

# U.S. HANDS OFF GRENADA NOW!

## All out for November 12 protests in D.C., L.A.!

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

NEW YORK — "The march on November 12 will be an important way to demonstrate against the policies of the Reagan administration in El Salvador and Central America," Salvadoran trade union leader Salvador López told a meeting of 200 here on October 22. "We ask you to speak up against U.S. military intervention, repression, and for the dialogue."

López was in New York as part of a nationwide speaking tour being conducted by representatives of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS) in the United States. López is a young leader of the railroad workers union who helped lead two important rail strikes in El Salvador before he was forced to flee the country due to government repression. He told the meeting he has been jailed by the Salvadoran regime and subjected to torture.

"Everyone must participate" in the November 12 demonstration, López emphasized. On that day marches and rallies called by the November 12 Coalition will be held in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles.

The actions have won broad support within the movements opposing U.S. intervention and supporting solidarity with the Central American revolution. More broadly, the actions have won support among church groups, peace organizations, civil rights leaders, unionists, and others. López stressed the importance of union participation in the demonstrations.

In his talk, López reviewed the recent history of the Salvadoran trade union movement. Despite fierce repression from the U.S.-backed regime, "Salvadoran workers are not afraid to organize and die

Continued on Page 7



Maurice Bishop 1944-1983

## End U.S. war in Lebanon: bring our boys home!

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

"My personal feeling, the way I feel now, is that he died in vain," John Price, from Attalla, Alabama, said of the death of his son, James Price, who was one of at least 219 U.S. marines killed in the October 23 bombing attack on the marine headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon.

In a similar attack the same day on the headquarters of the French forces in Beirut, 54 soldiers were killed, 15 wounded, and 36 missing.

"I feel my son was sacrificed," Price

said. "I don't see a reason for our boys being there."

From the standpoint of working people, there is no reason why U.S. troops should be there — they should be brought home now.

But the Reagan administration and Congress, which represent the interests of big business, don't see it that way. Reagan has announced that he's keeping the marine and naval forces in Lebanon, and is replacing the dead marines. This commitment will guarantee that more U.S. soldiers will be brought home in coffins.

U.S. officials have attributed the deaths to acts of "terrorism" against a "neutral, peacekeeping" force. But the fact is that the true terrorists are Washington and its imperialist allies, who are waging an unjust war against the Lebanese and Palestinian people. The number of Lebanese and Palestinian deaths and the suffering caused by destroyed homes and daily attacks in this war far exceeds the harm sustained so far by the French and U.S. troops. It's a war that the U.S. Congress ratified on September 30 when it okayed an 18-month extension to the deployment of U.S. Marines in Lebanon.

Washington's war in Lebanon has been going on for some time. The White House backed the June 1982 Israeli invasion of the country, and that government's bloody siege of Beirut. Both the U.S. government and the Israeli regime share responsibility for the massacre of hundreds of Palestinian civilians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee

Continued on Page 17

## Why Reagan fears Grenadian revolution

OCTOBER 27 — In the first such airborne invasion since Vietnam, nearly 2,000 U.S. Marines and Army Rangers stormed the tiny island of Grenada October 25. This naked and unprovoked aggression reveals the hatred of the U.S. ruling class for the example Grenada set in 1979, when

## EDITORIAL

it became the first Black country in the world to carry out a socialist revolution.

As news of the criminal invasion spread, an outcry was heard around the world. Millions saw it as an ominous prelude to new U.S. military intervention against Nicaragua, the Salvadoran liberation fighters, and others struggling for freedom in the region.

The invasion of Grenada was preceded by the tragic developments that led to the assassination of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and many other top government leaders. These events have been deeply felt by workers in the United States, especially Blacks. The Grenadian people, like their sisters and brothers in Cuba and Nicaragua, demonstrated that it is possible even for a tiny, oppressed nation to throw off the racist, imperialist boot of Washington, to take power from the hands of the capitalists and landlords, and to establish a government that fights for the interests of working people.

In 1979, the Grenadians overthrew Eric Gairy, a U.S.-backed tyrant, and replaced him with a government of workers and farmers, led by the New Jewel Movement. That government, headed by Bishop, mobilized the toiling masses for four and a half years to overcome the legacy of poverty, hunger, and illiteracy left by centuries of colonial and capitalist rule.

In the short time since 1979, the Grenadian government slashed unemployment from 49 percent to less than 14 percent. Thousands of acres of idle land were made available to small farmers.

Women were given equal rights, and a vast program of health care, nutrition, adult education, and literacy classes was organized to transform the lives of the Grenadian people. Democratic councils were established all over the island.

It was the refusal of the New Jewel leadership and Grenadian people to retreat from their course that earned them the fear and hatred of U.S. imperialism — and the profound admiration of workers all over the world.

Taking advantage of the devastating blow October 19, when Grenadian army officers overthrew the Bishop-led New Jewel government, Reagan ordered a U.S. fleet en route to Lebanon to change course and invade Grenada.

Continued on Page 18

## Huge actions oppose missiles

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

In a massive climax to 10 days of anti-nuclear weapons protests, more than a million and a half people poured into the streets of European cities October 22 to oppose the deployment of U.S. Pershing 2 and cruise missiles scheduled to begin in December. Demonstrations also took place in scores of U.S. cities on the same day.

Marches, rallies, and human chains brought more than a million West Germans into the streets. The turnout was the largest for a political demonstration in West Germany since World War II.

A demonstration of at least a quarter million in London's Hyde Park was the largest antinuclear protest in Britain's history. Similar actions in Italy, France, Austria, and Sweden turned out hundreds of thousands more demanding that Washing-

ton put a halt to basing the new weapons on European soil.

In the United States, thousands protesting the missile deployment took part in some 140 demonstrations. The actions included a rally of 3,000 in Austin, Texas, marches and sit-ins at air force bases in New Hampshire and upstate New York, and a demonstration in Washington, D.C.

The October 22 mobilizations capped a 10-day "Action Week" that may have involved as many as 3 million people in West Germany alone and tens of thousands in the United States. Large-scale protests against the missile deployment have been continuing throughout Europe since the beginning of September.

The antinuclear weapons protests that shook Europe this fall were sparked by

Continued on Page 17



# Bishop: a Marxist of international stature

BY HARRY RING

At 39, Maurice Bishop was a Marxist leader of international stature.

As a high school student, his thinking was influenced by the victory of the Cuban revolution. His radical outlook deepened with the development of the Black Power movement of the 1960s. Symbolized by Malcolm X, it spread from the United States to the Caribbean and to Britain, where Bishop was then a law student.

Returning to Grenada from London in February of 1970, Bishop passed through Trinidad at a moment when Black youth were conducting a massive rebellion.

Arriving home, Bishop led in organizing a demonstration in solidarity with the Trinidad revolt.

The Grenadian demonstrators also denounced the dictatorial rule of their own country by Eric Gairy, and demanded jobs for the large number of unemployed. It was

the first basic challenge to the Gairy regime.

Meanwhile, Bishop and others had formed an organization, Forum, and sought to establish a weekly paper.

After a further evolution, they fused with other forces into the Movement for the Assembly of the People (MAP).

In March 1973, in what proved an historic move, MAP united with the JEWEL movement, which was based primarily on

Grenadian farmers and farm laborers. (JEWEL stood for Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education and Liberation.)

The united force was called the New Jewel Movement and six years later it was to smash the Gairy dictatorship.

New Jewel advocated democracy, agrarian reform, educational services, housing, a national health plan, and increased wages.

It favored nationalization of Grenada's banking and insurance interests and government control of imports and exports. This was aimed at achieving a foreign trade based on the interest of the majority of Grenadians.

The movement quickly built a big following. In 1973 it held two anti-Gairy conferences with 10,000 people participating in each. Its paper, the *New Jewel*, achieved a circulation of 10,000, making it the most widely read on the island.

On Nov. 18, 1973, "Bloody Sunday," the Mongoose Gang, Gairy's hired thugs, set upon Bishop and five of his comrades. The victims were savagely beaten and thrown into jail semiconscious.

In response, the New Jewel Movement turned toward winning leadership of the union movement and mobilizing the unions against Gairy.

In 1976, the New Jewel Movement formed a bloc with other opposition parties and contested for parliament. Despite massive fraud by Gairy, they were credited with 48 percent of the vote and won 6 of the 15 seats.

Three New Jewel leaders were elected — Bishop, Unison Whiteman, and Kendrick Radix.

The repression deepened, but this served only to bring more people into the opposition.

On March 13, 1979, the New Jewel Movement led in breaking the Gairy dictatorship and establishing a Provisional Revolutionary Government with Maurice Bishop as prime minister.

Under Bishop's leadership, the historic struggle was begun to reorganize Grenadian society in the interests of the majority, the workers and farmers.

## Hearing set in Calif. arson frame-up

BY SAM MANUEL

SEASIDE, Calif. — A November 10 preliminary hearing has been set for Ken Collins at the Monterey Courthouse. Collins, 23, is a banquet set-up person at the Hyatt-Delmonte hotel and has been charged with attempted arson. If convicted, he faces a minimum of 16 months in prison or a maximum of three years and a \$50,000 fine.

Collins, who is Black, is a member of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 483. He was a picket captain during a hotel workers' strike at the Hyatt last year.

On the evening of October 5, Collins and a coworker discovered a small, smoldering fire in a storage room in which they

had both been working earlier. Collins put out the fire and reported it to Hyatt security. A few hours later, Collins was arrested by two Monterey detectives.

The sole "evidence" given by the police is their allegation that the statements of two other coworkers might place Collins at the scene of the fire at about the time the fire may have been started.

But a review of the statements shows that at least three other persons might have been in the area at the supposed time of the fire, including an unidentified "lost" tourist.

This frame-up comes in the wake of other attempts by the Hyatt to harass and fire Collins and others who participated in the strike last year. Workers who supported

the strike were given shorter hours when they returned to work after the strike. Many had to find other jobs. One desk clerk was suspended for three days for simply stating that one of her coworkers was a scab during the strike.

Earlier this year, Collins was suspended from his job on the pretext of being two minutes late for work and for swearing back at his crew chief. His crew chief had crossed the picket line during the strike. Collins was also falsely charged with "destroying company property," breaking wine glasses, and supposedly refusing to go back to work.

The union filed a grievance challenging Collins' dismissal. The Hyatt's trumped-up charges fell apart in the first step of the grievance procedure. Many of the statements by supposed eyewitnesses on behalf of the Hyatt were found not to be their statements at all. They were in fact written interpretations of statements, some of which weren't even signed by the witnesses. These statements were written by the Hyatt personnel director. After this unsuccessful attempt to fire him, Collins was reinstated at his job.

Recently, the Hyatt has renewed its harassment of Collins and other workers. In one incident a Hyatt security person was seen checking some boxes that Collins and a coworker had dumped. Many times workers are accused of placing stolen goods in the garbage to be retrieved later.

Collins is also active in the movement against U.S. intervention in Central America. He is a leader of the Seaside chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance and recently joined the Socialist Workers Party. Collins has received a notice from the Selective Service System instructing him to register for the draft. Collins' coworkers and supporters plan to show up in the courtroom for the November 10 hearing. At this hearing a judge will decide whether this case should go to trial.

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

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

## No ruling in legal-fee hearing; judge condemns disruption suit

BY LARRY SEIGLE

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 24 — United States District Court Judge Mariana Pfalzer reserved judgment today on whether the Socialist Workers Party is entitled to collect legal fees from the attorneys who have carried out a four-year-long campaign of harassment against the party. Pfalzer said she is preparing a written opinion on whether the Los Angeles firm of Fisher and Moest will be required to repay part or all of the enormous expenses run up by the SWP and the Political Rights Defense Fund in defending the party against Fisher and Moest's lawsuit.

Pfalzer also announced she will hold a separate hearing on the proposed "findings of fact and conclusions of law" submitted in the case. The Justice Department has formally asked Pfalzer to rule that the FBI has the right to use informers against the SWP and other political organizations, and that the "identity of informants who have conducted activities within the Socialist Workers Party are protected from disclosure by the informant privilege."

The so-called informer privilege is used by the political police to keep secret the disruption operations carried out by informers and agents provocateurs against the workers movement. Pfalzer set no date for this critical hearing.

Fisher and Moest's client, a lawyer for Los Angeles County named Alan Gelfand, had sued the SWP, claiming the party is a front for the FBI. For four years Pfalzer had refused to throw the case out. But when the suit finally went to trial last spring, Pfalzer was forced to admit that Gelfand had "not proved anything."

At today's hearing, Pfalzer used even stronger language. She stated that "There is no question but that he [Gelfand] was carrying out a campaign of slander" against the SWP, and that the entire lawsuit has been "outrageous." She added that "No one who has ever looked at the file [on the case] has ever concluded that there was merit" in the lawsuit.

The insurance-company lawyer representing Fisher and Moest called the SWP's efforts to collect legal fees from them "reprehensible" because it threatened to permanently injure their "reputation" and "standing in the community."

The lawyer for Gelfand pleaded that his client should not have to pay the fees because he "is merely a salaried public servant" with no money.

Future issues of the *Militant* will provide more details on the ongoing battle around this case and its significance for all working people.

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# Grenada: why U.S. wants to destroy its example for workers, farmers

BY STEVE CLARK

Washington's invasion of Grenada is aimed at finishing off once and for all the workers and farmers government that came to power there in March 1979 through a popular, anticapitalist revolution. It is part of the escalating efforts by the U.S. ruling class to halt and roll back the advance of the American socialist revolution, opened by the victory of the Cuban workers and farmers in 1959 and given a powerful new impulse by victories in Nicaragua and Grenada 20 years later.

In launching this bloody onslaught, U.S. imperialism has taken advantage of the devastating blow dealt to the Grenada revolution October 19 by the execution of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and five other outstanding revolutionary leaders of the New Jewel Movement (NJM): Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman; Housing Minister Norris Bain; Education Minister Jacqueline Creft; and union leaders Vincent Noel and Fitzroy Bain.

This crime against the Grenada revolution by the new military council has been denounced by revolutionary leaders of the working-class movement and anti-imperialist struggles around the world.

If the current invasion succeeds in imposing a foreign occupation of Grenada, the imperialist forces will install a capitalist regime subservient to Washington — a regime like the dictatorship of Eric Gairy overthrown by the Grenadian people in 1979, or like the seven Caribbean governments participating in Washington's counterrevolutionary assault.

## Execution of leaders

Washington wants to forestall the reemergence of revolutionary leadership to replace Bishop and the other fallen NJM leaders and to prevent further mass mobilizations such as those that occurred in support of Bishop and the revolution.

The depth of the popular support for the anti-imperialist, anticapitalist course of such leaders as Bishop was dramatically demonstrated during the week leading up to the executions. As the October 20 statement of the Cuban government and Communist Party noted, "It was clear that the people were in favor of Bishop" and "had taken to the streets in support of" him.

Further testimony to this support was the very fact that the military officers who toppled the People's Revolutionary Government felt that they could only hope to stabilize their power by beheading the revolutionary leadership in a bloodbath.

The widow of one of the slain leaders has reported that Bishop and five other NJM leaders surrendered peacefully to the military authorities following a mass demonstration of supporters October 19. According to her account and those of others on the scene, the six leaders were then taken inside a building and shot. (There are also reports that NJM leaders Kendrick Radix, Don Rojas, and others were subsequently executed.)

These eyewitness reports belie the claim by Gen. Hudson Austin over radio that evening that the NJM leaders were killed during a gun battle initiated by Bishop supporters, as well as the slander that Bishop "had linked up — openly — with counter-revolutionaries" in order "to wipe out the entire leadership of the party and the army."

Bishop had "linked up" with the workers and farmers who made the revolution; it is Austin and his military council that have wiped out virtually the entire top leadership of the New Jewel Movement.

Austin's demagogic attempt to wrap his murderous actions in the mantle of defending the revolution was clearly given no credence by the working people of Grenada. The new regime could not mobilize any popular support during the week leading up to the executions. Armored military vehi-

cles fired into the crowd of Bishop's supporters, killing and wounding many participants. And the first decree of the council was a four-day, round-the-clock curfew, with warnings that violators would be "shot on sight."

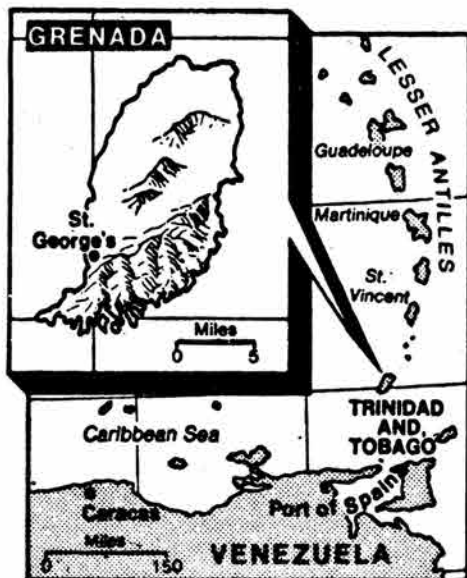
The message to the Grenadian people could not have been clearer. Maurice Bishop was placed under house arrest and then killed in cold blood; now the Grenadian people were under house arrest with the same fate awaiting them should they defy the council.

## March 1979 revolution

What happened on March 13, 1979, on this tiny island that put such a scare into the U.S. government and the capitalist rulers it represents?

On that day the workers and farmers of Grenada toppled the corrupt, neocolonial dictatorship of Eric Gairy. Gairy had used the thugs of his feared and hated "Mongoose Gang" to brutalize and murder opponents of his anti-working-class policies. His government served only his own extensive capitalist interests and those of a handful of other wealthy Grenadians, keeping the country subordinate to British and U.S. imperialism.

During the 1970s, the New Jewel Movement was formed and gained growing mass support through several broad-based struggles for democratic rights, improved con-



# Thousands protest invasion by Washington

BY WILL REISSNER

Hours after the U.S. invasion of Grenada was announced, protests began taking place throughout the United States.

District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York passed a motion describing the invasion as "an act of war" and calling on "the U.S. government to immediately withdraw all troops."

The National Conference of Black Lawyers described the administration's justifications as "an insult to the American people and the world community." The organization called "for the immediate withdrawal of United States troops from Grenada."

In a telegram to government figures, Claire Randall of the National Council of Churches of Christ urged "the prompt withdrawal of U.S. forces from Grenada."

Ron Daniels of the National Black Independent Political Party sent a telegram to Secretary of State George Shultz charging that Washington had "seized upon the tragic circumstances of the last few days and the present vulnerability of the Grenadian people to foster yet another illegal and immoral invasion into the affairs of the peoples of the Caribbean and Central



Militant/Kevin Williams

Grenadian revolution of 1979 brought workers and farmers government to power, which mobilized masses to take big strides forward in agriculture, economic development, and human rights.

ditions for workers and farmers, and freedom from imperialist domination. In the weeks leading up to March 13, 1979, NJM leaders learned of a plot by Gairy to assassinate them while he was out of the country. The revolutionists prevented this massacre by organizing a successful armed takeover of the True Blue army barracks and of the island's sole radio transmitter.

An appeal for mass support over the occupied radio station brought the Grenadian people into the streets by the tens of thousands, occupying the police station and other strategic points and ensuring victory. The NJM took the lead in establishing a People's Revolutionary Government, with one of its founding leaders, Maurice Bishop, as prime minister.

## Workers and farmers government

The new government was politically independent of both the imperialist and local Grenadian capitalist classes, basing itself instead on the workers and farmers. It completely dismantled Gairy's army and officer corps, building a new army and militia.

From its first days in power, the revolutionary government began to implement popular measures to upgrade health and education, guarantee labor rights, improve the conditions of small farmers, ensure equal treatment of women and upgrade

their position in society, and spur economic development.

The Grenada revolution — like the Cuban revolution 20 years earlier, and the Nicaraguan revolution a few months later — was a radical, anticapitalist revolution. Starting from the organization of the toilers to combat imperialist domination and establish democratic liberties, the new government laid the foundation for working people to begin the transition from capitalist property relations to the establishment of a workers state based on nationalized property and economic planning.

"With the working people we made our popular, anti-imperialist, and democratic revolution," Prime Minister Bishop explained. "With them we will build and advance to socialism and final victory."

The establishment of the workers and farmers government was the first fruit of that anticapitalist revolution, an indispensable instrument of the toilers to carry out the expropriation of the exploiters. It overthrew the political dictatorship of the capitalist minority in Grenada, replacing it with the opening stage of what Marxists call the dictatorship of the proletariat — that is, political rule by, and in the interests of, the workers and poor farmers, the toiling majority.

The Grenadian capitalists, and also some U.S. and other imperialist economic

Continued on next page

America." Daniels added that the NBIPP demands "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces."

California Congressman Ronald Dellums blasted the invasion, noting that it "must have been planned for a long time, and that this administration was simply waiting for the first available excuse to implement it."

Dellums warned that "this invasion also increases the prospects of military confrontation with Cuba, which may well be the ultimate goal of this administration's planning for an action already taken against Grenada."

In Berkeley, California, Mayor Gus Newport announced October 25 that the city council had passed a resolution condemning the invasion. More than 3,000 people staged a two-hour march through the city that day to protest the invasion.

In San Francisco, hours after the invasion was announced, more than 800 people took part in a noontime picket of the federal building.

More than 250 people participated in a lunchtime protest in Detroit on the day of the invasion.

In Boston on October 25, nearly 200 people picketed the Federal Building.

In Washington, 200 people attended an October 25 planning meeting for a picket at the White House October 26.

In New York, some 4,000 people took part in a demonstration at the United Nations on October 26. On the evening of October 25, more than 300 people attended a rally in Harlem in solidarity with the people of Grenada, and 200 attended a protest meeting in Brooklyn sponsored by the National Black United Front.

In Minneapolis, 400 people picketed the federal building on October 25.

In Vancouver, Canada, 200 people participated in a noon rally October 25, protesting the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Emergency protests also took place October 25 in Chicago, New Orleans, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and many other cities.

In Atlanta, on October 29, Operation PUSH will turn its regular Saturday meeting into a rally against the invasion of Grenada.

In many cities, activities already scheduled to build support for the November 12 March on Washington against the U.S. war on Central America are being expanded to focus against the invasion of Grenada as well.



# Grenada: what U.S. wants to destroy

Continued from preceding page  
interests, retained substantial property holdings in agriculture, industry, and commerce, but they no longer held political power. They could no longer dictate that the government and state would act to defend profits over the needs of the workers and farmers.

Still ahead of the revolution was the task of breaking the economic power of the capitalist class and consolidating a workers state. Bishop and the NJM leadership sought to lead this transition in a way that would be least disruptive for the Grenadian people.

They understood that it would take time, organization, education, and discipline for the working class to prepare itself and its allies, the small farmers, to administer an entire society and all the industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises that make it up.

It would also take time for the new government to build up the infrastructure of roads, new plant and equipment, and administrative and scientific know-how to begin solid economic growth on which any lasting betterment of living conditions had to be based.

The gains of the first years of the revolution already showed big strides along this road. The state-owned sector was increasingly taking the lead in the island's economic expansion and development.

## Capitalist disinformation campaign

Prior to this month's events, the capitalist press in the United States and elsewhere almost universally labelled Bishop and the entire NJM leadership as "dangerous" Marxists and "proxies" for Cuba and the Soviet Union. When news of the divisions inside the government came out, however, the media began peddling speculation that the course followed by Bishop had become more "moderate," and not to the liking of "more Marxist" figures in the NJM, allegedly backed by Cuba.

An October 20 *New York Times* article reporting Bishop's death, for example, chalked up the events in part to disputes over "the Prime Minister's policy of encouraging private industry to help improve the island's economy...."

These labels bandied about by the capitalist press — "hardline" vs. "softline," "moderate" vs. "radical," "less Marxist" vs. "rigid Marxist" — are intended to confuse and disorient readers; they are a fake and a fraud.

How quickly and by what means to carry out a transformation of property relations cannot be measured against some gauge oscillating from "less Marxist" to "more Marxist."

Following the October 1917 revolution in Russia, the Bolshevik leadership, wrote V.I. Lenin in 1921, "made an attempt to pass, as gradually as possible, breaking up as little of the old as possible, to the new social relations...."

There were those in the party who erroneously opposed this course, but they were not "more Marxist" than Lenin.

Similarly, the revolutionary leaders of the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government have so far left much industry and substantial landholdings in private hands, while declaring socialism to be their goal and taking important steps toward the consolidation of a workers state.

The question for a revolutionary leadership of the working class — whether in Russia, Nicaragua, or Grenada — is not how fast to move in the abstract, but how to prepare, educate, and organize the working population to run society in their own class interests. That will be determined by many factors — material conditions, the relationship of class forces at home and internationally, and the capacities and experience of the leadership.

It is wrong to think that "a revolution is like instant coffee; you just throw it in a cup and it comes out presto," Bishop explained in an interview with *Intercontinental Press* in July 1980.

Bishop's supposedly "less Marxist" position on the pace of nationalizations is just one example of a broadside "disinformation" campaign in the capitalist press. It is reminiscent of the campaign earlier this year around the assassination of Melida Anaya Montes and suicide of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, two top leaders of the Salvadoran revolutionary movement.

There too, false charges were made of Cuban involvement in foul crimes, and meaningless labels were slapped on individuals and political currents. In both cases, the fundamental aims of the bourgeois propaganda machine have been the same.

First, the rulers hope to discredit revolutionary struggles and their leaders in the eyes of working people throughout the world, thereby making it easier to justify direct or indirect U.S. military invasions such as that now under way against Grenada.

Second, the rulers hope that their rumors and false information will foment confusion, demoralization, and divisions among revolutionary fighters and their domestic and international backers. The conscious aim is to disrupt collaboration and solidarity, and to raise doubts about whether it is possible to stand up and win in the fight for a better world.

From their own class standpoint, the



Demonstration in St. George's, Grenada, in support of Maurice Bishop, who was assassinated shortly afterward. Washington wants to block future such mobilizations and re-emergence of revolutionary leadership.

U.S. capitalists agreed with Fidel Castro's 1980 statement that Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua are "three giants of the Caribbean, standing up on the very threshold of imperialism."

## U.S. rulers fear Grenada

Bishop pointed to one reason why the U.S. rulers have been particularly worried about Grenada when he spoke to an audience of 2,500 people in New York City in June 1983. He cited a State Department report that, according to Bishop, "made this point: that the Grenada revolution is in one sense even worse... than the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions because the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada speak English and therefore can communicate directly with the people of the United States."

As the crowd rose to its feet for a prolonged ovation, Bishop continued that "95 percent of our population is Black" and can thus "have a dangerous appeal to 30 million Black people in the United States."

It was that powerful example set by the Grenada revolution, its leaders, and its accomplishments that the U.S. rulers fear.

## Slanders against Cuba

A central aspect of the bourgeois disinformation campaign is the charge that Cuba and the Soviet Union were behind the killing of Bishop and other NJM leaders. The imperialists hope to justify their false claim that the peoples and governments of Central America and the Caribbean have something to fear from Cuba and the USSR, and therefore need U.S. military protection from such "subversion."

The imperialists have kept up this campaign of lies and slanders against Cuba despite an October 20 statement by the Cuban government and party firmly condemning the executions. Three days of national mourning for these revolutionists were de-

clared in Cuba, and by the revolutionary government of Nicaragua as well.

## 'Harvest of failure'?

The ultimate goal of the capitalist disinformation campaign is to convince working people that it is useless to struggle. The cause of freedom, justice, and socialism is not worth living, fighting, and — if need be — dying for, because things always go awry. The hope and promise are always betrayed.

This was the pitch of an October 21 *New York Times* editorial headlined, "Harvest of Failure in Grenada." The editorial concluded that, "In an all-too-familiar pattern, the populists who led the way to power have now been devoured by hard army and party men." The military regime established over the corpses of the New Jewel Movement leaders, the editorial claimed, represents "a hard lurch to the dogmatic and pro-Soviet left."

Do the recent events in Grenada represent a "harvest of failure" and a "lurch to the left"?

Just the opposite. It was the achievements of the Grenadian workers and farmers that made imperialism so desperate to reverse the revolution and eliminate its leaders. Whatever the motives of General Austin and company, their actions gave a mighty boost to this reactionary cause.

Bishop reviewed the major social accomplishments of the revolution in his New York City speech earlier this year. He also pointed to big strides in economic development to promote the island's income from tourism, agricultural production for the home and export markets, and industrial development.

In addition, the revolution has made progress in involving working people in determining and administering the affairs of their country. The workers and farmers government immediately granted and enforced labor rights, leading to organizing drives that brought 80 percent of the work force into unions. Mass women's organizations, youth organizations, and farmers organizations were launched.

Democratic bodies called parish and worker-parish councils were set up in workplaces, villages, and neighborhoods. These councils discussed and debated proposed government policies, including its yearly budget and plan, and provided a forum for criticisms and discussion of problems of the revolution.

And Bishop announced at the New York meeting "that the time has come for us to make another step along the way toward institutionalizing the process that we have been building for four years." He said that preparation of a draft constitution had begun, laying the groundwork for future elections.

These elections, he said, would not replace but instead "institutionalize and entrench the systems of popular democracy" established during the first years of the revolution. The goal was the "involvement of our people in a participatory way from day to day and week to week," not "just the right to put an X next to Tweedledum or Tweedledee every five years."

This announcement, too, has been picked up by the capitalist press for use in its disinformation campaign. According to press accounts, Bishop had been at odds with other NJM leaders over these plans for the constitution and elections.

Continued on next page

# U.S. attacks on Grenada began March 1979

BY ERNEST HARSCH

From the moment Grenadian workers and farmers took power in March 1979, the Grenada revolution has been the target of unrelenting U.S. threats, blackmail, provocations, and attacks.

Within a few weeks of the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy, the State Department sent U.S. Ambassador Frank Ortiz to Grenada to warn Prime Minister Maurice Bishop against establishing closer ties with Cuba.

Bishop immediately went on the radio and denounced Washington's attempt to dictate Grenada's foreign policy. "We are not in anybody's backyard," Bishop declared. The next day Grenada announced that it had established diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Enraged by this defiance, the U.S. National Security Council considered a plan to impose a naval blockade of Grenada, ostensibly to prevent the delivery of Cuban arms.

Although that idea was dropped, a special U.S. military task force was established in Key West, Florida, to make possible the rapid deployment of U.S. troops in the Caribbean.

Economic sabotage, such as U.S. pressure to block much-needed loans from in-

ternational financial agencies, was also initiated. Efforts were made to disrupt Grenada's tourist industry.

On June 19, 1980, a powerful bomb exploded at a mass rally in Grenada's capital, beneath a podium on which much of the Grenadian leadership was scheduled to be present. Although the bombing was carried out by local counterrevolutionaries, the government linked the action to Washington's overall campaign against Grenada.

In August 1981, thousands of U.S. troops participated in a series of military maneuvers that included a mock invasion of a Caribbean island nation. The target nation was codenamed Amber and the Amberdines, clearly referring to Grenada and its sister islands in the Grenadines, Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

The scenario for this practice invasion, as outlined at the time by Rear Adm. Robert McKenzie, closely parallels the justifications Washington has now used for its real invasion:

- "Amber" was influenced by "Country Red," an obvious reference to Cuba;
- It was unfriendly to Washington and close to important trade and shipping routes;



# Nicaragua sets up civil defense brigades

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Civil defense has nothing to do with your attitude toward the revolution. Their bombs don't distinguish between Sandinistas and non-Sandinistas."

This was the message of one of the block's two Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) members to a CDS meeting October 18 in barrio *La Reforma*, a middle-class neighborhood in northwest Managua.

The CDSs — Sandinista Defense Committees, the 600-strong neighborhood committees that are a major part of Nicaragua's defense — have been organizing meetings block by block throughout the country.

Top priority is to organize civil defense to confront the new stage of war that was opened with the recent U.S.-organized bombing of the country's main oil depot in the northern port city of Corinto.

"No one should make any mistake," the Sandinista Front members said. "Reagan intends to try to stop the Sandinista revolution."

"The bombing of Corinto threatened the lives of 25,000 civilians. It is an example of what they intend to do to the rest of the country. . . . If you're going to stay in Nicaragua, you'd better learn what to do when the bombs begin to fall."

Following an outline by the block's CDS coordinator of the tasks to be carried out, three committees were set up that night.

One is to begin immediately to learn first aid. Another was set up to take care of the block's 19 children when an attack comes. The third took responsibility for rescue and clean-up operations after a bombing. A fourth committee, fire fighters, will be established after the block's volunteer finishes a special three-day course being given on a crash basis by the city's fire department.

The meeting was attended by some 30 people, about a third of the adult residents of the block, and was the largest this CDS had ever held.

For at least two of those present, older women who had lived on the block for more than 20 years, it was the first CDS meeting they had attended.

Neither of them sang the Sandinista hymn at the close of the meeting, but one told the *Militant*: "I support the defense measures taken by the government, and I wanted to find out what to do in case of an attack."

Leaflets urging opposition to Patriotic Military Service were distributed at a march of several thousand in a wealthy suburb south of Managua October 9. The march was sponsored by the Catholic church hierarchy, supposedly to mark a religious holiday.

The real aim of the march organizers was shown by the leaflets. They called for "conscientious objection" — the tactic adopted by the Catholic church hierarchy in opposing the new conscription law.

When a small group of prorevolutionary Catholics showed up with placards pointing out that nothing in Christian teaching prevents a country from organizing in self-defense, they were attacked by some members of the crowd and had their signs torn up.

Participants in the march included many wealthy opponents of the revolution as well as U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton. Quainton, in keeping with the religious cover of the event, marched with a *Bible* under his arm.

On the other side of town in the working-class neighborhood of Monseñor Lezcano, the attitude toward defending the country from imperialist attack is quite different.

In a march there two days later, a public funeral for seven Managua reservists killed recently in fighting in the north, some 3,000 marched through the streets chanting support for the revolutionary government and for military service.

The main speaker at the funeral was Father Fernando Cardenal, FSLN adviser to the Sandinista Youth.

Referring to the march of the church hierarchy, Cardenal blasted "religious manipulation" as a "weapon used by the counterrevolution that can be more damaging than a bomb."

Cardenal then asked the mourners, "What do you say to the rich who are leaving the country to avoid military service?"

"¡Que se vayan!" the crowd shouted back. ("Good riddance!")

In response to the need for a larger army, in the first 10 days of October 66,000 young men — 33 percent of the projected total for the month — signed up at registration centers.

The new military service law, passed by the Council of State September 13, requires all male citizens between the ages of 17 and 22 to register for conscription by October 31. Of the estimated pool of 200,000 this will provide, 15,000 will be selected for two-years service in the Sandinista People's Army.

Registration has been under way since October 1.



Devastated oil depot at Corinto, Nicaragua. CIA organized terrorist squad that bombed port city.

## Grenada: what U.S. wants to destroy

Continued from preceding page

There were undoubtedly differences inside the NJM leadership, including serious divisions that intensified in recent weeks. There is no reason, however, to question the judgment of the October 20 Cuban statement that these differences did not involve "principled differences, but rather conflicts of personality and conceptions of leadership method, from which other subjective factors were not absent."

The day prior to the execution of Bishop, the capitalist media reported an October 17 radio address by Gen. Austin given, according to him, on behalf of the party's Central Committee. According to Austin, while "there has been no dispute" over the "political and economic policies of the party," the Central Committee had voted to expel Bishop from the party "to stop the steady growth of one-man rule in our party and country."

Austin sought to create the impression that the army was merely acting to ensure implementation of party decisions adopted by a majority led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard.

Several facts should be noted about Austin's October 17 statement and about the persistent reports in the capitalist media that the new military government is being run by Coard.

First, when the late Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman returned to Grenada from New York where he had addressed the United Nations General Assembly, he phoned the Caribbean News Agency October 18 to report that, contrary to Austin's claim, the NJM Central Committee had not been meeting in recent days.

Moreover, Coard has not been heard from since October 14, when news of Bishop's house arrest first began to be reported. Coard was not mentioned in Austin's subsequent, October 19, radio address announcing the military council, and he was not named as one of the council's 16 members.

Whatever further facts turn up about the internal strife in the New Jewel Movement, it is nevertheless clear that the Cuban statement was correct to stress the disruptive character and tragic results of internal factional maneuvering against the NJM's central leadership around Bishop. This ended up paralyzing the party. Whatever the exact sequence of events, this paralysis in turn paved the way for a military takeover, the executions, and the devastated condition of the revolution that made the country so vulnerable to invasion.

### Escalante affair

Cuban Marxists have direct experience with such disruptive leadership methods. At the end of 1961, the July 26 movement — which had led the workers and peasants to victory and to the consolidation of the first workers state in the Americas — fused with two other parties to form the Integrated Revolutionary Organization (ORI).

The new organization secretary of the ORI was Anibal Escalante, a longtime leader of the Popular Socialist Party (PSP), the traditional Moscow-line Communist Party. Escalante abused his position to build up a party and state apparatus increasingly composed of PSP cadres, winking at special privileges and bureaucratic practices. He also started a rumor-mill belittling the July 26 leaders.

The concrete situation in Cuba was quite

different from what developed in Grenada, of course. It should be noted, however, that the Escalante grouping circulated the charge that Castro was refusing to function as part of the collective party leadership. It dismissed the popular support for Castro and other July 26 leaders as signs of a "personality cult."

In March 1962 Castro gave a televised speech pointing to the dangerous growth of bureaucracy, privilege, and favoritism fostered by Escalante. The party leadership removed Escalante from his post. On Castro's proposal, the procedure for becoming a party member was changed so that nominations would come from assemblies of the candidate's coworkers; this has remained the procedure ever since.

A common bourgeois press speculation at the time, echoed by many in the radical movement internationally, was that "more hardline Marxists" from the PSP had been taking over, pushing aside the "more moderate" July 26 team. Some groups claiming to be Marxist even lined up with Escalante in the dispute on this basis.

### Algerian revolution

A workers and farmers government such as that established in Grenada in March 1979 marks a necessary stage in a socialist revolution, consolidating the toilers' power over a reconstructed government and state apparatus. While there are no set timetables or recipes for the transition to a workers state, the revolution will ultimately either move forward to the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords, or it will be driven back, allowing the reestablishment of capitalist class rule.

In Russia in 1917-18 and Cuba in 1959-60, workers and farmers governments went forward to the consolidation of workers states under revolutionary Marxist leaderships. Following World War II, workers states were consolidated in China, Yugoslavia, and other Eastern European countries despite Stalinist leaderships that lacked the revolutionary capacities of the Bolshevik and Cuban parties.

A year or two following the victorious struggle in Algeria against French colonial rule, a workers and farmers government came into existence there as well. Between late 1963 and mid-1965, that government took increasingly radical, anticapitalist measures against both foreign imperialist and local Algerian holdings. It mobilized the workers and poor peasants to exercise greater control over their society and economy. The left wing of the Algerian leadership, led by head of state Ben Bella, publicly declared its intention to follow the course charted by the Cuban revolution.

The Ben Bella group, however, was not a Marxist leadership like that of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenada revolutions. In response to resistance by procapitalist forces to the radical course of the revolution, Ben Bella vacillated and retreated. He did not rely on mobilization of the workers and poor peasants to defend and extend their gains.

As a result, a clique of officers in the revolutionary army, which had been built in the course of the anticolonial struggle, overthrew Ben Bella in June 1965. Gen. Houari Boumedienne, who had himself initially been associated with the left wing, replaced Ben Bella.

The workers and farmers government in Algeria had become quite rotted out by the

time of the 1965 coup, and the takeover did not necessitate the bloody liquidation of the former leadership; Ben Bella was jailed but not executed. The new regime was not a rightist government à la Chile, but sought to dampen popular opposition by claiming to defend certain previous gains and retaining an anti-imperialist posture in foreign policy.

Nonetheless, the Algerian workers and farmers government had been overthrown. It was replaced by a radical, bourgeois nationalist regime such as those that have come to power in a number of Middle Eastern, African, Asian, and Latin American countries as a result of the upsurge of the colonial revolution since World War II.

The course of the Grenada revolution since 1979 has been strikingly different from the trajectory of the Algerian workers and farmers government, above all because of the capacities of the Marxist leadership team of Bishop and other NJM leaders. They were deeply influenced by the experiences and lessons learned from the Cuban revolution and its proletarian internationalist leadership.

The Grenada revolution had not rotted out, nor were the workers and farmers demobilized when the events of this month erupted. That is why the new regime had to slaughter the central core of the leadership and subject the masses to hails of bullets and a "shoot-to-kill," four-day curfew.

That is also why imperialism decided to directly intervene with its own forces. While Washington recognized the serious blow that the revolution had taken, it also recognized that the revolution had not yet been crushed. It is seeking by its own might to hold down the workers and farmers, prevent the reemergence of a revolutionary leadership, and deal the workers and farmers government a final deathblow.

### Remains one of the three giants

Whatever the outcome of the battle between the imperialist forces and the Grenadian people, one thing can be said with certainty. While it may be possible for Washington to roll back the Grenada revolution for a time, it cannot erase from history the example and rich lessons of the past four years. The workers and farmers government brought to power by the Grenadian people remains one of the three giants of the Caribbean for revolutionary-minded working people throughout the Americas and the world.

Nor can the imperialists sweep away the contribution made by Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement to the process of constructing a new, international revolutionary leadership of the working class and its allies.

Bishop, the other slain NJM leaders, and those Grenadians who fell October 19 and are falling today in defense of their country's sovereignty — they join the ranks of martyrs of the international working-class movement.

Right now, the best tribute we can pay them is to turn our efforts to mobilizing the broadest possible opposition to the U.S. occupation of their homeland and to Washington's efforts to use this criminal invasion to bring closer the direct use of U.S. military power to halt the advance of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and throughout the Caribbean and Central America.

From Intercontinental Press



# Cuba condemns blow to Grenada revolution

'Bishop was among leaders who most enjoyed sympathy, respect of our people'

The following is the text of an October 20 declaration issued in the name of the Cuban Communist Party and the revolutionary government of Cuba, followed by a brief decree by the Council of State. The statements were transcribed and translated by *Intercontinental Press* from a broadcast over Radio Havana on October 21.

As has now become totally clear, for some weeks and perhaps months a deepgoing conflict has been unfolding in the ruling party in Grenada and its leadership.

When Maurice Bishop, the principal leader of the party and the prime minister of Grenada, made a brief stop of just 36 hours in Cuba between the evening of Thursday the 6th [of October] and the morning of Saturday the 8th, after official visits to Hungary and Czechoslovakia, he made not the slightest mention in his conversations with Comrade Fidel and other Cuban leaders of the serious discussions and differences that were taking place inside the New Jewel [Movement], the name by which the leading party of his country is known. Thus he provided a great proof of dignity and respect for his own party and for Cuba.

All the topics of conversation revolved around Cuba's collaboration with Grenada, the efforts at cooperation carried out by the Grenadian delegation in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, with the results of which Bishop felt broadly satisfied, and other international themes.

On Friday, October 7, Fidel accompanied Bishop on a tour of important installations that are under construction in Cienfuegos, showing him the progress of our development plans and the excellent quality of our workers, with whom both leaders had lengthy dialogues.

A few days later, on Wednesday, October 12, our embassy in Grenada reported the surprising and disagreeable news that deep divisions had surfaced in the Central Committee of the party in Grenada.

During the morning of that day, Bishop himself communicated [to the embassy] regarding the differences that had arisen some time before. He said that they were being discussed and that efforts were being made to resolve them, but that he had never imagined the seriousness they were going to take on during his absence. He simply stated the differences and did not request any opinion or cooperation on our part in trying to overcome them, once again showing his great respect for Cuba's international policy and for the internal affairs of his own party.

During the afternoon, it was learned that Bishop's adversaries had gained a majority in the Central Committee of the party as well as in the political apparatus of the army and the security force, and that Bishop had been removed from his post in the party and put under house arrest.

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

News went on arriving continually from our embassy during the following days about the positions and arguments of the two sides involved in the conflict. In our opinion, what was really involved was not principled differences, but rather conflicts of personality and conceptions of leadership method, from which other subjective factors were not absent.

On Saturday, October 15, Comrade Fidel sent a message to the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement expressing with full clarity Cuba's position, which is guided by the principle of abso-

lutely abstaining from involvement in the internal affairs of a party or country. He expressed at the same time his deep concern that the division that had arisen could do considerable damage to the image of the revolutionary process in Grenada, both inside the country and abroad. In Cuba itself, where Bishop was highly esteemed, it would not be easy to explain the facts. Hope was held out that the difficulties could be overcome with the greatest of wisdom, serenity, loyalty to principles, and generosity.

At bottom, Cuba's concern centered on preventing the events from taking on the character of a violent and bloody confrontation. In his message, Fidel also stated that Cuba's collaboration would be maintained as a commitment to the people of Grenada, independently of changes that might occur in the leadership of the party and the country, since it was a purely internal question.

For several more days, the situation remained at an impasse. At certain moments it seemed that an honorable, intelligent, and peaceful solution could come about. It was clear that the people were in favor of Bishop and were calling for his presence.

The Western press launched all kinds of speculations about the events. We did not say a single word in order to avoid having our public statements appear as interference in the internal affairs of Grenada, in view of our close, broad, and fraternal relations with that sister country. In that way we had complied rigorously with our principles of respect for the internal affairs of fraternal parties and countries.

Yesterday, October 19, during the morning, news began to arrive that the workers had gone on strike and that the people had taken to the streets in support of Bishop. In a massive demonstration they arrived at his residence where they freed him from house arrest.

It seems — since the reports are still imprecise — that a military installation was occupied by the people. The army sent personnel to the area. It is said that the army fired against the demonstrators, causing deaths and injuries, retook the installation, and arrested numerous persons. Of Bishop's fate, and that of other leaders who were with him, there was no news.

In the afternoon the dramatic outcome became known. An official communiqué announced the death of Maurice Bishop, prime minister; Unison Whiteman, minister of foreign relations; Jacqueline Creft, minister of education; Vincent Noel, first vice-president of the trade union federation of Grenada; Norris Bain, minister of housing; and Fitzroy Bain, general secretary of the agricultural workers union.

It has still not been possible to determine exactly the actual way in which Bishop and the other leaders died. Bishop was among the political leaders who most enjoyed sympathy and respect among our people, for his talent, his simplicity, his revolutionary sincerity and honesty, and his proven friendship for our country. Besides that, he enjoyed great international prestige. The news of his death stirred the leadership of our party, and we render the deepest tribute to his memory.

It is most unfortunate that the differences among the Grenadian revolutionaries climaxed in this bloody drama. No doctrine, no principle or position held up as revolutionary, and no internal division justifies atrocious proceedings like the physical elimination of Bishop and the outstanding group of honest and worthy leaders killed yesterday. The death of Bishop and his comrades must be clarified, and if they were executed in cold blood the guilty ones deserve to be punished in an exemplary way.

Imperialism will now try to make use of this tragedy and the grave errors committed by the Grenadian revolutionaries in order to sweep away the revolutionary process in Grenada and subject it once again to neocolonial and imperial domination. The situation is most difficult and complex. Only a miracle of common sense, equanimity, and wisdom on the part of the Grenadian revolutionaries, and of serenity in the reaction and response of the international progressive movement, can still salvage the process.



Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop (center) at May Day celebration, Havana 1980, flanked by Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega (left) and Cuban President Fidel Castro.

No step must be taken that would aid imperialism in its plans. In Grenada many Cuban doctors, teachers, technicians of various kinds, and hundreds of construction workers are collaborating in providing essential services to the people and in the development of projects that are vital to the economy. Though profoundly embittered by the events, we will take no precipitate step with regard to technical and economic collaboration that could affect essential services or economic interests vital to the people of Grenada, for whom we have sincere and deep feelings of admiration and affection.

After the tragic outcome yesterday, we will continue following the development of events closely. We will maintain the strict principle of not involving ourselves in the internal affairs of Grenada, and we will take into account, above all, the interests of the Grenadian people in matters of economic and technical collaboration if that is possible in the new situation. But our political relations with the new figures in the Grenadian leadership will have to be subjected to serious and profound analysis. Nonetheless, if the Grenadian revolutionary process manages to be preserved, we

will do whatever is possible to help it.

Let it be hoped that the painful events that have taken place cause all the revolutionaries of Grenada and the world to reflect deeply, and that the concept prevail that no crime must be committed in the name of the revolution and freedom.

The Council of State, making use of the powers conferred upon it, has decided to issue the following decree:

First, to declare three days of official mourning, beginning at 6 a.m. tomorrow [October 21], for the death of the prime minister of Grenada, Comrade Maurice Bishop, which occurred yesterday afternoon.

Second, that the national flag remain at half-staff at public buildings and military installations during the period of official mourning.

Third, that the ministers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and of foreign relations take responsibility for carrying out the provisions of this decree.

Fidel Castro Ruz  
President of the  
Council of State

## Sandinista flag at half-mast

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — The government of Nicaragua has declared three days of national mourning to mark the death of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and has requested "complete clarification" of the circumstances in which it occurred.

Its statement, issued October 21, said: "The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction expresses its profound dismay over the tragic events that occurred recently in Grenada, culminating in the deaths of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman, Education Minister Jacqueline Creft, Housing Minister Norris Bain, and trade union leaders Vincent Noel and Fitzroy Bain.

"Compañero Maurice Bishop, leader of the Grenadian revolution, was a friend of our people and of the Nicaraguan revolution, a friendship that was deepened through his visits to our country.

"The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction declares, beginning today, three days of national mourning for the death of the prime minister, Compañero Maurice Bishop, and his compañeros. Flags of the republic and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front will remain at half-mast at all public buildings and instal-

lations, and at all military bases.

"The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction is awaiting full and complete clarification of the circumstances in which the deaths of Prime Minister Bishop and the other Grenadian leaders occurred."

A front-page news article in the October 21 Sandinista daily *Barricada* reported confirmation of Bishop's death. A report on page two summarized the statement issued by the Cuban Communist Party and government under the headline, "Cuba: nothing justifies atrocious proceedings."

News of the declaration of national mourning was published on the front page of *Barricada* October 22 and broadcast the day before on national radio and television. A popular photograph here, especially in homes and government offices on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, where most of the country's Black population lives, shows Bishop, Fidel Castro, and Commander Daniel Ortega. It was taken in Managua, July 19, 1980, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Many Nicaraguans remember that at the time of last year's massive floods, tiny Grenada was one of the first countries to send aid to the homeless.

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# Central American unionists tour Northwest

BY CHRIS HORNER

SEATTLE — Five hundred people packed into the Labor Temple here on October 22 to hear three union leaders from Central America describe the situation of workers in their countries and to appeal to U.S. unionists to oppose Washington's war moves in that region.

Two of the unionists are from countries where the workers suffer bloody repression at the hands of U.S.-backed tyrannies — El Salvador and Guatemala. The other is from a country that overthrew such a government four years ago through a popular revolution — Nicaragua.

All three are touring California, Oregon, and Washington to counter Reagan's massive propaganda job about what's happening in Central America, and to urge working people in this country to actively mobilize against U.S. intervention.

The three union leaders are:

- Marta Alicia Rivera, a long-time leader of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES). After being shot, wounded, and tortured for her role in leading workers struggles, Rivera was forced to flee to the United States in 1981. She has applied for political asylum. Her case is still pending.

- Miguel Ángel Albizuere, the exiled secretary-general of the Guatemalan National Committee for Trade Union Unity (CNUS). Though forced underground by fierce government repression, it is the principal labor organization in the country, encompassing 85 percent of Guatemala's organized workers.

- Sebastián Castro Cruz, former leader of the Nicaraguan General Workers Confederation (CGT), which participated in the July 1979 popular uprising that toppled the Somoza dictatorship. Castro is currently a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the union which the CGT dissolved itself into.

Endorsers of this tour include International Association of Machinists (IAM) President William Winpisinger and Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

At the Labor Temple meeting, Janet Duecy from the Labor Committee on Central America, which organized the tour in Seattle, gave introductory remarks. Duecy is also a member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 900.

She condemned AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland's participation in the Reagan Commission on Central America. She said that Kirkland's position does not reflect the views of many in the ranks of labor and called for an educational campaign to win the labor movement to a unified position against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Rivera pointed to the important role of U.S. workers in combatting this new Vietnam. "The solidarity of the North American people is fundamental to the triumph of the Salvadoran revolution," she said.

Albizuere explained that "we call for your international solidarity because there are workers dying in Guatemala and El Salvador."

The meeting ended with the singing of "Solidarity Forever" in both English and Spanish.

Earlier in the day, about 75 trade union members and officials attended a reception for the three labor leaders. It was chaired by Roger Yackey, coordinator of education and communications for UFCW Local 1001.

An extended solidarity message was given by Terry Mast, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 37. Two of the leaders of this predominantly Filipino local were murdered in 1981. They were opponents of the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. Both Marcos' secret police and U.S. police agencies are suspected to have been involved in the killings. Mast is the widow of Silme Domingo who was slain along with Gene Viernes.

Mast asked the unionists present "Whose security is at stake" in Central America? She pointed out that U.S. workers, who "pay for these wars with cuts in our standard of living, then do the dying in these wars, have no immediate or long-range interest" in U.S. aggression in Central America.

Rivera described the repression against

her union and the people of El Salvador today. "I bring a message," she said. "Tell the people of the United States we don't want El Salvador to be another Vietnam."

Castro detailed the big gains trade unionists and all working people have made since the Sandinista-led workers and farmers government came to power in Nicaragua. He pointed to the CIA-backed war against his country and asked U.S. trade unionists to "help us stop this aggression."

"If you are able to stop your government," he said, "it will be one of the greatest examples of solidarity between one people and another. Be assured we will communicate to our trade unions the wonderful reception you have given us."

The tour throughout the Pacific Northwest gained significant trade union support. The Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) organized the tour in other cities of the Puget Sound area.

The three trade union leaders were able to address a number of local meetings and labor receptions.

For example, they spoke at a meeting in Seattle of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) Lodge 1380. Then the lodge passed a resolution endorsing the local November 12 demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, which will coincide with actions in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. They also spoke before American Federation of State, County, and Municipal

Employees Local 1488 in Seattle.

Five area college campuses were included in the tour, as well as speaking engagements before solidarity organizations and community groups, including a reception for Seattle's Latino community.

On November 4, the three unionists will be at the Molders Hall in Oakland, California, at 7:30 p.m., with Ignacio de la

Fuente, business representative of Molders Local 164.

On November 5, they will be in San Francisco at the Service Employees International Union Hall with Charles Lamb, president of the Hotel and Restaurant Local 2. For more information on the Bay Area part of the tour, call (415) 664-0426 or (415) 261-3094.



Milwaukee picket line October 20. Actions like this and Seattle tour (see story) highlight escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America and Caribbean and publicize November 12 antiwar actions.

## All out for November 12 protests

Continued from front page

if necessary" to fight for their rights, López said.

He warned that this repression has intensified and pointed to the recent murder of the national secretary of the United Trade Union Federation (FUS).

"That is why we ask for solidarity of all the American people and our brother unions," López said. He urged unionists to "oppose and fight against the military and financial support that your government gives to the government of El Salvador."

This aid has led to 47,000 deaths of innocent Salvadorans in the last three years, said López. In addition, "over one million Salvadorans are in exile." In the Los Angeles area alone, where López himself now lives, there are some 250,000 Salvadorans, "the great majority of them members of the working class," he explained.

The U.S. news media "doesn't want to tell the truth," López asserted. But the truth is that the "Salvadoran people are trying to wage a revolution," to better their lives.

López was joined on the platform by Mike Kushner, a member of the labor outreach committee of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES); Genevieve Torres, Casa Nicaragua; Ed Ott, vice-president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-149; and Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition. The meeting was chaired by Dick McBride, a member of the Transport Workers Union and an activist in the committee that organized López' New York tour.

Kushner said he was pleased to extend "greetings and solidarity" to López. Noting that the government offensive against U.S. workers may be less violent than its attacks on Salvadoran workers, "it is no less determined."

The November 12 actions are an important chance to march against Washington's war, said Kushner pointing to what he called the "unprecedented unity" behind the march.

OCAW official Ott told the meeting that his remarks "would not be typical of many other labor leaders." However, "they are typical," he said, "of those workers who are being pressed every day by the same people working to undermine the interests of workers around the world." The interests that seek to dominate Salvadoran working people, "are the same interests we struggle against here."

Elombe Brath explained that he and others were proceeding with plans for a meeting in Harlem on October 25, at which Salvador López is scheduled to be a special

guest speaker. He explained that the Harlem meeting, called to oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador and elsewhere in Central America and the Caribbean, now occurs in a new context created by recent events in Grenada.

"We are appalled," said Brath of the murder of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the revolution. But, "we don't want the United States to land any marines or use troops from Barbados or other CARICOM [Caribbean Community and Common Market] countries," Brath stressed, pointing to the fleet of ships with U.S. marines steaming towards Grenada.

Brath drew an analogy between the murders in Grenada and the murder last spring of Salvadoran revolutionary leader, Melida Anaya Montes, and the subsequent suicide of Cayetano Carpio.

Bishop and the other martyred Grenadian leaders "are not abstract to us," said Brath. "They were people we knew, with whom we discussed the revolutionary process and its connection to the struggles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Namibia, South Africa, and elsewhere."

"The victory that is forthcoming in El Salvador must be secured," said Brath, who expressed support for the November 12 actions.

He also pointed to the escalation in Washington's terror against Nicaragua. The congressional "debate" on U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries is "like a game of three card monte" aimed at

creating the illusion that there is something there when in fact there is nothing.

Brath reaffirmed his confidence that "the revolutionary process will not be turned back in El Salvador." The spirit of Salvadoran revolutionary leader Farabundo Martí lives on, he said. "Sandino's spirit lives on and Maurice Bishop's spirit will live on as well."

In other news on the upcoming demonstrations, the November 12 Coalition released two important letters which are being circulated to win support for the protest. A letter to the Chicago labor movement has been signed by Noel Beaseley, manager of the Textile Division Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Frank Rosen, president District Council 11, United Electrical Workers; Charles Williams, Midwest legislative and political coordinator, International Association of Machinists; Harold Rogers, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; James Balanoff, former director District 31, United Steelworkers of America; and Carl Shier, retired international representative, United Auto Workers.

Another important letter urging participation in the march has been signed by Black leaders including Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.); Rev. Ben Chavis, Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; John Gibson, cochair, D.C. Metropolitan Coalition of Conscience; Rev. Willie Wilson, Washington, D.C., Union Temple Baptist Church; and writer E. Ethelbert Miller.

## San Francisco ballot proposition: end U.S. military aid to El Salvador

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN FRANCISCO — On November 8 residents of San Francisco will have a chance to vote on a ballot proposition to "call upon the federal government to immediately end all military aid to the government of El Salvador and withdraw all United States military personnel from that country."

Over 24,000 signatures were collected to place this initiative, Proposition N, on the San Francisco ballot. Six U.S. cities have already passed similar propositions.

The "Yes on N" campaign has been endorsed by a wide range of community, labor, and political organizations, including the San Francisco Central Labor Council and the Archbishop of San Francisco. The Democratic Mayor of San Francisco, Dianne Feinstein, has endorsed Proposi-

tion N, as have two U.S. congresswomen from the city.

Not all Democratic Party "doves" support the initiative, however. The Proposition N campaign recently brought Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd to San Francisco to debate Reagan supporter and former Congressman Robert Dornan on U.S. policy in Central America. Dodd surprised the standing-room-only crowd at San Francisco State University when he refused to support Prop N. Dodd said he could not support cutting off all military aid and preferred the current approach of requiring periodic congressional certification of human rights progress in El Salvador.

Pat Wright, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Francisco, is campaigning for a yes vote on Prop N.



# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY DON DAVIS

Along with selling the *Militant* at plant gates and on the job, socialists in several cities have been introducing workers to socialist books and pamphlets.

Particularly useful are inexpensive, pocket-sized pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press, many of them reprinting articles and speeches that first appeared in the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

At a garment shop in San Francisco organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) where Marilee Taylor works, a discussion broke out recently, first about violence against women and then about women's role in society.

The next day, Taylor said, she brought in five copies of Pathfinder's new Spanish-language pamphlet, *La mujer y la revolución nicaragüense* (*Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution*), containing a speech by Tomás Borge, a leader of the Nicaraguan revolution.

"I told people it gave the views of Nicaragua's leaders about the role of women in the revolution and people just bought it," Taylor said. "I sold out all I had."

She said some of those who bought the pamphlet had bought *Perspectiva Mundial* from her before, while others had not. The discussion is continuing among the workers, most of them women from Central America, as is their interest in reading *PM*, Taylor said.

*Steelworkers Under Attack*, a pamphlet by Geoff Mirelowitz about how unions can defend the rights of workers, has generated interest among workers in a number of industries where the bosses are trying to impose concession contracts.

Chris Gauvreau has sold three copies to workers at the General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, where she works. The workers there belong to the International Union of Electrical Work-



Militant sales and reporting team selling papers and pamphlets to workers in Mississippi.

ers (IUE). But, Gauvreau explained, "Generally the people who would be interested in reading it are already thinking about the parallels with auto and steel, so the *Steelworkers* pamphlet is a natural for them."

At Koppers Co., a manufacturer of auto piston rings in Baltimore, socialists who had been selling the *Militant* regularly both at the plant gate and on the job sold six copies of the pamphlet on steelworkers in the weeks leading up to a strike by members of Local Lodge 1784 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

"A big question here is the financial condition of the company, should we take concessions because the company is hurting?" said Ted Leonard, who works at Koppers. "We pointed to the section about whether what's good for U.S. Steel is good for steelworkers and posed the question whether what's good for Koppers Co. is good for Koppers workers?"

Leonard said one of the workers who bought the pamphlet was a regular *Militant* reader who recently bought a subscription. Another had not bought the *Mili-*

*tant* before but had strong opinions against concessions. "The conversation started around concession contracts and she bought the pamphlet," Leonard said.

In several cities, socialists have set up tables outside plant gates, displaying a selection of literature.

In some cases, as in the garment district in New York City, sales have sometimes been quite brisk. More typical has been the experience in Oakland where Kevin Kellogg reports, "We don't sell a lot of literature most of the time, but it's a great attraction."

Kellogg said the tables have been "a great help" both at plant gates and in selling *Militant* subscriptions at shopping centers.

He gave one example of a plant organized by the IAM where a team of *Militant* salespeople went one week and sold no papers. The next week they went back with a literature table.

"A bunch of high school students came over and crowded around the table," Kellogg said, "and then when the workers came out of the gate they saw the crowd and came over. It was really good. It generated a lot of discussion and we sold six papers."

## SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

(Totals as of *Militant* issue #38, *PM* issue #20)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
San Antonio	60/46	25/23	85/69	81
Toledo	50/40	5/2	55/42	76
Seaside, Calif.	35/30	10/3	45/33	73
Twin Cities	120/77	10/5	130/82	63
Los Angeles	100/50	75/61	175/111	63
Brooklyn	110/68	40/23	150/91	61
Wash., D.C.	90/55	25/11	115/66	57
Detroit	85/45	5/4	90/49	54
Virginia, Minn.	75/39	0/0	75/39	52
Denver	80/47	15/2	95/49	52
Boston	95/43	15/14	110/57	52
Manhattan	150/69	50/32	200/101	51
Lincoln, Neb.	35/18	0/0	35/18	51
St. Louis	120/59	0/1	120/60	50
Milwaukee	110/54	10/6	120/60	50
Indianapolis	80/37	0/3	80/40	50
San Jose	75/34	15/9	90/43	48
Philadelphia	100/48	25/11	125/59	47
Salt Lake City	70/29	5/5	75/34	45
Harrisburg	35/17	5/1	40/18	45
Oakland	90/39	15/7	105/46	44
Newark	110/50	30/12	140/62	44
Morgantown, W. Va.	70/30	0/0	70/30	43
Kansas City	65/31	10/0	75/31	41
Albany, N.Y.	70/30	5/1	75/31	41
Louisville	55/21	0/0	55/21	38
Cincinnati	70/24	0/1	70/25	36
Atlanta	85/30	5/2	90/32	36
Newport News, Va.	75/26	0/0	75/26	35
Miami	70/25	10/3	80/28	35
Dallas	50/18	15/5	65/23	35
Price, Utah	35/11	5/2	40/13	33
San Francisco	90/27	40/14	130/41	32
Portland	45/12	10/5	55/17	31
Pittsburgh	135/42	0/0	135/42	31
Greensboro, N.C.	50/15	0/0	50/15	30
Albuquerque	50/17	15/2	65/19	29
Birmingham	70/19	0/0	70/19	27
Seattle	75/19	5/2	80/21	26
Tucson	30/8	10/2	40/10	25
San Diego	70/17	30/8	100/25	25
Phoenix	75/21	25/4	100/25	25
Charleston, W. Va.	45/11	0/0	45/11	24
Baltimore	65/15	0/0	65/15	23
Gary	45/11	5/0	50/11	22
Houston	60/14	30/5	90/19	21
Cleveland	80/15	5/0	85/15	18
New Orleans	80/13	5/0	85/13	15
Chicago	135/16	15/1	150/17	11
<b>Totals</b>	<b>3,720/1,532</b>	<b>625/292</b>	<b>4,345/1,824</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Should Be</b>	<b>1,860</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>2,172</b>	<b>50</b>

## Get out truth about blows to Grenada revolution

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

In response to the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly socialist magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*, are calling on all of our supporters to mobilize to get out the truth about the revolution that has just been struck a devastating blow and to educate our coworkers and others about the need to protest this aggression.

We urge all of our readers to join with members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who will be organizing to distribute thousands of this issue of the *Militant*. We will be encouraging everyone we talk to to subscribe to the *Militant* or *PM* in order to have access to the truth week by week.

It will be especially important to take this issue of the *Militant* to plant gates to make the facts available to unionists. Signs and leaflets demanding "U.S. Marines Out of Grenada and Lebanon" and calling for the mobilization of the power of the U.S. labor movement against these wars can be used at plant gates.

The *Militant*'s coverage of the events in Grenada will also be an important contribution to the protest actions called in cities across the country.

The many supporters of Grenada in this country will be anxious to read the truth about the recent events on that Caribbean island and their meaning for the world revolution. The *Militant*'s coverage this week answers the capitalist media lies about the Grenadian revolution and its leadership. We reprint in full the statement by the Cuban government and Communist Party on its role in the events there. In addition, we explain what Grenadian workers and farmers had accomplished in the last four years, the challenges they faced, and why Washington was determined to try to de-

stroy the example they set for working people around the world. Future issues of the *Militant* will feature further coverage on the lessons of the Grenada experience.

In response, socialists in every area are discussing how many papers they can sell in a week of all-out effort. Several branches have called to double or triple their bundle orders.

Socialist candidates have called emergency news conferences to denounce the invasion.

Individual supporters of the *Militant* in Tallahassee, Florida, and Pueblo, Colorado, called to order special bundles of the *Militant* and *PM* for sales in their cities. (To order a bundle, call the *Militant* circulation office at (212) 929-3486.)

In St. Louis, where the Young Socialist Alliance will hold its National Convention, local YSA members took steps to publicize a news conference that will announce the convention and denounce the invasion of Grenada.

In Newark, extra plant gate sales have been organized for the coming week, in-

volving every member of the branch.

Washington's invasion of Grenada has taken place behind a smokescreen of lies reported as gospel truth in the big-business press. The capitalist media paint President Reagan as a friend of the Grenadian people, while the Cuban government is portrayed as responsible for the deaths of Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the Grenadian revolution.

Because of the *Militant*'s coverage and defense of the Grenadian revolution since its triumph in March 1979, people have been turning to us for the truth. Several people whose subscriptions had expired have called the *Militant* circulation office to renew them immediately, because they want to know what's really going on in Grenada. Others have been coming into Militant Bookstores and headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party across the country to get the latest information.

For more than four years, the *Militant* and *PM* have reported on the gains of the Grenadian revolution and reprinted the statements and speeches of its leaders.

Our reporters have visited the island and described the progress the revolution brought in health, housing, literacy, union organization, and democratic rights.

We have publicized and exposed the U.S. government's acts of aggression and threats against the revolution. We are the only newspaper in the United States that carried the entire text of Maurice Bishop's speech to U.S. supporters of the revolution, given in New York City in June of this year. In that speech Bishop detailed Washington's attempts to destabilize and overthrow the Grenadian revolution.

The *Militant* and *PM* have consistently argued that this revolution sets an example and points the way forward for workers and the oppressed in this country and around

the world. We will continue to carry out this important task.

It is now even more important to subscribe to the *Militant* and *PM*, and to join in all-out efforts to aggressively distribute them.

### Bishop talk to appear in special 'PM' issue

The next issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* — a biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine — will carry extensive coverage of the imperialist invasion of Grenada and the killing of the Grenadian revolution's leadership.

The main feature of the expanded issue will be the text of Maurice Bishop's June 5, 1983, speech to a rally at Hunter College in New York City, which was first printed in the July 15, 22, and 29 issues of the *Militant*.

The Grenadian revolution is much less known among Spanish-speaking people in the United States than among English speakers. Also, while speeches by Bishop and other leaders are available in English, the few that have been translated into Spanish are virtually impossible to obtain in this country.

In addition to the speech by Bishop, this issue of *PM* will carry the October 20 statement of the Cuban Revolutionary Government on the Grenadian events; on-the-scene coverage of Nicaragua's battle against CIA terrorist raids; analysis of the deepening U.S. intervention in Lebanon; and ongoing coverage of the Arizona copper strike and other labor battles.

For \$2.50, a six-issue introductory subscription can be obtained by writing to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 408 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

### Subscribe to 'Intercontinental Press'

The November 14 issue of *Intercontinental Press* features the first installment of an interview with Jaime Wheelock, minister of agrarian reform in the revolutionary Nicaraguan government. Don't miss it — subscribe today.

Send \$12.50 for six months or \$25 for full year to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Be sure to enclose name, address, city, state, and zip code.





Militant/Matilde Zimmermann  
Pat Wright (left) and Carrie Drake

# S.F. socialist gains support in campaign to defend busing

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — "Pat Wright knows firsthand what it means to be a worker, a woman, a minority. She knows our problems because she's lived them. As far as I'm concerned, she's the only serious candidate," Linda Bruton, an operator at Pacific Gas and Electric, told an October 15 rally for the socialist mayoral candidate. Wright, like Bruton, works for the giant utility and is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1245.

Bruton's remarks were a reaction to an

article in the *San Francisco Examiner*, one of the two big-business dailies, which declared the mayoral race "ho-hum" and insisted that incumbent mayor Dianne Feinstein faced only "no names" as opposition.

Organized around the twin themes of "Jobs, not war" and "Desegregate the schools — reopen Drew School," the rally, held at a club in the Hunters Point Black community of San Francisco, drew almost 100 people.

Although the big-business dailies, the radio stations, and TV news have pretty much ignored the contest, there have been newsworthy developments. Carrie Drake, a city worker and candidate for mayor, announced she was withdrawing from the race and supporting Wright — although she had already paid \$1700 of her own money to get her name on the ballot.

"I decided to run for mayor for a lot of the same reasons that Pat talks about," Drake told the October 15 rally, "Central America, Lebanon, and I wanted to bring out in public some of the abuses, the waste of money and resources, that go on at City Hall. I checked out all the candidates, read their programs, and Pat is the closest to what I think. I especially like that she calls herself a socialist."

Wright has won the support not only of a current mayoral candidate, but also of a past one — Sam Jordan, who ran on the Freedom Now Party ticket in 1963. Jordan is a widely known and respected figure in the San Francisco Black community.

Speaking at the October 15 rally, Jordan said Wright impressed him because "she believes in justice — we'll have justice when we the people start running this country."

Jordan's Hunters Point bar has become a kind of Wright for Mayor publicity center, with posters and leaflets on the walls.

A major battle is under way in Hunters Point to reopen Charles Drew elementary school, which, although only a few years old, was closed by the Board of Education. The board's plan for desegregating the schools is to bus all the Black children across the city to white neighborhoods — without busing a single white child to a Black neighborhood.

This plan is bitterly opposed by Black parents, some of whom have risked arrest by blocking the school buses taking their children away. The parents have won the

support of the school bus drivers as well, who are members of the United Transportation Union.

Wright and campaign supporters go to the parents' weekly organizing and discussion meetings, and two Black mothers won a big hand when Wright introduced them. One of the women, Espinola Jackson, the vice-chair of the Hunters Point Community Coordinating Council, announced that the Board of Education and the NAACP had reached an agreement that would reopen Drew.

Wright hailed the announcement as a victory for the Black community and for all working people.

The socialist mayoral bid has drawn to its ranks fresh faces, many of whom are new to political activity.

The *Militant* talked with a few of these supporters at the October 15 rally.

Carlton Inniss, a Black attorney, explained, "I'm here tonight because neither the Democratic nor Republican Party has done anything for people in the last twenty years. It's good to get a candidate who isn't controlled by the bosses. International issues especially should be addressed by someone who isn't interested in just 'getting along.'"

Inniss said that he first heard of the Wright for Mayor campaign at the August 27 march to commemorate the 1963 civil rights march led by Dr. Martin Luther King. Following the march, Inniss went to a reception for Wright and was "really impressed." Meanwhile, he's played an important role in the campaign committee and was in the process of setting up two meetings for Wright with Black lawyers groups.

Connie Russell, who works for the Veterans Administration, came to the rally at the urging of a coworker even though she lives in Oakland. "I came because Pat is Black and running for mayor," she explained.

Kermit Smith, a young Black, said that Wright had "the right point of view that people are looking for. Her ideas make a person want to participate," although, he said, "I've never participated in anything like this before." Smith said that what he especially liked about Wright's campaign program was that "it's not just for Blacks — it's for everybody, like saying no money for wars, money for people's needs."

## Grenada events increase need for Party Building Fund

BY HARRY RING

Momentous world events demand an escalated response by the workers movement. Current developments in Grenada, Nicaragua, and Lebanon surely fit this category. Such increased political activity puts added demands on the movement's limited financial resources.

A concrete example has been our response to the events in Grenada. Last week's issue of the *Militant* was just going to press when it was confirmed that Maurice Bishop had in fact been assassinated. The *Militant* did a last minute re-vamping of its front page to include a brief report on the available facts, plus several key points of analysis.

The next day, Friday, Cuba's statement on the Grenadian events was broadcast over Radio Havana. We taped, transcribed and translated that important statement.

On Saturday, copies of the statement were in the mail to all Socialist Workers Party branches. Additional copies were made available to other supporters of the Grenada revolution.

That weekend, a team of SWP national staff members were on the phone to all party branches, giving them the latest available information and discussing the necessary political response.

*Intercontinental Press*, which usually publishes every other week, decided to put out a special issue this week, featuring the text of the Cuban statement on Grenada, plus news and analysis on the events. As the analysis warning of the danger of a U.S. intervention was being prepared, the marines were landing.

This act of criminal aggression, plus the equally shameful aggression against the people of Nicaragua and Lebanon, cer-

Party Building <b>FUND</b>	GOAL
	\$125,000
	WHERE WE SHOULD BE
	\$78,750
	WHERE WE ARE
	\$44,840

tainly demands a further intensification of our activity. We need added efforts to circulate the socialist press, more forums, and other activities. All of this, in turn, means added financial strains.

This gives new urgency to the importance of the current Socialist Workers Party 1983 Party Building Fund.

Last week we reported that the fund had gotten off to a slow start and was seriously behind schedule. Its goal is to raise \$125,000 by December 1 to supplement the regular weekly contributions of members and supporters to finance the organization's activity.

In the past week progress was registered. More than \$7,450 was collected and 72 new pledges reported. While still behind schedule, the percentage gap was narrowed a bit.

Now, events demand that a top priority be given to ensuring that this effort is further speeded up. This is surely not the time to fail to meet our goal in full and on time.

We want to make a special appeal to our readers to join in this effort. Every dollar you contribute will help get out the truth about Washington's aggression in the Americas and the Mideast and help to mobilize opposition to it.

## Georgia AAM president backs socialist candidate

The following statement was made by Tommy Kersey, former national president of the American Agriculture Movement and current Georgia president of AAM. This statement of endorsement for Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Georgia's 7th Congressional District, was released in Atlanta by her campaign committee October 12.

Johnston also received the endorsement of Joseph Beasley, coordinator of the Atlanta chapter of Operation PUSH. The special election was held October 18.

Kathryn McDonald, wife of deceased Congressman Larry McDonald, and State Representative George Darden won the most votes. They will face each other in the November 8 runoff.

Farmers and workers are inadequately represented by both major parties and in many cases in the governmental process in general. I feel that these groups need to look for a political alternative and Sara Jean Johnston's candidacy for Congress in the 7th Congressional District offers this option. For these reasons, and for her stated farm program, I support her candidacy.

## Pgh. socialist wins place in debate

BY JON HILLSON

PITTSBURGH — In a victory for democratic rights October 21, the sponsor of a candidates' debate here backed off from its exclusion of a socialist. Protests against the exclusion of Socialist Workers Party candidate for Allegheny county commissioner, Al Duncan, forced the county's League of Women Voters (LWV) to include him in their televised debate scheduled for October 30.

Before the victory, incumbent Democratic candidate Thomas Foerster had announced at a candidates' forum that he would boycott the televised debate "if Mr. Duncan is not there."

Foerster joined a growing list of local political, civil rights, and antiwar figures

who have spoken out against the earlier decision to keep Duncan, a Black, laid-off member of the United Mine Workers of America, out of the debate, the biggest "media event" of the fall election campaign.

Republican county commissioner candidate, Theodore Jacob, likewise backed Duncan's right to participate in the debate.

Major articles in Pittsburgh's two big-business dailies, the *Pittsburgh Press* and the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* gave prominent coverage to the "debate debate," while the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the city's Black newsweekly, highlighted it with front-page coverage.

The League of Women Voters exclusion was based on the fact that the SWP did not receive 5 percent of the vote in a previous election.

Duncan countered that the SWP's filing of more than 8,000 signatures and his place on the ballot makes him "a bona fide, legal, candidate entitled to the same right to public exposure the LWV provides to other candidates."

Others supporting Duncan's right to participate in the debate include Robert Pitts, president of Wilkesburg NAACP; Charles Kendall, head of the Pittsburgh NAACP International and Foreign Affairs Committee; Molly Rush, Thomas Merton Center; Richard Adams, president, Homewood-Brushton Better Block Association; George "Toby" Gaines, Democrat running as independent for Pittsburgh City Council; and the Consumer Party, including its two county commissioner candidates, Priscilla Thomas and Albert Goldsmith.

### THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY TIMES. COME TO THE YSA CONVENTION Dec. 28-Jan. 1, in St. Louis, Missouri.

From Chile to the Philippines, workers and farmers are fighting against oppression and for a world without exploitation. They are joined by those in the U.S. fighting against the capitalists and their government, which attacks our rights and living standard and sends troops to protect U.S. profits around the world.

Hundreds of young working-class fighters will meet at the YSA convention to discuss a strategy to fight back against attacks on working people and the oppressed.

The theme of this year's convention will be the fight against Washington's war in Central America and the Caribbean and the impact of these revolutions on U.S. and world politics. Representatives of struggles around the world will be present as well as activists from the Black, Latino, labor, and women's movements. Con-

vention activities will include rallies, classes, films, and a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Clip and send to: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

☐ Send me more information on the YSA and the convention.

☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a subscription to the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# The anticommunist crusade again

## Social democrats, liberals seek to rehabilitate 1950s witch-hunt

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK — An anticommunist campaign is under way to give left cover to the 1950s witch-hunt and exonerate the U.S. government for its murder of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953 on the frame-up charge that they passed the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union.

Leading this reactionary crusade are prominent social democrats like Ronald Radosh and James Weinstein, as well as some liberal publications such as the *New Republic*. Radosh and Weinstein argue that the Rosenbergs were spies, not martyrs in the fight against capitalist injustice. In fact, they say, communists must take major blame for what happened in the witch-hunt, when the U.S. government jailed, fired, or deported thousands of Communist Party (CP) members and others, and killed the Rosenbergs.

For too long, Radosh and Weinstein assert, the left has only denounced McCarthyism and the repressive policies of the U.S. government. It's high time to point the finger at the other villain in world politics — "McCarthyism of the left."

### Town Hall debate

Radosh has been a well-known figure in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, now the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Weinstein is editor of the social democratic newspaper *In These Times*. They and their colleagues made these charges at a major debate held here October 20 in Town Hall. Over 1,500 people turned out for the event, titled "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?"

Tickets for the meeting were sold out weeks before. Among those attending were numerous veterans of the fight to save the Rosenbergs' lives, including Julius Rosenberg's sister Ethel Goldberg. The Rosenbergs' son Michael Meeropol was there, as was Morton Sobell, who was convicted with the Rosenbergs and served more than 18 years in prison.

Many antiwar activists attended, and distributed leaflets for the November 12 march on Washington against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. Supporters of the DSA, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, *Guardian* newspaper, and *In These Times* were present, as were readers who identify with the *Nation* magazine or the *New Republic*.

While the majority were firm opponents of the witch-hunt and the criminal killing of the Rosenbergs, a vocal minority applauded the anti-Soviet, anticommunist presentations made by Radosh and his supporters.

The meeting reflected the big discussion taking place throughout left and liberal circles on the Rosenberg case in the wake of a new book written by Radosh and Joyce Milton. Titled *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth*, the book argues that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were not victims of a monstrous government conspiracy. They were involved in Soviet espionage and therefore those who fought in defense of these "spies" did irreparable harm to the workers movement.

The book is being debated in all the newspapers of the left, in liberal publications, on radio talk shows, and at public meetings. A Hollywood movie, *Daniel*, has come out, presenting a sympathetic fictional version of the Rosenberg case.

A September 16 forum here, sponsored by the New York Marxist School, featured talks on the case by Morton Sobell, Michael Meeropol, and Walter and Miriam Schneir. The Schneirs are the authors of *Invitation to an Inquest*, the book which, in the 1960s, exposed the conspiracy by the U.S. government against the Rosenbergs. Challenging Radosh's documentation for his book, the Schneirs have written and spoken widely in an attempt to disprove the allegation that the Rosenbergs were involved in espionage.

*In These Times* is the main "radical" newspaper to come to Radosh's defense. Radosh, in fact, cites *ITT* editor Weinstein in his book as "a uniquely placed source" who can offer "independent confirmation" of the FBI's charge that Julius Rosenberg was a spy. Weinstein's "unique" contribution is based on the fact that he used to be in the CP. A fellow CP member and roommate told him one day he was leaving the party to do "secret work." The roommate had a friend named "Julius," the same Julius, says Weinstein, who was later arrested for Soviet espionage.

Weinstein spoke in the discussion at the Town Hall meeting here, and repeated his charges. He praised Radosh's book. The book is a "great service to the left," he wrote recently in *ITT*, because "it is important for the left to understand its own history and the reasons for its continual failure to gain popular credibility."

### Split among liberals

Another voice rushing to defend Radosh is the *New Republic*. In an October 31 editorial, the liberal magazine blasted away at supporters of the Rosenbergs, charging them with a "new and nasty form of left-wing McCarthyism."

But the *Nation*, another liberal magazine, ran a major article in its October 22 issue by editor Victor Navasky. "... whatever the relationship of the old left to the Soviet Union," Navasky wrote, "the idea that its most serious wounds were self-inflicted rather than the result of the Red hunt is not credible."

The Town Hall meeting was jointly sponsored by the *Nation* and the *New Republic*. Walter and Miriam Schneir debated Radosh, Milton, and Sol Stern, who did "research" for their book.

The breadth and size of the turnout for the debate indicated the recognition by all participants of the serious stakes in this discussion.

This debate is not about history. It gets to the heart of central questions confronting the workers movement today: what stance to take toward the FBI, the courts, and the rest of the capitalist legal system; how to respond to government assaults on democratic rights in the labor movement, including attacks on the rights of the U.S. Communist Party; and how these questions relate to the escalating U.S. military inter-

vention in Central America, which Reagan justifies as a necessary response to Soviet and Cuban "subversion."

The attitude one takes to the Rosenberg case is completely intertwined with these other questions, as a review of the case shows.

The Rosenbergs were indicted in 1950 on charges of stealing the "secret" of the atom bomb and giving it to the Soviet Union. Indicted with them was Morton Sobell. All three maintained they were completely innocent.

At their trial in 1951, the government's main "evidence" was a crude drawing said to be a sketch of a bomb lens mold. David Greenglass testified that he had obtained the sketch at the request of Julius Rosenberg, his brother-in-law, to pass on to the Soviet Union. Greenglass was one of several star witnesses for the FBI who said they were disillusioned with communism. Also testifying against the Rosenbergs was professional witch-hunt trial witness Elizabeth Bentley, notorious for helping convict numerous Communist Party supporters in the 1940s and 1950s.

The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and electrocuted in 1953, despite worldwide protests demanding clemency. Sobell got a 30-year jail term and was not released until he served over 18 years.

### Atom spies not issue

The case really had nothing to do with "atom spies." This was the pretext the government used in order to launch a massive campaign to terrorize members of the CP and others in the workers movement. The trial also played an important role in trying to justify the U.S. aggression in the Korean War, which had just begun, and at the same time, helping witch-hunt radicals in the labor movement.

The prosecution knew full well the Rosenbergs had not stolen the atom bomb "secret." Prominent atomic physicists have since discredited the lens mold sketch and the notion this could have led to the Soviet Union developing the bomb.

But the atom spy charge was important to Washington. It needed to portray the Soviet Union as the real threat to peace in the world. This was a smokescreen to cover the fact that it was Washington that dropped the bomb in 1945 and planned to do so again as part of its counterrevolutionary war drive against the spread of socialist revolution.

That drive was in full swing in Korea at the time of the Rosenbergs' trial. The FBI, judge, and prosecution made full use of the courtroom to whip up prowar sentiment in favor of Washington's invasion of Korea. In his closing statement sending the Rosenbergs to the electric chair, Judge Irving Kaufman said:

"Your conduct ... has already caused the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. ..."

### Attack on CP members

Although the Rosenbergs were formally charged with being spies, their real crime in the eyes of the U.S. government was that they were supporters of the Communist Party. They were also Jewish. The object was to portray all CP members as "spies," agents of a "foreign power," and "traitors." This smear would then be applied more widely, to others who defended the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, favored socialism over capitalist exploitation, or simply opposed the anti-labor, racist policies of the U.S. government.

Washington had high hopes that the Rosenbergs would finally "confess" and name other "spies" the FBI could go out and persecute. As the couple became international heroes for their refusal to do so, the U.S. secret police stepped up the pressure, trying to break them. One plot conceived by the CIA called for appealing to

the Rosenbergs as Jews and trying to convince the couple that the root of anti-Semitism lay in communism, not capitalism.

CIA director Allen Dulles distributed a memo on this plan in January 1953. It explained that the Rosenbergs would be offered a chance to live if they agreed to "appeal to all Jews in all countries to get out of the communist movement and seek to destroy it. ... The Communist Parties throughout the world have built up the Rosenbergs as heroes and martyrs to 'American anti-Semitism.' Their recantation would entail backfiring of this entire Soviet propaganda effort."

The Rosenbergs were not about to give that pleasure to the anti-Semitic hangmen in the CIA and the White House. It is a tribute to their role throughout the case that they spurned all forms of blackmail and psychological torture inflicted on them to force a "confession."

"We will never lend ourselves to be tools to implicate innocent people, to confess crimes we never did and help fan the flames of hysteria and help the growing witch-hunt," Julius declared six months before his death.

They maintained this stand to the end.

### Assault on rights

The barbarity of their murders is only the most heinous aspect of the crimes committed against the Rosenbergs. The entire case was used to carry out a sweeping assault on democratic rights and set a precedent that those accused of being "spies" or "subversives" have no constitutional rights before the law:

- The Rosenbergs were imprisoned for over three years, from the time of their arrest, and never given bail.

- Codefendant Morton Sobell was kidnapped by agents for the FBI in Mexico, dragged to the border, and arrested there.

- All three were lynched in the capitalist press, with the help of lurid FBI press releases, before they even came to trial.

- Jews were excluded from the jury, as were several potential jurors who said they opposed the death penalty.

- The FBI placed an informer in Julius' section of prison and later had the informer infiltrate the defense team.

- The Rosenbergs received the death penalty based on evidence that proved nothing about the crime they supposedly had conspired to commit. They were convicted in part on "classified evidence" that was deleted from the trial transcript and thus unavailable to the defendants on appeal.

- All the defendants' appeals were denied, right up to the U.S. Supreme Court and the White House, despite the steady surfacing of contradictions in the government's case as the executions drew near.

- FBI files recently released document that Judge Kaufman connived with the prosecution and the Justice Department on how to conduct the trial and what sentence to impose.

- President Dwight Eisenhower, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, and other top government officials held secret meetings to decide how to handle the growing protests for the Rosenbergs' lives. Eisenhower flatly refused to stop the executions, declaring that the couple had "exposed to greater danger of death literally millions of our citizens."

This was a legal lynching if there ever was one and a devastating blow to the workers movement.

### 'Questionable tactics'

But now Radosh, cheered on by other social democrats, liberals, and the big-business press, has charged that it was the *Rosenbergs and their supporters*, not the U.S. government, who dealt the blow to U.S. workers.

In his book *The Rosenberg File*, Radosh says that his review of FBI files on the

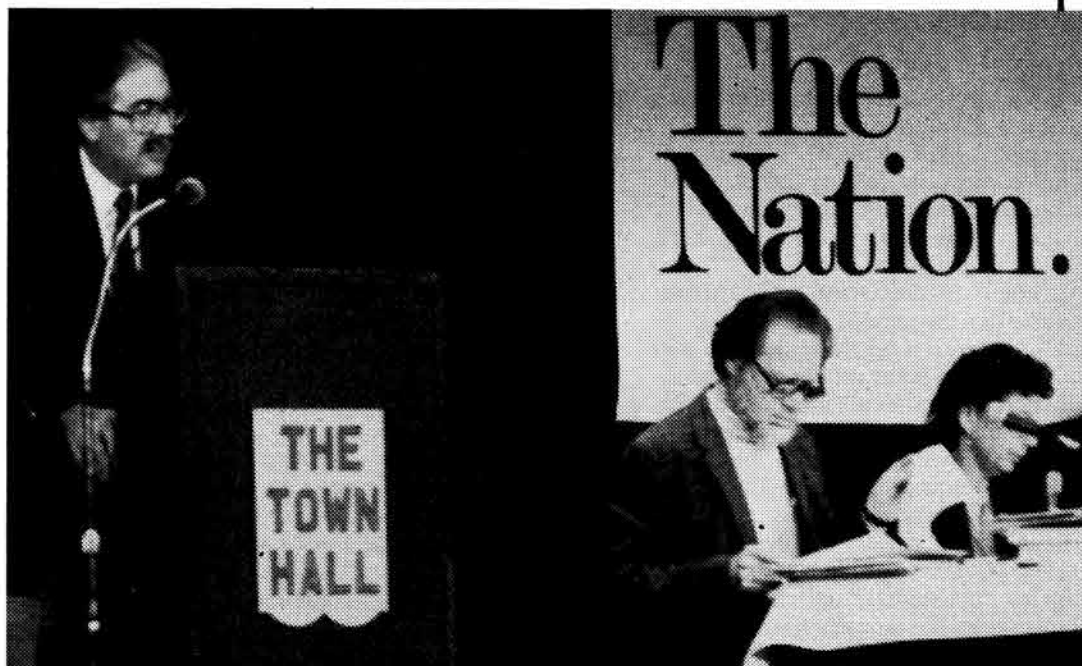


Militant/Lou Howort

Left, supporters of Puerto Rican independence jailed in 1983 witch-hunt by U.S. government. Opponents of Washington's war in Central America will be targeted too, as U.S. rulers deepen attack on democratic rights.



# st Julius and Ethel Rosenberg



Left, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, electrocuted in 1953 in campaign by U.S. government to terrorize workers movement and justify imperialist aggression in Korea. At right, Ron Radosh speaking at October 20 New York debate with Walter and Miriam Schneir (shown at far right). Radosh blamed communists for crimes committed by Washington in 1950s witch-hunt.

case, the trial transcript, and interviews with FBI informers, government witnesses, and ex-CP members convinces him that Julius was "the coordinator of an extensive espionage operation" and Ethel "acted as an accessory." For the left to have defended them as victims of capitalist injustice, he argues, was to perpetrate a terrible "myth" that hurt the workers movement.

To cover himself, he says the government used "questionable tactics" in the trial and that led to "a grave miscarriage of justice." But his real point is the following:

"If the Rosenberg case has an ultimate moral, it is precisely to point up the dangers of adhering to an unexamined political myth. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and their accomplices were so captive to their blind adulation of Stalinist Russia that they failed to perceive the true implications of their espionage, much less to comprehend how their actions would discredit the Left in the eyes of their fellow Americans."

At the Town Hall debate, Radosh was even more explicit on the logic of his conclusions.

"The Communists hurt the left as much as anything the FBI did" in the 1950s, he asserted. They "betrayed indigenous

American radicals ... cynically exploiting the fact that McCarthyism existed."

If we are to believe Radosh, the Rosenbergs (who as the children of Jewish immigrant workers apparently were not "indigenous American radicals") must have welcomed their arrests and death sentences as the supreme chance to "exploit McCarthyism." Their supporters, far from wanting them to live, must have been elated when the executioners pulled the switch. Presumably, millions of U.S. workers who sympathized with the Rosenbergs were just waiting for their chance to get accused of "disloyalty" or "espionage" so they, too, could take advantage of the witch-hunt.

## Right-wing charges

This sounds fantastic, but it was precisely the charge raised by McCarthyite forces in 1953 when an international movement arose to save the Rosenbergs. The right wing told people to stay away from the movement — there was no miscarriage of justice involved here and the Rosenbergs were no martyrs. To call for their freedom would be to become dupes of a cynical Communist plot to vilify democratic America.

Some social democrats and liberals echoed this line at the time. Now Radosh is reviving it.

He does so in the traditional method of social democracy — wrapping his anti-communist views in the banner of the "fight against Stalinism."

At the Town Hall meeting, he declared the issue was not the injustice done to the Rosenbergs, but "the reality of what communists were about: the Moscow Trials, Stalinism, alliance with the Nazis, and the Gulag. . . ."

Like all "socialists" who counterpose the "fight against Stalinism" to fighting their own capitalist class, Radosh admitted that it is communism he really opposes. For him, the "fight against Stalinism" begins in October 1917, when the Russian workers and peasants first liberated their country from capitalist rule. As he frankly stated, "The reactionaries are right about some things — they're right about the Soviet Union."

Bolstering anticommunism under the guise of "anti-Stalinism" is nothing new for social democrats. Claiming to be the real standard bearers for socialism and democracy, they have offered left cover for Washington's antilabor, prowar policies for decades. They argue that imperialism and the workers states are equally responsible for the problems of the world. But the holders of this "third camp" position invariably side with the imperialists when put to the test.

Radosh, for example, sees the Soviet Union and Cuba as the real source of the conflict in Central America today. In an article in the Fall issue of *Dissent* magazine he warns, "The Cuban and Soviet model, with each passing day, seems to become more surely a model for the Sandinists in Nicaragua. It seems a long time since their leadership was talking about pluralism, democracy, and nonalignment."

A similar capitulation to imperialist propaganda occurred within the left around the Soviet Union's downing of the Korean airliner. The "anti-Stalinist socialists" on the left rushed to condemn the Soviet Union, ignoring the U.S. provocation that caused the whole event. For them, the issue was the Soviet bureaucracy, not defense of the Soviet workers state from imperialist attack.

In the Rosenberg case, the issue for Radosh is Soviet spies, Stalinism, and the policies of the Communist Party. The government's conspiracy at the highest levels of power to murder the couple and level a blow against democratic rights takes a distinct back seat. So much for the kind of "socialist democracy" Radosh is fighting for.

In the 1950s witch-hunt, the Communist Party was the victim, not the perpetrator of the attacks on workers rights. It was not the CP that fired thousands of labor militants, jailed its own top leadership, and shipped noncitizen radicals out of the country. The U.S. ruling class — with its army of FBI

agents, lawyers, and judges — waged that war.

## Radosh's timing

Radosh's brief for the government in the Rosenberg case has dangerous implications for defense of the working-class movement in the United States today. It comes just at the time the U.S. rulers are on a campaign to strengthen the FBI, CIA, and other secret police agencies. Congress is trying to revamp laws on the rights of prisoners and those facing trial to take away the right to bail, parole, and other civil liberties. The employers are trying to strip the unions of as many rights as they can.

It's often forgotten that the battery of laws the U.S. rulers used in the witch-hunt — from the Smith Act, to the Voorhis and McCarran acts, to espionage legislation and presidential executive orders — is all still on the books. This antilabor legislation is being used today and will be used more frequently in the future. This became clear at the 1981 trial of the FBI and other government spy agencies for their 40-year disruption of the Socialist Workers Party. In its defense, the government pointed to precisely these laws as the justification for its systematic harassment and persecution of the SWP.

Just as it used the Rosenberg trial in the 1950s, the government today is selectively going after victims, choosing those it deems most vulnerable in the hopes the labor movement will not come to their aid.

## Puerto Rican victims

Scores of Puerto Rican independence fighters have been jailed on alleged links with the FALN, which the FBI accuses of bombings. Some have been charged with "seditious conspiracy" in violation of the Smith Act. Others have been locked away for as many as three years for the sole reason that they refuse to testify before a grand jury. Like the "spies" of the 1950s, these "terrorists" have been routinely denied the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty.

The trials of defendants in the Brink's armored car robbery have been even more outrageous. Three have now been sentenced to life imprisonment, and many others who were never charged with involvement in the holdup thrown in jail for contempt of court.

It's only a matter of time before the government starts going after opponents of its war in Central America with charges that they, too, are spies or agents of the Cuban or Nicaraguan governments or the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

Understanding what's involved in the debate on the Rosenbergs can help prepare the labor movement for these coming attacks. The starting point is the principle that *anyone* in the workers movement the government goes after is a victim of capitalist injustice deserving of all the solidarity the working class can muster.

## Cuba honors Rosenbergs as heroes

Cuba is the first country in the world to dedicate a monument to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

The monument was unveiled last June in Havana as part of official ceremonies commemorating the 30th anniversary of the execution of the Rosenbergs. Designed by sculptor José Delarra, the monument is inscribed with words taken from the Rosenbergs' letters: "For peace, bread, and roses, we go to meet our executioner."

As part of honoring the couple, the Cuban government held a series of meetings and the daily Communist Party newspaper *Granma* ran articles on the meaning of their case.

In addition, Michael and Robert Meeropol, the sons of the Rosenbergs; Marshall Perlin, the Meeropols' attorney; and Morton Sobell, who was convicted with the Rosenbergs, were invited as guests of honor for the ceremonies. The Meeropols were unable to accept the invitation, but sent greetings expressing their gratitude to the Cuban people.

In his message, Robert recalled his 1977 trip to Cuba and his visit to a school there named after his parents. Michael described how anticommunism is being used today to divide the peace movement and pointed to the need to struggle against Washington's intervention in Central America. Both statements were broadcast on national TV and printed in full in *Granma*.

A meeting held June 20 in Havana was addressed by Jorge Risquet of the Cuban Communist Party Political Bureau; Mar-

shall Perlin; and Vilma Espín, alternate member of the CP Political Bureau and president of the Cuban Federation of Women.

According to *Granma*, Espín "noted that humanity could never forget that affront to human dignity committed with the murder of the Rosenbergs. She referred to the activity of Ethel and Julius to further the ideals of social justice and their commitment from their early youth to the U.S. working class."

"She recounted the conditions that existed in the United States at the time the trial against the Rosenbergs began and the coldblooded and premeditated frameup worked out by the ruling classes of that country to destroy the peace movement and propagate their hatred against the USSR."

A major article on the significance of the case appeared in *Granma* by columnist Nidia Díaz. Calling the Rosenbergs workers and "fighters for peace," Díaz described the anti-Soviet, antilabor witch-hunt in the United States at the time of their trial.

Today, she continued, "The arguments used 30 years ago are being repeated to justify nuclear blackmail and political slander against governments such as those of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, that are involved in the battle to peacefully build a new society."

"The Rosenbergs were among the first but not the last victims of U.S. fascism. Humanity is duty bound to expose the U.S. government's sinister policy."



# Rail unions need new strategy

## Defending workers from economic crisis is top priority

BY JIM GOTESKY

Railroad workers today are under attack from both their employers and the U.S. government. Backed up by Washington, the rail carriers are forcing the unions to give up wages, hard-fought-for work rules, and tens of thousands of jobs. In 1982 alone, 66,000 rail jobs were lost.

An article in the October 21 *Militant* explained that the railroad industry is in the midst of a major reorganization. The aim of this plan is to boost profits by abandoning thousands of miles of "marginal" routes and streamlining operations. Mergers in the industry will produce a few giant "superlines" monopolizing rail-freight service from coast to coast.

The ultimate success of the carriers' plan, the *Militant* explained, rests on their ability to "housebreak" rail labor. Congress has aided the industry's attack on the rail unions through a series of antilabor laws. One example is the Railroad Recovery Act of 1976 which imposed major concessions on Conrail and Amtrak workers. This law was the cutting edge of a campaign to squeeze concessions from all rail labor.

While no one would argue that U.S. railroads are not in dire need of modernization, the industry's restructuring plan puts corporate profits ahead of the country's need for expanded rail service and the preservation of union jobs. Why the unions haven't been more successful in resisting this antilabor reorganization effort is the subject of the following article.

\* \* \*

Railroad unions are the organizations in the best position to defend rail jobs and services. Some 300,000 rail workers are organized into more than a dozen craft unions, most of them affiliated to the AFL-CIO.

These workers link vital sections of U.S. industry. They haul coal from the mine face to the power plants and overseas shipping piers. They haul raw materials in and finished products out of the steel mills and auto plants. Railroads ship grain and foodstuffs from the country's agricultural heartland to its coasts. And, they provide passenger service between many cities.

Railroad workers' potential power is enormous.

Yet, despite large, well-financed union organizations and this immense potential power, rail workers have fared poorly in defending themselves against the current employers' onslaught.

The failure of the union officialdom to fight back against the attacks is provoking widespread anger and discussion among the union ranks. "We pay \$20 a month in union dues to protect our jobs. Why aren't the officials doing anything?" is a common complaint on the job. Some workers speculate that our union officials are indifferent because they have grown soft — or that they are simply bought off by the railroad management.

### 'What's good for the goose ...'

But the answer goes beyond a lack of personal militancy. The answer lies in the eagerness of top labor officials to accept and defend the capitalists' idea of "profits first."

Acceptance of the adage "what is good for the boss is good for the workers" leads the union leadership to help management restrain rank-and-file demands. Especially during economic downturns, labor officials collaborate with the employers and argue in favor of concessions to "save" the company.

The view that rail bosses and rail workers share common interests leads to regular collaboration between rail-labor officials and the carriers, and lies at the heart of why the rail-labor leadership has not only given in, but embraced the rail industry's reorganization plans.

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, explained his views on reorganizing the nation's rail system in the May 18 issue of *Labor*, a newspaper published by the Rail Labor Executives Association. The IAM

represents railroad diesel mechanics.

"I think that revitalizing the rail system is an absolute prerequisite to a decent future for this great nation of ours," Winpisinger wrote. "If we are going to develop fuel efficiency over the long pull, into the distant future, we have to have a viable rail system that can stand up to the Japanese. ... We must develop one in America or we're going to stymie our ability to compete. And again, that's something that only the United States government has the capacity to take on and get it done."

American railroads should be revitalized, Winpisinger says, so that U.S. corporations can compete with Japan. This is precisely what the rail bosses want: more profitable railroads reorganized through federal intervention into massive new rail monopolies that can help make U.S. capitalism more competitive.

What happens when existing railroad wage and work-rule structures inevitably get in the way of this plan? Union leaders confine themselves to pleading with the employers to accomplish their reorganization without a direct assault on labor. As Richard Kilroy, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), told a meeting of railroad editors in October 1982, all labor officials ask is a hand in helping the industry push through the changes:

"We are not saying that change cannot take place," Kilroy said. "We are saying that all of us need to be involved, to share in decision-making."

If given the chance, Kilroy declared, "rail labor will be a willing partner in progress to be achieved in years ahead. All we ask is that the needs of those whom we represent be taken into consideration before change occurs, not after it has become an immutable reality."

### History of collusion

Railroad labor officials were among the earliest practitioners of union collaboration with the capitalist class to dampen workers' demands.

In 1900 Ohio industrialist Mark Hanna established the National Civic Federation for the purpose of encouraging this practice. Rail-union leaders were among the charter members of the NCF.

"Our experience has convinced us that the best way to control labor organizations is to lead and not to force them. We are also convinced that the conservative element in all unions will control when properly led and officered," an NCF official wrote in 1903.

Collaboration with the employers paid off handsomely for the labor officialdom over the years. Top labor officials today represent a highly paid bureaucratic caste who personally identify much more closely with industrialists and financiers than their own union membership.

This collaboration between labor officials and big business has been a major obstacle to the advance of the U.S. labor movement. For example, in the early part of this century the leaders of the American Federation of Labor craft unions, including those in rail, took the same position as the employers in opposing the organization of semiskilled and unskilled workers in industries such as steel and auto.

Because of this policy millions of workers were denied union protection until the rise of workers in the 1930s created the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

Similar collaboration between labor officials and management kept the U.S. industrial work force overwhelmingly male and promoted the use of racism as a tool to keep the working class divided and weakened.

The story of railroad craft unionism's opposition to Black rights and support for Jim Crow segregation is one of the most shameful chapters in the history of the U.S. labor movement.

Until as recently as 1958 all rail union constitutions denied Blacks full membership rights. They were either forced to work without union protection or were segregated into their own locals. They

worked the lowest-paying jobs.

The railroad magnates couldn't have been more pleased. Racism, which sets white workers against Black and other oppressed minority workers, undermines working-class solidarity and a united fight against the common enemy. It weakens the unions while being very profitable for the capitalists.

Racism also helps the owners of industry maintain a constant pool of unemployed and underpaid workers to compete with employed and better-paid workers in the job market. This competition drives down everyone's wages.

Before World War II, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers (BLFE) negotiated agreements limiting the seniority rights of Black firemen "in order that there be no discrimination against white men." The federal government backed the engineers union and by April 1941 all Black firemen on southern routes were replaced by whites.

The BLFE (now part of the United Transportation Union) maintained its racist constitution until 1960, changing it only under the impact of the civil rights movement.

### Bowing to Washington

The policy of union-management collaboration to stifle workers' demands is still very much alive in the 1980s. But today the ownership of U.S. industry, including rail, is even more concentrated in huge monopoly corporations, banks, and financial holding companies.

These vast capitalist combines require the backing of the courts, Congress, the White House, and the Pentagon to adequately protect their worldwide interests.

Trade unionists today are faced with two choices: either fight the employers and government, or go along with unionism acceptable to them — meager wage gains in good times and concessions when the economy falters.

Today's union leaders take the latter choice. In political terms that means trying to persuade Democrats and Republicans in government to throw a few crumbs to labor in return for union backing at election time. Along with the rest of the AFL-CIO officialdom, rail union leaders are already gearing up to campaign for former Vice-president Walter Mondale in 1984.

This policy leads to a dead end for one simple reason: when push comes to shove Democrats and Republicans close ranks behind the interests of their class to oppose the demands of working people.

In September 1982, for example, Congress overwhelmingly voted to force an end to a five-day-old strike by locomotive engineers. Not only did Congress, with the participation of both Democrats and Republicans, outlaw the strike, but, with no apologies, imposed a contract favorable to the railroad industry.

Another example of the rail union leaders' collaboration with the employers and the capitalist political parties is their plan for meeting the next round of attacks on Conrail workers.

Congress has mandated that Conrail be transferred to private ownership by June 1984. Rather than prepare for tough negotiations with whomever Conrail's new owners may be, the heads of all the craft unions have proposed to Washington that Conrail workers "buy" the company through an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP).

This scheme has been tried by other workers, most recently those at the giant steel mill in Weirton, West Virginia. Unfortunately it is no solution for workers. To persuade the banks to loan the huge sums of capital that would be necessary to buy a big factory or rail system, means agreeing to more of the very wage, benefit, and work-rule concessions that have already plagued Conrail workers.

While some workers favor the ESOP plan because they see no other alternative, the rail union officialdom proposes this course in order to avoid a fight for those proposals that would really defend rail

workers from the blows of the capitalist crisis.

### Requires war

Backing what is good for the boss at home also leads to backing what is good for the boss abroad. Top officials of the labor movement have traditionally supported the U.S. government's foreign policy based on exploiting colonial and semicolonial countries for the profit of U.S. corporations.

The capitalist class must ensure their ability to control access to arenas for profitable investment, world markets, raw materials, and cheap labor. This creates oppressive conditions leading to revolts by exploited workers and farmers abroad which, in turn, requires the massive presence of U.S. troops around the globe.

The union leadership's acceptance of U.S. military action in defense of corporate profits is a key element in their friendly collaboration with industry and government. But it is a policy that is imposed over the objections of the union ranks.

Despite criticism of aspects of U.S. foreign policy in El Salvador, the AFL-CIO continues to back Washington's counter-revolutionary aims in Central America, the Mideast, and elsewhere.

### Teamsters an alternative?

The leaderships of the railroad unions have proven incapable of rallying their memberships to fight the industry's antilabor reorganization plans. Handed defeat after defeat, rail workers are angry and they are beginning to search for solutions to the leadership crisis in their labor organizations.

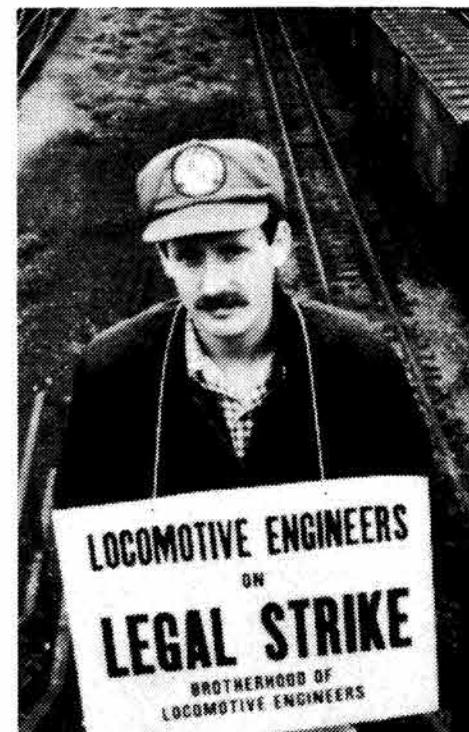
"Had Enough? The Teamsters are Coming!" Orange stickers bearing this message appeared in New York area rail yards this spring.

Conductors and engineers, angered by their union officials' handling of negotiations during the New York transit authority takeover of Conrail commuter lines, asked the Teamsters union to help throw out the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) and the United Transportation Union (UTU).

Workers supporting the Teamsters argued that the Teamsters are a fighting union. Others argued that while the current BLE and UTU leadership should be replaced, the Teamsters' leadership was just as corrupt, would end up carrying out the same procompany policies, and certainly would not tolerate any more opposition from its members than either the BLE or UTU.

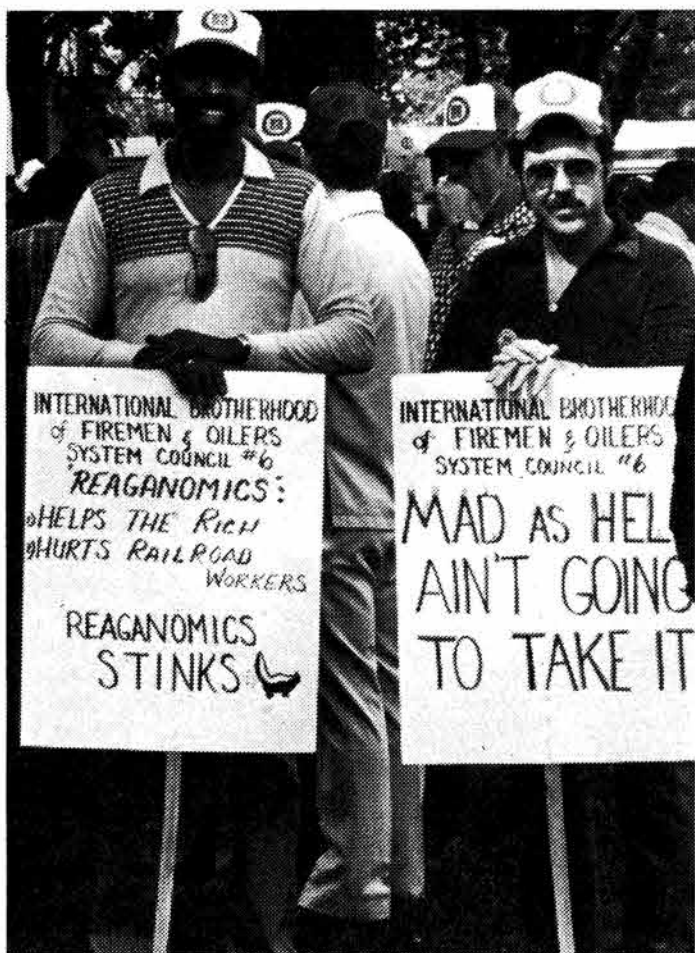
Some workers argued that bringing in the Teamsters might be a step toward combining the 17 existing railroad craft unions into one industrial union with greater striking power.

Although the Teamsters' organizing ef-



Congress forced end to 1982 engineers strike. Rail workers frequently face government intervention on side of carriers.





Militant

Militant/Salm Kolis

March on Washington by 25,000 rail workers April 29, 1981, showed anger of rail labor. This potential force remains untapped so long as union officials follow policy of collaboration with employers.

forts among engineers and train crews fizzled — at least temporarily — the Teamsters did win representation of the Metro North (formerly Conrail) track workers away from the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees in July. The overwhelming 432-56 vote for the Teamsters was an indication of the deep ferment in the rail union ranks and their opposition to the current policies followed by the union leaderships.

The discussion sparked by the Teamsters' raiding operations highlighted the problems rail workers are grappling with.

How can rail workers put an end to concession bargaining and the loss of tens of thousands of jobs? How can the unions be run more democratically? How will a new generation of militant union leaders come forward? Wouldn't combining all the craft unions into one big industrial union give rail workers more clout?

#### Program of action needed

In fact, these questions confront all workers today. There is no solution to the problem of rail union leadership apart from solving the failure of leadership that plagues the entire labor movement today.

If Metro North track workers thought voting for the "tough" Teamsters would make a fundamental difference, some must have begun to have second thoughts when Teamster President Jackie Presser proposed that truckers make big wage concessions, and then announced September 25 that the union would back Ronald Reagan for reelection.

The fight to transform the rail unions into fighting organizations will have to involve something more than changing union affiliation or even changing individual leaders. The rail unions will be transformed as rail workers begin to struggle around their immediate interests and needs.

As part of that fight, rail workers, like workers in other industries, will push aside the traditional, conservative top union officials who are not up to the task. In their place the ranks will choose the militants who come forward to lead the struggle.

The problem is where do we begin? In order to make progress we need clarity on what we're fighting for.

Rejuvenating the unions requires a program of action — a program that centers around three basic principles: *solidarity with other workers and the oppressed, political independence from the Democrats and the Republicans, and full union democracy.*

Putting those principles to work in the rail unions means first of all fighting around some of the most immediate needs of workers in the industry:

- **Jobs.** Our unions should actively campaign to force the rehiring of the many thousands of railroad workers who have

been laid off as a result of the industry's restructuring plans. A campaign to expand rail service could win wide public support as well. Rail labor could ally with family farmers, small businesses, and passengers — all of whom have been the victims of shrinking service.

The unions also should demand that Congress pass legislation mandating a shorter national workweek. Working fewer hours with no loss in pay would open up thousands of new jobs. An adequate-sized work force would also contribute to the safer operation of the nation's rail system.

Right now the unions could be mobilizing workers to demand immediate relief for the tens of thousands of rail workers, and millions of other jobless workers. Unemployment insurance should be paid at union wages for as long as a worker is laid off. A serious program of public works aimed at building decent housing, schools, and hospitals — not to mention rebuilding the rail system, which is in a state of utter disrepair — could put many workers back to work.

- **Affirmative action.** Rail unions should champion the fight for affirmative action in hiring and promotion for Blacks, Latinos, and women who have been the victims of years of discrimination. For example, Conrail's "modernization" eliminated virtually all Black and women engineers and train crew members. As an elementary act of solidarity, our unions should fight against discriminatory layoffs in order to reverse the traditional "last hired, first fired" discrimination these workers have suffered.

- **Work rules.** Getting rid of work rules that the unions have won to protect workers' safety and improve conditions on the job is a primary objective of managers in every branch of industry.

Rail unions, especially the UTU and the BLE, urgently need to launch a counter-attack against work-rule "givebacks." Among the most serious concessions have been a series of "crew consist" agreements reducing the size of train and engine crews. Along with eliminating cabooses, crew consist is a key element undermining rail safety.

Our unions also have to fight to retain other work rules that have improved the quality of life of rail workers.

The carriers are particularly anxious to get rid of a series of "arbitrariness" — penalties carriers are forced to pay for using train and engine crews in an arbitrary manner.

For example, the "100-mile rule" pays engineers a day's extra pay if their route takes them more than 100 miles from their starting point. This rule discourages the carriers from assigning runs that leave engineers stranded far from home.

- **Solidarity.** Embracing the old union slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" would have an immediate and powerful effect on strengthening the labor movement. For one thing, it points in the direction of

finally overcoming the destructive competition among the rail crafts.

On another level making solidarity a foundation of trade union activity would make it more difficult for the employers and the government to pit one section of the working class against another.

Solidarity means standing with the embattled Arizona copper miners who've been forced out on strike for months by the employers. It means supporting, and receiving support, from the union movement's natural allies: small farmers, oppressed nationalities, and women.

Solidarity also means standing with fellow working people abroad such as the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and El Salvador. The unions should champion the fight to get the U.S. government out of Central America and the Mideast. Washington is no more helping workers there than it is helping workers here at home.

#### New party needed

Organizing around these and similar points brings the labor movement into immediate conflict with the government and the employers.

To make any real progress, workers need a political party of their own. If the AFL-CIO took the lead in organizing a labor party, the undertaking would rapidly win the allegiance of tens of millions of working people.

Such a party is destined to emerge as part of the struggle to transform the unions into fighting organizations that mobilize their members on the picket line and in street protests against unemployment, wage cuts, and the gutting of social services.

A labor party would put forward a positive program to fund human services, attack unemployment, and champion the rights of oppressed minorities and women.

On the level of foreign policy and war, a labor party would be free to battle the Democrats' and Republicans' policy of U.S. military intervention around the world. Working people are already drawing the connection between the crisis in jobs and social services we face at home and Washington's military adventures abroad.

The pressure in the labor movement today to oppose U.S. war moves in Central America, Lebanon, and elsewhere is increasing. Feeling the heat, the AFL-CIO reaffirmed its criticism of U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran regime.

The United Auto Workers convention recently voted for a complete cutoff of U.S. aid to El Salvador.

#### Future of rail system

The goal of a labor party would be to take political power away from the capitalist class. The trade union movement and all working people need another kind of government, one representing the interests of the vast majority of the U.S. pub-

lic instead of big business. The halls of Congress need not be filled with lawyers, bankers, and businessmen. It should be filled by working people and small farmers.

A government of workers and family farmers would take a radically different approach to the rail industry's future as part of reorganizing all industry, transportation, and communications.

The railroads, like other forms of transportation, are a vital service. They link the entire nation together transporting goods and raw materials from coast to coast. They are necessary to provide cheap, efficient mass transit in cities and passenger service over longer distances.

The rail system is no different in fundamental ways from the educational system. Both are needed and both are in great disrepair. But most people would not argue that the public schools should be organized to profit stockholders or go out of business if they couldn't.

Education is a fundamental need whether or not there is profit in it. So are the railroads and many other privately owned industries. A workers and farmers government would take the railroads out of the hands of the corporations, conglomerates, and stockholders whose sole interest in the railroads is to feather their own nests. The railroads would be expropriated and integrated into one mighty system geared to meet the needs of workers, farmers, and small businessmen.

On the job, rail workers themselves would handle the day-to-day decisions governing operations. This could be organized directly through the unions. These three steps would guarantee a more efficient and safer rail system.

Reorganizing and rebuilding the rail system on a national basis would provide many new railroad jobs and allow for any needed modernization.

#### Long sleep ending

Eugene V. Debs, a militant rail-union leader and socialist candidate for U.S. president in the early 1900s, blasted the collaboration between labor leaders and business leaders embodied in the National Civic Federation. In a 1905 speech he stated, "The Civic Federation has been organized for one purpose — of prolonging the age-long sleep of the working class. Their supreme purpose is to keep you from waking up."

This task still confronts rail workers today. But, as the march of 25,000 angry rail workers in the streets of Washington in April 1981 showed, the winds of change are blowing in the labor movement and the awakening of the sleeping giant has already begun.

*Jim Gotesky is a former Conrail electrician now working for Metro North Commuter Railroad in New York. He is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union Local 817.*



# GM to cough up \$42 million for affirmative action

Women, Blacks, Latinos, and the entire union movement won an important victory this month on the affirmative action front.

On October 18, the General Motors (GM) Corp., the largest car manufacturer in the country, was forced to agree to pay \$42.5 million to settle a decade-old employment discrimination suit. Women, Blacks, and Latinos will all benefit from what is reportedly the largest out-of-



## WOMEN IN REVOLT Margaret Jayko

court settlement ever of a job bias claim. The settlement is applicable to all GM divisions in the United States.

The most important thing about the settlement, which was signed by the United Auto Workers (UAW), GM, and the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, is that it set numerical goals for hiring, training, and promoting women, Blacks, and Latinos.

It also includes a provision for GM to pay \$15 million in endowments and scholarships to colleges and technical schools. This is designed to assist GM employees and their families. Female, Black, and Latino employees are to be given preference in the distribution of the education funds.

The accord provides less than \$4 million for backpay awards to compensate the thousands of women, Blacks, and Latinos who have been victims of discrimination in hiring, training, and promotion for years.

Furthermore, the auto giant was not forced to admit that it had discriminated against women and oppressed nationalities in the past.

The statistics show that women, Blacks, and Latinos have made very little progress in the last 10 years in getting hired by GM in proportion to their percentage in the work force.

The original complaint — which the law conveniently prohibits from being made public — contained wide-ranging charges of discrimination in hiring and promotion, especially in the skilled trades.

Of the eight specific work categories covered by the agreement, the *New York Times* reported two examples of the actual hiring goals.

The company is supposed to try to hire women to fill 28 percent of the new openings in nonskilled jobs that pay hourly wages. At present, women only make up 20 percent of these jobs.

The goal for hiring Blacks and Latinos as journeymen in the skilled classifications will be 10 percent over the life of the agreement, which is five years. At present, only 6.4 percent of all journeymen are Black or Latino.

GM has agreed to spend \$3 million on training for clerical employees — no doubt most of whom are women — with an eye toward helping them get better paying, nonclerical jobs.

This victory for affirmative action strengthens the UAW at a time when it is under severe attack from the

auto giants. It is a blow to company-perpetrated divisions within the work force, divisions that only benefit the company and which GM manipulates to its advantage in order to weaken the entire union.

Women fighting to get better-paying industrial jobs that are organized by unions like the UAW will get a boost from this victory as well. They will better be able to see the union as their ally in the fight for equality and dignity on and off the job.

The fact that large numbers of workers in the auto assembly plants are Blacks, Latinos, and women is a source of strength for the UAW.

There is a catch to this agreement, which points to the weakness of simply mandating goals to be strived for as opposed to quotas that legally must be met.

One GM official pointed out that the goals only are operative "if and when we hire. We still have 61,000 hourly workers on indefinite layoff."

There is no indication that GM is subject to any penalties if it doesn't meet these very modest goals. It is supposed to meet them "if possible." Given its poor track record, we have to assume that GM will do everything in its considerable power to make it *not* possible.

This underlines the need for *quotas*. That is, concrete numbers and percentages of positions in hiring, training, and promotion set aside for those workers who have been kept out previously because of their race or sex. Numbers backed up by the threat of serious penalties.

Forcing the company to meet these goals will take quite a fight, a fight which the UAW can and must lead. Black, Latino, and women's rights organizations should aid the UAW in this.

## Women, unions can beat back sex discrimination

The following interview is with Laura Carnes, an oil refinery worker at Tenneco in Chalmette, Louisiana, and a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) Local 4-522. Carnes and her union scored a victory for women's rights and for the union earlier this year when she won her job back after being fired in a discriminatory move by Tenneco. She is continuing her fight against the company by demanding back benefits for the period when she was unjustly terminated.

*Question. Why should your fight against Tenneco be supported?*

*Answer.* This case can help set a precedent for other women refinery workers who are experiencing discrimination. Through our successful fight to win my job back we have shown that if you fight back you can defend yourself against discrimination by the company.

Harassment of women workers in the oil industry is very widespread. The source of this is the company, which promotes the myths about women refinery workers we have all heard: that we can't do the job since we are not mechanically inclined; that we cannot learn the complex processes involved, and that we will panic in the face of an accident.

My situation at Tenneco was like that of many women who have suffered discrimination based on these myths. At Tenneco there are only 15 women out of a work force of 400. In my two years as an operator I was subjected to harassment by supervisors. There was also hostility toward me on the part of some male coworkers who resented having a woman in the unit.

The company finally decided to fire me. This firing came about because I was a woman who demanded to be treated fairly and because I was a strong supporter of the union. The pretext they used was the charge that I was "insubordinate." This was because, among other things, I demanded union representation in a situation where I was being grilled by supervisors.

### Won job back

After a year's fight, on April 23, 1983, the union won my job back through arbitration. The arbitrator ruled that the union contract as well as my rights as established in the *Weingarten* case had been violated. *Weingarten* was a court case that established that an employee has the right to union representation if the employee suspects that disciplinary action may result from a discussion with the company.

*Q. What was the response of your coworkers when you won your case?*

A. It was just fantastic! A lot of coworkers

welcomed me back and said they thought I should never have been fired in the first place. Others commented that they knew I'd get my job back all along. There are still a few who don't think women should be in the oil industry. But the majority were just great. Some coworkers I didn't know came up to me, shook my hand, and explained what a victory this was for the union.

*Q. How long have women been in the oil industry and how did they get hired?*

A. At Tenneco, the woman with the most seniority has been there eight years. That's about the time when most refineries began to hire women.

Women began to break into oil because of the impact of the civil rights and women's liberation movements. It was a big step forward for women to get these higher-paying jobs. Traditionally women have been relegated to the lower-paying service jobs. This is reflected in the fact that nationally women make only 59 cents for every dollar a man makes. Here in Louisiana it's 49 cents.

But now, with the economic crisis and high unemployment, the union movement is under attack and women's right to a decent paying job is being attacked as part of this. The oil companies and industry in general are trying to divide the working class by pushing the idea that women who work in industry are taking away a man's job. They say women don't really need these jobs. But the 5.9 million working women who are the sole providers for themselves and their children know this is a lie. The majority of working-class families who can only survive on two incomes know this is a lie. Women need these jobs as much as men.

### Creating scapegoats

Big business and its parties — the Democrats and Republicans — try to create scapegoats for the problems all working people face. They say it's the women, it's the Blacks, it's the unemployed, it's those on welfare, it's the unions.

This way we don't see the real source of the problem: big business and the government and the two parties that represent them.

*Q. What role should the union play in all this?*

A. The union was crucial in fighting my case. I couldn't have done it without the union taking this to arbitration. I also got help from my union nationally. It supported my case in the union newspaper and women at the national OCAW women's conference collected over \$400 to help carry the fight forward. I also got many signatures on a petition in support of get-

ting my back benefits at the national OCAW convention last summer.

It's true that the record of the union movement has often been weak in fighting cases of discrimination. But, as my case shows, once women begin to fight it is our unions which are potentially the most effective force in this fight.

In OCAW the local human relations committees can play a role in this. Through these committees we can begin to educate on the divide-and-rule tactics of the companies. We can educate on how it is to the advantage of all workers to end any kind of discrimination that allows the company to divide workers in the face of company attacks.

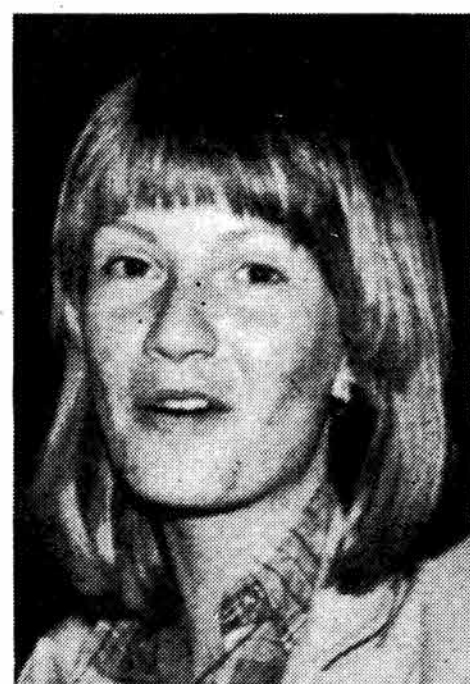
### CLUW and NOW

In fights against discrimination we also have potential allies in women's groups such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the National Organization for Women. We should work closely with these groups.

We have to overcome the problem where all too often women who suffer discrimination on the job think their problem is unique or that nothing can be done. The isolation women experience in oil, where women are usually working in units where they are the only woman, intensifies this problem.

Affirmative action programs and other efforts to get more women hired will be very important in overcoming this. Organizing women to meet together, to publicize cases of discrimination so we can fight back will also help cut through this isolation.

Another step oil workers can take is to reach out to women in other industries for support. Women at the Sun refinery in Toledo, Ohio, did this recently when they



OCAW Union News  
Laura Carnes speaking at first OCAW National Women's Conference in May 1982.

asked their union, Local 7-912, to sponsor a meeting with representatives from the Coal Employment Project, a group which has fought to get more women hired in coal.

*Q. To sum up, what would be your advice to any woman in oil or any other industrial job who is victimized like you were?*

A. In one word, fight! We must answer company harassment with a united response. Involving all those who understand that an injury to one is an injury to all.

## UAW on strike at plane plants

More than 6,600 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) struck McDonnell Douglas, one of the nation's largest war contractors, October 17.

The struck facilities include Douglas' large commercial aircraft plant in Long Beach, California, with 4,900 workers, and smaller plants in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Melbourne, Arkansas.

At issue are cost-of-living protection, retirees' pensions, retraining for laid-off workers, and a company demand for reduced wages for lower pay grades.

Contracts also expired October 23 at McDonnell Douglas military production plants in Torrance and Huntington Beach, California. The almost 6,000 unionists there are represented by the International Association of Machinists. IAM members

are continuing to work during negotiations.

IAM members at Lockheed, meanwhile, approved a contract proposal October 23 covering 26,000 workers at plants in Burbank, Palmdale, and Sunnyvale, California, and Marietta, Georgia. The new contract starts new hires at a lower wage; janitors, for instance, who now start at \$8.50 an hour will receive \$6.

Even so, the concessions in the Lockheed contract are reportedly not so severe as in the Boeing contract, ratified October 3 in Seattle against the recommendation of the IAM leadership.

McDonnell Douglas says it wants the same concessions Boeing workers gave up, particularly in wages and benefits for new hires.



# Anti-immigrant bill shelved but not dead

BY HARRY RING

A lot of people undoubtedly breathed a sigh of relief when the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill was pigeon-holed in the House of Representatives after sailing through the Senate with a big, bipartisan majority.

But it would be a mistake to assume that Simpson-Mazzoli is dead.

House Republican leaders said October 18 that they had decided to get the measure onto the floor of the House even though it had been blocked earlier this month by Democratic House Speaker Thomas O'Neill.

The measure had been approved by the House Judiciary Committee, but was bottled up in the rules committee by O'Neill who said he was acting in response to objections to the bill by the Congressional Hispanic Caucus.

In addition to the present Republican move to activate the measure, Rep. Robert García, a New York Democrat, said that members of the Hispanic Caucus would draft their own version of an immigration bill.

It may well be that Simpson-Mazzoli will be kept on the shelf until after the presidential elections. But it will not go away. And it's dead certain that there will not and cannot be what García talks about — an immigration bill that is not discriminatory.

In the days ahead, those who come to this country in a desperate search for jobs or political asylum — with or without papers — are going to face more discrimination, not less.

That's not simply because the political system in this country is totally racist. It's also because capitalism is in a state of permanent crisis and that increases its need for tighter border controls.

## Jobless rate still high

U.S. capitalism is now emerging from the deep economic downturn of 1981-83. Production and profits are again on the upturn.

But, by official figures, 9.2 percent of the work force is still jobless, and even if the upturn continues, unemployment is expected to remain high.

This harsh reality is particularly relevant for immigrant workers, especially those who are undocumented.

For the people of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, the pressure to find work or asylum here is greater than ever.

In Mexico, record unemployment is combined with skyrocketing inflation.

In Central America and the Caribbean, economic misery grows like a plague.

In countries like El Salvador, Guatemala, and Haiti, brutal political repression forces tens of thousands to flee for their very lives.

Yet at the very moment when their plight is most desperate, U.S. capitalism has less need for immigrant workers.

For a time at least, Washington reckons, there are enough jobless already in this country to provide the reservoir of super-cheap labor many bosses rely on.

The immediate target of Simpson-Mazzoli is immigrant workers. But, ultimately, it is aimed at the entire U.S. labor movement — native and foreign-born, "legal" and "illegal."

## Key provisions

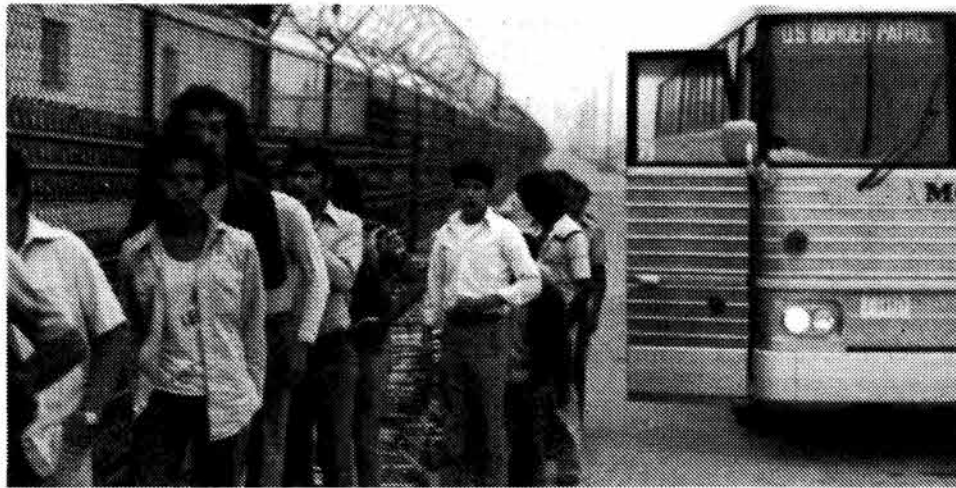
If enacted, the bill will beef up the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Border Patrol, one of the most racist and corrupt cop forces in the country.

The bill provides for fines for employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented workers. The "knowingly" is a good-sized loophole, but the stipulation is justification enough to make all Latino workers more susceptible to discrimination in hiring and leaves undocumented workers even more vulnerable to ripoff by bosses.

The law would make it more difficult to gain political asylum here by "streamlining" the appeals process when asylum is denied.

Ominously, anyone charged with "harboring" an undocumented immigrant could be fined and jailed as a felon. "Harboring" could include giving a relative a place to sleep.

The "harboring" clause specifically does



World capitalist economic crisis drives workers like these to U.S. Deportations continue because many employers feel supply of unemployed is large enough.

not apply to employers who hire undocumented workers.

An employer found guilty of a "pattern" of hiring undocumented workers would be liable to a maximum of six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine.

But someone convicted of befriending, that is "harboring," would face up to five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for each person assisted.

Organized labor would be targeted by making union hiring halls legally liable for dispatching someone to a job who doesn't have proper papers.

Finally, the bill would provide the basis for a nationwide blacklist of militant unionists, antiracist fighters, and political radicals. It requires that within three years of passage, every U.S. worker must be required to have a "counterfeit-proof" ID card that could be checked against a central government computer.

To make the Simpson-Mazzoli bill look less unpalatable, it includes a proviso to grant amnesty to undocumented residents who have been here a given period of time.

## 'Amnesty' fraud

But, in good measure, the amnesty section is a hoax.

Those who want to claim amnesty would have to come forward and identify themselves to the INS — the justly feared and hated *la migra*. To add insult to injury they would have to pay an application fee of "\$100 or more" per person, with the exact amount decreed by the attorney general.

Amnesty would be granted at the "discretion" of the U.S. attorney general. Denial of amnesty would not be subject to

court appeal.

Anyone with a record of a single felony or three misdemeanors (such as traffic violations) would be disqualified for amnesty.

Those are only some of the Catch-22s in the amnesty deal.

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill has rightfully evoked broad opposition. When O'Neill said he was deferring to the Hispanic Caucus in pigeon-holing the bill, that was only part of the story.

To begin with, the anti-immigrant measure — and the opposition to it — did not originate under the Reagan administration. The proposal for legislation to crack down on immigrants was initiated by the Democrats under the Carter administration.

The key provisions of the Carter anti-immigrant plan were first publicly disclosed in early 1977 by F. Ray Marshall, then secretary of labor.

In outlining the provisions for tighter border control, employer sanctions, and IDs for all workers, Marshall put the issue bluntly.

"The crucial question," he told a reporter, "is whether those illegal aliens are taking jobs that domestic workers will not take."

He added: "I say domestic workers will take them."

What he meant was that in the days ahead there would be enough people out of work in this country that some of them would be compelled to take the hard, low-paying jobs traditionally reserved for the undocumented.

On that score, Marshall was not without foresight.

But what he, and those he spoke for, did

not foresee, was the opposition the Carter plan would evoke.

## Latinos said no

The major Chicano organizations — the League of United Latin American Citizens, GI Forum, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, church bodies and more — registered sharp hostility to the plan.

The opposition was given dramatic expression when an antideportation conference was held in San Antonio in October 1977. Some 1,500 people from 30 states attended. It was the broadest gathering of Chicano and Latino organizations united around a single issue since the Vietnam War.

Not long after, Carter decided the plan needed more study and delegated it to a bipartisan commission — to report back after the 1980 elections. The Simpson-Mazzoli bill grew out of that postelection report.

But the introduction of Simpson-Mazzoli came in the context of a significantly wider public awareness of the reactionary role of *la migra*.

Proponents of the bill did have a problem with some manufacturing and agribusiness companies who rely heavily on low-wage undocumented labor. But that was a lesser part of it.

Until the late 1970s, *mexicanos* were generally the main target of *la migra*.

Since then, with increasing numbers of people being driven from Central America and the Caribbean, the scope of *la migra*'s activity has broadened, with a corresponding rise in opposition to it.

During 1982, 6,000 people were deported to El Salvador. In 1981, it was 10,000. How many of those sent back were murdered by the U.S.-sponsored Salvadoran regime is not known. But shocking examples have been documented.

These deportations have created such a scandal that 60 U.S. churches are now offering sanctuary to refugees.

And we have seen the angry opposition in the Haitian community and among its supporters to Washington's cruel victimization of refugees from the murderous Duvalier dictatorship.

With the 1984 elections approaching, it was apparent that passage of the reactionary Simpson-Mazzoli statute would be a liability to those responsible for its passage. That's why it's likely to remain on the shelf until the elections are past.

But the first chance they get, they'll bring it back.

## Marroquin meets Hispanic Caucus

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who faces deportation from the United States to his native land, took his case for political asylum to the Congressional Hispanic Caucus here October 20.

Marroquín and his supporters spent almost 30 minutes with members of the Hispanic Caucus. He asked them to consider adopting a "sense-of-the-caucus" resolution on his behalf, an amicus or "friend-of-the-court" brief when his case is heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, and to sponsor congressional hearings on his case.

After he informed the caucus about his case, he talked at some length with Congressmen Esteban Torres (D-Calif.) and Robert García (D-N.Y.). He told them how the FBI had kept tabs on him in Mexico from when he was 15 and had labeled him a communist because he was a student activist.

Asked whether his life would be in danger under the current Mexican government, as it was when he fled a frame-up murder charge in 1974, Marroquín pointed out that there are 600 trade-union leaders currently disappeared in Mexico.

Torres, who had met Marroquín at the United Auto Workers convention in Dallas this summer, introduced him to the caucus.

García said he was concerned with the plight of Haitian refugees here and added that there are many similarities between their treatment as undocumented workers fleeing repression and Marroquín's case.

Appearing before the caucus with Mar-

roquín was Harold Massey of the United Methodist Church and supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for his case.

Marroquín got a warm response from workers in Baltimore. He visited a picket line at Koppers, where members of the International Association of Machinists are on strike. A picket captain signed a petition calling for asylum for Marroquín.

At the London Fog shop, 15 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union signed the petition. Marroquín also got a friendly response at the Bendix plant.

The daily *Baltimore Sun* printed an extensive story on his case.

Earlier, at a rally in Seattle, Marroquín was joined by Alejandra Rivera of Salvadoran Refugees for Peace and Justice; Santiago Juárez, an immigration lawyer; and Cindy Domingo, chairperson of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes.

Rivera explained why she, as a Salvadoran refugee, supports Marroquín's fight for political asylum:

"I want to go home but cannot, because of the support the U.S. government gives" to the regime in El Salvador, which "practices civil war against my people."

She was arrested and jailed for three months by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), she said, and "the INS police reminded me of the National Police of El Salvador."

A letter of support was sent to the rally

by Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, two of whose officers, Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, were killed in Seattle two years ago. The two were active in the struggle against Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos.

The rally also received a message of support from Ship Scalpers Local 541, which recently struck Todd Shipyards for two months.

In Minneapolis, a statewide conference of the Minnesota Coalition of Labor Union Women unanimously passed a resolution favoring Marroquín's right to political asylum.

The resolution stated, in part, that "attacks on foreign-born workers by the INS represent an effort to divide and weaken the labor movement," and that foreign-born workers "such as Héctor Marroquín and the labor movement as a whole share a common struggle, and labor has a stake in Marroquín's victory, which would be a victory for all workers."

This article is based on reports from Ted Leonard, Kaethejean Bleicher, and Christine Frank Onasch.

## You can help

To aid the fight against attacks on labor's political rights, contact the Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



# THE GREAT SOCIETY

**Solidarity** — "During the 'Denver Dreams' old timers' baseball game — where the joyous multitude even cheered foul balls — the festivities stopped when the



Harry Ring

scoreboard flashed an ad for financially troubled [and struck] Continental Airlines. Then, for the only time that night, noticeable boos wafted through Mile-High

Stadium." — Denver Rocky Mountain News.

**That confirms that** — In 1977, ex-CIA director Richard Helms drew a fast two-year suspended sentence and a \$2,000 fine after being convicted of lying to Congress when he denied CIA funding of the Pinochet coup in Chile. Now Reagan has awarded Helms the National Security Medal. At the time of his conviction, the judge said it proved no one was above the law in this country.

**Correction** — We recently reported that the "baby" Benz is available here for "a tad" over

\$20,000. Actually, it's \$24,000, which some folk might consider more than a tad. However, it does get 26 miles to the gallon and features a radio which, according to the company, would set you back \$1,500 if bought separately. AM and FM, we presume.

**Genetic limits** — According to *Architectural Digest*, antique dealer Earl K. Vandekar specializes in "a wide variety of porcelain and ceramics from the 18th century, including European faience." Mr. Vandekar advises, "We're not born with an innate awareness of antiques." And we thought we were a natural faience freak.

**Sounds spiffy** — A recent New York fashion show featured what we're told were the "heavy hitters" in the field. The heaviest hitter, reportedly, was Countess Jacqueline de Ribes, whose dresses are tagged between \$2,000 and \$7,000. Most popular was one she did in black lace and organza (According to Webster, that's a sheer silk or synthetic fabric.) \$6,800.

**Travel tip** — Try Regent Air. A limo picks you up at the door and another awaits your arrival. Food and drink, pencils and pads. A hair trim and manicure. Music and movies. If you choose, a private room that serves as dining and/or conference room during the day and offers a full-size bed at

night. The regular trip, New York to L.A. or S.F., \$1,620. With the sleep-in compartment, \$4,310.

**Obviously for high-powered execs** — On second thought, we're not going to try that Regent compartment. Eat and drink, hold a meeting, get a hair trim and manicure, catch a movie and get a night's sleep on a flight that takes about five hours — we'd be wiped out.

**The march of science** — A patent has been issued for an alarm clock that wakes you not with a bell but by wafting a pleasing fragrance in your direction. Like, maybe, a whiff of fresh air.

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Hear South African Exile Sipo Mcimela** Speaker: Rev. Sipo Mcimela, author of *Apartheid: South African Nazism*. Sat., Nov. 5, 7 p.m. St. Pauls United Methodist Church, 1500 6th Ave. N. Ausp: Birmingham Peace Council and American Friends Service Committee.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Labor Speaks Out Against U.S. Intervention in Central America.** Film showing of *Revolution or Death* on El Salvador. Speaker: Halket Allen, member of Socialist Workers Party and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5, 4 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### San Jose

**The Fight for a Black-Latino-Labor Alliance Today.** Speakers: Mel Mason, socialist city councilman in Seaside, member of National Black Independent Political Party and Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Rick Trujillo, Socialist Workers candidate for San Jose school board, member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Ausp: Dugan and Trujillo for School Board Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**Jobs Not War: Socialist Workers Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Joey Rothenberg, SWP candidate for mayor, steelworker; Claudia Robertson, candidate for city council president. Sat., Nov. 5; reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. Waverly Presbyterian Church, 34th and Old York Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Baltimore Campaign Committee. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**The Socialist Strategy and the Fight for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom.** Speaker: Andrea González, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 5; dinner (\$2.50 donation), 5 p.m.; rally (\$2 donation), 7 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Two classes: "Why Imperialism Goes to War," Sun. Nov. 6, 12 noon; "Women and Revolutionary Nicaragua," Sun., Nov. 6, 2:30 p.m. (donation, \$1 per class). Speaker: Andrea González. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

#### Virginia

**Farmer-Labor Solidarity and Survival Rally.** Rally and dinner. Tues., Nov. 1, 6 p.m. Carpenters Hall. Ausp: Iron Range Assembly and North American Farm Alliance. For more information call (218) 741-0887.

**Election Night Celebration.** Speakers: Pat Birnit, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor; Andrea González, national chairperson of Young Socialist Alliance. Tues., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

**El Salvador and Nicaragua.** Speaker: Andrea González. Wed. Nov. 9, 5:30 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

**Why the U.S. Government Goes to War.** Speaker: Andrea González. Fri., Nov. 11, 7 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Ausp: Militant Newspaper. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Corporate "Bankruptcy" and Union-Busting.** Speakers: Newton Kamakani, former fi-

nancial secretary of United Auto Workers Local 1364; Furman Joye, business manager of Teamsters Local 207; Donna Ward, member of International Association of Machinists Local 778; Diane Shur, member of UAW Local 31 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**No More Vietnams in Central America and the Middle East. An Evening of Solidarity.** Speakers: Ahmad Hamid, former vice-president of Arab Center; Elene Whitt, Latin America Solidarity Committee; Gloria Hoover, Equal Rights Council; Rev. Ted Braun; Rohima Miah, Young Socialist Alliance; Ali Hossaini, Arab-American recently visited occupied Palestine. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 3109 S Grand, rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Evening in Solidarity With Chile.** Slide show and video tape. Nov. 5, 6 p.m. Church of the Holy Name, Amsterdam Ave., between 96th and 97th Sts. Donation requested. Committee for a Free Chile. For more information call (212) 590-3907.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Kathleen Denny, SWP candidate for city council; Mark Rahn, SWP candidate for school board; Arlene Rubenstein, SWP candidate for governor of Kentucky. Sat., Nov. 5; reception, 6:30 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Ciuccio's Restaurant in Hyde Park Plaza. Donation: \$6 for dinner and rally; \$1 for rally only. Ausp: Cincinnati SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (503) 242-7161.

#### Cleveland

**Classes on Socialism.** Discussion and refreshments every Tuesday, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Is the Soviet Union a Threat To Working People in U.S.?** On 66th anniversary of Russian revolution, a discussion on disarmament, yellow rain, the KAL incident, Afghanistan, and Poland. Speaker: Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### UTAH

#### Orem

**What Socialists Stand For.** Speaker: Bob Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Salt Lake. Translation to Spanish. Tue., Nov. 1, 7 p.m. Orem Library, 58 N State St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124

#### Price

**Colorado and Utah Socialist Educational Conference.** Two classes by Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party National cochairperson: Class 1) "Independent Black Political Action," Sat., Nov. 5, 2 p.m. Class 2) "Blacks in the Labor Movement," Sun., Nov. 6; part 1, 10 a.m., part 2, 12 noon. Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Malik Miah, Bob Hoyle, SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake; Jeff Pike, SWP candidate for Price city council. Sat., Nov. 5; reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist

## U.S. Out of Grenada!

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**U.S. Hands Off Grenada!** Speaker: Mark Curtis, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**U.S. Hands Off Grenada!** Speakers: Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland city councilman; Rev. Calhoun; Pedro Noguera, former Grenadian teacher; Paul Cobb, president, OCCUR. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 29, 7 p.m. VIS Lounge, 628 Divisadero. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

#### San Jose

**U.S. Out of Grenada!** Speakers: representative of Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Oct. 29, 7 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Dugan and Trujillo for School Board Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

### COLORADO

#### Denver

**U.S. Invades Grenada — Emergency Protest Meeting.** Speaker: Maureen McDougall, Socialist Workers Party, visited Grenada in 1981. Wed., Nov. 2, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**U.S. Hands Off Grenada!** Speakers: Michele Smith, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Louisiana; Selby Semela, Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Grenada: A Tribute to Maurice Bishop. U.S. Out of Grenada!** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, member of National Committee of Socialist Workers Party; Donald Telesford, president, Grenada Michigan Association. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

### NEBRASKA

#### Lincoln

**Grenada: U.S. Out Now!** Speakers: Alonzo Smith, professor of Black Studies at University of Nebraska at Omaha; Duncan Williams, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. Lincoln Indian Center, 1100 Military Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (402) 464-2565.

Workers Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Crisis in the Philippines: Struggle Against the Marcos Dictatorship.** Film showing of *To Sing a Song*, BBC production narrated by ex-Senator José Diokno, opposition leader in Philippines. Speaker: Ken Bauzon, Filipino author. Sun., Nov. 6, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave.

### NEW MEXICO

#### Albuquerque

**U.S. Marines Out of Grenada and Lebanon!** Speakers: Walid Bouhamdan, Lebanese student; Joanne Heisel, Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America; Marklyn Wilson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

### NEW YORK

#### Albany

**Grenada: The Truth Behind the Invasion — Is Nicaragua Next?** Speaker: Rich Ariza, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1714, leader of Socialist Workers Party, former staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sat., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

#### Manhattan

**An Educational Program on Central America.** Speaker: Dave Dyson, leader of National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. Thurs., Nov. 3, 5:30 p.m. Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Headquarters, 15 Union Square West. Ausp: New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Stop U.S. War Drive! U.S. Out of Grenada, Central America, and Lebanon!** Speakers: Ellsworth Culder, just returned from Lebanon; Guillermo Chamorro, member of Nicaragua's Chamorro family, supporter of Sandinista revolution; Tia Plympton, cochair of Portland National Organization for Women; Fred Adams, Young Socialist Alliance. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Harrisburg

**U.S. Out of Grenada Now!** Speaker: Katherine Sojourner, chairperson of Harrisburg Socialist Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1688. Sun., Oct. 30, 4 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

#### Pittsburgh

**Protest Washington's War Against Grenada.** Speakers: Jon Hillson, lived in Nicaragua for three months, member of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Oct. 29, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland, 3rd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Socialist Workers Party Rally: U.S. Out of Central America and the Caribbean.** Speakers: Dean Peoples, SWP candidate for Senate; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5; reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. CAMP Firehouse, 722 18th Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Washington 1983 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



# End U.S. Lebanon war: bring troops home!

Continued from front page  
camps in September 1982.

This slaughter was perpetrated by the fascist-like Phalange Party, which dominates the Israeli-imposed regime of Lebanese Pres. Amin Gemayel.

U.S., French, Italian, and British troops were sent in then as a "peacekeeping" force. U.S. Marines, Pentagon officials said, would be home by last Christmas. Instead, Gemayel's proimperialist government has become more and more dependent on the thousands of imperialist troops to fight its war against Lebanese workers and peasants — especially Muslims and Druse. The resistance to Gemayel's regime has severely limited its rule, which doesn't extend beyond Beirut. Without the backing of the imperialist troops the shaky government would crumble.

The marine casualties in the Beirut bombing is the highest number of U.S. troops killed in combat in a single day since the Vietnam War. On Jan. 31, 1968, at the beginning of the Vietnamese people's nationwide Tet offensive against U.S. armed forces, 246 U.S. troops were killed. This figure may be surpassed when the body count at the marine headquarters in Beirut is completed. Media coverage of the attack has included frequent comparisons with the Vietnam War. Working people in the United States fear the U.S. government is becoming involved in another Vietnam-style war.

The 2,000-man U.S. Marine contingent around Beirut is part of an imperialist combat force that includes French, Italian, and British troops. French Pres. François Mitterrand visited Lebanon October 24 to pledge his government's continued commitment to the imperialist force. The Socialist Party leader said, "France remains and will remain faithful to its history and its engagements."

Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi said, "Italy intends to continue its commitment to the multinational force."

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has been discussing with its allies how to further their common aims in Lebanon. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is scheduled to fly to Paris next week to meet with government officials from France, Britain, and Italy. Shultz said a similar meeting is planned "to review with our Israeli friends the situation in Lebanon as well as broader issues of Middle East security."

The U.S. ruling class is debating which options to take in pursuing its war aims in

the Middle East. One option they are considering is to continue trying to portray the U.S. combat troops as "peacekeepers," and maintain the marine base at Beirut International Airport. Many liberal Democrats agree with Rep. Thomas O'Neill, who argues that withdrawing U.S. troops now would be "the worst possible thing we could do. It would be heartwarming to the terrorists of the world." U.S. involvement in Lebanon's civil war continues to enjoy bipartisan support.

Other government officials have suggested that the U.S. ground troops be placed aboard the U.S. naval task force stationed off the Lebanese coast.

The other choice being discussed by the capitalist class is dropping the facade of the marines being "peacekeepers," beefing up their strength and unleashing their full force against the Lebanese people.

"The option that we cannot consider," President Reagan said at his October 24 news conference, "is withdrawing. . . ."

Keeping U.S. troops in Lebanon will mean more U.S. casualties. While condemning the bombing attack, Walid Jumblatt, the Lebanese Druse leader whose militia battled the Lebanese Army and Phalangist militia in the Shuf Mountains, said "What happened . . . may be repeated as long as the U.S. continues its hostile policy toward the Arab and Islamic world in support of the Phalangist establishment of Amin Gemayel."

The Reagan administration continues to threaten launching a broader war against oppressed toilers in the Middle East. Political preparation for such an escalation underlies charges by White House officials that the Iranian and Syrian regimes played a role in the October 23 bombing assault. Both the Iranian and Syrian governments have denied these charges, for which Washington has cited no evidence.

One of the military steps the White House has taken to prepare its broader war in the Middle East is secretly training a Jordanian strike force for use in the Persian Gulf.

At his October 24 news conference Reagan said, "Many Americans are wondering why we must keep our forces in Lebanon."

Yes, wondering, and hoping that U.S. troops will be pulled out. Working people are, once again, seeing their sons come home in pine boxes and body bags — just as in the Vietnam War. They agree with the U.S. marine sentry, who told the *New York Times*, "I only wish now that the President would pull us out." His buddy added, "We are speaking for everyone now."

They're speaking for us, too: U.S., French, Italian, British, and Israeli troops out of Lebanon now!



A casualty of Reagan's foreign policy: marine wounded in Beirut bombing.

## Huge actions oppose missiles

Continued from front page

Washington's decision to vastly expand NATO's intermediate range nuclear missile force. At the present time there are 180 older Pershing IA missiles based in West Germany. Beginning in December the Pentagon plans to deploy 108 newer Pershing 2 missiles and 464 low-flying cruise missiles to sites in Britain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Both types of newer missiles have over double the range and greater accuracy than the older Pershing variety.

Earlier in the year antinuclear protest organizers in Europe promised that NATO governments would face a "hot autumn" of demonstrations over the missile issue. The campaign was kicked off September 3 as several thousand people blockaded the entrances to a U.S. air base at Mutlangen, West Germany. The base was effectively closed down for three days.

At a U.S. Air Force base near Bitburg, West Germany, police used dogs and water cannons on demonstrators carrying signs that read "Hands Off Nicaragua" and "Armaments Mean War."

The pace and size of the demonstrations picked up in early October. In an action that expressed the depth of opposition to Washington's missile plans, some 8 million West German workers staged a 5-minute "warning strike" on October 5 against the deployment.

The workers' action was organized by the National Executive of the West German Trade Union Confederation (DGB). The DGB officialdom was pushed to call the action by massive rank-and-file pressure for some union response to the new missiles.

Large demonstrations in both Europe

and the United States on October 15 marked the beginning of the week of protests against the U.S. missile deployment.

More than 15,000 marched to the main gate of the U.S. Army base in the port city of Bremerhaven, West Germany, where arms and supplies are unloaded for U.S. forces in Europe. Thousands of other demonstrators gathered at U.S. bases in Frankfurt, Ramstein, Bonn, and other cities.

U.S. antinuclear weapons protesters linked hands to form a 17-mile human chain around the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Denver, Colorado. Some 15,000 people came within a mile and a half of completely surrounding the 6,500-acre bomb-production facility.

In an effort to dampen the impact of the antimissile protests, the European governments and the big business-owned news media launched a massive propaganda campaign. The West German government admitted that Bonn alone was spending \$2.6 million to convince the public of the slogan "Peace requires security." Press reports leading up to October 22 tried to discourage participation in the protests by playing up isolated instances of violence and proclaiming that the movement was running out of steam.

But government propaganda apparently had little effect given the huge numbers that turned out for the October 22 demonstrations in Europe. In addition to the London demonstration, police estimates put the number of demonstrators in Rome at 350,000 — although the protest organizers claimed many more. Some 100,000 brought Vienna to a standstill, while an estimated 25,000 marched in Paris, 20,000 in Stockholm, and 4,000 in Dublin.

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# Reagan fears Grenada revolution

Continued from front page

In the first hours of the invasion, Washington boasted that it was a "complete success." This quickly changed, as the Grenadian people, aided by Cuban construction workers on the island helping to build a new airport, fought back. By the second day, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger had to go on television and admit U.S. troops were meeting "a lot more resistance than we expected." Another 800 U.S. troops, from the 82nd Airborne Division, were rushed to Grenada.

In the front lines of the resistance to the invaders were the heroic Cuban workers. A CBS-TV report October 26 said the U.S. Marines were "stopped cold" when they ran into armed Cubans at the airport site. *It took over 1,000 U.S. troops — backed up by aircraft and heavy weaponry — more than a day to overcome fewer than 700 Cubans.*

By that evening many Grenadians and dozens of Cubans had fallen in combat. Hundreds of Cubans, an unknown number of Grenadians, and some 30 Soviet officials and technicians had been taken prisoner.

The Cuban government announced midday October 26 that the Cuban resistance had ended. Earlier, the government explained its decisions on how it would respond to the invasion. On October 25, President Fidel Castro announced that Grenadian authorities had asked Cuba to send fighters to help repel the impending invasion. According to Radio Havana the Cuban government responded "that it was impossible to accede to this request, for political and military reasons that were absolutely unfavorable to the organizing of a prolonged resistance."

## 'Do not surrender'

At the same time, the radio station reported Castro said that those Cubans in Grenada "should remain at their posts of work and should defend themselves if attacked by invading forces, despite the chilling of relations between Cuba and Grenada."

Radio Havana announced later that day, as the invasion was under way, that the U.S. invaders had taken Cubans hostages and demanded that all other Cubans surrender. The chief of the Cuban personnel indicated they would not surrender under any circumstances and that they awaited instructions from their Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro.

The Cuban government wired back immediately: "We congratulate your heroic resistance. The Cuban people are proud of you. Do not surrender under any circumstances."

The Cubans in Grenada responded: "Commander-in-Chief, we will carry out your orders and we will not surrender. ¡Patria o muerte! [Homeland or death]"

The following morning, at a predawn news conference, Castro declared: "The valiant Cuban construction workers have written a beautiful page in history and waged a battle for the small countries of the world against imperialist military aggression. They have also fought for the Americas and for their own homeland, as if there in Grenada they were defending the first trenches of the liberty and sovereignty of Cuba."

Castro also reported that the Cuban government had taken emergency steps prior to the U.S. invasion to prevent it. It had appealed directly to U.S. diplomatic personnel and offered to cooperate in any way possible to safely evacuate North Americans and other non-Grenadians so as to avoid violence and intervention.

Washington spurned this proposal for peace, and never even reported it to the American people.

The staggering military force sent against the 110,000 people of Grenada includes 3,000 U.S. Marines and Army Rangers backed up by AC-130 airplane gunships and a dozen warships, including the aircraft carrier *Independence*, with some 70 combat planes aboard. In addition, 300 troops have been sent in by the island nations of Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Christopher-Nevis.

Grenada has an army of only 1,200, and a few thousand militia members.

## U.S. 'law and order'

The invasion was kept secret from the American people until it was four hours under way. President Reagan then held a news conference, defending the aggression by claiming that "American lives are at stake" (referring to U.S. students at St. George's University School of Medicine in Grenada), that several East Caribbean nations had called on Washington to act, and that the United States had to assist "in a joint effort to restore order and democracy on the island of Grenada."

The idea that this murderous assault had anything to do with protecting the U.S. students was immediately denounced by the chancellor of the medical school himself, Dr. Charles Modica. He reported that prior arrangements had been made with the U.S. State Department and Canadian authorities to peacefully remove the students. The invasion plans were kept secret from him. If anyone were hurt in the assault, he declared, Reagan "should be held accountable." (Modica withdrew his statement a day later after the State Department called him in for a meeting.)

The "order and democracy" U.S. Marines are bringing the Grenadian people — "law and order" said Secretary

of State George Shultz — reminds one of the "order" brought to Black communities in the United States in the rebellions against racist oppression during the 1960s and 1970s. "Law and order" at the point of a bayonet, or inflicted by club-swinging, trigger-happy cops.

The fact is, Reagan, in total violation of Grenada's sovereign right to self-determination, has invaded the island nation to wipe out the *working-class* law and order conquered over the past four and a half years by the Grenadian people, under the leadership of the New Jewel Movement. The kind of law and order where the needs and interests of the toiling masses come first, where their rights are enforced against the tiny minority that owns the banks, businesses, and landed estates.

When a sharp dispute split the New Jewel Movement leadership several weeks ago, culminating in the overthrow of the Bishop-led government and the assassination of central leaders of the revolution, Washington seized on this giant blow to maximize the damage it could do to the revolution in Grenada and worldwide.

When a new military council declared it was replacing the Bishop-led government, the imperialists tried to portray it as Marxist. The goal was to poison the minds of working people as to what genuine Marxism stands for.

The government and Communist Party of Cuba issued a major statement October 20 answering these lies, setting straight Cuba's role in the Grenada events, and clarifying for the world what genuine Marxism, communism, stands for. (See page 6.)

## Nicaraguans march

Meanwhile, the people of Nicaragua declared in the face of the invasion of Grenada they will not back down one iota from their solidarity with their comrades in Grenada, El Salvador, and around the world, nor will they retreat one inch from defending their country and revolution. Thirty thousand Nicaraguans marched in the capital city of Managua October 25, pouring out of factories and office buildings to protest the assault on Grenada. "Here, or there, the Yankees are going to die!" they chanted.

Nicaraguan government coordinator Daniel Ortega told the crowd that the attack on Grenada confirmed that Washington plans a wider war. The Nicaraguan government "is aware of plans by the CIA to provoke military attacks and bombings against economic objectives in both Honduras and Costa Rica," he reported. "These plans are set to be carried out in the short term, and their aim is to provide a pretext for unleashing greater aggression against Nicaragua."

The imperialist invasion of Grenada and the danger of it spreading throughout Central America and the Caribbean poses a major challenge to the U.S. labor movement. How should it respond?

A criminal example of what not to do was given by the officialdom of the AFL-CIO. On October 20, in the wake of the assassination of Bishop, the AFL-CIO released a statement aimed at providing labor cover for Reagan's impending invasion.

Shedding crocodile tears for the slain Bishop, the statement then falsely charged his government with "denial of human and trade union rights." It called his overthrow by military figures a "communist purge." It continued, "The AFL-CIO calls upon the democratic governments and private institutions of the civilized world to take every possible action to castigate and condemn the lawless military regime."

## Labor protests needed

Everyone in the labor movement opposed to U.S. intervention should repudiate this treacherous statement, made not in the interests of U.S. workers, but U.S. big business and its government. The best way to do so is to join immediately in the protests demanding that U.S. troops be withdrawn from Grenada. Labor should also mobilize its members for the November 12 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against U.S. wars in Central America and the Caribbean.

There is a second task of unionists and all opponents of the invasion: drawing the lessons of the Grenadian revolution in order to strengthen the working-class struggle to take power in the United States and around the world.

Reagan's marines and bombers cannot drown in blood the gigantic impact that revolution has had within the United States, especially among Blacks, and on a world scale. Nor can the imperialists erase the enormous contribution the fallen Grenadian leaders made to the process of forging an international Marxist leadership capable of leading the proletariat to power.

Getting out the truth about what the workers and farmers government in Grenada has meant, its gains, the challenges it faced and the defeats it suffered, is vital to deepening the struggle of U.S. workers along the path charted by our sisters and brothers in Grenada.

Advancing that fight, for the socialist revolution in the United States, the fight already begun by the comrades of Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba, is the highest tribute that can be paid to the martyred New Jewel leaders, Grenadian workers and farmers, and the Cuban construction workers who have fallen in combat for that goal.

Long live the Grenadian revolution!  
U.S. out of Grenada — bring the troops home now!  
All out November 12!

# New Marxist journal features revolutionary continuity

BY MIKE TABER

An important new magazine has recently appeared: *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, initiated by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States and the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada. An editorial note in the first issue, dated Fall 1983, explains *New International's* goals:

"Its purpose is to present political, theoretical, and historical material related to the most important questions of program, strategy, and organization confronting those building communist parties in North America and around the world. . . . As indicated by its name, *New Interna-*

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

*tional* aims to be part of the political discussion and exchange that must accompany progress toward building an international revolutionary leadership of the working class."

The contents of the first issue reflect this process of political discussion occurring today among revolutionary Marxists of different backgrounds. The main articles are "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today" by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes and an essay by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, a prominent leader of the Cuban Communist Party, entitled "Lenin and the Colonial Question." Both pieces deal with similar themes: the political continuity of today's communist movement and the process of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.

The article by Barnes is based on a speech given in December 1982 to participants at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. It begins by pointing out that today the revolutionists of Central America and the Caribbean are at the center of thinking out many key questions of revolutionary strategy.

As examples he refers to recent articles by Cuban leaders Manuel Piñero and Jesús Montané, as well as an article by Salvadoran Communist Party leader Schafik Jorge Handal. The latter makes fundamental criticisms of the strategy that has guided Latin American Communist parties for decades, most notably their political support to capitalist forces, claiming they would lead the democratic revolution.

Just as these revolutionists are attempting to root themselves in the continuity of the Marxist movement going back to Marx and Engels, revolutionaries in North America must do so also, Barnes states. This is especially true regarding the experiences and documents of the early Communist International under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and other Bolshevik leaders.

This process has helped the SWP to study its own political continuity, particularly the contributions of Leon Trotsky, the article points out. From 1917, when he joined the Bolshevik party, until his death in 1940, Trotsky was a Leninist. This was the standpoint from which he participated in the revolutionary struggle, including the fight against the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union headed by Stalin.

Barnes notes that it would be wrong to counterpose to Leninism a special doctrine known as "Trotskyism" as many have done. Trotsky himself denied having originated such a doctrine. In that context Barnes examines Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" and how it should be viewed by Marxists today.

Barnes concludes by stressing that reconquering the SWP's Marxist continuity will lead to a deeper understanding of why the term "communist" is the correct designation for the Marxist movement, as it was in 1847 when Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto*.

In the other major article in *NI* Carlos Rafael Rodríguez examines the views of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the colonial question. Written in 1970 and presented here in English for the first time, this article traces how the colonial question was dealt with incorrectly by the opportunists in the Second International and how the question of national liberation came to be a centerpiece of the early Communist International.

Rodríguez summarizes the continuity of Lenin's views with those of Marx and Engels and how he applied them in the period leading up to World War I, during the war, and as a leader of the world's first workers republic and the Communist International.

Rodríguez indicates how Lenin's views have been distorted by a number of Communist parties around the world. He concludes his article by stating that for the Cubans, "What we need to do is start from Lenin, as well as from Marx, in order to find our own road."

Finally, this issue of *New International* contains two short articles on the 1916 Irish rebellion by Lenin and Trotsky. In these contemporary articles, the two revolutionaries express differing evaluations of the significance of that revolt.



# Unionist, feminist wins job back at Fla. utility

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

MIAMI — On August 30, Florida Power and Light (FPL), the state's largest utility, fired me from my job repairing its electrical transformers. Seventeen days later the company took me back — with full back pay and benefits. My union brothers and I learned a lot in the course of the fight to get my job back.

In mid-March, I was hired on at FPL. I was the only woman assigned to the Equipment Repair Center. A

## UNION TALK

longtime member of the National Organization for Women (NOW), I joined the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) my first day on the job.

The six-month probation period was backed up by this company regulation:

"Naturally we expect that political actions which could adversely affect the Company would be avoided. However, issues and activities potentially detrimental to FPL are not always readily apparent. Therefore, any employee contemplating political activity is expected to discuss the plans with his/her supervisor prior to involvement, and to keep the supervisor informed as the political pursuits continue. This is imperative in order to resolve, in advance, any conflicts of interest."

FPL's regulation did not stop me from taking part in NOW's Southeast regional conference in Atlanta June 4-5. Or from bringing back plans for the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom, and talking it up in the union meetings.

The company's regulation also didn't stop me from joining the union president, vice-president, shop stewards, and virtually all my coworkers in a challenge to the

company's presentation on the issue of the toxic chemicals known as PCBs, during a company-time "safety meeting" in June.

FPL's spokespeople backed off under the union's barrage of questions and scientific facts about the dangers of PCBs, which the company says are no "big problem."

I also spoke out on behalf of NOW at a union-sponsored solidarity rally for striking Southern Bell workers in August. But when part of the speech was televised in news broadcasts that night, FPL officials met behind closed doors to discuss what to do.

Two weeks later — only 13 working days shy of the end of probation — FPL fired me.

I was summoned to the supervisor's office. Five union stewards accompanied me, but they were barred at the door. With no union representation, I was fired in short order.

The company based my dismissal on the pretext of lateness to work. But a letter thrust in my hand as the disciplinary meeting opened revealed what really lay behind the company's action.

"Attached is a copy of your Personnel Summary prepared from data in your file. Please review it to make sure it reflects a true picture, especially in connection with your Education, Training, and Work Experience. We would also like to have you bring us up to date on your Community Activities and add any information you may want included."

The company's decision to fire me was clearly aimed at the union. When you sign on with FPL, do you retain the right to free speech, to be a union partisan, to express your views and act on them — or not?

The company also didn't like having an outspoken feminist raising her ideas on the job.

Protests at the Equipment Repair Center against the firing backed the union leadership's resolve to take action.

Grievances were filed and summarily rejected by the company. FPL argued that the IBEW had no right to defend probationary employees — even members of the union. They refused to talk.

That weekend, I represented NOW at the Labor Day-Solidarity Day III rally held in nearby Broward County.

Officials and members of the Transport Workers, Letter Carriers, Postal Workers, Communications Workers, Coalition of Labor Union Women, NOW, and the IBEW sought me out at the rally to offer help in winning back my job. There were invitations to speak at upcoming local meetings and offers of legal assistance.

The construction trades invited me to address a mass picketing the following weekend. The speech to their rally drew even more invitations and offers of help.

Dade County NOW's executive board decided to form an ad hoc subcommittee to propose actions NOW could take to back up the union's campaign to defend me.

On September 16, faced with such broad solidarity in the labor movement and women's rights movement, FPL made an offer to rehire me with full back pay and benefits on two conditions:

1. That I be transferred from my job at the Equipment Repair Center and enrolled in an apprenticeship program elsewhere at the same rate of pay.
2. That my probation be extended an additional 90 days.

I met a dozen of my coworkers that afternoon to celebrate — and to talk over the next step. Implicit in the conditions is a continued threat to my job. The company's insistence in extending probation is an attempt to determine who the union has the right to defend and who it doesn't.

But our union won round one. My transfer and extended probation is the opening of round two. We've shown our willingness to fight and our ability to win. That makes us confident we'll win the second round as well.

## LETTERS

### Antimissile protest

West German Pres. Karl Carstens thought he was coming to Philadelphia to celebrate early German emigration to that city. If he could lend an official fig leaf to his U.S. hosts, including Vice-president Bush, who plan on introducing deadly missiles into West Germany soon — then so much the better.

What he found instead was 15,000 angry protesters demanding an end to the missile placement scheme and a redirection of national resources away from arms and towards meeting human needs. Many of the demonstrators were Mennonites and Quakers.

The October 6 rally took place at night in the area of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Sharp applause greeted American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 47 Pres. Tom Paine Cronin, who said, "By lowering the military budget, by eliminating nuclear weapons and bringing that money to our educational system, our aged, we will help to bring about world peace, which is the best negotiated contract ever."

U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) also struck a responsive chord when he told the crowd that those in the U.S. government who believe we can survive and win a nuclear war are "certifiably mentally disturbed."

Speakers at the antimissile rally included Kay Camp of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, David Fattah of the House of Umoja community organization, and West German Social Democratic Party and Green Party members of parliament.

Albert Cassorla

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Poland and U.S.

I work in an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union-organized garment shop in New York City. I thought *Militant* readers would be interested in a conversation I had with a Polish coworker. She has been in this country over 10 years and began telling me the difference between Poland and the United States after we had talked about Lech Walesa

winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

Just like here, she said, there are good things and bad things about Poland. But Poland is not nearly as bad as people make it out to be. For instance, education is totally free. So is all medical care and people don't have to save money for large unexpected expenses that can wipe out people's savings like happens here.

In Poland, people do not have to worry about locks or security because there is so little crime. The postmen and bill collectors walk around with a lot of cash and no one would think of robbing them. There is no such thing as "homeless" people in Poland. Alcoholics are not arrested, she said, but rather are cleaned up, showered, fined and sent home. Of course, there is no unemployment there.

She also told me she misses the cultural freedom she had back home. She used to go to the opera or theater every month and didn't have to worry about staying out late at night. Here, the cost of these forms of leisure is so prohibitive that she rarely goes. Cultural activity is plentiful and inexpensive in Poland.

Finally, she said, she didn't know what all the fuss was about having "freedom" in the U.S. "Sure," she said, "I can say whatever I want and not get arrested. But what difference does that make? No one listens to what I have to say anyway. So what good is the freedom?"

Of course, there are problems in Poland, as the massive Solidarity movement shows. However, despite the bureaucratic repression there, Polish society is based on human needs not on profits. The Polish economy is not run by a handful of wealthy capitalists. The Polish people have gotten rid of the capitalists. Now they are trying to figure out how to gain the political freedom they need to truly make Poland a country run by and for working people.

Edwin Fruit

Brooklyn, New York

### Peace fast

In Oakland, California, three antinuclear activists have been fasting since August 6 — the 38th anniversary of the atomic bombing



of Hiroshima. They have vowed to continue "until we see a change in the momentum of the nuclear arms race."

I first met one of the fasters, Charles Gray, when I became involved in the antinuclear movement in Portland, Oregon, six years ago.

I first read about the fast in an editorial page article written by another antinuclear activist, Norman Solomon, whom I also met in the movement in Portland.

Solomon wrote of the fasters, "It's tempting to dismiss them as crazy. In the context of a nuclear-arms buildup steadily propelling humanity towards annihilation, however, there is a relentless logic to the Fast for Life. With the utmost sincerity, the fasters are trying to convey a vital message: Personal commitment and collective action will be necessary if we are to avert the catastrophe of nuclear holocaust."

I do not doubt for one moment the fasters' sincerity or their belief that even if they die they will have accomplished something.

However, individual personal commitment, no matter how strong, will by itself be insufficient to build the kind of antiwar movement that is needed today.

There has never been a better time to build a powerful antiwar movement that can change the course of history. The August 27th demonstration in Washington, D.C., shows the depth of antiwar sentiment among Blacks, Latinos, unionists, and fighters for women's rights.

The antiwar movement that can and must be built will not build itself. It will take millions of people becoming actively involved in educating, organizing, and marching. The task is huge but so are the possibilities.

One area that is qualitatively different from the movement against the war in Vietnam is the possibility of involving the trade union movement in the struggle.

In order to be successful in stopping war we need to go beyond just demanding an end to U.S. intervention in Central America or opposing Pershing 2 missiles to Europe. Before his death, Martin Luther King said in a speech that if we did not eliminate the causes of the U.S. government's acts of war we would have an endless series of involvements in Third World countries. I believe that, as long as the U.S. government acts in the interests of the super-rich like the

Rockefellers and the DuPonts, war is inevitable.

We need the most dedicated and committed people to organize in every factory, neighborhood, and community group in the country. I do not believe that an open-ended fast, with the possibility that the fasters may die, leads in the direction of building a movement that can put an end to war, once and for all.

It is always disturbing to pick up the paper and find out that someone you know is dying. Even more when the person's own actions are leading them in this direction. I hope that Charles Gray can understand that while I don't share the approach he has chosen, I have tremendous respect for his commitment to the cause of peace and the courage that has brought him to this fast.

Ron Richards  
Harrisburg, Pa.

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.



## Black colleges threatened in Miss.

### Jackson State is target of racist 'consolidation' attempt

BY ELLEN KERR

JACKSON, Miss. — As part of continuing attacks against Black rights, the Mississippi College Board is trying to consolidate Jackson State University (JSU), a majority Black school, with the University of Mississippi, a majority white state school. This would undermine and subvert the modest control Black students have gained over their education at JSU, a center of civil rights and antiwar struggles in the 1960s. Students and staff at JSU have launched a widely publicized struggle over these recent attacks.

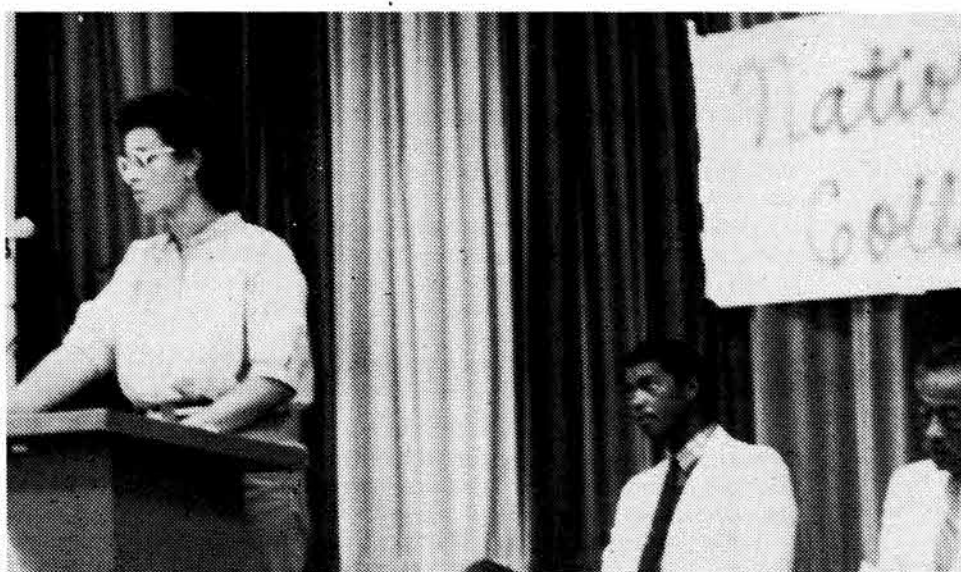
State-owned Black institutions were originally established as a part of Jim Crow segregation where Blacks were trained for separate but unequal status in life. Despite these institutional barriers to quality education, the Black schools did help train leaders of the Black community.

The civil rights and Black power movements of the 1960s opened the doors of white institutions to the Black community. Today the political forces of reaction, which once said Black colleges were necessary to preserve Jim Crow, have determined for financial and racist reasons that Black-controlled institutions must be "integrated."

The College Board is leading the forces of reaction in a racist drive to deny Black Mississippians access to quality education. They claim there is not enough money to finance duplicate programs at white and Black colleges.

Their first move was to force John Peoples, Black president of JSU and an outspoken opponent of consolidation, to resign. Students associate this move with the overall attacks on Black colleges.

Black students at the University of Mississippi are also showing renewed militancy in fighting for Black student rights.



Protest at Jackson State defending Black colleges. Speaking is Rohima Miah of *Militant*, at far right is Mississippi State Sen. Henry Kirksey.

The first Black cheerleader ever selected refused to carry the Confederate flag. This incident upset the white administration and won the support of Black students and the Black community statewide.

In order to avoid student protests against the College Board, some Black administrators at JSU are cracking down on political discussion among students. One student activist told the *Militant* if he associated with outside groups his federal grant might be taken away. Administration officials refuse to authorize radical or socialist groups on campus and have not hesitated to call the cops on any unauthorized meeting, declaring a gathering of five or more students to be illegal.

The National Black College Day rally September 23 at JSU focused on the de-

fense of Black colleges. Members of the *Militant* reporting team were invited to attend and participate in this event. Over 100 students heard a broad range of speakers including Henry Kirksey, a Black state senator; Dr. Dennis Holloway, vice-president of administration; Thomas Fox, vice-president of the state NAACP youth group; and Rohima Miah, representative of the *Militant*.

Senator Kirksey has been involved in re-districting racially gerrymandered rural Mississippi. He sees the attempt to strip JSU of Black control as another attempt to deny Blacks control of the institutions that affect them.

Fox explained the JSU situation as "a rebirth of the old southern form of racism." He said that in order for Blacks to receive

quality education, it is not sufficient to simply let a few high-achieving Blacks into white institutions.

"No," he said, "As Blacks we must also have our own institutions that cater to our special needs as Black students. We need programs for those of us who received an inadequate high school education. We need Black Studies programs to enable us to study our heritage. And we don't need whites in top administrative positions."

Fox focused on three main tools the College Board is using to dismantle Black colleges. The first tool is to raise admission standards. The second is to cut financial aid, which 95 percent of JSU students need to continue their education. Seventy percent of JSU students come from families earning \$7,000 a year or less. The third tool was to consolidate with white institutions.

Fox called on students to do everything in their power to save Black colleges. He said "we must take up the struggle that was put down in the 1960s. We must take up the torch of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee."

Rohima Miah linked the attacks on Black colleges to the attacks on all Black and working people. She pointed out that money for education is available but is instead being spent on the "defense" budget.

"And who are they defending?" Miah asked. "Not our right as Blacks to vote, to run and hold political office free from racist attacks; not our right to a decent education or decent job. No they are defending ruthless dictators such as those in El Salvador, Chile, and the Philippines."

Kerr is part of a *Militant* reporting and subscription team in Mississippi.

## Arizona copper strikers face growing obstacles

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON — Striking copper miners at the Phelps Dodge Corp. properties face growing obstacles in their three-and-a-half-month struggle against union-busting. On October 11 five strikers, three women and two men, were arrested in Clifton-Morenci, Arizona, on charges of reckless endangerment, criminal damage, and threatening and intimidating behavior.

The charges, all misdemeanors, relate to alleged rock-throwing incidents October 3 and 4 when state police ignored victims of a flood and spent their efforts getting scabs to work.

Alex Lopez, a United Steelworkers of America (USWA) staff member and chief negotiator for the unions in the Phelps Dodge strike, said the arrests were due to company schemes and charged that the Department of Public Safety (the state cops) has created a police state in Clifton-Morenci.

On top of the arrests, Milo Price, head of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in the state, ruled October 20 against the unions, which had charged Phelps Dodge with bad-faith bargaining.

The Arizona attorney general, Bob Corbin, has threatened to drain union funds by making workers pay for the union-busting role of the state police and National Guard in Morenci. Almost \$2 million in Arizona taxpayers' money has been spent to protect Phelps Dodge's interests in the strike, which began July 1.

Cass Alvin, USWA spokesman, said, "We didn't call [the cops and National Guard] out; the gov [Arizona Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt] called them out. Let him pay the goddamn bill."

On October 17 a striker, Joseph Chávez

Mojica, was arrested in Ajo, charged with perjury over the wounding of Chandra Talant. She is the four-year-old daughter of a scab at Phelps Dodge's Ajo mine who was wounded July 26 by a fragment from a bullet fired into her home.

Without a shred of evidence that strikers were involved, the news media and Phelps Dodge violence-baited the unions. On October 17 Pima County Sheriff Clarence Dupnik repeated the unsubstantiated charge that the shooting "unquestionably" was strike-related.

Conviction for perjury carries maximum penalties of five years in prison and a \$150,000 fine.

The Phelps Dodge strikers have also been undercut by recent actions at Duval and Anamax.

Unions at Anamax — the USWA, Teamsters, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the Operating Engineers — struck Anamax August 1 when their contracts expired. With Duval Corp., Anamax jumped on the union-busting bandwagon to demand big concessions from the miners, including elimination of cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) and a lower pay scale for new hires.

A nonunion worker at Anamax, Darryl Warren, has circulated a petition demanding that talks resume. It is directed against the unions' demands rather than at the company's refusal to negotiate with the unions. Almost 100 signatures have been collected, half of them from union members, of 360 on strike.

On October 18 Warren threatened to try to decertify the unions at Anamax. These moves are aimed at weakening union solidarity.

Duval copper miners were forced to strike October 1 but returned three days later without a contract. Since then just over half the USWA members at Duval have quit the union, and the four other unions representing Duval workers have also lost members.

Solidarity activities for the Phelps Dodge strikers continue. On October 21 the retired union members club rallied 600-strong in Sun City outside Phoenix.

In mid-October a committee of the Council for Hispanic Affairs of the Tucson Diocese began a campaign with 20 community groups to raise cash, food, and clothing for the Phelps Dodge strikers.

The miners' cause will be addressed in a

Mass of Reconciliation November 1 at 7:30 p.m. at St. Ambrose Church, 300 S. Tucson Blvd., Tucson. And proceeds from a "tardeada dance" from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. on November 6 at the Casino Ballroom in Tucson will be distributed to miners by Catholic churches in Clifton-Morenci, Ajo, and Douglas.

In San Diego, District 50 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) held a fund-raising dance that brought in \$1,300 for the copper strikers on October 22. Three IAM locals bought blocks of tickets, as did United Auto Workers members at Teledyne-Ryan. The dance was hosted by IAM Local 1125 business agent Bill Greenlee.

## Doctor fired for backing strikers

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON — On October 7 the Phelps Dodge Corp. fired Dr. Jorge O'Leary, a physician at the company-owned Morenci hospital who's pronoun stand made him a hero with striking copper miners.

The Mexican-born O'Leary, who in his 12 years as a Phelps Dodge employee has delivered 2,500 babies in the Morenci-Clifton communities, said after the firing that he intends to stay and run a free clinic for strikers. He will also bring legal action against the company for violating his free speech.

There was angry reaction at the union hall in Clifton. "He's our doctor, our doctor," said Lydia Ramirez. "The company has treated us dirty. This man was a saint."

A week before his firing, O'Leary exposed the hospital's antiunion role by telling the media that many strikers and fam-

ily members were refused medical treatment at the hospital as part of Phelps Dodge's "strikebreaking activity." O'Leary offered to waive his physician's fee so strikers could get free care. The hospital administration refused.

After severe flooding hit Arizona at the beginning of October, O'Leary was refused a request to provide free services to anyone for 10 days.

Tom McWilliams, Phelps Dodge's assistant director of labor relations, explained the firing, "He's been expressing sympathy with the union cause, he's been critical of the termination of employees, and he's been very critical of the company's hospitalization, medical, and surgical plan."

Another Phelps Dodge official described O'Leary as having "a great empathy for the Mexican people in this town."