to move the pithead coal stocks. Under the 1920 or 1964 Emergency Powers Act, troops could be used to move coal if contractors and railwaymen refused."

The capitalist class' lack of confidence in a victory over the miners was reflected

in the failure of stock exchange prices to recover following the end of the two-week national dock strike. At the beginning of the strike, share prices recorded their second largest fall in history.

The dockers forced the government and the employers to retreat from their attacks on the National Dock Labor Scheme, which guarantees job security to registered port workers. The dispute was sparked by the use of scab labor to move iron ore that registered dockers had refused to load in solidarity with the miners.

An editorial in the *Financial Times* commented: "The end of the dockers' strike is a welcome relief to the Thatcher government, but it does not alter in any fundamental way the balance of forces in the mining dispute."

On July 22, women representing 60 min-

ers wives action groups and women's support groups from around the country held their first national conference at Barnsley in the heart of the Yorkshire coalfields.

The conference was organized in collaboration with the NUM, with a leading role being played by Ann Scargill, wife of NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill, and Betty Heathfield, wife of NUM General Secretary Peter Heathfield.

It was decided to organize a national demonstration in London on August 11. This follows a 10,000-strong march predominantly of miners wives in Barnsley, on May 12. Since then miners wives action groups have been established at virtually every mine in Britain. The NUM executive has made an office available at its headquarters in Sheffield to act as a coordinating center.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369.

CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

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

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

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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 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Poultry workers battle for union in Virginia

BY FRITZ EDLER

DAYTON, Va. — Members of Local 400 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) are in the eighth week of a strike against Marval Poultry here in the Shenandoah Valley.

This region does a \$250 million a year business in the turkey processing industry, most of it at Marval, which is the world's largest turkey processing plant.

Half of the plants in the region are nonunion, and major union-busters like Perdue are moving into the valley. A defeat for the union at Marval would open up the whole region to the union-busting drive.

Four years ago Marval was bought by a food conglomerate, Rocco enterprises. The new management began an aggressive anti-union campaign.

The owners reduced the work force from 1,000 to 800, while maintaining the already brutalizing speed of the line. Up to 60,000 live turkeys a day are hung on disassembly lines. Workers have to hang up to 60 live birds a minute. They get cut, scratched, bruised, and soiled. There are frequent cases of carpal tunnel syndrome, a painful nerve disease.

Efficiency experts claimed the company was losing \$17,402 annually to "bathroom abusers." Now workers are often refused permission to leave the line to use the bathroom — causing discomfort, health problems, and humiliating incidents.

The company allows no excuses for absenteeism. One worker was fired for being on National Guard duty.

Marval refuses to acknowledge job-related injuries in order to avoid costly worker's compensation. One woman was forced to work for six weeks before a check-up proved her injured arm was broken.

Many women work at Marval, large numbers of whom are single heads of families. They can barely make ends meet on the meager \$5.76 an hour that is the average wage.

When the contract expired, the company demanded that workers assume half the payments of medical coverage. They insisted that the union dismantle its grievance procedure and get rid of a fulltime shop steward.

A leaflet issued by the strikers describes the company's efforts "to hobble and destroy our union that would rob of us of our dignity and the only protection we have against a management concerned with profits, not people."

The union has organized 24-hour pickets, published a daily strike bulletin, and organized a radio and leaflet campaign to win support for the strike.

UFCW Local 400 has called for a boycott of Marval Products sold under the names of Marval, Wish Bone, Kroger, Table Rite, Manor House, Safeway, and Richfood brand turkey products bearing the USDA Inspection code #P-18.

W. German workers settle strike for shorter workweek

West German metalworkers ended their seven-week strike — the longest and hardest-fought job action in West Germany's post-World War II history — on June 27.

The strike, which shut down West Germany's auto plants, began May 14 as the 2.5 million member IG Metall union pressed its demand for a 35-hour workweek with no cut in pay as a means of reducing unemployment. I.G. Metall members are concentrated in the steel, auto, and engineering industries and have been hard hit by unemployment.

By the time the strike ended some 450,000 workers were on strike, locked out, or laid off.

Under the terms of the agreement, in April 1985 the average workweek of the West German metalworker will drop to 38.5 hours with no cut in pay. Although the 35-hour goal was not reached, the union forced the employers to back down on their contention that the 40-hour week was carved in stone.

This will encourage other work-

ers to fight for a shorter workweek. As metalworkers' union leader Hans Mayr said, "We've forced open a door, and others will go through it."

The metalworkers also won an immediate 3.3 percent raise and 2.2 percent in April, as well as a one-time \$90 payment upon returning to work.

Unions investigate cop attack on copper strikers

BY KAREN KOPPERUD AND ANDY ENGLISH

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — The Clifton-Morenci Labor Unity Council, representing the unions on strike against Phelps Dodge Corp., has launched an investigation into the June 30 attack by Arizona Department of Public Safety (DPS) officers on a peaceful picket of striking copper miners and their supporters in Clifton.

Twenty-three people were arrested in an unprovoked attack by some 150 DPS riot police. The assault came at the end of a day of activity called by unionists and their supporters to commemorate the first anniversary of the strike by 13 unions of copper miners in Arizona and Texas against Phelps Dodge.

The Unity Council is urging all witnesses and all those affected by the tear gas and wooden bullets used by the riot police to report their experiences to the legal staff that is now accumulating documentation.

Robert Petris, United Steelworkers of America District 38 director, has pledged the support of the Steelworkers to this effort.

The Miners' Women's Auxiliary is circulating a petition directed to Gov. Bruce Babbitt protesting the conduct of the DPS. Fina Roman, spokeswoman for the auxiliary, reported that she interviewed 15 elderly people, all over 60, who live in the area near the police attack and who were overcome by the tear gas as they sat in their houses or yards.

Also, foremen at the Phelps Dodge operation are reportedly circulating petitions to initiate decertification for each of the 13



AFL-CIO NEWS

Dallas-Ft. Worth area unionists join striking Continental Airlines employees to protest carrier's use of scab labor.

unions. After one year of the strike union members still on strike cannot vote in these elections. No date has been set by the National Labor Relations Board for a decertification vote.

Scabs have announced that they plan to have a rally August 20, celebrating the day a year ago when the National Guard and 850 heavily armed DPS officers, with helicopters, SWAT teams, and armored personnel carriers escorted them through picket lines to reopen the Morenci operation. A spontaneous mobilization of strikers had shut it down 10 days before.

Solidarity rally for strikers at Continental

BY JOHN DANIEL

DALLAS — The Airline Pilots'

Association (ALPA) held a rally at the Dallas-Fort Worth airport on July 1 to show solidarity with the pilots who have been on strike against Continental Airlines since Oct. 1, 1983.

In September 1983 Continental filed for "reorganization" under Chapter 11 of the U.S. bankruptcy code. Citing "burdensome" labor costs, the company threw out its negotiated contract, laid off 12,000 employees, and hired a reduced work force at half the previous wages.

More than 200 members of a dozen local unions came together at the rally to show solidarity with the Continental strikers.

Capt. Carl Maas told the rally that workers had to stand up against "an international employers' attack against all working people and their unions." He pointed to the struggle of metalworkers in West Germany and the British coal miners strike.

Racist, sexist hypocrites steal Williams' crown

It doesn't matter that Suzette Charles is Black too. I'm still mad. So are millions of other people — especially Blacks and women.

Vanessa Williams, crowned "Miss America" last September, relinquished her title July 23. Williams, the first Black to win this competition, was forced to resign by Miss America Pageant officials after they learned that she



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Mohammed Oliver

had posed for nude pictures before receiving her title. The photographs appear in the September issue of *Penthouse* magazine.

Charles was first runner-up in last year's pageant. She now holds the title of "Miss America."

Pageant officials voted unanimously July 20 to demand that Williams resign. They gave her 72 hours to do so voluntarily. Their decision was unprecedented, and it reeked of racism, sexism, and hypocrisy.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, criticized the pageant officials' decision to force Williams' resignation. "The lifting of her crown not only penalizes the young woman for a bad past error in judgment," said Hooks, "but by inference will be used to reflect upon her race."

Racists have always portrayed Black women as insatiable "sexpots." In their coverage of this affair, all the

capitalist media strongly imply that Williams succumbed to this supposedly innate "moral turpitude."

Albert Marks, executive director of the pageant, would have us believe that Williams is the first "Miss America" to have posed nude for a photographer. Can that be believed? This sexist society teaches women to aspire to be models and beauty queens. In order to be successful in these careers, women are supposed to submit to sexual exploitation.

No, Williams wasn't singled out because she posed nude, but because she's Black.

"For six decades," said Marks, the pageant "has celebrated the beauty and vitality of young American womanhood in a fashion that has created wholesome role models for girls and young women throughout the country."

Pageant officials think the first Black woman to win the "Miss America" title can't match those standards. Their decision is a racist smear of all Black women and another episode in their six-decades long history of sexual exploitation.

Marks told reporters that "The pageant celebrates the whole woman, and its spirit is intrinsically inconsistent with calculated sexual exploitation."

Is this a case of the pot calling the kettle black, or what? The Miss America Pageant is one giant orgy of "calculated sexual exploitation." Thousands of women are placed in competition with one another and examined by a pack of sexist judges looking for that "perfect" body, and "womanly" talent needed to represent "Miss America."

The "wholesome" image of women that the pageant projects is that of a sex object. With the rise of feminism in the late '60s and early '70s, women's liberation activists protested the pageant's sexual exploitation of women.

When Marks told reporters that "The pageant has been built on traditional American values," he spoke of the sexist standard by which women are chained to a pedestal of pristine purity, or cast down and denounced as "tramps" if they resist.

Penthouse magazine specializes in sexual exploitation. It's a pornographic sleaze bucket that portrays women as nothing more than degraded objects of sexual pleasure for men. And the magazine's owners make a lot of money doing it. In the first five months of this year *Penthouse* received \$8.4 million in ad revenues.

According to Robert Guccione, the magazine's publisher, *Penthouse* makes more than \$20 million from its circulation, which stands at 3.4 million. The decision to run the 10-page spread of nude pictures of Williams has already boosted the magazine's sales. "It's not a nice thing to do," said a spokesman for one of *Penthouse*'s advertisers, "but it was a good business decision on Bob Guccione's part."

The "Miss America" pageant is a big money-making affair too. This year's pageant is sponsored by the owners of the Gillette, Pillsbury, Beatrice Foods, and American Greetings companies. These employers are guaranteed at least half of the new "Miss America's" 200 appearances during her reign. Women are not only exploited as sex objects in the pageant competition, but afterwards as commodities rented out by the hour to make profits for the capitalist class.

Williams, it seems, will make no money from *Penthouse*'s sales. She posed for the photographs as a personal favor for her employer at the time, Tom Chiapel, but only after he promised never to make prints. "I think it is a violation of my rights," said Williams. "I never made any agreement with him or *Penthouse*."

The racist and sexist smear campaign against Williams should be denounced by all.

Five years of freedom in Nicaragua

"A totalitarian dungeon." That's how Reagan recently described life in Nicaragua today.

"The Nicaraguan people," he claimed, "are trapped in a totalitarian dungeon, trapped by a military dictatorship that oppresses, impoverishes them while its rulers live in privileged and protected luxury."

"Tragically," Reagan continued, "there is far less freedom in Nicaragua today than there was five years ago."

Seeking to discredit in advance Nicaragua's slated November 4 elections, Reagan labelled them a "Soviet-style sham."

Is it true that there is far less "freedom" in Nicaragua today than there was five years ago?

Five years ago, before the July 19, 1979, popular insurrection that brought the Sandinistas to power, Nicaragua was run by the U.S.-installed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. Nicaragua then really was run by a dictatorship that oppressed and impoverished the workers and peasants while the rulers lived in protected luxury.

To the likes of Reagan, that was "freedom." What he and other capitalist politicians mean by freedom is the unrestricted right of U.S. bankers and businessmen to reap superprofits from the exploitation of the toilers of Nicaragua, no matter what the economic, social, human, and political toll.

With the victory of the revolution, the grip of U.S. imperialism has been broken and social priorities have been reversed. In Nicaragua today, people come before profits. For Reagan, and the capitalist class that he represents, that makes it a "dungeon."

For the overwhelming majority of the Nicaraguan people, however, there is more freedom in Nicaragua today than ever before.

For the first time, Nicaragua has real majority rule. The masses of workers and farmers run the country through their government, their mass organizations, their militia, and their party — the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

When the Sandinistas came to power, they immediately dispersed the murderous National Guard which maintained the Somoza dictatorship. In its place, they organized a people's militia. In the face of attacks by U.S.-organized invaders, the government has armed the whole population — not exactly what you'd expect in a "dungeon."

Washington points to the capitalist two-party swindle that exists in the United States as a shining example of "freedom" and "democracy."

As Nicaraguan government coordinator and FSLN candidate for president, Daniel Ortega, explained, "We don't want that type of democracy that in the 1960s de-

nied millions of United States citizens the right to vote because they were Black... a democracy where barely 30 percent of the population participates in the presidential elections... the Ku Klux Klan type of democracy," a democracy that "uses its military and economic power to threaten and invade those who do not submit to its imperialist schemes."

No, Ortega said, that democracy belongs to Nicaragua's Somozaist past. "Here we are building our own democracy, which in turn is a contribution to the democratization of Latin America, particularly of Central America."

"Freedom" and "democracy" are words that have a different content depending on which class you represent.

For Nicaraguan workers and peasants, democracy is the hundreds of thousands who have learned how to read and write as a result of the revolution.

Democracy is free education. Democracy is tens of thousands of peasant families owning their own land for the first time in their lives, and receiving financial aid and technical assistance from the government.

Democracy is the growth and strengthening of the trade unions, which are schools to train workers how to run the government.

Democracy is free health care and bringing doctors and clinics to parts of the country where they never before existed.

Democracy is bringing women forward in all areas of society and establishing equal rights for all people, including Indians and Blacks.

Democracy is the central role played by the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, and women, and especially the neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees, which help enforce the political power of the workers and peasants.

Nicaragua's Council of State has a different class composition than the U.S. Congress. Representatives of the productive classes — the majority — predominate, whereas in the U.S. Congress, the representatives of the ruling rich hold sway.

What Washington hates about the upcoming elections in Nicaragua is that they will contribute to strengthening and institutionalizing the five-year-old power of the workers and peasants.

The two most important points in the FSLN's platform are defense of the revolution against U.S. aggression and consolidation of the democracy the toilers have won.

The U.S. mercenaries who are invading Nicaragua have not been able to halt the advance of the revolution.

It's precisely this failure that drives Reagan to escalate his venomous anti-Nicaragua propaganda.

Duarte's visit bolsters U.S. war

"We know that improving our image is worth millions of dollars of aid for the country." — El Salvador's Defense Minister Eugenio Vides Casanova.

This cynical remark by Casanova, former head of the brutal Salvadoran National Guard, sums up the aim of Salvadoran Pres. José Napoleón Duarte's recent international trip.

In Europe, Duarte was received by top representatives of the imperialist governments of Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Portugal, and France.

He publicly reinforced his image as a "democrat" — a masquerade manufactured in Washington — by claims that he has curbed El Salvador's infamous death squads and is reining in the Salvadoran army.

These claims were helpful for the likes of France's Pres. François Mitterrand. The Socialist Party leader warmly welcomed the chief representative of the murderous Salvadoran regime. Duarte's "democratic" image was all the cover Mitterrand needed. The trip to Germany netted Duarte a pledge of \$18 million in aid.

In Washington, Duarte met with Reagan and congressional Democrats. In New York, Duarte addressed the Americas Society, which is presided over by banker David Rockefeller. The point of Duarte's tour was to enable Washington to give him, as he put it, "a little bit of economic aid."

"A little bit"? Congress is currently considering an administration request for another \$117 million in military aid for the Salvadoran regime, plus \$134 million in so-called economic aid. It's a fine distinction.

Much of the "economic aid" goes for rebuilding El Salvador's war-torn infrastructure — repairing roads, bridges, rail lines, and airstrips to make them usable for the Salvadoran military forces and, at some key moment in the future, for U.S. troops.

Without massive amounts of U.S. aid, the Salvadoran economy — and Duarte's government — would collapse.

Duarte's assurances that democracy is now being nurtured by the Salvadoran regime was the excuse for Democrats and Republicans alike to pledge to support a new aid package, including liberal Democrats who previously had made minor criticisms of some aspects of Washington's intervention in El Salvador.

Duarte's "moderate" image is used by U.S. capitalist politicians and the big-business-owned media to obscure the fact that El Salvador is still under martial law — which was imposed the last time Duarte was in the government. Strikes and demonstrations are still illegal. Collective bargaining is still outlawed, wages are still frozen, and land reform is still nonexistent.

Duarte's boast — echoed on Capitol Hill — that since his election government bloodletting has subsided, is false.

Last month, a human rights organization, Americas Watch, charged the Salvadoran armed forces with "practicing terror" against civilians. It charged that in the past six months at least 1,131 civilian noncombatants died in indiscriminate government bombings of guerrilla targets.

And in San Salvador, the human rights office of the Salvadoran Catholic church charged that in June, the first month of the Duarte administration, government forces have killed 123 civilians. The figures contradict the claim that having the armed forces under Duarte's control means an end to wholesale government terror.

During his visit here, Duarte fell into closer step with Washington's anti-Nicaragua drive.

In his address to the Rockefeller group, Duarte asserted that the war by the U.S.-organized Somozaists was helping to reduce an alleged flow of arms from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrilla movement.

After denouncing the Nicaraguan government, Duarte said, "Whatever way it is possible to find to cut the flow of arms from Nicaragua to Salvador will be to the good of the Salvadoran people."

This amounted to an open request to Washington, under the cover of defending El Salvador's "sovereignty," to step up its aggression against Nicaragua. The goal of this war is not to stop some mythical "arms flow" but to overthrow the Sandinista government and drown that popular revolution in blood. Duarte, like the White House, fears the political example the Nicaraguan workers and peasants republic sets for the exploited and oppressed masses of El Salvador.

Thus, Duarte's visit to the United States accomplished precisely the goal that the U.S. rulers had in mind — aiding Washington's efforts to increase its intervention in Central America.

July 26, 1979: how Cuba greeted Nicaragua victory

July 26 marks the anniversary of the 1953 attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba by a group of revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro. Though the U.S.-backed dictatorship smashed the attack, less than six years later, on Jan. 1, 1959, the Cuban revolution had triumphed.

A particularly joyful celebration of July 26 was held in 1979, just seven days after the victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. For that July 26 celebration, a delegation of Nicaraguan revolutionaries journeyed to Cuba. The following are excerpts from Fidel's speech in Holguín that day.

The full text of the speech is available in *Fidel Castro Speeches: Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80*. To get a copy, send \$7.95, plus 75 cents for postage and handling, to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

This [the presence of the Sandinista delegation in Cuba] is proof of political honesty, because they don't go about pretending, they don't go about denying that they are friends of Cuba, that they feel respect for Cuba, that they are in solidarity with Cuba.

Yet they themselves will by no means say that the two revolutions are exactly alike. They are both profound

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

revolutions, alike in many ways and in many ways different, as all true revolutions must be.

This is important for our people, important also for world opinion. Every country has its own road, its own problems, its own style, methods, objectives.

We did things one way, our way; they will do things their way.

Similarities: They achieved victory by means similar to ours; we both achieved victory by the only means by which we could free ourselves from imperialist tyranny and domination: gun in hand.

Many questions are now being raised, and there are many people wanting to establish similarities between what happened in Cuba and what has happened in Nicaragua.

Some of these questions are not being posed in good faith, but are inspired by the wish to start creating justifications and seeking pretexts to apply aggressive measures against the people of Nicaragua as well: blockades against the people of Nicaragua, aggression against the people of Nicaragua — all those filthy measures and all those crimes they committed against us — and we must be careful about this.

The conditions under which their struggle was fought, its characteristics, were different. For instance, the unity of the entire people, which was an essential condition for victory, the participation of all social strata, the organization of various popular movements, which joined ranks, reaching certain compromises, creating certain circumstances that differed from ours.

Some of the characteristics we have noted in our Nicaraguan revolutionary comrades are worthy of mention.

They have distinguished themselves as great fighters, but they have also distinguished themselves as great political tacticians and strategists. They have displayed great wisdom, great ability to unite, great ability to act in difficult, complex circumstances.

They fought heroically, but they have also been able to be flexible, and when they needed to negotiate in a certain way to avoid the risks of intervention, they were not afraid to negotiate. And they showed great ability, great talent both in military and political strategy. Needless to say, had it been otherwise their victory would have been inexplicable.

The Sandinistas made some concessions. And it was wise of them to make these concessions, those they thought they should make. At the same time they were firm and did not make concessions they should not have made.

The Sandinistas are revolutionaries. We don't deny it, nobody denies it, they don't deny it. But they are not extremists, they are realists. And it is realists who make the best revolutions, the best and most profound revolutions.

I predict they will go far because they are taking their time, because they're not extremists, because they're taking things slowly. They know what to aim for at each stage of a political and revolutionary process, and the means that correspond to these aims.

They used their heads, too, the Sandinistas, because they closed ranks at just the right moment and the result was victory, fruit of the wisdom with which they acted.

We thank the Sandinistas not only for their beautiful gesture, their unforgettable gesture, for the great honor they have conferred on us with their presence and their affectionate and fraternal words. We also thank them for stimulating us in our own efforts, in our own struggle, because they help us to improve, to overcome our own shortcomings.

Mass. IUE workers discuss bosses' modernization

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

LYNN, Mass. — On June 26 workers here voted 3,903 to 1,502 to approve a proposal made by General Electric to build a new automated flexible machining center — what GE calls the "factory of the future."

GE said it would build the \$51.7 million facility in Lynn only if International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 201 agreed to a list of non-negotiable de-

UNION TALK

mands including mandatory 12-hour shifts, seven day a week operations, elimination of most job classifications, and the right to discipline workers who don't meet the company's production and attendance standards.

GE used the threat to build the plant elsewhere to force the union to accept these concessions. They will weaken the IUE, and other unions in the electrical industry, when the next national contract comes up at GE in 1985.

GE gave the union only four weeks to discuss its demands and many of the details weren't known to workers until 10 days before the vote. In an intense barrage of company propaganda aimed at selling the proposal, the *GE News* came out four times in 10 days. GE's arguments were echoed in the *Boston Globe*, the *Lynn Item* and on local radio and TV. These arguments also found an echo in the Local 201 newspaper because many union

officials bought the company's line.

Workers in the plant fell roughly into three groups. A small number liked the GE proposal, or parts of it, including the overtime and new work schedules.

A much larger group disliked the proposal but felt we had no choice. "GE is going to do it anyway so we might as well have the jobs here," was a common sentiment. Others were afraid of what GE might do if we rejected the demands. The majority didn't feel that we could take on GE and win, especially given that the majority of the union leadership supported the plan.

A significant number of workers opposed the proposal including those who voted against it and others who abstained. These workers saw the plan as a step backward and felt that giving in without a fight would embolden the company to demand more concessions in 1985. A small but significant layer are thinking seriously about what it will take to beat GE in the coming battles.

Two incidents demonstrated a certain militant spirit in the ranks that was only partially reflected in the final vote. Several days before the vote, workers in Building 74, the main aircraft engine production building, walked out over GE's suspension of a shop steward.

The next day the local Shop Stewards Council voted 63 to 30 against the "factory of the future" proposal, although the fact of this vote did not become widely known in the plant until sometime later.

Much of the discussion on the company proposal centered on how to view automation and GE's claim that its demands were necessary to remain "competitive." Only

by taking on this question squarely could a realistic perspective of fighting the company's attacks convince most people.

Capitalists have always tried to use the introduction of new machinery to speed up production, lengthen the work day, and break down established work rules. This often results in layoffs and increased corporate profits. GE's "factory of the future" is just a fancy name for this old-fashioned type of union-busting.

It is part of the same offensive against workers that is being carried out elsewhere, including by General Motors and Toyota at their new operation in Fremont, California.

The union movement has no stake in opposing modernization. But it has a big stake in demanding that workers benefit from — not pay for — improvements in new technology.

Accepting the idea that what is good for the company is good for workers disarms the union in the face of GE's demands that it requires concessions to remain competitive. This becomes the excuse for continually worsening our working conditions and wages.

GE's victory in this vote will only whet its appetite for more concessions. But the fight is by no means over. GE may have won a battle, but it has not yet won the war. The discussion about how we can rearm our union and prepare for future battles will continue.

Russell Davis is a member of IUE Local 201 at GE's Riverworks plant in Lynn.

A coworker and fighter who should be remembered

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

"I have some bad news for you," the voice at the other end of the phone said. "Carl Hunter committed suicide last week."

It was a surprise.

Carl Hunter was a 37-year-old Black worker at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. We worked together in the pipe mill at the Point, where he was a crane operator. In March 1982 I was laid off. But I saw him pretty regularly at union meetings. Occasionally he'd come to a Militant Labor Forum in Baltimore or to a Socialist Workers Party election campaign event.

A year later the pipe mill was shut down for good. Hunter (everyone called him by his last name) had 16 or

earlier, in January 1980, Hunter was one of a big group of steelworkers from the Point who boarded buses for the ride down to Richmond, Virginia, to march (again in the cold) in a union demonstration for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

And just a month after the hospital strike, Hunter and I, and several other workers from the Point, drove to Washington D.C. in the snow to hear Stevie Wonder sing "Happy Birthday" at the historic Jan. 20, 1981, march of 100,000, which demanded that Martin Luther King's birthday be honored as a national holiday.

The company didn't like Hunter much. He was a fighter in the mill too. After we "took the holiday" to go down to Washington for the march, a few of us were written up for missing work. The company didn't think much of Hunter's attendance record, so they gave him some time off. He fought it, and he won — although it took some time (as the grievance procedure always does) and he used to kid me about that "trouble you got me into."

He was a shop steward, and a good one. He was willing to help other workers who wanted to fight when the company hassled them. He was also a guard, a minor office in Steelworkers Local 2609.

He was active in the local and he thought that the union should fight more than it does. That's why he was usually around whenever the local did something progressive — helping other workers on strike or whatever.

He also liked to have a good time. On the bus ride back from Richmond he (and his thermos full of hot coffee laced with whiskey) was right in the middle of the loudest batch of steelworkers on the bus.

He liked to party. That's really how I got to know him. From talking over a drink or two at a get-together at the union hall, and late night parties at someone's house. He was one of a group of steelworkers who closed down a big bash at the Washington, D.C., headquarters of the SWP following the King holiday demonstration.

I don't know why Hunter gave up fighting and took his life. He'd been out of work a long time. The friend who called with the news said that at the last union meeting where she saw him he was in a bad way. He was just "doing nothing," he told her then.

Someone heard he had been called back to another job at the Point. But he evidently didn't take it.

It may not have been a job he wanted. Operating a crane was a good job, as jobs at the Point go. Hunter probably had to fight to get it. There was certainly a time when not many Blacks operated cranes.

Perhaps Hunter had second thoughts about his decision. He must have known a job with decent pay is hard to come by in Baltimore these days — especially for Blacks.

But I don't really know if that had anything to do with his suicide or not. I suppose it's just as likely that he had simply been worn down by everything that happened to him in this lousy society. Friends said he'd had quite a few family problems. Whatever the reason, we lost a good person when Carl Hunter died. We lost a fighter.

Like a lot of other workers who get ground up by capitalism, he deserves to be remembered by his friends and fellow workers. And we'll honor him, and others like him, by keeping on fighting.

AS I SEE IT

17 years seniority, but it wasn't enough. He lost his job too. The last time I saw him was right around then. Shortly thereafter I moved to New York.

Hunter was a fighter. At one time he was a low-paid worker at Johns Hopkins hospital. I learned that on a bitter cold evening in December 1980 as the two of us were walking together on a picket line at the hospital during a strike led by the hospital workers union 1199E.

Hunter knew firsthand how wretched the working conditions and wages are for the 1199E members. He joined the picket line because he knew they needed some solidarity to win the strike.

It wasn't an uncommon thing for him to do. A year

LETTERS

Farrakhan I

As a long time supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and reader of the *Militant*, I am deeply shocked by your apology and defense of anti-Semitic remarks made by Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan.

I completely agree with the *Militant's* position that an anti-Zionist position is not equivalent to being anti-Semitic. However, when one calls Judaism a gutter religion and calls Jews hymies there is only one conclusion to be made — the people saying it are anti-Semitic without a question.

Perhaps the *Militant* would also like to make an apology for Jerry Falwell's remark that "God does not listen to a Jew's prayer."

How can one make an apology for Louis Farrakhan who made threats on Malcolm X's life?

I have always thought of the SWP as a party which fights bigotry, anti-Semitism, and injustice. This is why for the past 12 years I have been a supporter of the SWP. Your statement defending Jackson and Farrakhan have me most disillusioned.

Unless your position changes and a retraction is made, do not count on me for financial or polit-

ical support. I plan not to renew my subscription to the *Militant* or vote for the SWP as a result of these apologies for anti-Semitism.

I think that B'nai B'rith's characterization of the SWP as anti-Semitic, which from 1938 to 1983 was incorrect, is now correct, i.e. as of this year the SWP has become anti-Semitic.

*Jonathan D. Pollock
Boston, Massachusetts*

Farrakhan II

Shame on you for such sloppy reporting!

Your front-page editorial of July 13 begins with the intention of defending Louis Farrakhan. You correctly expose the racist smear that equates Zionism with anti-Semitism. You pose the central question around which the racist lies revolve: "What did Farrakhan actually say?" (Paragraph 6)

Then you never answer the question. Instead you paraphrase and repeat the lies "according to the capitalist media" (paragraph 12) that Farrakhan referred to Judaism as "your gutter religion."

Since his religious broadcast in question, Farrakhan has been shown in a national CNN News interview many times. The tape was played showing that he said "dirty religion" in a context which exposed dirty religious practices by fakers. As a Muslim, he reveres Judaism and Christianity. He exposes a fake "Judaism" used by the Zionists for genocide.

In paragraph 13, you state, "Farrakhan denies that he used the word 'gutter.' Whether he did or not, he incorrectly equates those who adhere to the Jewish religion with Zionism." (My emphasis of your false sentence)

But, nowhere does he say this nor equate this, to my knowledge.

Your editorial attempts to defend Louis Farrakhan, but instead it helps his attackers. If I am wrong — if Farrakhan slanders all Jews as Zionists — then please make this evident in your newspaper.

I call on you to interview Louis Farrakhan and, if you were wrong, to publish a correction and retraction. You cannot afford to defame such an important Black leader and ally in the class struggle.

*Marc Stretten
King City, California*

March for housing

On June 19, while Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode and Democratic candidate Jesse Jackson were attending a convention of U.S. mayors at the fashionable Bellevue-Stratford hotel, about 60 people assembled in the Black community in North Philadelphia to begin a march to City Hall.

The demonstration, organized by the Committee for Dignity and Fairness, demanded jobs, housing, and education for the homeless. Signs were carried by marchers with slogans such as "Jobs not missiles," and "You must not sacrifice the poor."

By the time the march reached City Hall for a rally it had grown to over 400 people.

The demonstrators left City Hall to march to the Bellevue-Stratford. The protesters, who were predominantly Black, wanted Jackson to come out and address the rally. Jackson came out to greet people and spoke briefly.

According to the *Philadelphia Daily News*, a press conference held by Mayor Goode was repeatedly interrupted and drowned

out by the people voicing their demands. Expressing frustration, Goode exclaimed, "They apparently prefer to demonstrate rather than work with me."

Katy Karlin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 2nd C.D. in Philadelphia, circulated through the rally, handing out several hundred copies of her campaign platform. She got a good response as a woman and an oil worker running for Congress.

Six issues of the *Militant* and a copy of the *Young Socialist* were bought by people at the rally.

Other organizations participating included the American Muslim Mission, Hospital Workers Union 1199-C, Philadelphia Unemployment Project, and Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization.

*Craig McKissic
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

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.

SWP candidate visits Nicaragua

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Among the more than 200,000 people gathered here to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Sandinista revolution were many international visitors who came to show their solidarity.

Addressing the crowd, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega saluted the international guests and extended special greetings to the North Americans present.

Among the international visitors in the audience was a group of 18 socialist workers from the United States, Canada, and New Zealand, including Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. The socialists' tour in Nicaragua began with the July 19 celebration and will last two weeks. The tour was sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc.

As the demonstration ended many Nicaraguans came over to meet the tour members and discuss the accomplishments of the revolution.

Mason and several other socialist workers spoke with a young woman from AMNLAE, the Nicaraguan women's association. She explained how proud she felt of the women who are participating in the defense of the revolution.

Mason told some of the young Sandinista fighters gathered around that a big part of his campaign in the United States is "to build solidarity with revolutionary countries like Nicaragua and Cuba."

A young member of the Sandinista Youth said he was happy to meet a Black candidate for the U.S. presidency. He asked Mason to tell the U.S. people that the Nicaraguans want peace, but if the U.S. government "continues to arm the counterrevolutionaries to attack us we are



G.M. Cookson

Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, blasts U.S. war against Nicaraguan government and people at meeting in Britain. Mason is currently touring Nicaragua to extend solidarity in their fight against U.S. imperialist war.

prepared to defend our revolution to the last person."

The next day, the tour group visited the office of the Supreme Electoral Council (SEC). Julián Corrales, a member of the SEC, explained that elections will be held on November 4 for president, vice-president, and national assembly.

"The first priority is to make sure these

elections are free, democratic, and honest," Corrales said. "Before the revolution there were only two parties — the Liberal Party of dictator Anastasio Somoza, and the Conservative Party. And it was always arranged that Somoza would win." Corrales explained that the Sandinista government has initiated a campaign to encourage all eligible Nicaraguans to vote.

The Nicaraguan elections are free and open to all parties who register with the Supreme Electoral Council. There are now 10 parties registered.

Tour member Michel Dugré, a Montreal garment worker running in the Canadian federal elections on the Revolutionary Workers League ticket, explained to Corrales what the tour group hoped to accomplish in its two-week visit.

"There are now three elections taking place in this part of the world in the next few months," Mason said, "in Canada, the United States, and Nicaragua. The only free, democratic elections will be in Nicaragua."

"Just as the Conservative and Liberal parties guaranteed the rule of Somoza in Nicaragua, the Democratic and Republican parties in our country guarantee the rule of the rich," Mason said. "The Democrats and Republicans attempt to keep other candidates off the ballot, especially those from workers parties."

"What we will do with the information we have learned here today is take it back to the United States to build solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of myself and Andrea González, our vice-presidential candidate, we offer our sustained support and everlasting solidarity."

Corrales said at the end of the meeting, "The triumph of the Nicaraguan people over Somoza was not only for the Nicaraguan people. The struggle that the Nicaraguans are carrying out today is also not only for the Nicaraguan people. As a Nicaraguan citizen I say to the people of New Zealand, Canada, and the United States, we Nicaraguans keep you in our hearts."

Rightist charged in Wash. antiabortion bombing

BY LISA HICKLER

SEATTLE — The fight to defend and rebuild the Everett Feminist Women's Health Center received a boost with the July 19 arrest of a suspect in the three fire bombings that destroyed and closed the clinic as of April. The clinic is located in Everett, Washington.

Curtis Beseda confessed back in April to the third fire bombing. "I did it for the glory of God," he said. Gas cans identical to one left at the clinic fire were found in Beseda's home. Two ski masks and three cans of red spray paint were also found. It was the same kind of paint that had been used at another clinic in Dellingham that was destroyed by an arson blaze on March 4. The words, "Murder Stinks" had been spray painted at that clinic and a man in a ski mask had been seen running from the fire.

A court affidavit linked Beseda to the first two arson fires at the Everett Center as well.

In spite of his confession and the physical evidence uncovered, Beseda was not arrested until July 19 while entering the United States from Canada.

Beseda was called "a very law-abiding person" by Dotty Roberts, one of the central organizers of right-wing picketers who had been harassing the clinic since it opened in August 1983.

Beseda was one of the most dedicated pickets and has even been seen on occasion picketing the clinic alone at night. Describing Beseda as being driven by deep religious convictions, Roberts recalled praying with him "over the phone and on the picket line."

Beseda had also helped organize a large antiabortion prayer vigil outside the abortion clinic late last year.

The arrest of Beseda comes in the context of a drive to get an initiative on the ballot here in the fall elections that would prohibit state funding of abortions. Washing-

ton is one of only 12 states where public funding for abortions remains intact. Initiative 471 would wipe out the funding and be another blow against the right to a safe, legal, accessible abortion.

Beseda was the Snohomish County, Washington, coordinator of the petition drive to get the initiative on the ballot.

The Everett Feminist Women's Health Center Defense Committee, which has been working to defend the clinic since the attacks began, has pointed to the initiative as a serious attack on abortion rights. The committee is working to pull together a coalition to build a large public fundraising event as part of a campaign to reopen the clinic. Signers of a letter inviting groups and individuals to participate in a planning meeting for the event included the Seattle and Everett chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Puget Sound chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the executive director of Washington State National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), and the Seattle Reproductive Rights Alliance.

The letter states, "The Washington State Initiative 471 could become the local version of federal legislation that is used to deny government funding for abortions for poor, working class, and minority women. Reopening the Everett Feminist Women's Health Center would be a block to the forces who would send women back to the death and degradation of illegal back-alley abortions."

Whether or not Initiative 471 will be on the ballot will not be known until the middle of August. The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, Planned Parenthood, NARAL, Washington Women United, Washington State NOW, and representatives of medical and legal groups are organizing to defeat the initiative.

The Socialist Workers Party election campaign here has been part of the campaign to defend women's rights. Cheryl

Hidalgo, SWP candidate for governor of Washington, has condemned the attacks on the abortion clinics and demanded that the government act to jail all those who engage in terrorist actions against abortion clinics and endanger the right of women to safe, legal abortions.

Hidalgo pointed to the responsibility of the government in encouraging the attacks.

"It was the inactivity of local officials in responding to the threats against the Everett Clinic that set the stage for it to be burned to the ground," she said.

"What is the message we get when a right-wing arsonist who confesses in April is not arrested until July?"

"It is the government at all levels, which includes the Democratic and Republican parties, that is not enforcing the law and is in fact spearheading the anti-woman assault. It is the bankers and employers that these two parties represent who are the main enemies of equal rights for women."

Hidalgo said her campaign strongly opposes the cut-off of state funds for abortions and supports the reopening of the clinic.

Union, gov't talks break down as British coal strike continues

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

SHEFFIELD, England — The 20-week-old coal miners strike entered a new stage this week following the breakdown of negotiations between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the National Coal Board (NCB). Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other government ministers unleashed a well-prepared propaganda offensive against the NUM leadership, in particular trying to isolate NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill.

The miners must be defeated like the Argentinians were in the "Falklands" (Malvinas), Thatcher stated. "We had to fight the enemy without in the Falklands but we must also remember to fight the enemy within, which is just as dangerous to liberty."

Just whose "liberty" is at stake was made clear in speeches by two right-wing Conservative Members of Parliament (MPs), John Stokes and Sir John Biggs-Davidson, who warned that the miners strike was "a step to revolution," alleging that Scargill was "bent on the overthrow of constitutional, elected government."

The government outburst backfired. Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock was forced to come to Scargill's defense, claiming that Thatcher and the Conservative government were "not fit to govern," in light of their "hysterical" speeches.

This is not insignificant, as it was not until the 18th week of the strike that Kinnock appeared on a miners' platform to support the fight for jobs. The conservative Labor Party leadership, like the government, appears to have resigned itself to the fact that the NUM leaders are not prepared to back down over the issue of mine closures, and that the strike will not be quickly resolved.

Energy Secretary Peter Walker, appearing on the television program "Weekend World," indicated that the government's strategy is now to wear down the miners. Walker claimed that coal stocks would last well into 1985 without power cuts. The program's researchers were not so confident, predicting that power cuts would start by November.

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