Defeat Yankee Imperialism!

Reagan, Mondale Mean War on Central America!

Military Victory to Salvador Leftist Rebels!
Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

In the United States there's an election. But in Central America revolutions are at stake. Revolutions that have been half a century in the making, against bloody tyrannies installed and protected by their American masters. Time and time again these tiny countries have been the landing ground for U.S. troops, who left behind their scavenging guard dogs, the Somozas and their ilk, to pick over the husky. And today the Yankee imperialists are threatening to invade once more. As Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega said at the UN this month, "The winds now blowing over Central America forestall of a holocaust for our peoples." But Hurricane Reagan could also unleash revolutionary storms, from the coasts of Central America to the heartland of North America.

CIA mercenaries in Nicaragua, CIA assassination handbooks for "contras," now CIA spy planes shot down by Salvadoran guerrillas—the U.S. is running a real Murder, Inc. down there. And that's only the beginning. They're supporting mercenary armies of more than 12,000 men against Sandinista Nicaragua, with American fleets cruising off both the Pacific and Caribbean coasts, a dozen new air bases and landing fields constructed in Honduras, and almost constant military maneuvers. Nicaragua's harbors are mined, the economy strangled, oil depots blown up, teachers killed. Why? It's revolution vs. counterrevolution in Central America. And the Yankee imperialists, Reagan and Mondale, Republicans and Democrats, are all contra.

Meanwhile the imperialist politicians politely debate the future they have in store for war-ravaged Central America. The Republicans openly state their intention to overthrow the radical Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government: "Nicaragua cannot be allowed to remain a Communist sanctuary," says their platform, while the CIA directs and finances counter-revolutionary terrorists besieging the country from north and south. Demo­crat Mondale announces that if the Sandinistas don't play by Washington's rules then the U.S. should "quarantine Nicaragua." If Managua gets the MIGs its enemies need to defend against American air strikes, that would be "intolerable," says Mondale, and the U.S. should "take steps" to get them out. And, of course, they all love Duarte.

A quarter century ago, in the 1960 elections, a similar "debate" was held, with the formal positions reversed: liberal Kennedy called for U.S. support to the Cuban guer­rilla "fighters for freedom" while conservative Nixon, caught off guard, called for a "quarantine" of the Castro regime. And both of them knew that the CIA already had preparations for an invasion underway, the operation that ended in ignominious disaster at the Bay of Pigs. This month, also, the plans are far advanced but on a far larger scale. The munitions are pre-positioned in Honduras, airfields carved out of the jungle to serve as staging points, sophisticated radar installations in place to guide American aircraft. Both Mondale and Reagan are more than willing to use negotiations to try to bluff the Nicaraguans into leaving themselves militarily unprepared to face U.S. invasion.

It's not just that the Central American policies of the twin capitalist parties look increasingly alike. They share a common framework: the anti-Soviet war drive. At San Francisco Mondale beat down every attempt to put the continued on page 12

CIA Murder Manual

Talk about "state-supported terrorism"! The CIA murder manual made public this week is a veritable recipe book of provocation, assassination, blackmail, lying, kidnapping, sabotage... you name it, they've got it. This complete terrorist handbook is published by none other than the United States government to be handed out to the murdering Nicaraguan "freedom fighters." And it's accompanied by a how-to-do-it comic book on everything from stopping up toilets and putting down power cables to putting dirt in gas tanks and nails on highways, setting off fire alarms and boarding and stealing food. All for the "Christian" campaign to overthrow the "godless" Sandinistas.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the Reaganites' hysteria campaign against "terrorism" is the ideological banner of their anti-Soviet war drive... and a smokescreen to disguise the fact that the United States is the chief perpetrator of "state-supported terrorism" in the world today. Now it's all laid out in black and white: The CIA's 42-page Spanish-language primer, entitled "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare," directs the contra to, through "selective use of violence," "neutralize carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, police and state security officials.

"Professional criminals should be hired to carry out selective jobs," it counsels, to "bring about uprisings and shootings that will cause the death of one or more people to create a martyr for the cause." Also, provocateurs "armed with clubs, iron rods and placards and, if possible, small firearms, which they will carry hidden," along with other "shock troops" equipped with "knives, razors, chains, clubs and bludgeons" should "march slightly behind the innocent and gullible participants" as the counter-revolution progresses.

The White House's clumsy attempts at cover-up rock of Watergate: the president had "not known" of the document; it was only "the first draft"... "everything that was not policy was deleted," the author was a "low-level contract employee" of the CIA; it was continued on page 13

In black and white: "state-supported terrorism" made in U.S.A.
**Is Koch a Fascist?**

4 September 1984

Dear Comrades,

I apologize for the lateness of this letter. I think the issue deserves treatment important enough that late is better than never.

The article about Mayor Koch in KW No. 351 characterized him as, except for some rounded edges, "as chemically pure a fascist as you can get," comparing him politically to Meir Kahane, who just now has also "made it up the greasy pole" to a Kosser seat.

Koch certainly is a racist pig, who specializes in insulter, slanderer and humiliating the oppressed. If WW would call him a borscht-belt fascist or Ike's Jewish nephew or whatever, well, giving some rounded edges, hypocrite may be the tribute he pays to virtue, but it's not the dividing line between a fascist and a right-wing bourgeois-democratic politician. In "Third International After Lenin," a book written by aerationism as "a state of civil war on the part of capitalist society waged against the rebellious proletariat." That's what Koch is about. He's simply a New York right-wing demagogue, reflecting and amplifying the rightward tensions among middle-class whites, and in particular Jewish, petty-bourgeois labor aristocracy. Or, putting it another way, he engages in his sick antics not because he's an extremist fascist, but because they get him votes.

Calling Koch "the counterpart of the present butchers in power in Jerusalem" is fine; if he moved to Israel he'd undoubtedly support Likud over "La-bor." But that doesn't make him a fascist. Now that there's a real fascist in the Knesset, the distinction should be clear. Even the butcher Sharon has disassociated himself from Kahane— for the most part, at least.

Koch's ultra-Zionism may actually have less to do with deep-seated political views than with cynical political calculation. This spring, parading Sharon through Queens seemed like a smart political move. Koch was probably trying to tamp down his hysterical anti-Jackson campaign also looked like a winning tune— until the Democratic convention. Now that he discovered he was singing off-key. He was actually quoted describing Jackson's apology speech as "superb"— possibly because he'd been warned the party tops might not back him against primary challengers if he didn't clean up his act.

**Honor John Brown and Harpers Ferry Uprising**

October 16-18 was the 125th anniversary of the 1859 anti-slavery uprising at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, led by the revolutionary abolitionist John Brown, who prepared the civil war that ended slavery in the U.S. In 1861 Frederick Douglass, former slave and leading black radical democrat, delivered an oration at Harpers Ferry on his friend and comrade.

**LEVIN**

But the question is, Did John Brown fail? He certainly did fail to get out of Harpers Ferry before being beaten down by United States soldiers; he did fail to save his own life, and to lead a liberating army into the mountains of Virginia. But he did not go to Harper's Ferry to save his life. The true question is, Did John Brown draw his sword against slavery, and thereby lose life in the struggle to end that slavery? More than ten thousand times! No! No man fails, or can fail who so grandly gives himself and all he has to a righteous cause. John Brown did not fail because he did at least begin the war that ended slavery. If we look over the dates, places and characters it's way off. The difference is in their road to power: one is reminded of the film "Sleeper," in which a fascist acquires the power that he needed; the other is the democratic society. "But his racist antics are more than vote-getting stunts. Koch is a racist demagogue, liar and general megalomaniac—in short, his "psychic apparatus is part of the standard fascist mind." At the same time, he pointed out, "Of course, as the Jewish mayor of New York City in the United States of America, he has not yet learned to lead an American nativist movement in white sheets. He's out of time and out of place." For Edward Koch really belongs in the ruling establishment of Israel, terrorists who enjoy the respectability conferred by power.

To build a fascist movement takes more than being fascist-minded. There has to be an opportunity. "And if America in Jewish fascism is not in the cards. Rather, Jews would be among the fascists, America, as we have frequently stated. Koch's problem is precisely that he can't lead a mobilization of middle-class whites in New York, so he takes out his frustrations on the city's minorities (who are the Jews). Koch's ties to the Jewish community are deep, his connections with Ariel Sharon are more than just "political maneuvers". Koch and the butcher of Sabra/Shatila are real soul brothers. A New York Times reviewer, in reviewing a biography, Mayor, noted that the author—"displays an almost paranoiac sensitivity to Koch's rhetoric, style and mindset are... Koch's problem is precisely that he can't lead a mobilization of middle-class whites in New York, so he takes out his frustrations on the city's minorities (who are the Jews). Koch's ties to the Jewish community are deep, his connections with Ariel Sharon are more than just "political maneuvers".

On the other hand, our reader makes far too much of the shadings between Sharon and Kahane; see "Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops Polarize Israel," KW No. 364, 12 October, which notes that the anti-Arab terrorists are intimately tied to Sharon's pals in the army. Trotsky pointed out more than once that "it would be unwise to convert Bonaparism and fascism into two logically incompatible categories." The difference is that the onopapist relies on the saber while the fascist mobilizes the enraged petty bourgeois of the working class, oppressed minorities and the institutions of democracy. But, having arrived in power, the fascist chiefs are forced to muzzle the masses who follow them by the state apparatus ("Bonaparism and Fascism, July 1934").

Experiencing the Koch years in NYC, one is reminded of the film Sleeper, in which Woody Allen reawakens a few centuries hence to learn that his civilization was wiped out in a nuclear war. He asks, how did this war begin? We really don't know, comes the reply, but we think a man named Koch got the atomic bomb. Just think what would happen to civilization if Ed Koch got his hands on nuclear weapons. But his cohorts in Israel already have...
Ulrich Sandhaus: Dangerous Nazi Punk

Readers of Workers Vanguard may remember Ulrich Sandhaus, ex-political policeman of the West German political police. Sandhaus was a member of the GIVI (Grupe IV. Internationale) a neo-fascist group that was supported by the STO (Spartakisten). Sandhaus was later to be quietly shown the back door when he was accused of gadfly activities by the ET (Einheitsorganisation der Arbeit). Sandhaus has been definitively exposed for what he is: a danger to all decent people.

On the night of August 22, Gisela Borowski, a supporter of the Trotzkist (Gruppe IV. Internationale (TLD)—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) was lured into a trap and attacked in the West Berlin subway, suffering a dangerous head injury. The assault was planned and supervised by the 23-year-old Ulrich Sandhaus, an ex-political policeman of the West German political police.

Ulrich Sandhaus, one of their honchos, a certain Bob Mandel, confronted Mandel politically at a point at which we parted ways with the GIVI. Ulrich Sandhaus virtually reeked of it, it was not described it to us on both sides of the Atlantic. Tell it to the Kurdish and Turkish leftists and workers, to the Tamils and Palestinians, who are already victims of the Gestapo methods of the West German and West Berlin state police.

We have warned repeatedly that it is necessary for revolutionaries to wage a sharp struggle against resurgent German nationalism—both of the social-democratic and rightist varieties. This struggle is a fundamental task to which we fight for in the left and workers movement. If you don't take up this struggle it will be to your own disadvantage doing the bidding of the class enemy and in bed with the scum of the earth like Sandhaus and his attack dog.

After the article appeared in Spartakist, the TLD received a pathetic letter of protest from the GIVI. They started out by condemning the attack on Gisela Borowski. Then they squealed:

"Your public activity cannot camouflage your responsibility for fascist action to the circle around Sandhaus (Spartakist), is completely incorrect.

But after demanding, "lay your proof on the table," they provide it themselves:

"Some comrades who are non-members of the GIVI. Internationale, correctly supported Sandhaus' 1982 campaign against your slanders, with no other signatory--a blank check.

Well, like we said. We warned the left and workers movement about this guy. You chose to rigorously take up his defense. What do you think about your 'slandered' hero now, ET/GIVI?

"Direct action" by Ulri's idols. Skinheads (and anti-Nazi demonstrators in Gummersbach, May 1978) 28. Among the victims were 70 survivors of concentration camps.

The Gruppe IV. Internationale has politically nurtured Sandhaus over the last two years. Members of the GIVI left the GIVI as the most eager apologists for German nationalism. And since Sandhaus virtually reeked of it, it was not surprising that, having been taken under their wing, he was one of the main propagandists of the "GIVI-style" political collaboration program, a critique of the IST ("Where is the IST Going?")

Last October, the ETs tried to slander us with a "petition campaign," a COINTELPRO-style provocation, saying we had "physically attacked" one of their honchos, a certain Bob Mandel, because supporters of the SL/ U.S. confronted Mandel politically at a point at which we parted ways with GIVI. It is clear that he has opted for "direct action" and stands firmly on the side of those who carry out terrorist assaults against leftist, communist, women, foreign workers.

After being expelled from the TLD, he was celebrated as nature's nobleman and encouraged in his development by a group of ex-F Troops. The TLD continued to support the GIVI. The Gruppe IV. Internationale. Caught up in the current of bourgeois nationalism, he gravitated steadily toward the lumpen skinhead scene. There—in the fluid transition between the "no future" generation and the "master race" ideology, in a spectrum of the youthful lumpen-proletarian world, utterly engrossed in the process of production and the organizations and goals of the workers movement—a protoclique, ultranationalist regroupment is taking place. Fascist elements can develop here and recruit by and for "direct action," i.e., terror.

In 1982 we had a key fight in the TLD over resurgent bourgeois German nationalism, the domineering mood in the "new Germany" of today. This was the point at which we parted ways with Sandhaus, as we took up the indispensible struggle against the poison carried by social-democratic "left" nationalism into the left and workers movement. When politically confronted, Sandhaus defended the black steel helmet with German eagle and swastika in his living room, his glorying in "Deutschland über Alles," the fact that he had begun to open fanatic and racist language as "private" matters, questions of "taste." Moreover, he had provocatively and with a beaming brazen that "one German is worth 50 Tamils!" Why not? That is, after all, the meaning of "Deutschland über Alles.

Sandhaus' head is full of German eagles and swastikas and the hideous slurs of resurgent German nationalism—but in fact he belongs in one of the more squaid sections of Hitler's SA. Mandel, because supporters of the SL/U.S. confronted Mandel politically at a point at which we parted ways with GIVI. He has opted for "direct action" and stands firmly on the side of those who carry out terrorist assaults against leftist, communist, women, foreign workers.

Ulrich Sandhaus

"could have been attacked." In the GIVI version, it reads: "He barely escaped being beaten." Truth, lies—they don't give a damn.

You don't have to be an FBI or Feinwundergauzicht (West German political police) agent to serve the anti-communist witchhunt that is accelerating against us. And the ETs did just that—violence-hunting us, setting us up for repercussion and persecution by the bureaucratic state. With Sandhaus there's a difference. With a little help from his friends of the ET, he has joined the irregulars of that state. The ETs have nurtured and encouraged him in his anti-communism, and thus gave him the green light for this violent assault. But watch out, Bob Mandel! Sandhaus doesn't like foreigners, commies, women. We can't imagine that he likes Jews either. And he doesn't tend to waste words in expressing his hatred; he is quite direct.

The GIVI is now left with the millstone around their necks: the Nazi helmet. "Oi" music, the spiked leather armbands, the chains: all are "private" matters, questions of "taste," as the ETs described it to us on both sides of the Atlantic. Tell it to the Kurdish and Turkish leftists and workers, to the Tamils and Palestinians, who are already victims of the Gestapo methods of the West German and West Berlin state police.

We have warned repeatedly that it is necessary for revolutionaries to wage a sharp struggle against resurgent German nationalism—both of the social-democratic and rightist varieties. This struggle is a fundamental task to which we fight for in the left and workers movement. If you don't take up this struggle it will be to your own disadvantage doing the bidding of the class enemy and in bed with the scum of the earth like Sandhaus and his attack dog.
SAN FRANCISCO—On picket lines, at union halls and in working-class and black and Hispanic neighborhoods throughout the Spartacist campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors is reaching out to working people disgusted by the “choice” between anti-Soviet and Reagan and Cold War hawk Mondale. Our candidates are campaigning to hammer home the simple truth that this racist capitalist system won’t be brought down through the ballot box but through revolution—class struggle. What’s needed is a workers party, which will be built in the fight to smash the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive which threatens all humanity with thermonuclear annihilation. It will be built in the struggle to mobilize the power of U.S. labor in real international solidarity action to aid our class brothers and sisters fighting apartheid terror in South Africa and those death squads in Central America. It will be built in the fight to mobilize labor’s power against the KKK/Nazi terrorists emboldened by the rampaging bourgeois reaction, and against the mass deportations raids, right here in California.

The campaign comes as the powerful San Francisco labor movement has been hit with a concerted union-busting assault by the employers, from the local Greyhound busing workers to the Democratic mayor’s cops for head-busting during the Greyhound strike to the arrogant owners of 

The class lines have been drawn sharply in TWU Local 250-A, the heavily black transportation union of Muni drivers in San Francisco. Mayor Feinstein has conducted a ten-year racist, anti-labor vendetta against the Muni workers, going back to her sponsorship in 1974 of “Proposition L” to smash city workers’ wages and her strike-breaking role during the 1979 city workers strike. Feinstein, who has built her career as a swaggering enemy of city workers, has tried to whip up the petty bourgeoisie of “gentrified” San Francisco (a city less than 13 percent black, in contrast to Oakland across the Bay, which is almost half black) against the Muni workers, painting a picture in the press of a bunch of larcenous, tax-evading thieves, high on drugs, etc.—these are the men and women who sweat to meet back-breaking schedules in broken-down old buses on the hills and crowded streets of the city! In August a black Muni driver was hospitalized after a teenage punk threw battery acid in the driver’s face as he drove his route.

Yet even as she yearns to dismantle the TWU, the Muni workers’ executive board (which is itself mainly black) is backing Feinstein and her union-busting administrations to the hilt. When Bradley and Coleman spoke at the October 1 E-board meeting, they met with open hatred by the Muni bureaucrats. It was Richard Bradley who twice last April scaled the 50-foot flagpole in SF Civic Center to rip down the Confederate flag of slavery, striking a blow against the arrogant “Dixie Dixie” and for the program of integrated class-struggle. Yet TWU local president Jonnie Gilbert, who denied Feinstein’s attacks on Muni drivers, stood with Feinstein and the flag of slavery when he baited Ritchie to “find another flagpole to climb?” Union members felt differently.

The reason for the bureaucrats’ hostility became clear at the October 18 membership meeting as Muni drivers, who know that the Dixie “Starts and Bars” had been aimed at them, enthusiastically greeted the Spartacist candidates and slammed their misleaders. “They ain’t together, man, that’s why we’re trying to get rid of them,” a black driver told Bradley. Another black driver spoke for many workers when he shook Bradley’s hand outside the meeting, “You’re the guy that pulled the racist, KKK terror every day on his route, saying he was proud he could now tell his children it was torn down. Bradley and Coleman have brought the campaign to the picket lines of Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, now in the eighth week of a strike crippled by the union bureaucrats’ ignorant strategy of selective strikes, consumer boycotts and refusal to shut down all the restaurants and hotels as
Longshoremen: “Hot-Cargo” South African Apartheid Butchers!

SAN FRANCISCO—The October 18 meeting of the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Local 10 voted to refuse to work South African cargo on the next ship of the Nedlloyd Lines (which handles West Coast-South Africa shipping), in solidarity with the millions of black South Africans fighting murderous repression. The Spartacist League supports class-struggle union efforts for an emergency international labor boycott of all shipping to and from South Africa at this crucial time. While the ILWU Local 10 shipping for the South African apartheid regime’s National Congress guerrilla fighters supports this amendment, and the now further watered down proposal carried. In Local 10, whose members are two-thirds blacks, and in the face of the broad sympathy among Americans for the victims of apartheid terror, the bureaucrats and their “left” advisors felt compelled to do something. Stan Gow has made “hot-cargo” goods to South Africa a real issue in Local 10. In June 1983 Gow and Militant Caucus members from ILWU Local 6 (warehouse) organized an emergency picket of the South Africa-bound Nedlloyd Kimberly to protest the apartheid regime’s execution of three African National Congress guerrilla fighters (Robinson openly opposed this effort while Keylor easily split on it). At the same time Gow was facing a trial in the local for trying to stop the loading of an El Salvador-bound freighter as part of his campaign for labor action to stop American arms shipments to the bloody Salvadoran dictator’s goons. Gow’s fight to mobilize action against the South Africa-bound ship deepened the respect he had won among the members, who defeated the bureaucrats’ witchhunt.

Friend of Vietnam Assassinated

We print below a statement issued October 22 by the Spartacist Campaign Committee.

On Saturday, October 13 Professor Edward Lee Cooperman, 48, was shot through the neck in his office at California State University-Fullerton. His family says he was killed. Although responsibility for this murderous assault was claimed by the ultrarightist Vietnamese American Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation,” an outfit both known and feared in the Vietnamese American community, the FBI claimed to have “no information” on the group.

In the last months of his life, Dr. Cooperman received repeated death threats, of which he informed the FBI and on whose advice he bought a gun and practiced with it to defend himself and his family. He feared his life was in danger. The FBI is on whose advice he bought a gun and practiced with it to defend himself and his family. He feared his life was in danger.

in a personal relationship” between the killer and his victims. CIA spokesman Patti Volz responded to the charge of masterminding the Cooperman shooting: “It’s totally absurd and doesn’t pass the test of assassination” (New York Times, October 20). This at the very moment the CIA murder-for-hire was being decried by South Vietnamese government officials as the murder of the local’s Executive Board proposal, originated by him, because, he said, “it would get good publicity for the cause and for the union.”

But even this modest proposal for new words and “publicity” rather than determined union action to strike a blow at the apartheid regime at a point of real vulnerability was too much for long-time Communist Party sympathizer Leo Kostro. In a two-minute diatribe he attacked Gow and the Executive Board motion and put up an amendment that longshoremen should work all ships refusing to handle only the specific South African cargo of the Nedlloyd ship, making it difficult even to locate what it was to be boycotted. The officers gladly supported this amendment and the new further watered down proposal carried.

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Stan Gow is fighting for labor action to enforce international working-class solidarity on behalf of those struggling for freedom in South Africa. His fight is a part of building a real class-struggle leadership in the ILWU. Longshoremen must join with Gow to extend the Local 10 motion into an emergency boycott of all shipping to and from South Africa.

Edward Lee Cooperman was shot through the neck in his office at California State University-Fullerton by reactionary Vietnamese assassin Minh Van Lam. Dr. Cooperman, a nuclear physicist and national chairman of the U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam, was widely known for his efforts to aid war-ravaged Vietnam. One of the first Americans to enter Vietnam after the fall of Saigon, he was a frequent visitor thereafter. Targeted by the sinister, highly organized Vietnamese community, the FBI claimed to have “no information” on the group.

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Victory to the Miners! Shut Down Britain!

Margaret Thatcher: Enemy of the People

LONDON—It wasn't the "big bang" of industrial action needed to push the miners strike forward to victory, but it certainly shook up the Tory government. The bomb blast that ripped through the Grand Hotel in Brighton in the first week of October, the last day of the Conservative Party conference, came closer to obliterating the government of the day than anything since Guy Fawkes tried it 300 years ago. Within hours the Provisional IRA had phoned in a statement claiming responsibility for targeting the "British cabinet and Tory warmongers." The Times openly taunted the Tories: "Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once. You will have to be lucky always."

Luck was about the only thing Margaret Thatcher & Co. had going for them that morning. As Whitewall belatedly instituted a top secret internal security investigation (which someone no doubt shortly leak), recriminations flew about the abject level of security in Brighton. The editor of the Times claimed that 11 hours before the blast he had been allowed to promenade through the hotel lobby and several public rooms without once being checked for identification. It turned out an IRA tap only two weeks earlier had warned of a major IRA attack. And while Fleet Street gutter rags "revealed" with shock-horror that the IRA now had access to "microminiaturised" timing devices (roughly the sort to be found in a video recorder), an anxious senior minister complained that the massive police deployment in Brighton had spent most of its time looking for striking miners armed with tomatoes.

Little more than a year after its sweeping electoral victory, the arrogant, complacent Thatcher clique is today widely despised and deeply isolated, its rally-round-the-Union Jack "Falklands factor" in shreds. In contrast to the wave of anti-Irish hysteria which greeted several past IRA mainland bombing campaigns (like the periodic, inescapable Christmas High Street bombs or the vicious Birmingham pub bombings of ten years ago), reaction among wide layers of the population to this IRA attack against the Tory cabinet ranged from a shrug of the shoulders to adulation to hilarity. Even "respectable" bourgeois papers focused on the security bally-up, not on the fact that the Iron Lady and her minions were almost blown to kingdom come.

Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock predictably extended his sympathy to the hated Thatcher, even congratulating her on her determination to "carry on." But in the factories and coalfields the response was worlds apart. One large Birmingham-area coal plant erupted in spontaneous applause upon hearing that Thatcher's hated bully-boy trade and industry secretary Norman Tebbit was among those injured. One worker quipped that the cops would have a hard time making arrests—there were 50 million suspects! A joke circulated in mining communities that whoever carried out the attack should be shot... for missing their target. Even local elected Labour councillors refused to condemn the IRA: Said one in Camden, North London. "I do not regard the target of the bombing—Margaret Thatcher—as being in any sense an innocent target." ([London] Standard, 18 October). Certainly not. Thatcher's a vital pillar of the Tory enterprise. Her apartheid fighters out of the British consulate in Durban into the torture dungeons of her racist anti-Soviet ally, Botha's South Africa. This bloodthirsty Tory government, which has presided over the deaths of millions of its own people through mass unemployment, unleashed brutal cop terror against the miners and their communities. A joke circulated in mining communities that whoever carried out the attack should be shot... for missing their target. Even local Labour councillors refused to condemn the IRA: "Let them eat cake"—arrows... a bit too much. This government can be defeated and the capitalist system which stands behind it blown apart. It is not through hurling a few bombs that the British ruling class and its apparatus of repression will be dislodged but through the bursting of British capitalism from within through revolutionary class struggle. The social crisis pose so starkly in this country today can only be resolved in favour of the working class through a socialist revolution which the workers' movements... seek might and main to stifle.

The miners have taken more than 10,000 arrests, seen two of their comrades murdered on the picket lines and thousands more injured, their families deprived of daily necessities. Now their union, the National Union of Mine-workers (NUM), faces massive court-ordered fines, sequestration of funds and possible jailing of its leaders. All signs point to a hard, cold and bitter winter. Renewed negotiations instigated by YACODS have again broken down, with NUM president Arthur Scargill accusing the Coal Board of attempting to assassinate the union, and Thatcher brazenly ordering her henchman Ian MacGregor to toe the line of no compromise. All but the government's own keep analysts acknowledge that by December coal stockpiles at the power stations will be dangerously depleted. Selective power cuts have already been reported in the northeast of England. The vital pillar of the Tory enterprise has been often dubbed "the Tory party at prayer." It has openly attacked the government's handing of the strike.
coal from the pitsheads now looms on the horizon, and Thatcher will not hesitate to use her troops.

Yet for all the cheap words of praise and empty promises of support at the recent Trades Union Congress (TUC) and Labour Party conferences, the miners are still alone on the picket lines. And if the labour leaders have their way, they will be left to fight alone throughout the winter. There is today in Britain a profound crisis of leadership in the labour movement. While literally millions want to back the miners and beat the scabbers, the reformist Labour/TUC leaders fear and hate the prospect of a serious class-wide confrontation with the capitalist state which poses the question: what class shall rule? Thus they are ready not only to let Thatcher off the hook but to isolate and sabotage the miners’ struggle. Stop this treachery! The miners must not stand alone! Strike with the miners to win!

Labour Movement Polarised

A year after being pilloried and seemingly isolated by the TUC bureaucrats for his outspoken opposition to anti-Soviet warmongers Thatcher and Reagan and their creature, counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, Arthur Scargill has today become without a significant section of the labour movement. What was graphically demonstrated at the TUC conference early this month was that the racial and anti-racist forces are pulling away as the Labour Party is now tugging at the party, pointing on the one hand to cowardly parliamentarist scum, while on the other it is gazing longingly at the Ciskei apartheid state. All too aware of the party leadership’s desire to see the Iron Lady sink the Iron Lady, Kinnock himself posed the issue in his speech: change government through the ballot box or by defiance of Tory laws? He of course wants only the former which, translated, means using the police terror and Thatcherite union-busting, and despising and condemning the “violence” of striking miners.

Even as Kinnock spats on the miners’ struggle, one of Thatcher’s henchmen provocatively infiltrated the Labour conference to serve Scargill with a writ threatening imprisonment for contempt, which led to masses of 200,000 fine being levied against the NUM plus another £1,000,000 against Scargill personally. The latter fine was subsequently paid anonymously, the donor stating he didn’t want to see Scargill imprisoned and turned into a martyr! The NUM leader’s response contrasted admirably with “Judas” Kinnock: “I want to make it absolutely clear that if the choice facing me is to be committed by the High Court to spend a prison term in Pentonville or any other jail for standing by this trade union or our class, or alternatively having to live with the imprisonment of one of my minds, the decision is not one’s class then there is no choice as far as I am concerned. I stand by my class and my union.”

For all Kinnock’s denunciations of “violence” (i.e., industrial action to defend jobs), it was evident that even a significant section of the labour movement officials were not prepared to subordinate their future to the racist, union-busting “law and order” of the Tory reactionaries. The NUM was barrelling from the first day of the conference when resolutions supporting the miners and endorsing the miners’ picketing were passed against his sycophantically opposed. A further motion to support defending miners was rejected by local Labour councils, and after Scargill was resoundingly cheered.

Yet in the end, the left stepped in to bail out Kinnock. They do not want a full-scale confrontation with Thatcher any more than he does. Resolutions that would have committed the labour movement to continue strike action—even a feeble proposal for a 24-hour day of action—were hastily scuttled. The Kinnockite leadership, in a senseless display of weakness, was unanmously re-elected. In the interests of maintaining “unity” with the striking miners, union-busting leaders and open lovers in the Labour right, the “lefts” were prepared to betray the mill, so of workers and communists who want to fight alongside the miners now. Leading “left” Tony Benn boldly defended the refusal of the NUM to pay Kinnock: “Nothing would give greater pleasure to the government if they thought we were falling out asMcGeorge Bundy did.” To the contrary: the current crisis has demonstrated the burning necessity to split the Labour Party to break the working-class base from its pro-capitalist misleaders, in order to forge a authoritative revolutionary workers party.

Even Scargill, who has emerged head and shoulders above the rest of the trade union and Labour “lefts,” is incapable of providing a programme to unite the working class in struggle against Thatcherite and Reaganite betrayal. Limited to the confines of a narrow industrial dispute, all he offers is a reformist scheme to bolster British industry through imperialist import controls and a rewritten version of Wilson/Clagharn’s “Plan for Coal” to be implemented under a future Labour government. Thus no more than the rest did Scargill pose a genuine challenge either to Kinnock’s leadership or his electoralist treacherous deal to keep funneling coal into the Ravenscraig steelworks. Given its narrow Labour reformist programme, which is incapable of providing leadership for this struggle which so obviously could bring Thatcher and corrupt British capitalism to its foundations.

Arthur Scargill has been hounded by the right-wing press and Labourite Cold War warriors alike for his forthright denunciation of “screaming” Arthur Scargill—clearing the way for the Tory/Labour-bloc deformed workers states. A revolutionary opposition to the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy would organise the NUM’s rightful demand that these shipments stop now!

Shut Down the Country!

Twice already, with the two national strike days, the strike was brought to the stage of a general strike—a general strike which could have realised had the “left” leaders of the rail and transport unions seriously implemented their pledges of solidarity and joined the miners in all-out strike action. Both times, the dockers union leaders and TUC engineered a sellout, the second time ignominiously so. What is needed is to reverse the sellouts and for all unions which claim to support the NUM to strike with the miners. This is the road to the general strike needed to bring this hated Tory government to its knees. The pit deputies must stop equivocating and come out now. Trade union defence squads must be organised to repulse strikebreaking cop/scab terror.

The miners must appeal to other unions to strike alongside them against all redundancies [layoffs], as well as raising demands for no denationalisations and for a substantial wage rise with full cost-of-living protection. Such a fight for jobs would not only win the allegiance of millions of unemployed, but would encourage at the same time the strike-breaking capacity of the troops, many of them working-class lads forced into the army as an alternative to the dole queue [welfare lines]. Militants from other striking unions, the women’s support groups, the unemployed and minority organisations must be drawn in to form joint elected strike committees which could lay the basis for alternative organs to the strikebreaking/capitalist state.

A victory for the miners will not only bring the vindictive Iron Lady to her knees but open the road to doing away with the class system whose savagery and horror she so well embodies. As much as the petty bourgeois capitalism seeks to revitalise itself on the blood of its workers, it raises again the spectre of the mass misery on which it rose to imperialist dominance. A tragic harbinger of what Thatcher intends for the British working class when she talks about a “Victorian values” is that the recent death of an 11-year-old boy killed while scavenging a spit tip [waste pile] for coal to heat the home. And when the government denied the family Social Security funeral benefits as punishment for supporting the strike.

The depth of self-sacrifice and the breadth of support for this strike is a recognition that on its outcome hinges the fate of trade unions, entire communities and the livelihoods and security of every working-class and minority family. This country is a tinderbox of social contradictions. There is only one solution for Britain’s workers and oppressed: the struggle for a workers government to expropriate the profiteers and warmongers and establish a planned economy capable of making this country a decent place to live in. Key to this is the fight for a revolutionary leadership of the labour movement uncompromisingly committed to class struggle and socialism. Only then can the myriad crimes of this long-outlived, imperialist ruling class finally be avenged. That is why we say: The miners must not stand alone! Strike now with the miners! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees! ■

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26 OCTOBER 1984
Nothing excites a capitulator as much as a chance to indict a revolutionist for something the capitulator is himself guilty of. Hence after the Spartacist League last July offered to defend the Democrats' rights against cop bonapartism and rightin violence, potential charging us with being soft on the Democratic Party were penned by several opponent groups: the Mountan­
ites, the Avakian group, the sinister Workers League and the so-called "External Tendenc." The ET differs from the others in that, while behaving as the most vicious of our enemies, it professes to critically support the SL: being composed of some former SL members, of generally rightist colora­
tion, who quit the party in fear of the Reagan years.

These groups now accuse us of inventing a fictitious threat to the Democratic Convention, so as to get close to the Democrats under cover of "defense." To make such a case our critics must dismiss the whole reaction­ionary climate of bourgeois intim­
dation and victimization in this period: cop bonapartism, government-protected racist/fascist terrorism, FBI witchhunting, the ideological mobiliza­
tion for war. (Such touching faith in the stability of bourgeois democracy is displayed to our opponents only when it suits them. A couple of years ago, Bob Avakian himself applied for political asylum in France, while the Workers League's crisis-mongering proclivities are legendary—they once maintained that the use of the National Guard in Boston to clean up after a blizzard was a "dress rehearsal for military rule.")

For the ET, which remember is supposed to stand in some kind of solidarity with the SL, belittling the bonapartist climate expressed around the Democratic Convention serves an additional function: it enables them to belittle the dangers confronting our revolutionary party directly, the better to encourage us to criminally abet the real, actual, opera­tional, deadly dangerous campaign which targets the Spartacist League for bourgeois repression and cop violence. But the issues of ostensible concern in the ET letter (see page 9)—centrally, the question of democratic rights—are worth examining dispassionately. Be­cause for Marxists—unlike the opportu­

nists of all stripes, for whom "defense" is synonymous with an appetite to suck up to the forces you are "defending"— defense of democratic rights is integral to defense of the oppressed. Reagan/State’s "anti-terrorism" cam­
aign was brutally enforced on the streets of San Francisco during the Democratic National Convention. Prec­eding the convention, the press carried a barrage of articles citing "police sources" as concerned about supposed "terrorist" attacks. Under this pretext, a massive police mobilization did indeed—as we had earlier predicted— turn the convention into a militarized zone, unleashing cop violence against the tame liberals and reformists who demonstrated in conjunction with the Democratic gathering. The demonstra­tors, who were threatened in advance in the press, penned in by the cops, some of them beaten and arrested, were there to lobby the Democrats on behalf of various liberal causes. Their mistreat­
ment was part of a concerted effort to intimidate that bourgeois gathering politically and physically—and it worked. The delegates stayed under­
ground, in the convention center bunk­ers; San Francisco businesses, from restaurants to prostitutes, complained bitterly at not getting the patronage they expected. After the convention, some small fraction of the delegates ventured into the city, finding to their surprise that it was not such a bad place after all. As we have pointed out before, genuine Marxists are hardly the only targets of Reagan's campaign of dom­estic reaction backed up by increasing state bonapartism. The drive for anti­Soviet war abroad means attempts to regimentation at home; thus the new FBI guidelines which officially equate political opposition to the government with "criminal terrorism," thus the Supreme Court decisions and presiden­tial directives granting sweeping powers to the police and secret police, thus the unleashing of native fascist groups against blacks and minorities. In San Francisco, the government threat of violence against political opponents was exercised against the 'Democrats' radical/liberal "fringe." What happened at the Democratic Convention was sinister, it was orchestrated, and it was intended to include the Spartacist League among its targets.

As early as April, the San Francisco Chronicle (20 April) carried a story listing the SI as among some of the small, ultra-left groups operating in the Bay Area that police fear may play a violent role in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in July. The other groups listed were Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party; the Communist Workers Party and the Prairie Fire Organizing Com­mittee. This malicious smear job was picked up and elaborated by the New York Post. Our specific inclusion in this violence-baiting libel was no accident; it appeared just a few days after SI supporter Richard Bradley, dressed in the uniform of a Union Army sergeant, raised a 50-foot flagpole in SF Civic Center to tear down the Confederate flag—banner of slavery and KKK terror. This popular action by the SI proved both ultimately successful (the slavery flag flies no more and has been replaced by a historic Union flag) and
Dixie spokesman Al Nelson witchhunt measures fitting historical model for Reich. "fight repress" Reagan's rightist assault against "the Reichstag ... totalitarian Plan." November 1904 our part. we think the Democratic Reich'. thousands will march in you so lost it's. Have violence." a July. Much of our demolition of accelerating bourgeois reaction, the SL, refusing to bow to the pressure of the anti-Soviet popular front, has become the visible communist opposition to the new Cold War. Our insurrection defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist wars, our leadership of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the mushrooming of the War, to celebrate the championship of victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador, our efforts to further develop and extend the unions—all this has earned us the unyielding attentions of the capitalist state. We make noėoot in the bourgeois press. And from the increased enmity of the rulers and their unrepentant agents to defend the "democratic rights of the Democratic Party" is a short step to the intensified hostility of the left, which expresses its frenzied hatred of us as it did under the happen-chance of the enforecgments, and with a barrage of wholesale slander of us (as "violent disrupters" and "instigators and perpetuators of political disruption and violence") of us as "terrorists". Our issue is our opposition to tailing the Democratic Convention against the anti-Soviet popular front is where it's at. What matters is, in the ET's words, "the reformists predict that hundreds of thousands will march in the labor, gay, peace and sundry other demonstrations scheduled for outside the Convention." Therefore they demand that the SL should seek to be the best organizers for those hopped-for multitudes, with our revolutionary slogans, of course.

On July 13 the San Francisco Chronicle (just wrongfully reported) had the SL participants in the liberal anti-Falwell protest outside the convention. "... as chief instrument, our real absence from these scenes of police brutality means nothing. The next 4 years carry us in good faith and on the basis of information received, keeps putting us there for the powers that be."

If the ETs want to participate in Pro-Democratic Party events, by all means they should go. But we ask that they do so under the false appraisal of a "tendency"—exterior or extraterritorial, of the SL/LHLSD. Instead, we have to do is send up at a public forum in New York City on July 20, SL spokesman Joseph Seymour blasted them: "We say that we intend to have nothing
do to with the Democratic Party "to defend the Democrats which the reformist left sees as the way to defeat Reagan. And for that reason, we say, the Democrats no longer have it's at. What matters is, in the ET's words, "the reformists predict that hundreds of thousands will march in the labor, gay, peace and sundry other demonstrations scheduled for outside the Convention." Therefore they demand that the SL should seek to be the best organizers for those hopped-for multitudes, with our revolutionary slogans, of course.

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The events of the 1920s, especially in fragile bourgeois democracies like Germany, were another matter. Many German fascists attacked not only Communists and Social Democrats but also middle-of-the-road bourgeois political parties. They sought the support of the center against the old left, the Versailles Treaty and supported the Weimar constitution. In 1922, for example, they overthrew the French socialist government and went on to proclaim the First French Republic inGeneva. The destruction of the French republic in a faction fight among currents of the bourgeoisie was an opening shot in a war which was to destroy the reputations and livelihoods of thousands of Communists and others. Significantly, Reagan recently awarded the posthumous “Medal of Freedom” to the psychotic anti-Communist perjurer Whittaker Chambers, the key witness in the Hiss trials. And Nixon, who earned his spurs in the Hiss case, evidently missed a chance to make a proletarian counteroffensive. If Nixon is a terrorist, is his group therefore a terrorist organization?

At the GOP’s own national convention in Dallas (where the Republicans were sure they had won a good battle), the president was assassinated. If the massacre was an opening shot in a war which was to destroy the reputations and livelihoods of thousands of Communists and others...

The Democratic Party was attacked as soft on Communism—witness Jean Kirkpatrick’s tirade with its refrain that the Democrats “always blame America first.” Crazy—but the capitalist system is crazy and finds its extreme decay the appropriate political servants. The US, like the rest of the world, is in the clutches of the logic of bourgeois democracy perverted as standing in the way of the needs of the system’s defenders, in this case the need to regiment the whole population in the drive toward war. The Avakianists are perhaps sincere in casting us for defending the democratic rights of the Democrats. After all, they never have much of a knock for any kind of rights—witness their objective bloc with the rampaging racist mobs of South Boston against school busing. If nothing less, though, is transparently cynical. Consider the polemical “method” of the Workers League (“Bodyguards for the Democrats,” Ballroom, 24 July). The WI quotes our statement that “The profound and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way belies our position that the Democratic Party has no right to assume national support as its candidate.” It then promptly asserts the opposite: “the Spartacists are in reality marching before an international political party and seeking to integrate themselves with its liberal wing.” The US, relies the WI, is the yin that turns the story of the bourgeois politician who lost an election because his enemies said his wife was too narrow-minded into its socialist version. The ET meanwhile tries for shock value with the image that “Perhaps Richard Bradley, dressed in his Union army outfit, would be assigned to push George Wallace around in his wheel- chair...” But the ET, unlike the WI, is honest enough to admit that we are not trying to push Wallace around. True, we do not really care much for any kind of rights that do not benefit us ourselves, but the ET credits the removal of the Dixie flag to Democratic mayor Feinstein and considers following the lead of the Spartacist League in a politicalurry stunt. However this raises an interesting position. When Wallace was killed, there was an outburst of indignation on behalf of Bradley that he was shot down. The ET, relying on the what he thought was a true principle of terrorism, now says that Wallace was shot down because he got shot by someone so far to the right that he didn’t think the principle of
The defense of democratic rights is inextricably bound up with proletarian class struggle. It is therefore important to be able to discern the scope of such rights in bourgeois society. James Bearnham's classical pamphlet _The People in the New Savage Sphere_ (1937 when he was a leading spokesman of the Trotskyist movement) discusses the issue of the scope of rights. There are bourgeois property rights whose defense is the primary purpose of the organization. But Bearnham explains, "Such rights as these is it the workers who are called upon to defend exactly the same way that the bourgeoisie itself destroyed the special feudal and slaveholding privileges.

Secondly, there are existing capitalist society distinctly prolietarian rights as they are enjoyed in the ideological struggle of proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. Such rights as housing, education, medical care, and the right to organize for the struggle of the working class are by their very nature constantly under attack to one degree or another. They are parts of bourgeois society and must be constantly defended.

The proletariat has a direct and vital stake in the protection of these rights for they provide the scope for its own independent organization. At the same time, the struggle against the state-proletariat against the bourgeoisie, especially the struggle to organize its own political party to conquer power, is the front line battleground for the defense and extension of democratic rights. The ET's despotic police, a cynical effort to buttress its transparently anti-proletarian character, has drawn members of several unions, including those usually termed civil liberties organizations such as the ACLU, to this struggle for the same reason that it was one of the class battles that forged industrial unionism in this country. But the key facts sitting on the Central Labor Council, working overtime for Mondale, will force the struggle to the dignity of the working class.

Protest SWP Ballot Exclusion

The following telegram was sent October 18 by the Parisian Defense Committee.

Thomas W. Wallace

NY State Board of Elections One Commerce Plaza Albany, NY 12238

NY State Board of Elections' exclusion of Socialist Workers Party from November presidential elections is a direct attack on fundamental rights of minority and working-class parties to participate in elections. This is a gross and flagrant abuse of protection for the right to vote for the socialist and working-class parties to participate in elections. This is a gross and flagrant abuse of the freedom of speech and of the press.

Anti-Soviet War Drive: War on Labor, Minorities at Home

The anti-Soviet war drive has come home to chic San Francisco with a vengeance. Reviving a wartime tradi-

SF Elections... (continued from page 4)
party on record against sending U.S. troops to Central America. The Demo-
cratic platform like the Republican asserts that the U.S. and Nicaragua have all encouraged instability and supported revolution in the region more than the Sandinistas. But in the face of Reagan's determination to wipe out the Sandinistas, Mondale has not taken the party along and accept a "fait accompli." Providing, of course, that it is an accomplished fact which he neither wholly favors.

From the time Sandino rose up against the Marines in 1927 until the Sandinistas downed a U.S. Air Force jet, Nixon and Reagan isn't interested—to him all revolutions are communists. And the last invasion of Nicaragua is by the Sandinistas.

The present regime in El Salvador is the product of 50 years of military rule, beginning with the 1932 massacre of 30,000 Communists and other poor workers. The killing has never stopped—only the form changes. Under CIA "democrat" Duarte executions were down, indiscriminate bombing is up. Yet the leftist guerrillas of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) and the liberal politicians of the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) keep seeking a "negotiated/political solution" with this death squad "democracy." This is a dangerous trap. If the rebels really take down the Duarte regime, it will mean more massacres. The real choice for the Salvadoran masses is revolution or death.

Reagan's "two-track" policy consists of a tiny carrot and a very big Stick. And the "alternative" pushed by various reformists and the "solidarity movement" is "Vote Mondale/Ferraro." Ultimate aim is that the U.S. would be "less in Central America" by sending a single political delegate as a "puppet." But Ronald Reagan isn't interested—to him all revolutions are communists. And the last invasion of Nicaragua is by the Sandinistas.

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sion, cut off any aid to Salvadoran rebels, send home Cuban and Soviet military advisers and let an “independent inquiry mission” into the U.S. military power it could have for defense!

This would be a real setback for revolutionary Nicaragua. On September 22 the Sandinistas announced they had accepted the Contadora proposals only if the U.S. was signed the U.S. would supposedly be obligated (morally?) to halt its aggression. In the following months, the U.S. has been trying to hamstring the FSLN regime with Contadora’s “new” $200 million “incentive fund.” But when it came to the military “advisors,” the U.S. government reversed itself. Only a few days after the Sandinistas accepted the treaty, Washington rejected it. No matter how much they may say they sell out, Reagan just isn’t interested.

At the UN, Daniel Ortega vowed courageously:

"...the last to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and penniless—will not fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either invading the neighbors or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggression threatens our people. But we are certain that our sacrifice will not be in vain and that this parallel response to the aggressors will be pluralism in the United States as well. This is our contribution to peace."

Forcing the Nicaraguan people to fight for survival is the closest thing we have to the whole “Contadora process” supposed to be achieved. The survival of a revolutionary national liberation movement faced through diplomatic wheeling-and-dealing with the junior partners of Yanakist revolution is the only way it needs sophistication weaponry, from SAM antiaircraft defenses to MIG aircraft. After several years, the Sandista Liberal League has raised demonstrations in over Central America the demand: "Sends our people to Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

This never fails to cause commotions among various Latin American regimes of the ruling Party and Contadora for "solidarity.

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Almost half a billion in loans has been put aside, a hundred of millions of dollars worth of damage has been caused by contra sabotage; vital empire interests are at stake. For example, due to CIA mining of the harbors, and now Nicaragua is almost totally dependent on U.S. and European supplies due to American pressure on Mexico and Venezuela. The country is facing a serious economic crisis, and the United States is using this to the advantage of the Sandinista regime.

CIA...

(continued from page 1)

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NYC Subway Inferno

The Brooklyn-bound Lexington Avenue Express had just emerged from the East River tunnel on October 11 when the undercarriage of subway car No. 9000 burst into flames. The blaze raced through the tunnel forcing 2,000 passengers to evacuate. 

The Brooklyn-bound subway trains were shut down and 200 firefighters battled the blaze, a Manhattan-bound train pulled into the smoke-filled station and an additional 120 firefighters battled the blaze, a Manhattan-bound train pulled into the smoke-filled station while another subway car burst into flames. 

While another subway car burst into flames, the Brooklyn-bound subway trains were shut down and about 2,000 passengers were evacuated. The smoke-filled station was fully and integrated TWU Local 100, which after its 1966 strike had been a pace-setting battle against the union-busters of the time. 

“People who appointed people who appoint leaders dedicated to get transit system into a 19th century social and commercial capital. Investing the billions necessary to solve its ‘fiscal crisis’ by devastating the banks, the capitalist government from the White House to the State Capitol, the bankers and their henchmen, Kiley and Gunn, express the bankers’ interest.”

New York City subways: 90C buys you the scar of your name.

Roostered away at the contractual rights of the T.A.’s 600 car cleaners to pick their jobs by seniority, which was even upheld in arbitration. Car cleaners are at the bottom of the pay scale in repair shops and inspection barns. They do dirty work with toxic chemicals, and seniority rights for older workers are crucial for their survival. 

Lawe tossed off a few slurs against Kiley’s “steamtroopers,” and “union-busting” but his pinhole message was his willingness “to bend over backwards.” He boasted that during the 1975 NYFCO strike, he turned the subways into a sweatshop, the subway system was burning up again, this time right underneath the TA’s belly in Brooklyn, a fire in which three passengers were treated at the scene and another 58 hospitalized. 

The T.A.’s response to the fact that they literally sat atop a smoldering inferno is of course to scapetanget workers. Just as they claimed last year’s rash of derailments was due to “cowboy motormen,” today they claim subway fires are due to “incompetent” car inspectors. His anti-union scapegoat-offensive is nothing new for the TA bosses. In July 1981, motorman Jesse Cole was killed in a wreck caused by inoperative signals that were installed in 1918. A Cole lay trapped and bleeding in his caged cab, then-T.A. chief John Simpson was already on the job, blaming the victim for his own death. But the blood of Jesse Cole is on the hands of Simpson and his ilk and the class they serve, TWU members. Remember Jesse Cole. 

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In payment for these services rendered to the subway bosses, Lawe is angling for a seat on the MTA Board of Directors. To show how “constructive” he could be Lawe offered to give back to the T.A. the car cleaners’ seniority rights just won in arbitration if only they would agree to “abide by the contract.”

Of course, if Lawe doesn’t “abide by the contract” it gets hit with the draconian anti-labor Taylor Law. But the TWU (Gunn) is “gunning” for car cleaner seniority rights as a demonstration that they are prepared to waste the millions of dollars in dire jeopardy every day.

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Reagan's Rape of Grenada...

(continued from page 16)

with Bishop. Their first and only political statement upon assumption of power declared... "...there is need to encourage much more positively the role of private investment, including both local and foreign investors."

So why the invasion? If Coard & Co. were correct, the answer is that the invasion claim that the motivation was Wall Street's insatiable drive to suck every last drop of investment money from Caribbean rulers. But Reagan, on the other hand, in his "Star Wars" speech, claimed it was because of and in fact against the growing threat to U.S. and Grenada's strategic location near a "very important passegeway for our international commerce and military lines of communication." Bishop stated the obvious when he replied that Grenada "constitutes no threat to the United States nor indeed to any other country."

Now that the U.S. invaded Grenada, the show, a Reagan administration spokesman, asked if Washington was still committed to the policy of non-aggression which it has been following toward Cuba and Grenada and Stalin's "backyard" of Yankee imperialism against Castro's orders. Not a single Super-S, not even prominent bourgeois politicians, such as the president of the Dominican Republic's senate, have defended the invasion of Grenada. But they all agreed that Reagan...has "ballooning trade deficits" with the USSR. That amounts to a huge subsidy, and that is money pour waters in the eyes of liberal Democrats. And then they act worried that Cuba sells sugar to the Soviets at 40 cents a pound...bitterly complained that Cuba sells sugar to the Soviets at 40 cents a pound while they get 6 cents a pound...bitterly complained that Castro's orders. Not a single Super-S, not even prominent bourgeois politicians, such as the president of the Dominican Republic's senate, have defended the invasion of Grenada. Thus the Mitterrand regime has undertaken a series of actions or blocking traffic on highways, or refusing to transport the workers against scabs and cops and extend the strike to other factories.

In France today "normal" union actions, factory by factory, sector by sector, is wholly insufficient to defeat the ruthless attacks by the bourgeois and its state. The lessons of the immigrant workers last year are still fresh. When French workers did not join in common struggle, the overworked, underpaid, African production workers at Talbot saw their factory occupation shrink to a single department in a plant crawling with scabs and company goons. What is needed as a guide to these strikes against the "socialist" austerities of Mitterrand is a clear political perspective: the fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF). French section of the international Spartacist tendency, has advanced this perspective of revolutionary struggle which unites all sectors of the French working class in an LTF leaflet, distributed to workers at the Renault plant in Cleon, near Rouen. They state that "what is needed now is an all-out strike against Reagan! Not a single Super-S, not even a single car owner in the U.S., the CGT and CFDT [union federation associated with the Socialists' Party] have the power and should organize such a strike. Organize mass pickets of Mobilize the strikers in front of the factory gates to stop scabs from entering.

"We must avoid another Talbot, where hundreds of scabs were massed in front of the gate to attack strikers. Picket lines will shut down Renault. And we say: No layoffs! No layoffs! Work must be divided among the jobless with no wages and with reductions in time."

"An all-out strike at Renault can be the spearhead for a general strike, the only answer to the government's attack. Only a workers government can rationalize and fight "socialist" austerity without damaging the working class."

SPEAKING TRUTH

Reagan's racist attack on Grenada can only be explained by his xenophobia and racism, by the pro-Americanism that unites all sectors of the French workers movement, fight "socialist" austerity. But, as we wrote last fall: "It will take more than a "Grenada high" to restore the "American century" which ended in the swamps of Indochina as the most powerful imperialist war machine in history was defeated by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. In raping Grenada Reagan sought to retaliate for the American humiliation—not only in Beirut but in Cuba, Nicaragua, and above all Vietnam. A revolutionary war throughout Central America would threaten Yankee imperialism and our national independence."

This is qualitatively more dangerous than the airport with a 10,000-foot runway which is still unopened, of which the Grenadian New Jewel Movement has been fighting a battle, with the Grenadian New Jewel Movement, partly in the backyard of Yankee imperialism—nationalism and "self-reliance" are no longer options. It is to defend the Grenada revolution and Grenada, the key to the Caribbean struggle, that we call for a worldwide solidarity...
Ronald Reagan and other frustrated Yankee imperialists saw the U.S. invasion of the black Caribbean island of Grenada as their chance to "get back" after their humiliating defeat in Vietnam. At the Republican convention and in a televised broadcast, the roughrider from Hollywood pointed to the rape of that tiny island as the USA standing tall again. That it took only 7,000 American troops, backed up by twice that many on a fleet of 20 ships, to defeat a few stragglers from Grenada's ragtag army and 700 heroic Cuban construction workers, most of them over 40, is supposed to be an example of good old American derring-do, ranking right up there with the halls of Montezuma and the shores of Tripoli. The Pentagon actually gave out more medals for this operation than there were U.S. soldiers on the island! And now Democratic challenger Mondale, who is supported by most of the left, says that he too would be a gladiator invader of Grenada.

Actually it was a convenient diversion from U.S. imperialism's ignominious disaster in Beirut where 241 Marines were blown to smithereens in Reagan's biggest foreign policy fiasco yet. The racists grooved on TV shots of white boys shoving their M-16s in the faces of a defenseless black population. Today Reagan's trying to exploit the "Grenada factor" in his re-election bid. They're even turning the "rescued" medical students to campaign for four more years, presumably killing the ground from Peoria to Palo Alto. And the Pentagon's threatening to do it again—last week they announced guidelines for "surprise military operations." But Central America won't be another Grenada. And the superficial "new patriotism" will quickly evaporate when the body bags start coming home.

Grenada was above all a victim of the neocolonial regime under their puppet Sir Eric Gairy. Forced by imperialist hostility to adopt a radical-nationalist posture, the petty-bourgeois NJM was hardly "communist." One of a string of tiny impoverished islands divided by seven different colonial powers, Grenada could hardly develop a viable capitalist economy, let alone a socialist one.

Last October the popular Bishop was overthrown and murdered in a palace coup by his factional rivals in the NJM, Bernard Coard and Hudson Austin. The turmoil created by this coup gave Reagan a useful pretext for the invasion, for which plans had long been prepared. Why did the Grenadian "People's Revolutionary Army" dissolve, throwing away their uniforms, while the Cuban construction workers tenaciously fought the Yankee invaders? Certainly, the anti-Bishop coup—its self-symptom of an unstable petty-bourgeois nationalist regime—demoralized the New Jewel Movement's supporters. But there is a deeper reason. We wrote: "The difference between the regimes in Cuba and Grenada was a fundamental class difference. The Cubans had something to fight for: a social revolution which had sent the Cuban bourgeoisie swimming to Miami. Even though that revolution was bureaucratically deformed from the outset, with political power solely in the hands of the all-powerful Comandante Castro. Cuban workers have resolutely defended it in hand, from the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to the present day. In contrast, Grenada has experienced only a series of palace coups, not revolutions."

"-Yankle Big Stick Hits Grenada," IFI No. 341, 4 November 1983

In fact, after the Yankees installed the neocolonial regime under their puppet Sir Paul Scoon, not one major "conquest of the revolution" was undone—because there were none to begin with. And one former NJM cabinet member, Lyden Ramdhanny, a prominent businessman, after the fact supported the American invasion as a "rescue" mission!

Since the U.S. invasion of Grenada, conditions on the island have visibly worsened. Unemployment has risen as high as 50 to 60 percent and the islanders have shown only cynicism and indifference toward the U.S.-imposed neocolonial regime. Now former tyrant Gairy is back, no longer a "wanted man," claiming he was unjustly mantled for calling on the UN to pay more attention to flying saucers, and that he isn't a devil-worshipper, only a Rosicrucian. Meanwhile, Bishop supporters have sought to revive his memory with a campaign to name the soon-to-be-completed airport after him. They have also formed a new political party called the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement for the upcoming colonial elections in December. But as far as actual resistance struggle is concerned—nothing.

With incredible hypocrisy Reagan even lamented the death of Maurice Bishop, a man he had repeatedly threatened as a "dangerous Soviet surrogate." The current government is also attempting to take advantage of Bishop's popularity by trying his factional rivals and assassins, Bernard Coard and "General" Hudson Austin, former military commander and leader of the coup, along with 17 others. Coard and Austin are despicable criminals, but the agents of the Yankee imperialists responsible for the murder of more than two million Vietnamese have no right to judge them. Perhaps you could get a semblance of justice if Coard and Austin were shipped to Cuba to stand trial for their crimes before a tribunal of the construction workers who so heroically fulfilled their internationalist duty!

The reformists have taken up Washington's claim that it was the "hardline Marxist" Coard clique that triggered the invasion. The lesson these fake-leftists seek to draw is that any "ultra-leftist" opposition to "class alliances" with sections of the bourgeoisie plays into the hands of the imperialists. However, far from being Marxists, or even hardliners, Coard & Co. were just an out-faction with no substantial political differences... continued on page 13

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