

Castro rips mask off U.S. lies on Grenada

BY FRED MURPHY

More than a million Cubans gathered in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution November 14 to pay their final respects to the Cuban workers killed during the U.S. invasion of Grenada and to hear a speech by Pres. Fidel Castro.

The massive meeting in the Cuban capital marked the high point of five days of national mourning declared by the govern-

Special inside: whole text of Fidel Castro Nov. 14 speech on Grenada.

ment to honor the Cubans who fell while defending themselves from attack by U.S. soldiers on Grenada.

The heart of Fidel Castro's speech was a detailed, point-by-point refutation of 19 different lies about Cuba and Grenada served up by President Reagan and his administration.

As Castro read off each of Reagan's charges, the multitude shouted back, "Mentira!" (That's a lie!).

The purpose of these lies, and of the press blackout about the U.S. invasion of Grenada, was "to manipulate information, to lie to world public opinion and to the people of the United States themselves," said Castro.

While the U.S. invasion met with almost universal condemnation internationally, Castro went on, "the real, unfortunate, and truly dangerous fact is that . . . majority opinion in the United States — manipulated, disinformation, and misled — supported the monstrous crime committed by its government."

As a result, "a triumphalist atmosphere reigns in the Reagan administration. No sooner have the echoes of the last shots fired on Grenada died out than one already hears talk of interventions in El Salvador, in Nicaragua, and even in Cuba. The bells that toll for Grenada today could toll for the entire world tomorrow."

But the Cuban leader had a stern warning for the U.S. warmakers:

"The peculiar circumstances of division among the revolutionaries and of divorce from the people that they found on Grenada will not be found in El Salvador, Nicaragua, or Cuba."

Castro devoted particular attention to the overthrow of Grenada's revolutionary government that opened the way for the U.S. aggression. In so doing, he refuted Reagan's claim that the faction that overthrew and murdered Maurice Bishop and his comrades did so with Cuban support.

It was Washington, not Cuba, that "hated Bishop" and "wanted to destroy the process and the example of Grenada," Castro said. "Far from being in disagreement with his intelligent and realistic policy, we viewed it with full support because it was rigorously adapted to the concrete conditions and possibilities of his country."

Only history will tell, Castro said, whether the grouping headed by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard that overthrew Bishop was "a group of extremists intoxicated by their own theoretical excesses," "ambitious opportunists," or even "enemy agents." Whatever the case, "the revolutionary process in Grenada could not survive after the death of Bishop and his closest comrades, after the army had fired

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35,000 marchers say 'No more U.S. wars!'

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In bone-chilling cold, more than 25,000 determined, spirited, and predominantly youthful demonstrators took to the streets of Washington, D.C., on November 12 to demand an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Chanting "Ronald Reagan listen hard, Grenada isn't your backyard" and "USA, CIA hands off Nicaragua," thousands of people marched from the State Department. They joined two other feeder demonstrations that began at the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Health and Human Services Department. Rallies took place during the morning at each site.

Across the country other demonstrations were also held. In Los Angeles some 5,000 people marched in a steady rain. Rain in Portland, Oregon, did not deter demonstrators either as 1,000 turned out. In Oakland, California, a Bay Area-wide action drew 2,500, while 1,500 marched in Seattle. In Minneapolis 250 people joined a march and rally.

Opposition to the invasion of Grenada was widespread and deeply felt at the D.C. action. Many banners and signs denounced the move, and it was often the subject of chants. Many of the marchers clearly believed that Washington's action in the Caribbean posed a sharper danger of direct U.S. invasion of Nicaragua as well as escalated U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Expressions of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution were more widespread at this demonstration than at previous actions opposing U.S. intervention in Central America. Many demonstrators carried signs or banners pointing to the accomplishments of the Sandinista government and the Nicaraguan people. One hand-made sign on a piece of cardboard listed the vast improvement in the literacy rate and in health care in Nicaragua. It concluded with the observation, "What good has Reagan done?" A favorite chant among many was, "CIA, Somocistas, you can't stop the Sandinistas!"

The march organizers had issued an appeal for demonstrators to bring a can of motor oil to help replace oil destroyed in U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary bombings of Nicaragua. Many responded, and cases of motor oil were stacked at the assembly site.

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Militant/Lynn Allen

Tens of thousands marched November 12 against U.S. wars in Central America and Caribbean. Shown here, Los Angeles demonstration of 5,000.

PLO suffers giant blow from Syrian assault

BY FRED MURPHY

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is facing the most concerted attempt in its history to splinter and destroy it as an independent, united organization fighting for the national self-determination of the Palestinian people.

The military assaults launched at the end of October against refugee camps in northern Lebanon are the latest blows in a sustained offensive against the Palestinian movement from several different quarters.

This onslaught began with the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. It continued with attempts by Washington to force the PLO to capitulate politically.

It is now marked by the Syrian regime's attempt to shatter the PLO as a cohesive force and falsely present a rump group under Syrian influence as the true representative of the Palestinian people.

By bringing massive Syrian firepower to bear on behalf of this minority of PLO renegades, President Hafez al-Assad is performing a service for U.S. imperialism and for the Israeli rulers. He is thereby weakening Syria's own ability to stand up to the growing threats of U.S. and Israeli military aggression. The most recent and serious stage of the conflict began September 24 when PLO units loyal to Yassir Arafat, the organization's chairman, were driven out of the Bekaa Valley by Syrian forces. They managed to escape to the Nahr al Bared and Baddawi refugee camps on Lebanon's northern coast near Tripoli.

Beginning October 24, the camps have been attacked by PLO mutineers backed up by 12,000 Syrian troops and some 350 Syrian tanks and artillery pieces. Libyan military units are also reportedly involved in the attacks.

The outnumbered and outgunned PLO fighters were forced to retreat from one camp, but held their ground at the other in face of sustained artillery and rocket fire by the Syrians. Hundreds of unarmed Palestinian residents of the camps were killed or wounded by the indiscriminate Syrian shelling.

A cease-fire went into effect on November 9. Assad apparently yielded to diplomatic pressure from Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf regimes that provide much financial aid to Syria. The Soviet government, which lends considerable military assistance to Syria, also expressed concern over the Tripoli fighting.

But this respite was shattered November 15 when Syrian-backed Palestinian rebels launched an attack on Arafat's last strong-

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National Black party congress hits U.S. invasion of Grenada

BY OMARI MUSA

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Delegates and observers from 20 cities around the country convened here November 11-13 for the third National Party Congress of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). The sisters and brothers came together under the theme "Organizing for Our Liberation."

At a news conference held before the opening of the congress, outgoing Presiding Officer Kikora Ras Tabasimu blasted the domestic and foreign policy of the Reagan administration.

"Both the Republican and Democratic parties have failed to put forward programs domestically and internationally that have as their cornerstones economic democracy and social justice. Instead, we are witnessing their collaboration on policies that have as their basis the denial of human rights and needs."

She stated that the government continues to cut back on funds for education and social services. She also noted that despite the reports of economic recovery, the Black unemployment rate is still 20 percent, more than twice the national level.

Ras Tabasimu scored the U.S. invasion of the Black Caribbean island of Grenada and the escalating military intervention against Nicaragua and the people of El Salvador, who are fighting for their liberation from the U.S.-supported regime there.

"We condemn the Reagan administration and Democrats in Congress who have supported the invasion of Grenada," she said. "The invasion is an illegal and immoral act; it violates international law and the sovereignty of the people of Grenada and their fundamental right to self-determination. We call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and support un-

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35,000 marchers say 'No to U.S. wars'

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As at previous actions, many demonstrators carried signs that expressed their identification with the Salvadoran revolutionary forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN-FDR). Many Salvadoran organizations and their members and supporters participated in the march.

Compared to previous actions a larger number of Latinos participated. In addition to Nicaraguans and Salvadorans, organized groups of Guatemalans, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban-Americans were in attendance. Many Dominicans carried signs that read "Dominican Republic 1965—Grenada 1983" in reference to the two U.S. invasions.

The Cuban contingent, including the Antonio Maceo Brigade and others, called attention to Washington's threats against Cuba with stenciled signs that demanded "U.S. Hands Off Cuba!"

Other groups contributed to the international character of the march. A "U.S. out of Lebanon" contingent, including many Palestinians, walked behind a big banner. Another group carried a banner announcing, "The Argentine people *presente*," and in English and Spanish, "El Salvador: Your struggle is ours."

A Haitian contingent chanted "Hey, Hey, USA, Stop supporting Duvalier." A contingent of Filipinos marched behind a banner that demanded "U.S. bases out of the Philippines." The Chilean musical group, Grupo Raiz, performed at the rally and got a big response from the crowd when it led a chant of "Chile Sí. Junta No."

A few trade union banners were visible on the march, including those from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 47 from Philadelphia; District 65 of the United Auto Workers in New York; and locals of the Communications Workers of America, Service Employees International Union, and others.

There was some Black participation too. The Patrice Lumumba Coalition in New York organized a busload of people who

left from the State Office Building in Harlem. Elombe Brath of the coalition told the *Militant* that the Grenada invasion helped spark Harlem residents to come but that many also came because they see the connection between Grenada and the struggle in Central America.

The one organized attempt to disrupt the Washington demonstration was unsuccessful. A group of between 100 and 200 supporters of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, leader of the right-wing South Korean Unification Church, an outfit with ties to the South Korean CIA, tried to stage a sit-in in the street directly in front of the White House to block the demonstration. They were cleared out of the way by police, who made a number of arrests.

At the rally, Francisco Altschul, the Washington, D.C., representative of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR, told the cheering crowd that the revolutionary forces in El Salvador are winning both militarily and politically.

Altschul warned that the Reagan administration is increasing its direct military intervention in the region. He described the thousands of troops of the U.S.-backed regimes in Honduras and Guatemala that are poised on the border of El Salvador and Nicaragua. More than 25,000 U.S. troops are already in the region, and more ships are on the way, he said.

"All this indicates that there is a real and immediate danger of a foreign aggression by Guatemalan and Honduran troops, supported by the United States, against the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador," he said.

"The single most important force that can stop the war in Central America," Altschul emphasized, "is the opposition of the American people... the struggle to prevent a U.S. invasion in Central America is the same struggle for jobs and social programs in this country," he affirmed.

Lautaro Sandino, a representative of the Sandinista Youth of Nicaragua and of the Unity Movement of Youth and Students of Central America (MUJECA), hit on some of these same themes. Sandino is currently

touring the United States on behalf of MUJECA, speaking primarily to students and young people.

It is Reagan and not the North American people who are promoting war, he said. "We don't want to exchange shots," with U.S. youth, said Sandino as he observed that it will be young people on both sides who will have to fight a war.

"We have the same enemies: the war industry and the Reagan administration, which promotes suffering and war in our countries," he said. "But we are prepared to fight if we have no choice."

A third Central American speaker was América Ugarte, a Guatemalan refugee. She pointed to the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution as the reason the U.S. government invaded. She likened the invasion to the CIA's role in overthrowing the elected government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in Guatemala in 1954.

Joachim Mark, a Grenadian living in the United States who was a supporter of the revolutionary government headed by Maurice Bishop, told the crowd that "our revolution has suffered a serious setback, more especially so because of the U.S. invasion."

Nevertheless, revolutions "may have setbacks, but in time they rise again," said Mark. He predicted that a struggle against the U.S. occupation would continue.

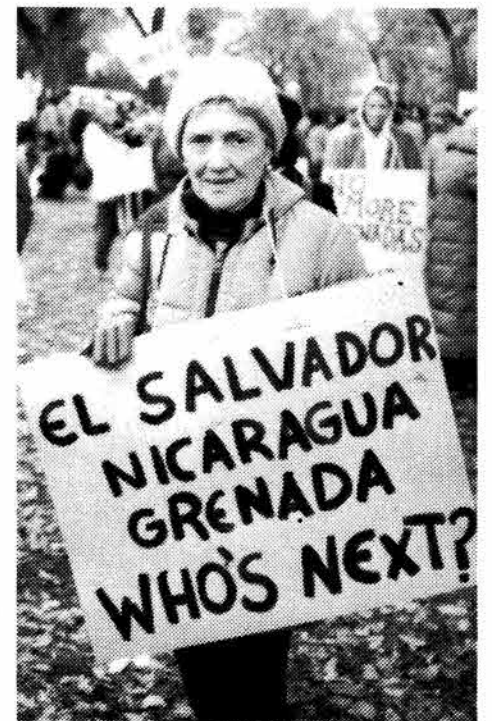
For many the main speaker of the day was Jesse Jackson, civil rights leader and recently announced candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. president.

Jackson attacked the U.S. invasion of Grenada and sharply criticized Washington's "attempts to destabilize the government of Nicaragua." He charged the U.S. government with "supporting the landed gentry and aristocracy" in El Salvador. He opposed the scheduled deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe.

This drew enthusiastic cheers, but the crowd reacted to Jackson's remark that a "neutral peace-keeping force" was needed in Lebanon. The boos only turned to cheers when Jackson stated that the U.S. government should get out of Lebanon immediately.

Other rally speakers included New York Congressman Ted Weiss; Leslie Cagan of the Mobilization for Survival; Dr. Charles Clements, a Vietnam veteran who recently served as a doctor in the FMLN-FDR-controlled zones in El Salvador; Rev. William Sloane Coffin of the Riverside Church in New York; and others. Beth Perry of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador chaired the rally along with Dr. Helen Rodríguez de Trias, a Puerto Rican activist in the fight for women's rights.

The demonstration was organized by the November 12 Coalition, a broad coalition of solidarity, anti-intervention, religious, Black, Latino, and peace groups. Many political organizations also participated in the march including the Socialist Workers



Militant/Yvonne Hayes
Washington, D.C., November 12.

Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Democratic Socialists of America, Communist Workers Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and others.

Perry stressed the need to build on this unity to establish an ongoing movement that can respond effectively to each new move by Washington. November 12 was a step in this direction.

L.A. protest demands U.S. out of Grenada

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — Despite a steady rain most of the day, some 5,000 marched, umbrellas in hand, through city streets to McArthur Park here November 12 to condemn Washington's intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Demonstrators came from throughout southern California and from Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

Called by the November 12 Coalition, the successful march was a product of many meetings of a range of anti-intervention groups.

Banners marked contingents from several Salvadoran refugee groups, from Nicaraguans, and from a number of religious, campus, and left-wing political groups.

A huge banner was carried by members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Many signs condemned the U.S. government invasion of Grenada, as did most speakers at the rally.

The rain-soaked demonstrators heard speakers from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador, Casa Nicaragua, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

Antiwar protesters defend Marroquín

The morning rally at the INS highlighted a theme of "Circles of Sanctuary." Many Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and Haitian refugees participated as did large numbers of other Latinos.

Supporters of Héctor Marroquín got an especially warm response to appeals to support his case. Marroquín is a Mexican-born socialist who fled Mexico in 1974 when he and three friends were framed up in the murder of a university librarian. The INS has been attempting to deport him for six years. He now faces his final appeal before the Supreme Court.

Marroquín's wife, Priscilla Schenk, told the *Militant* that people were lining up to sign a petition supporting Marroquín's case.

"Many people from other countries who

also face harassment from the INS were eager to sign," said Schenk, "because they saw right away that a victory in Héctor's case will help them."

Schenk also said that many young people who had never heard of the case before were eager to sign as soon as they learned what it was about. "They quickly made the connection," she said, "between the fact that the U.S. government is at war and that the INS is trying to get rid of those who speak out against those wars."

She told a story of a young man from Cincinnati who said he had heard of the case through Marroquín's supporters there who, he said, were quite active. Still, he said, he was not convinced about what he should do. Just two or three minutes of conversation convinced him to sign the petition.

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Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



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Nicaragua, FMLN warn: U.S. invasion threat increased

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government and the rebel forces in El Salvador are alerting the world to the imminence of a U.S. invasion in Central America.

Since the U.S. attack on Grenada, the Sandinista government has warned that an invasion of Nicaragua by U.S. troops cannot be far off. They point in particular to a secret October meeting of top military men from Honduras, Guatemala, Panama, and El Salvador — convened by Washington — at which preparations were made for such direct intervention.

The planned attack is also aimed at the Salvadoran liberation forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR). FDR spokesman Rubén Zamora said November 11 in Managua that the Salvadoran rebels expect their country to be invaded by U.S. troops by 1984.

"The situation is becoming critical, because the Salvadoran army in the last few months seems to have lost its will to fight," he said. "We have been trying to engage them in large-scale confrontations, but these days all they do is run away."

"Without soldiers from other countries, the Salvadoran regime will probably fall in 1984," he predicted.

Zamora said he thought the U.S. invasion would come in El Salvador first, before Nicaragua. A November 5 communiqué from the FMLN General Command reported the massing of Guatemalan and Honduran troops on El Salvador's borders. The FMLN leaders warned that these troops will be used to invade both El Salvador and Nicaragua, one after the other. Then Washington will accept a "request" from the invaders to send in U.S. combat troops and air support.

Confirmation of these preparations came from U.S. Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé, just returned to Washington from Central America. Iklé told the *Washington Post* that 4,000 U.S. troops and six U.S. warships will carry out joint maneuvers with the Honduran army beginning November 18. The U.S. soldiers will probably remain in Honduras past next February, he said. Washington is also considering building a major U.S. airfield in Puerto Castilla, Honduras.

Iklé called for a sharp increase in U.S. military aid to El Salvador. He also revealed that U.S. "combat engineers" will soon be carrying out joint exercises with Costa Rican personnel right near the border

with Nicaragua. The Costa Rican-Nicaraguan border has been the scene of escalated attacks by Nicaraguan exile terrorists led by Edén Pastora.

To alert the world of the increasing danger, Nicaragua has appealed to the United Nations. Also, government coordinator Daniel Ortega has made emergency visits to each of the four leaders of the Conatadora group — Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, and Mexico — which has called for negotiations on the Central America crisis.

At home Nicaraguan leaders have held meetings with the two most outspoken opponents of the Sandinista revolution — the Catholic church hierarchy and the reactionary daily *La Prensa*.

Results of the meetings in Managua show the degree to which opponents of the revolution have been emboldened by the coming U.S. invasion.

The editors of *La Prensa* simply listened in silence to Commander Tomás Borge's appeal for "greater objectivity" in the right-wing daily's coverage of news.

Nicaragua's bishops followed up their meeting with the government with a blistering attack on the revolution. They said they weren't sure which was a greater threat to Nicaragua — a U.S. invasion or the policies of the present government.

In an interview with UPI November 11, Monsignor Pablo Antonio Vega, president of Nicaragua's Council of Bishops, said: "It is very difficult to say which invasion would be more serious — a military invasion from the outside or the ideological invasion from within."

U.S. throws hundreds into Grenada prison camp

BY CINDY JAQUITH

U.S. troops and plainclothes agents are imprisoning hundreds of Grenadian revolutionaries in a massive dragnet that reaches into every corner of the island.

The U.S. soldiers are stationed at roadblocks throughout the country and in immigration offices. They are conducting house-to-house manhunts and search-and-destroy operations in the mountains. Everyone stopped is checked to see if their name appears on lists of labor activists, members of the Grenadian army or militia, employees in the government of murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, or members of the New Jewel Movement he led.

The U.S. troops are known to have



Sandinista soldiers and reservists returning from battle against U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries in northern border area of Nicaragua. "Contras" operate from bases inside Honduras.

The population of the country as a whole, through its actions, has shown that it shares no such "doubts" as to the source of the real threat.

In many neighborhoods and factories in Managua, work has begun on digging underground shelters to provide protection against aerial bombardment.

Women are lining up at military conscription centers each Saturday to volunteer for two years' service in the Sandinista army.

And more than 20,000 young men and women have joined volunteer brigades that will soon be headed north to pick coffee and cotton.

A rally of 60,000 here November 8 served as a kick off for the harvest, and showed that morale was high. "Without the sacrifice of youth, there is no revolution!" the demonstrators chanted.

An international brigade, named for the murdered Grenadian prime minister, Maurice Bishop, has volunteered to go to one of the most dangerous zones in the north. Members in the brigade come from more than 20 countries.

Meanwhile, militia training has been considerably stepped up. Training sessions, previously held only on weekends, have been scheduled for 20 nights in a row in 36 different Managua neighborhoods.

N.Y. protest targets Pastora

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — Several hundred people turned out at Columbia University on November 11 to protest a meeting for Edén Pastora that was held by the Young Social Democrats. Pastora is a central leader of terrorist exile forces who are waging war against Nicaragua. It was his group — the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE) — that carried out the bombing of

the port city of Benjamín Zeledón in October, destroying 400,000 gallons of gasoline and diesel fuel.

Pastora's tour is being sponsored by Freedom House, an anticommunist clearing house associated with the Social Democrats, USA. Among its trustees are businessmen, State Department advisers, and conservative labor figures like Sol Chaikan, the president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The title of the Columbia meeting was: "Nicaragua: The Revolution Betrayed," and the leaflet falsely advertised Pastora as a founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and even, perhaps, a Marxist of some type.

Four to five hundred people packed into the auditorium and more than 100 were outside, prevented from entering. Chants of "CIA! CIA! CIA!" began immediately, referring to the fact — which Pastora tries to deny — that ARDE gets money from the CIA for its counterrevolutionary war.

Pastora's body guards were from the right-wing Cuban terrorist group "Abdala." Several students were attacked by right-wingers when they tried to unfurl a small anti-Pastora banner in the back of the auditorium. No one was hurt or arrested. Antiwar forces greatly outnumbered Pastora's supporters at the meeting.

jailed more than 200 citizens. The real number may be much higher.

The prisoners are being held in intolerable conditions. According to an eyewitness quoted in the November 4 issue of *Justice*, the newspaper of the United Peoples Movement in nearby St. Vincent, "Those pointed out are being taken away, where they are carrying them I don't know. What I saw at Point Saline is that they have people I know behind barbed wire in the hot sun being questioned."

The *Washington Post* reported November 13 that the prison camp at Point Saline is surrounded by a high fence with U.S. guards watching the detainees from towers. The prisoners are forced to sleep in wooden packing crates.

Among those who have been arrested is a central New Jewel Movement leader who was a close associate of Bishop. Kendrick Radix, former Grenadian ambassador to the United States, was picked up at his mother's home November 12 by an armed, plainclothes American. While incarcerated, he was denied food and water and given a crate to sleep in.

Radix told the media he was subjected to interrogation by both U.S. authorities and by a Barbadian cop who is part of the Caribbean occupation force. He was released November 13. But, reports the *Washington Post*, he was warned he would be arrested again if "he indulged in anti-government activities or threatened the public order."

"This is a witch-hunt," Radix declared. The New Jewel leader has been speaking out against the U.S. invasion and in defense of the revolutionary policies of Maurice Bishop.

Little is known about the fate of other revolutionists. Washington adamantly refuses to reveal how many Grenadians have been killed since the U.S. invasion began. The ridiculously low estimates of some U.S. officials — who claim only 21 were slain — is an ominous sign that the actual number slaughtered is very high, and going to increase.

A lynching atmosphere is being prepared to justify Washington's next moves to eliminate opposition forces. Former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and

Gen. Hudson Austin, who are hated by Grenada's workers and farmers for ordering the murder of Bishop and his supporters, are being readied for trial. They will not be tried by the Grenadian people, but by a court imposed by the U.S. occupation forces.

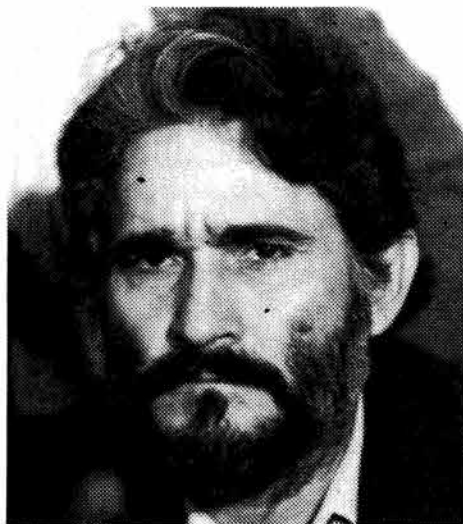
Their trials will be used to set the tone for further repression. Posters have already begun appearing on the island put out by a special U.S. Army "psychological operations unit." The posters show Coard and Austin, who is wearing only a towel around his waist, with a U.S. soldier guarding them. This humiliating, racist portrait is accompanied by the following text: "These criminals attempted to sell Grenada out to the Communists. Now they have surrendered. The Grenadian people will never again allow such characters to assume power and cause such hardship. Support democracy in Grenada."

Sir Paul Scoon, installed by Washington to run the island, has now told the Grenadian people what that "democracy" is going to be like. On November 9 he appointed an interim government, which the Grenadian people have no say in. Five of its eight members do not even live in Grenada. All are opponents of the progress the island made under the workers and farmers government led by Bishop.

Scoon also decreed sweeping measures against democratic rights. All public meetings will be banned, warrants will not be required for arrests, and the press will be censored.

These attacks on civil liberties, combined with the massive roundups of prisoners, put the lie to the idea that the majority of Grenadians favor the U.S. occupation and puppet regime of Scoon. If they did, why would Scoon and his U.S. masters be afraid to let people hold meetings or read a free press? Why would it be necessary for thousands of U.S. troops to occupy the country?

As the arrests themselves show, the invasion and occupation never had anything to do with "restoring democracy" or aiding Grenadian supporters of Bishop after he was overthrown. In fact, it is precisely the supporters of Bishop who are the central target of the current dragnet.



Militant/Margaret Jayko
Edén Pastora at New York news conference.

Syria rains blows on PLO fighters

Continued from front page
hold killing or wounding more than 100 civilians in the assault.

What is behind this drive to destroy the PLO?

The Israeli settler state has been the cornerstone of imperialist domination of the entire Middle East from the moment of its establishment through war in 1948. The Palestinian people, driven out of their homeland or converted into pariahs inside the state of Israel, have been fighting ever since for their national self-determination. Their struggle represents a permanent challenge to the imperialist-imposed status quo. A central goal of Washington and Tel Aviv, therefore, has been the destruction of the PLO.

As a united, representative, and combative organization fighting for Palestinian rights, the PLO is a historic conquest of the Arab peoples as a whole and is recognized by them as such. The PLO has not only waged a military struggle against the Zionist oppressors, but has also carried on a worldwide political and diplomatic effort. This has gained it immense prestige and the sympathy of working people, including in the United States and even among a small but growing number of Israeli Jews.

The PLO has also been a thorn in the side of the Arab capitalist regimes because of its independence and its reliance on the organization and mobilization of the Palestinian masses. It has been challenged repeatedly not only by conservative and openly proimperialist rulers like Jordan's King Hussein and the Saudi royal family, but also by governments that take a nationalist stance and have come into sharp conflict with imperialism, such as those in Syria and Libya.

The Palestinian struggle against Israel continually generates popular support and militancy among the Arab masses, posing for all these regimes the threat of the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and peasants. Hence they have always tried to control, housebreak, or destroy the PLO.

The PLO and the Arab regimes

When the PLO was founded in 1964, it was wholly under the control of Egyptian Pres. Gamal Abdul Nasser. At the time, Nasser was widely looked to for leadership throughout the Arab world owing to his seizure of the Suez Canal and other radical measures. Nasser set up the PLO to help him use the Palestine issue to further his own narrow interests.

After the defeat of Egypt and other Arab countries in the 1967 war with Israel, the Palestinian people began to look for an alternative. Radical nationalist currents like Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) gained wide support. By 1969 these groups had wrested control of the PLO away from Nasser and converted it into an independent, fighting organization.

As a secular leadership calling for a democratic Palestine where Arabs and Jews could live together in peace, the new

PLO gained the support of Palestinians of different religious faiths and exposed the falsity of Israeli charges that the Palestinian struggle was a racist, anti-Semitic cause.

The PLO's growing military confrontation with Israel made Jordan's King Hussein more and more uncomfortable — it was in Jordan that the PLO was largely based. In September 1970, Hussein launched an all-out war against the Palestinians, massacring thousands. Most of the PLO's fighters were finally forced to leave Jordan.

The PLO's main base of operations against Israel then shifted to Lebanon. In 1975-76, right-wing forces there tried to repeat King Hussein's bloody success. Allied with anti-imperialist Lebanese forces, the PLO counterattacked. It was on the verge of victory when Syrian troops intervened at the request of the besieged proimperialist government and prevented the regime from being toppled.

Despite the Syrian presence, the PLO was still able to carry on the anti-Israeli struggle from Lebanon. In 1978 and again in 1982, the Israeli army invaded Lebanon with the aim of wiping out the PLO. Each time — and especially during last year's massive Israeli blitzkrieg — the Arab regimes, including Syria and Libya, stayed on the sidelines while the Palestinian and Lebanese people resisted the Zionist aggression despite overwhelming odds.

The PLO under siege

Ever since Israeli troops and armor smashed across the Lebanese border in June 1982, the PLO has been under siege. First it was forced to retreat from its positions in southern Lebanon. Then, after heroically withstanding the 88-day Israeli siege of West Beirut, the PLO fighters decided to withdraw from the Lebanese capital to prevent further civilian casualties in a battle they could not win.

Israel's massive military onslaught was capped with the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians and Lebanese at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in September 1982. There then followed a diplomatic and propaganda offensive by U.S. imperialism aimed at splitting the PLO or compelling its leaders to recognize Israel and abandon the struggle for an independent Palestinian state. But the PLO refused to capitulate. Its principled stand was reaffirmed at the February 1983 meeting of the Palestine National Council, the PLO's parliament-in-exile.

The imperialist news media made a series of false claims about Yasser Arafat in the aftermath of the withdrawal from Beirut — that he was about to subordinate the PLO to Jordan's King Hussein, recognize Israel, and cut a deal with Washington. Such charges were also leveled by the Syrian, Libyan, and Iranian governments. Certain military commanders in Fatah, the largest grouping in the PLO, seized on these groundless claims to launch a campaign against Arafat, who had just been reaffirmed as PLO chairman by the Palestine National Council.



Palestinian guerrillas leaving Beirut in September 1982. This severe setback for the PLO has been followed by the murderous blow from Syria.

In May, Fatah military units mutinied in Syrian-occupied areas of Lebanon under the leadership of Col. Saed Musa.

Syrian regime fuels mutiny

The mutiny failed to generate broader support within the PLO. At this point, however, the Syrian regime sent its troops into action on the side of the mutineers. On June 24, PLO Chairman Arafat was expelled from Syria. Despite their calls for democratic decision-making within the organization, the mutineers welcomed this interference in the PLO's internal affairs while publicly denying Syria's involvement.

In August, the Palestine Central Council, which is made up of representatives from all the component organizations of the PLO, met in Algiers. Attended by 79 of its 81 members, the council sought to address any legitimate concerns raised by the Fatah rebels by again condemning Reagan's so-called peace plan and by setting up committees to investigate the withdrawal from Beirut and the PLO's financial affairs. At the same time, the Central Council reaffirmed its support for Arafat and appointed committees charged with rebuilding Syrian-PLO relations and securing a cease-fire in the Bekaa Valley clashes.

Colonel Musa and the mutineers rejected all the Central Council's decisions out of hand.

Palestinian masses back Arafat

Meanwhile, the Palestinian masses were making their support for PLO unity under Arafat crystal clear. And such support remains solid. Thousands of Palestinians demonstrated November 7 at Bir Zeit University near Ramallah in the West Bank. Another such protest took place the next day in the occupied Gaza Strip. Shopkeepers in East Jerusalem and Nablus closed their doors to protest the attacks on the PLO in northern Lebanon.

A poll conducted by the East Jerusalem newspaper *Al Fajr* has found 93 percent of West Bank Arabs supporting Arafat.

Blows open way for imperialists

Syrian president Assad's aim in the criminal attacks on the Palestinian resistance has been to cripple the PLO and transform the Palestine question into a bargaining chip to wrest concessions from U.S. imperialism and from Israel. In particular, Assad would like to regain Syrian territory on the Golan Heights occupied by Israel in 1967 and annexed by it in 1981. He would also like Washington to sanction Syrian influence in Lebanon.

Syria has every right to negotiate for the return of its stolen territory and to try to reduce the imperialist penetration of Lebanon. But by stabbing the Palestinians in the back, Assad is cutting his own throat.

Recent history proves this to the hilt: King Hussein smashed the PLO in Jordan in 1970, but this had zero effect on the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, seized from Jordan in 1967. Assad blocked a victory for Lebanese progressive and Palestinian forces in 1976, but Israel kept the Golan and negotiated a separate peace with Egypt.

At present, Washington and Tel Aviv are smiling on Syria's anti-PLO drive, but rather than offering Damascus concessions they are stepping up joint military pressure to force Syria out of Lebanon altogether.

The U.S. and Israeli rulers are now hoping, moreover, that Assad's attacks on the PLO will open the way for a Camp David-style sellout by King Hussein's regime in Jordan. The November 8 *New York Times* found it a "hopeful sign" that "Mr. Arafat's loss of power may free conservative, pro-Jordanian West Bank leaders to join hands with King Hussein and negotiate with Israel."

The imperialists hope also that confusion and demoralization sown by the blows to the PLO will affect not only the Palestinian masses but all the Arab peoples, weakening resistance to imperialist domination in Lebanon, Libya, and elsewhere, including Syria. They also seek to chip away at the high international prestige gained by the Palestinian people and their leadership during the past decade.

PLO weakened, but not destroyed

Big blows have already been dealt to the PLO in the period since June 1982. What was begun by the Israelis and their U.S. backers has been carried forward through the criminal complicity or acquiescence of the Arab regimes. After being driven from Jordan and Egypt in the 1970s, the PLO can no longer operate independently from Syria or Lebanon either. The aim of denying any base adjacent to Israel to the authentic representatives of the Palestinian people has largely been achieved. The fighting spirit of the masses in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip, and southern Lebanon is likely to suffer as a result.

While the Syrian-backed rebels clearly represent only a small minority within the PLO as a whole, the basis has nonetheless been created for the imperialists, the Zionists, and the Arab regimes to claim that no united, representative leadership of the Palestinian people exists any longer.

But the PLO has not been destroyed. Its organized leadership bodies remain intact and have repeatedly rejected the tendentious claims of the mutineers. Whatever their political or tactical differences with Arafat, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and PFLP stand firmly beside him and the majority of Fatah in defending the PLO's unity and independence of decision-making.

International solidarity with the PLO and the Palestinian struggle is extensive and deeply rooted. The Israeli state is condemned as the brutal oppressor of the Palestinians not only in the semicolonial world but increasingly among working people in the imperialist countries as well. Fresh proof of this was offered in early September at the United Nations conference on Palestine, held in Geneva. Representatives from nearly 100 countries reaffirmed the right of Palestinians to self-determination and to their "own independent state in Palestine."

Arafat, who sent a message to the conference, had an answer for those who are predicting the PLO's demise. "Despite the continuation of conspiracies in and outside our occupied land," he said, "events during the last decade have proved that all schemes and plots against our just cause were doomed to failure and incapable of liquidating our people's revolution and the PLO, the leader of their struggle, in the face of the will of our people and their sacrifices and resolve to continue the march until victory."

From Pathfinder

Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

By David Frankel and Will Reissner. The articles in this pamphlet explain the nature of Israel as a colonial-settler state, the character and history of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and the Marxist attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. 46 pages, \$1.25.

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



SWP candidates win response for hitting bipartisan war aims

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Black and women candidates made a strong showing in the 1983 general elections. Although this occurred within the framework of the Democratic and Republican parties, it reflects the changing mood of U.S. working people, who are looking for an alternative to the traditional politicians of the two capitalist parties.

It is also shown in the good receptivity to the Socialist Workers Party, which fielded candidates in many cities and states around the country.

Michele Smith, SWP candidate for governor of Louisiana, told supporters at an October 22 campaign rally in New Orleans, "What our campaign did was pose critical issues that concerned and affected working people."

Topping the list of such issues was the U.S. wars against Nicaragua, Grenada, and Lebanon. Smith, like the SWP candidates elsewhere, pointed out the relationship between the wars abroad and the bosses' attacks on workers here at home. Smith was the only gubernatorial candidate in the state to raise this issue.

In Pittsburgh the SWP candidates used

Constitutional rights denied in Kathy Boudin trial

Jury selection began November 14 in Goshen, New York, in the trial of Kathy Boudin. She faces 13 counts of robbery and murder stemming from the 1981 Brink's armored car holdup.

Boudin's attorneys had asked that the trial be moved to a different city, due to the prejudicial publicity orchestrated by the FBI, local police, and prosecution in Goshen. An appellate court denied this request.

When three other defendants in the Brink's case were tried in Goshen, heavily armed police surrounded the courthouse, and the defendants were bound hand and foot in the courtroom. All this was an effort to make them appear as dangerous criminals. The three defendants in that trial — David Gilbert, Judith Clark, and Kuwesi Balagoon — received 75-year sentences, in other words, life imprisonment.

Boudin is being tried with Samuel Brown, who has turned informer against the other defendants. Because of this, Boudin's attorneys asked that her trial be severed from Brown's. Judge David Ritter rejected this request.

The 40-year-old woman, denied bail, has been kept in jail for nearly two years. Her visitors have been harassed, and for a long period of time, she was prohibited from contact with other inmates, except codefendant Judith Clark.

The trial of Boudin is an important one because of the way the government is using it to establish a precedent of denying the constitutional right to a fair trial. Supporters of democratic rights should condemn this legal lynching.

their last minute media coverage to blast the U.S. invasion of Grenada. "The war in Grenada is the most important issue facing working people in this county," said Al Duncan, SWP candidate for Allegheny County commissioner, during a televised debate with his opponents.

It was broadcast by Pittsburgh's three network affiliates. Duncan urged the thousands of viewers to participate in the November 12 march on Washington to protest the invasion and "to demand that the U.S. get out of Central America, the Caribbean, and Lebanon."

In the coal country of nearby Washington County, Kathy Mickells, a coal miner and SWP candidate for county commissioner, also spoke out against the U.S. invasion, saying, "We stand completely with the people of Grenada in their heroic resistance to Washington's bloody invasion of their nation."

The SWP's staunch opposition to the U.S. wars has won the support of many workers — especially young and Black workers. In Cincinnati, for example, Marine Sgt. Jim Stryffeler, 22, was attracted to the campaign of Kathleen Denny, SWP candidate for city council in that city. Stryffeler joined the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group that supports the SWP.

Stryffeler won a major victory when the Marine Corps gave him an honorable discharge on November 9. The socialist GI had been facing a possible court-martial because of his opposition to the U.S. invasion of Grenada and his plans to participate in the November 12 march on Washington.

The socialist candidates took their campaigns to working people wherever they were — at plant gates, in their homes, and at shopping centers. Sometimes, as in Indianapolis, the socialist campaigners explained their views to workers on the assembly line.

Bill Warrick, SWP candidate for mayor

E. German scientist denied bail by Boston judge

Alfred Zehe, an East German scientist who had been working at the University of Puebla in Mexico, was arrested November 3 in Boston and charged with espionage. If convicted, he could receive the death penalty or life imprisonment. The scientist has declared he is innocent.

The FBI's main "evidence" against Zehe is an affidavit citing a "confidential source" who accuses the East German of seeking classified U.S. documents. Nevertheless, a Boston judge refused to give Zehe bail.

The denial of Zehe's rights parallels the treatment being given to Penyu Kostadinov, a Bulgarian trade official in New York who has also been charged with espionage and faces the same outrageous sentences. Supreme Court Judge Thurgood Marshall upheld denial bail to Kostadinov November 4. His trial is December 5.

of Indianapolis, and Roger Jones and Margaret Thomas, SWP candidates for city-county council, campaigned inside the Western Electric plant in that city on October 28. Many workers were glad to see them.

"The response was great," says Thomas, "We'd introduce ourselves as workers running as socialists. Then we'd say we didn't think AT&T should have the right to close the plant and throw the workers on the street. Folks were glad to hear about us because nobody else says that."

AT&T, Western Electric's parent company, announced last September its decision to close the Indianapolis plant. Four thousand workers will be affected by the shutdown, with another 4,000 already on layoff.

The politicians of the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, place many obstacles before working-class candidates. Many state and city governments have prevented socialist candidates from being listed on the ballot.

In Seattle the SWP has filed suit against Washington's discriminatory election law. Dan Smith, the SWP's attorney in the suit, said that the legal challenge is being launched on behalf of both the SWP and all Washington voters whose right to vote for the candidate of their choice is violated by this undemocratic election code.

Under Washington law, "minor" parties must hold nominating conventions that collect the signatures of 178 registered voters



Militant Al Duncan, socialist candidate in Pittsburgh, blasted U.S. invasion of Grenada.

in one 24-hour period in order to qualify for the primary ballot. The candidate must then receive one percent of the primary vote — over 8,000 votes — to qualify for the general election ballot.

Smith says the SWP successfully challenged a similar law in Michigan.

One of the high points of the SWP campaign in Philadelphia, where Bill Osteen and Katy Karlin ran for city council, was an October 1 rally. Speakers included Tom Barry, an activist in the struggle for peace in the Mideast; a representative of ISTMO, a group in solidarity with the revolution in Nicaragua; Ed Warren, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago in last spring's elections; and Benjamin Ramos, president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

This article was based on reports from Steven Beren, Kevin Dwire, Lisa Hickler, Jon Hillson, Alicia Merel, and Morris Starsky.

Fund needs spirit of Nov. 12

BY HARRY RING

Like so many others, this writer got a real boost from the November 12 Washington, D.C., demonstration against U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean.

Given the circumstances, it was a good-sized turnout. And, equally significant, it was probably as young a crowd of demonstrators as Washington has seen since the first years of the Vietnam War.

I was also proud of the contribution of members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. With many others, they had worked energetically to build the demonstration. And at the demonstration they worked with equal devotion to getting out their socialist ideas to a maximum number of participants. That is a decisive service because it does, in fact, point the only way to peace and justice.

Late that cold wintry afternoon, a group of us piled into a car to go to the reception sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

One of the people in the car munched on a hot dog and conceded he was cold, tired, and hungry.

Why?

He was one of a group of six people who had driven down from New York the night before. They had crashed on the living room floor of a friend, were up at 6 a.m. and at the demonstration site at 8 a.m. From then until 4 p.m. they were selling the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, the *Young Socialist*, the pamphlet of Maurice Bishop speeches, and more. And their hard work was rewarded by a uniformly good response.

The big crowd at the YSA reception and the speech by antiwar ex-marine Jim Stryffeler was an added boost.

One of the people I chatted with at the reception is a Midwest high school teacher and longtime SWP builder.

He too had been given a lift by the demonstration. He confided that he was also pleased because his 13-year-old daughter was there and had just joined the YSA. As a bonus, one of his students, 15, had also just joined and was present.

In sum, I came away from Washington with a renewed sense of what a politically conscious, committed body of members and supporters the SWP has and the kind of fighters they are.

The point is this: that same political consciousness and commitment must now be focused on the completion of our \$125,000 SWP Party Building Fund, which was due

to be finished December 1.

As the chart below indicates, we're substantially behind schedule, and it's not realistic to expect that we will be able to reach our goal as originally scheduled.

We got off to a slow start, and that wasn't good. Since then progress has been made. We now have the entire amount of the fund pledged, which we didn't a week ago, and the pace of collection has stepped up. We are closing the gap, and we believe that by extending the deadline to January 1, we will successfully raise the entire amount.

All that's needed, really, is the spirit of November 12.

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		\$104,000
		WHERE WE ARE
		\$71,000

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AFL-CIO's criminal record on Grenada

BY HARRY RING

With the U.S. occupation of Grenada, the CIA-linked American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) is stepping up its efforts to eradicate the gains of the union movement there.

Created by the Kennedy administration and major U.S. corporations in 1960, AIFLD enjoys the blessings of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO. Officials of that body serve on AIFLD's board of directors, and union staffers work on some AIFLD projects along with CIA agents. The principal function of this reactionary outfit is to subvert militant unions abroad or, failing that, to create divisive rivals to them. This is all done in the name of protecting "free trade unionism" from "communism."

A member of the AIFLD apparatus, Jesse Friedman, attended a November 4 New York meeting of the New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. Friedman is an assistant field director for the AIFLD-sponsored "land reform" program in El Salvador. This operation is designed to win peasant support for the pro-landlord dictatorship there by distributing a token amount of land.

At the New York meeting, in response to a question, Friedman falsely asserted that under Grenada's revolutionary government led by Maurice Bishop, union democracy had been destroyed.

Friedman indicated that AIFLD would be working with the Caribbean Congress of Labor, a body in which it has influence, to help reestablish union "democracy" in Grenada. He also indicated that some of the old Grenada union officials who fled the revolution would be returning from the United States.

AIFLD's role

Their goal, however, will be to help Washington destroy the genuine union democracy and advances in workers living conditions that were achieved under the revolutionary government. That government came to power in a 1979 uprising led by the New Jewel Movement (NJM) against the dictator Eric Gairy. AIFLD's role had been to bolster trade union officials opposed to the revolution, and, after Gairy's overthrow, to slander the new government.

The AFL-CIO officialdom has played a prominent role in this antilabor operation. On October 20 — one day after Maurice

Bishop was slain — the national AFL-CIO whipped out a press release charging that Bishop and those who died with him were murdered "at the behest of the Soviet Union and its surrogate, Cuba."

Not a shred of evidence was offered for this crude anticommunist slander.

The union press release asserted that the Bishop government had denied "human and trade union rights to its citizens."

What are the facts?

Grenada's working people, rural and urban, do have a long, rich history of resistance to the superexploitation that colonialism brought to their island. In fact, ex-dictator Gairy established himself as a figure in Grenada through an island-wide union struggle in 1951.

Intervening in the fight of farmers against eviction from their land, Gairy helped develop the fight into a broader movement for higher pay for farm workers.

This established Gairy as a political figure and he organized his own party. He won office several times and in 1967 scored a decisive victory.

Antilabor crackdown

Gairy's union activity then became a memory. He became openly procapitalist and a strident anticommunist.

He put through legislation harnessing existing unions and discouraging the birth of new ones.

One law required a permit from the chief of police to use a loudspeaker at any meeting, indoors or out.

Another statute provided that no newspaper could be published without first posting \$20,000 with the government.

Antistrike legislation barred job actions in a long list of "essential services."

To enforce these legal obstacles to free trade unionism, there was Gairy's dreaded "Mongoose Gang," hired thugs who beat, tortured, and killed "subversives."

Unionism did manage to survive under Gairy. The Bank and General Workers Union — led by the New Jewel Movement — fought hard to advance the country's workers and farmers against Gairy and his U.S. backers. The NJM also had considerable influence in the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union.

But other important unions were dominated by officials working with AIFLD. For example, the Technical and Allied Workers Union, embracing mainly the phone and utility workers, was born in militant struggle but became bureaucratized and ineffective.

Its principal officer, Curtis Stuart, was also general secretary of the Grenada Trade Union Council. Since 1973, he was on the AIFLD payroll as its "research officer" for the Eastern Caribbean.

AIFLD's main base of operation was in the Seamen's and Waterfront Workers' Union (SWWU).

1974 strike

In November 1973 a bloody police attack on Maurice Bishop and other New Jewel leaders sparked a week-long island-wide strike. At this point, the opposition to Gairy was so widespread it embraced sections of the capitalist and middle classes.

Then, in January of 1974, the island was shut down by a new and deeper strike. For six weeks, the economy was paralyzed.

The unions made various economic demands, but the central focus of the fight was to topple Gairy.

For six weeks, the dockworkers had kept the port shut down tight. Then came a critical point in the struggle. Members of the civil service were threatening to join the walkout.

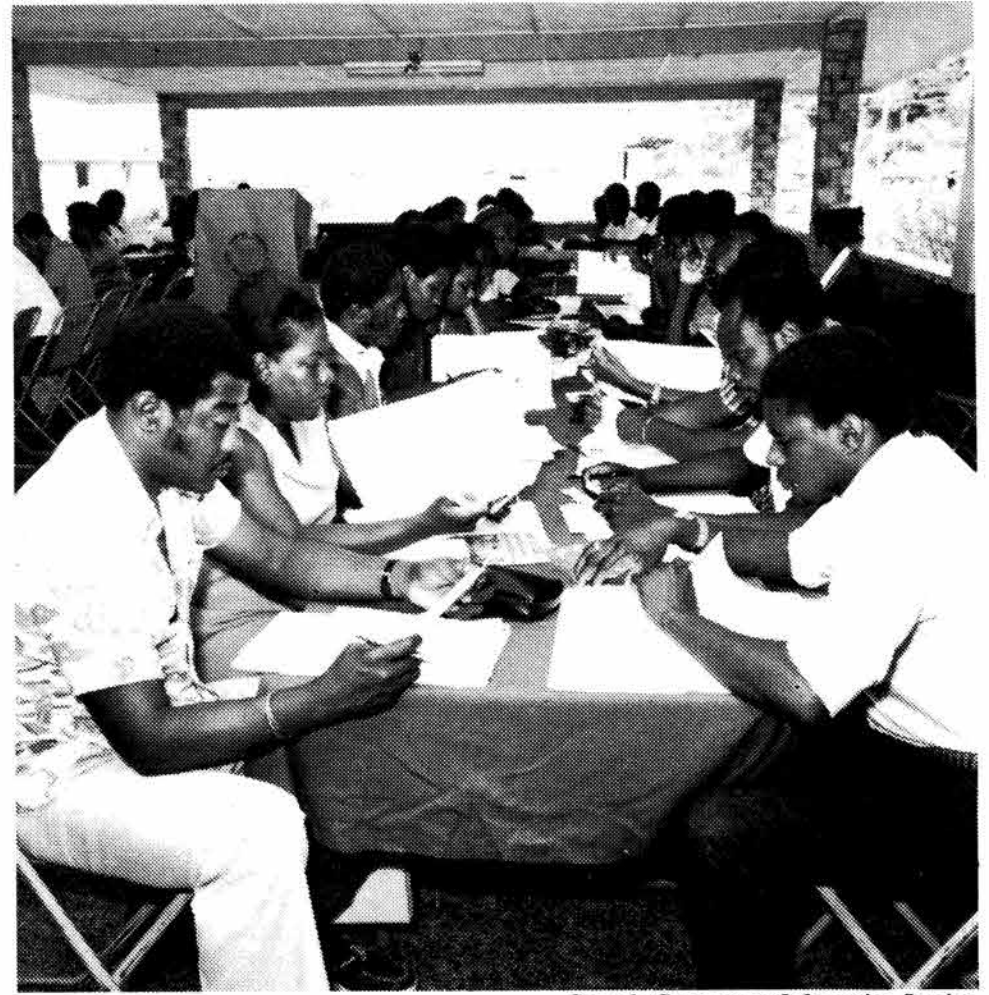
At that crucial moment, the top officials of the dockworkers ordered their members back to work.

Strike broken

With the port reopened, the general strike ended. The three principal leaders of the dock workers union — Eric Pierre, Stanley Roberts, and Christopher Strachan — were all AIFLD people.

Roberts and Strachan had taken AIFLD training courses in the United States. Pierre had been trained earlier by the pro-imperialist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Roberts was receiving \$300 a month from AIFLD, with the money funneled



Grenada Government Information Service
Participants in January 1983 meeting of Council of Delegates of Grenada's Technical and Allied Workers Union. Council was created by previous year's national membership conference to achieve greater rank-and-file participation in union activity and decision-making. Union gains are now being smashed by U.S. occupation forces.

through the Caribbean Congress of Labor.

It took another five years of costly struggle to end the Gairy dictatorship. With the victory of the 1979 revolution, a workers and farmers government was established. There was a flowering of authentic free trade unionism.

Gairy's antilabor legislation was repealed. In its place, new statutes guaranteed the right to organize and instituted such important social gains as equal pay for equal work and maternity leaves.

AIFLD fought to undermine these gains for the working class. The dock union misleaders, who had specialized in calling off strikes against Gairy, now became "militant" and called for work stoppages over various grievances. Their goal was to use these strikes to weaken support for the new government.

These bureaucrats played on the fact that the skilled workers they organized were among the highest paid in the Grenadian working class. Some were dedicated supporters of the revolution.

But others had developed a craft outlook and saw immediate improvement in their individual situations as more important than the overall tasks of the revolution, particularly its priority of raising the standard of living of the island's most impoverished working people. The AIFLD dock union officials sought to reinforce this backward attitude.

New Jewel Movement supporters in the union countered this, along with semi-skilled dock workers who belonged to a different, NJM-led union. They worked to raise the consciousness of all dock workers and win them to the revolution. This was part of a broader educational effort to mobilize workers as the backbone of the new society.

The Commercial and Industrial Workers Union and the Bank and General Workers Union cosponsored a series of weeklong national seminars for local union activists. Union democracy, solidarity, and political action were top points on the seminar agendas.

The Technical and Allied Workers Union, which had been led downhill by the AIFLD-associated leadership, was rejuvenated. By 1982 the union had registered a 60 percent growth in membership.

In February of that year, the union held its 24th annual island-wide membership meeting. Pat Kane, then Grenada correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*, was there. He reported an attendance of 400, up from 105 the previous year.

An election was held for one of the top offices in the union.

"The procedure for the ballot," Kane re-

ported, "was completely democratic. Every member received a ballot form, which they filled out. . . . Each form was recorded, inspected by each candidate, and then inspected again by . . . a trustee of the union."

Another union that gained a lot of ground with the revolution was the Bank and General Workers Union.

Led by New Jewel leader Vincent Noel, who was assassinated with Bishop, Grenadian bank workers had fought a bitter struggle for union recognition, particularly at the big British bank, Barclay's.

Coincident with the victory of the revolution, they won their strike. With an initial membership of 60, the union grew quickly, embracing 2,300 workers in a number of occupations previously unorganized.

Strikes against growers

Another important union established with the revolution was the Agricultural and General Workers Union, which replaced the long-moribund farm workers union created by Gairy in the 1950s.

The new union led successful strikes against some of the major growers on the island, winning important wage gains. It rapidly grew to a membership of 2,000, representing workers on 70 farms, including all of the largest ones.

In good measure, it was such gains by the Grenadian workers, and the example they offered for the entire Caribbean, that motivated Washington's criminal invasion.

And it's the same concern that prompts AIFLD to announce it is going back.

How can the top officials of the AFL-CIO be party to such a reactionary project?

Look at their record here. In the face of an aggressive employer offensive, they can do nothing except ram giveback contracts down the throats of their members.

Meanwhile, they continue to draw their fat salaries (no givebacks there), and live in the hope that if they convince employers and the government that they can restrain the workers, their privileges will continue.

The slated moves against the Grenadian unions are part of the same deal.

Trade unionists in this country have an obligation to speak out against this act of treachery against the Grenadian workers — for our sake as well as theirs.

For Further Reading

Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



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Also

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean

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

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Socialist oil workers: solidarity needed to fight employers

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW ORLEANS — On October 29 and 30, socialist oil refinery workers who are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) gathered in New Orleans to discuss how their union can best respond to the attacks on their living standards and working conditions by the oil companies and the government. They are members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

They met in the shadow of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Experiences were exchanged on how other oil workers saw this event and the importance of winning OCAW to actively oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The need for solidarity was a theme of the meeting — solidarity with other unionists on strike, with Black and women refinery workers, and with workers and farmers in other countries who are victims of U.S. economic and military might.

A powerful enemy

The socialist oil workers acknowledged that their union is up against some formidable enemies. The capitalists who own the big oil companies are among the richest and most powerful in the world, due to the indispensable role that oil plays in the entire economy. The oil giants utilize their private ownership of this vital resource to rip off working people everywhere — on the job, at the pumps, and in the Arab countries they economically dominate.

This handful of billionaires has succeeded in keeping union organization in the refineries at a lower level than in other major industries such as auto and steel.

Only about 60 percent of all refinery workers are organized by OCAW. The union represents more than 50,000 oil workers. Most of them are employed in refineries and petrochemical plants, but others work on pipelines, in marketing, and in the production of crude oil. Refinery workers don't have a closed shop, meaning that there are nonunion workers at most OCAW-organized refineries. And many oil companies utilize nonunion and lower-paid contractors to do certain jobs in the refineries.

Oil refineries are very dangerous places to work. They house huge quantities of combustible and often poisonous fluids under high pressure and temperatures. Yet oil workers are forced on double shifts, rotating schedules, and a long workweek — averaging 43.9 hours — all of which add considerably to the danger of accidents.

Shutdowns and layoffs

The oil companies have not been immune to the economic crisis of recent years. In the 1970s, oil prices increased more than 10-fold, but then demand fell, reaching its present 10-year low and causing prices to fall. An estimated 16 percent of refinery capacity has been shut down with more in the works. Even with these closings, the remaining refineries are still running about 30 percent below capacity.

Of the 82 refineries that have been closed down in the last couple of years, 20 were organized by OCAW. These 20 account for 65 percent of total jobs lost. There's been 26,000 OCAW-organized jobs lost since June 1981.

"Hard times" for the big oil men means they're not making as many billions in profits as they were in the 70s. To turn that around, they are on a drive to dramatically increase the productivity of each oil worker, disregarding matters such as health, safety, and job classifications.

This means, above all, weakening OCAW as much as possible. This is especially true right now in the weeks leading up to the January 7 expiration date of most contracts between OCAW and the oil companies.

The union membership has voted to adopt the leadership's bargaining stance, which includes strike authorization for the

union president if he deems it necessary to win the bargaining goals.

According to OCAW's newspaper, *Union News*, the union's proposals include:

- A substantial wage increase.
- Premium-free health care insurance.
- Improvements in the pension plan.
- Extension of health care and other benefits to laid-off workers for as long as they have recall rights.
- A shortening of the 40-hour workweek.
- "Improved plant closure and layoff protection as it deals with severance pay, transfers, relocation, retraining and recall rights."

Company rumors

The oil companies are preparing for the negotiations through attacks on oil workers' rights and past gains.

Katy Karlin, a refinery worker at Sun Oil in Pennsylvania and a recent SWP City Council candidate in Philadelphia, reported on meetings that management organized to convince workers that Sun wasn't making enough profits. The company said it was considering a number of responses including: shutting down the refinery; transferring production to their refinery in Puerto Rico; and making drastic changes in the refinery, which everyone interpreted as meaning big layoffs.

Another rumor Sun floated, said Karlin, was that the companies would demand a change in the minimum retirement age in the next contract from 55 to 65.

This is a serious threat to a work force that tends to be older: either workers retire earlier than they had planned, which means taking a big cut in retirement benefits, or take a chance that the company is only bluffing. If you lose, then you have to wait 10 more years to retire than you would have previously.

An oil worker in the Los Angeles area described the locker searches that have occurred at several oil refineries. The companies claimed to have found beer cans and drugs. Many workers were fired and some were arrested.

There was also a discussion of the recent demonstration of more than 1,000 trade unionists in Los Angeles against Texaco's decision to bring in the notorious Texas-based nonunion construction company, Brown and Root. Texaco contracted Brown and Root for a job at its Wilmington refinery. On September 12, construction workers, refinery workers, and other unionists turned out to demand that Texaco get rid of Brown and Root. OCAW members were inspired by this act of solidarity.

Bankruptcies, discipline

Michele Smith, an oil worker from the New Orleans area and recently the SWP candidate for governor of Louisiana, described how Tenneco gave union officials management jobs as a way to demoralize workers. Tenneco is also increasing job discipline and cracking down on absenteeism.

Another Tenneco worker told about how the Good Hope oil refinery has declared bankruptcy three times, in an attempt to smash OCAW — the same ploy that Continental Airlines pulled recently.

A Black operator from Louisiana described how discussions on the contract often lead to broader discussions on how the capitalist system itself is at the root of the problems that oil workers — and all working people — face. The need for real solidarity, for a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement, and for a government of workers and farmers are ideas that are seriously listened to by many oil workers.

The socialists grappled with the fact that the OCAW leadership, like the rest of the trade union officialdom, was not organizing the membership to defend itself against the stepped-up company attacks and is not preparing the ranks adequately for battle as



Militant

Demonstration in support of 1980 oil workers strike. Currently, oil giants are pressing changes in work rules, job classifications, and other gains of oil workers to soften them up for contract negotiations.

the contract negotiations approach.

What kind of fight shapes up over the contract will depend, in large part, on the companies' response to the union's demands.

In addition, there's the beginning of an upturn in production in the oil industry, which is part of the general economic upturn. How that develops will be another factor in bolstering the confidence of oil workers, who will feel more leverage on their side as hiring and production begins to pick up.

The meeting showed that socialists, while few in numbers, are very much a part of the discussions among OCAW members. In these discussions, socialists promote the need for working class solidarity, union democracy, and political independence of the union movement from the Democrats and Republicans and their government.

Sex discrimination

The meeting also discussed the importance of the union defending the small number of women that work in the refineries, who face systematic discrimination and harassment.

It's very difficult for women to get refinery jobs. The training programs are conducted in such a way that women are often not given a fair shot at learning the job. The employers promote the myth that women aren't physically or emotionally strong enough to do jobs that are dangerous and dirty.

Many times, at least initially, male workers do the companies' work by harassing their female coworkers. When women

stand up and fight and show they can do the job, most male workers can be won over, and the ones who aren't can often be isolated.

An operator from Utah described a recent case of a woman hired on as a temporary worker at the Phillips refinery who was terminated on the pretext of a bad work record. For the entire six months she was on the job, the company never criticized her work — only the fact that she was a woman.

She was the only woman hired by Phillips in the last year and a half. The one before her was the target of an unsuccessful attempt to fire her — on the same grounds.

The union has filed a grievance on her behalf, and many of her coworkers see that this is a clear-cut case of sex discrimination.

Women are also the victims of demoralizing — and sometimes dangerous — sexist actions and remarks. Examples range from pornographic pictures put up at women's workplaces to even physical assaults by male coworkers who refuse to accept women as equals.

The discussion centered on the fact that no matter where the harassment and discrimination comes from — foreman or coworker — the only one who benefits is the company. And the entire union is the loser. Harassment of women breaks down solidarity among workers. It pits them against each other instead of their real enemy — the companies. When an employer can get away with selectively victimizing one sector of the work force, it never stops there. It emboldens management to see how much further it can go.

Continued on Page 17

OCAW policy on sexual harassment

Printed below are excerpts from the *Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers "Policy on the Elimination of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace."*

Sexual harassment of workers by members of supervision or coworkers should not be tolerated at any workplace organized by the OCAWIU. Nonetheless, OCAW members have been victims of sexual harassment. It is the Policy of the International Union that sexual harassment is a serious obstacle to the achievement of full employment opportunity for workers of both sexes.

The International Officers, directors, staff and local union leadership must commit their efforts to its elimination. Just as the OCAW abhors the use of racial or ethnic discrimination, the International Union views sexual harassment of any form as an attack on the dignity of the worker who is its victim.

It is the position of the International Union that sexual harassment of workers by supervision should be grieved as a form of *sex discrimination*. . . .

Unfortunately, sexual harassment is not only practiced by supervision. Coworkers have too often been known to sexually harass other workers. Sexual harassment in the form of remarks, gestures, physical touching, etc., by coworkers can make the victims' worklives miserable and hurt their ability to do their jobs.

Local leadership and human relations committees should also assist the International Union in educating our membership on this problem.

Sexual harassment violates the fundamental principles of fairness and equality for which the union has fought so hard. Sexual harassment of coworkers runs contrary to the basic union objective of decent working conditions free of discrimination, as set forth in the preamble of the Constitution.

Sexual harassment engaged in by one member against another member could very well constitute conduct detrimental to the welfare and interest of the membership of the Union; and, therefore, may constitute the basis for internal charges against the offending member.

BY LEE MARTINDALE

Reports are beginning to come in from socialists who work in the mines, mills, and rail yards that they are reaching the goals they had set for themselves in selling subscriptions to their coworkers.

In Detroit, 8 of a goal of 10 subscriptions have been sold by socialists working at the General Dynamics Tank plant. This plant produces the tanks used by the Pentagon in its aggression worldwide. Salespeople there report a good response to the *Militant*. They just introduce the paper to fellow workers, and then tell them about the subscription offer.

One salesperson describing the response said, "At first I brought the paper hidden in my purse. Then I took it out when none of the bosses were around. I gave the paper to one worker on my way to break. When I returned, he had the paper propped up on the tank part he was machining."

"He was reading the article on the breaking of the union at Continental Airlines. Another worker who saw the headline came over to me and asked if he could read the paper too. Later that evening, we had a discussion on union-busting and how the attack on the airline workers affects us in the United Auto Workers (UAW). I sold a subscription."

"We find that coworkers pass the *Militant* around, so, often when we introduce the paper to someone, they have already had a chance to read it."

"Since the invasion of Grenada, discussions have many times been about that, and there's a lot of confusion about what the facts are and why the U.S. government invaded."

"Circulating the paper in the tank plant has been an important part of getting a hearing for socialist workers' ideas. Now we're sought out for our opinions on both local and international events."

Socialist UAW members who



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

U.S. invasion of Grenada has sparked political discussion and sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates and demonstrations.

work at the Jeep plant in Toledo, Ohio, reported last week that they had adopted a special goal of selling 10 subscriptions on the job in the remaining two weeks of the national subscription drive. They took on this goal in order to get out the truth about the events in Grenada.

By the end of the first week of this effort, they had sold nine subscriptions on the job and another at the plant gate, mostly to Black coworkers. The salespeople report a lot of interest in the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers*, which is being given to new subscribers.

"The war is the number one topic of discussion among the 6,000 workers here at Jeep," reports one salesperson. "The sentiment is, 'I don't know much about Grenada, but the U.S. has no right being in there. Send that S.O.B. over there and bring our boys home.'"

"Many of the workers are new hires and also veterans, and mince no words about their opposition to military intervention abroad. Some even say, 'communism isn't so bad after all.'"

"This sentiment has been fueled by the outspoken opposition to the invasion by Rev. Floyd Rose, president of the Toledo NAACP, who has spoken out against it at a press conference and an emergency demonstration."

Socialist auto workers in Kansas City sold five subscriptions at the Fairfax General Motors plant last week in the course of discussions on Grenada.

Socialists who have been on strike against the Koppers plant in Baltimore found on going back to work that, in addition to big discussions on how to strengthen the union and carry out more effective struggles against the company, Grenada was also on the minds of many workers. Eighteen single copies and one subscription to the *Militant* were sold by the International Association of Machinists members on the job.

Combined with stepped-up sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates, special efforts by socialist unionists to sell subscriptions to their coworkers contributes a socialist viewpoint to the discussions of Washington's accelerating war drive.

SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

(Totals as of Militant issue #41, PM issue #22)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Los Angeles	100/96	75/91	175/187	107
Albany, N.Y.	70/71	5/5	75/76	101
Twin Cities	120/121	10/7	130/128	98
Seaside, Calif.	45/44	5/4	50/48	96
Greensboro, N.C.	50/47	0/1	50/48	96
St. Louis	120/112	0/1	120/113	94
Salt Lake City	70/62	5/8	75/70	93
Detroit	85/79	5/5	90/84	93
Brooklyn	110/107	40/32	150/139	93
San Antonio	60/53	25/25	85/78	92
Price, Utah	35/33	5/3	40/36	90
San Jose	75/65	15/15	90/80	89
Philadelphia	100/84	25/24	125/108	86
Toledo	70/62	5/2	75/64	85
Virginia, Minn.	75/62	0/2	75/64	85
Boston	95/74	15/20	110/94	85
Newark	110/94	30/23	140/117	84
Manhattan	150/122	50/43	200/165	83
Wash., D.C.	90/80	25/13	115/93	81
Lincoln, Neb.	35/28	0/0	35/28	80
Harrisburg	35/31	5/1	40/32	80
Oakland	90/73	15/7	105/80	76
Milwaukee	110/84	10/6	120/90	75
Denver	80/64	15/5	95/69	73
Atlanta	85/62	5/4	90/66	73
Phoenix	75/57	25/13	100/70	70
Indianapolis	80/53	0/3	80/56	70
Kansas City	65/48	10/3	75/51	68
Louisville	55/37	0/0	55/37	67
Miami	70/48	10/4	80/52	65
Morgantown, W. Va.	70/45	0/0	70/45	64
San Diego	70/46	30/16	100/62	62
Dallas	50/32	15/8	65/40	62
Cleveland	80/45	5/3	85/48	56
Charleston, W. Va.	45/25	0/0	45/25	56
San Francisco	90/50	40/18	130/68	52
Newport News, Va.	75/38	0/0	75/38	51
Cincinnati	70/35	0/1	70/36	51
Birmingham	70/36	0/0	70/36	51
Albuquerque	50/30	15/3	65/33	51
Seattle	75/37	5/2	80/39	49
Tucson	30/15	10/4	40/19	48
Portland	45/18	10/8	55/26	47
Houston	60/30	30/11	90/41	46
Baltimore	65/27	0/0	65/27	42
Pittsburgh	135/55	0/1	135/56	41
New Orleans	80/34	5/0	85/34	40
Chicago	135/49	15/3	150/52	35
Gary	45/11	5/0	50/11	22
Totals	3,750/2,711	620/448	4,370/3,159	72
Should Be	3,262	539	3,801	87

Subscription drive gets boost from Nov. 12 sales



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Marine Sgt. Jim Stryffeler speaking at YSA open house attended by 300 following November 12 antiwar march in Washington, D.C. Over 200 subscriptions to socialist press were sold at demonstration and open house.

BY SANDI SHERMAN

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription drive got a big boost from sales at the demonstrations in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and other cities on November 12 against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

At the D.C. march over 200 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM* were sold, in addition to 800 single copies of the two papers. New subscribers received free with their subs a copy of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers*. In addition, another 581 copies of the Bishop pamphlet were sold.

Mitchel Rosenberg, from Brooklyn, reported that "there was a lot of interest in what Cuba had to say about the events in Grenada." He sold many pamphlets because it contains the entire transcript of the statement issued by the Cuban government after the murder of Maurice Bishop and the other revolutionary leaders in Grenada.

Socialists staffing literature tables at the Washington, D.C., march reported brisk sales and discussions throughout the day. Demonstrators came up to the tables, attracted by the Young Socialist Alliance's "U.S. Hands Off Grenada" buttons or by the literature displays, and then stayed to talk about Grenada, or Cuba, or a wide range of other political topics. Many went away with subscriptions to the *Militant* or *PM*. Over \$700 in socialist literature was sold at the march.

Many of the demonstrators were young, and a lot of interest was expressed in the views and activities of the Young Socialist Alliance and in the YSA national convention coming up December 28 to January 1 in St. Louis.

Rich Stuart, who sold 25 copies of the YSA's newspaper, the *Young Socialist*

from behind one of the literature tables, said that a number of those who bought the *YS* did so because of the feature article on the Cuban revolution. One young Black college student mentioned how impressed he was by what the Cubans had done in Grenada, and what good fighters they are.

Another college student, who bought a copy of the *YS* and expressed interest in the YSA convention, told Stuart: "I've been thinking like this for a while, but what Reagan did in Grenada convinced me that it's time to get active."

Nearly 300 demonstrators attended an open house sponsored by the YSA at the end of the day's events. Many came to hear ex-marine Sgt. Jim Stryffeler, a YSA member who recently won an honorable discharge from the marines after being harassed for expressing his opposition to the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Stryffeler explained that the marine brass had hoped to keep him from coming to the demonstration. They threatened him with court-martial and three years in prison for speaking out against the U.S. war drive. But an emergency campaign to win support for Stryffeler's right to free speech forced the Marine Corps to back down.

He thanked all those who came to his support and explained that this victory in his case was a victory for all the men and women in uniform who oppose U.S. imperialism's war against the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean.

Among those attending the open house were members of Operation PUSH in Atlanta, coworkers of YSA members, and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA from Guatemala and Nicaragua, and some young people who had recently joined the YSA. Diane Feldon, who just joined the YSA in Cleveland, explained that she joined after calling the YSA to find

out what it was doing about the invasion of Grenada.

A Nicaraguan who came to the open house said, "I've never attended a demonstration like this in the U.S. It made me realize that the Central American people are not alone." A Guatemalan explained that he met the YSA at a church meeting against U.S. intervention in Central America. "The line of the YSA and SWP," he said, "is the line of justice, dignity and honor, and alliance with the working class."

Stryffeler's case also sparked discussion at the Oakland, California, November 12 march. The local newspapers had carried reports that morning on the antiwar marine's victory. Socialists staffing a literature table with a big YSA banner behind it report that people would come up to the table and ask, "Is this the organization of that marine who's speaking out against the war?" In spite of pouring rain, \$180 in socialist literature was sold at the demonstration.

In Los Angeles, where the demonstrators also had to contend with rain, 15 *Militant* subscriptions and 152 single copies were sold, along with 3 subscriptions and 77 single copies of *PM*; \$200 in literature was sold, including 58 copies of the Maurice Bishop pamphlet.

In Colorado Springs, several hundred people demonstrated against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. Twelve subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold. One of these, and five single copies, were sold by a young Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union member who works with YSA members at the Jerico plant in Denver and who joined the socialists in getting out the *Militant* and *PM* at the march.

New steps needed to win copper strike

Workers still determined, but labor movement's support must be mobilized

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The nearly five-month-old strike by copper workers against the Phelps Dodge Corp. is in serious danger. The entire U.S. labor movement must face the challenge that has been posed by the copper bosses and the government that is backing them. Up until now, top union officials have failed to do this.

More is involved in this battle than the standard of living, union rights, and human dignity of the Phelps Dodge strikers — as important as that is.

If Phelps Dodge can break the 13 unions in its mines, other employers will be emboldened to try the same. Wages, working conditions, and the democratic rights of all working people will be in greater jeopardy.

The strikers themselves have demonstrated a willingness to struggle and sacrifice that is an inspiration to all workers. The predominantly Chicano, Mexicano, and Native American workers know that in defending their unions they are also defending themselves and others from the racism of the employers that had dominated the mining towns for so long.

However, the determination of the 2,400 strikers has not been enough to turn the tide in this strike against the nation's second largest copper producer. A change in course on the part of the top leadership of the striking unions and the AFL-CIO itself is needed to win this battle.

A tough strike

This has been a difficult strike from the very beginning. In April, the largest copper producer, Kennecott, signed a new contract with the copper unions. Other, smaller companies followed suit. Phelps Dodge refused. It demanded major concessions in wages, benefits, and work rules. In the midst of the serious depression in the copper industry, which resulted in high unemployment among miners, Phelps Dodge seized the opportunity to attack the copper unions, weaken them significantly, or bust them completely.

Since the strike began, other smaller copper companies, including Anamax and Duval, have joined the union-busting effort. Anamax workers are still on the picket lines.

The anti-union, "right-to-work" laws in Arizona gave Phelps Dodge an advantage, which it pressed from the start. The company brought the government and all of its repressive tools into play against the strikers.

The National Guard and state troopers were sent in by Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt to reopen mines that had been closed by militant mass action by workers and their supporters in August.

To this day state cops escort scabs in and out of the mines and attack and victimize strikers.

The courts limited the number of pickets at each mine entrance and continue to attempt to frame strikers on trumped-up charges of picket line violence.

The media have lied about the strike and refused to tell the miners' side of the story.

Democrats and Republicans alike condemned the strike and backed the bosses.

On top of all of this, in early October floods devastated the mining towns and put workers who were already hurting financially under even greater economic hardship.

The towns of Morenci, Ajo, and Douglas, where the strike is centered, are company towns owned and controlled by Phelps Dodge. The company has used this against the strikers with a vengeance.

While they are still trying to recover from the effects of the flood, some strikers have received eviction notices. Credit on utilities and bills at the company stores was cut off weeks ago. Strikers' children in Morenci were warned by the school superintendent that they would be disciplined for using the word "scab."

The company has hired hundreds of scabs in their effort to restore production. In doing so it has made a conscious attempt to divide the population of the small mining towns and thus weaken the strike. Phelps Dodge made sure that scabs re-



Copper strikers defend themselves from scabs in a mass picket line that closed mines in August. Miners have set example for all workers but cannot win strike on their own. Labor movement must change course and mobilize effective solidarity.

ceived flood relief ahead of striking workers.

The Phelps Dodge strikers cannot win this battle by themselves. The only way to even the odds and win this strike is for the rest of the labor movement to get behind the strikers in a way that has not been done yet. The company has organized a united, employing-class offensive against this strike. The labor movement must organize a united working-class response.

The top leadership of the union movement is mired in a no-win strategy. It consists of relying only on continuing negotiations with the company — which all concerned admit are going nowhere and which Phelps Dodge, at any rate, does not take seriously — and court action, which has likewise yielded no results.

The officials counterpose this approach to the active mobilization of other workers and their allies alongside the strikers.

This mistaken course has already led to a big setback at the Duval copper company. There the employers succeeded in dividing the copper unions and imposed a concession contract that broke the pattern of industry-wide agreements. Duval workers now labor under significantly poorer working conditions and at lower wages than their brothers and sisters at Kennecott, Magma, and other companies that settled with the copper unions last spring.

This settlement is not only bad for the Duval workers. It hurt the Phelps Dodge strike and weakened union power throughout the copper industry.

Rank-and-file workers at Duval saw what the Phelps Dodge strike came up against. They saw the lack of adequate solidarity and the absence of an effective strategy to win the Phelps Dodge strike. In the face of this they decided not to risk fighting and losing. A bad concession contract appeared better than risking the danger of losing their jobs and their unions.

This decision was not the result of some lack of combativity on the part of Duval workers. The responsibility must be placed at the feet of the misleadership of the labor movement, starting at the very top.

AFL-CIO Executive Council

In early August as the Phelps Dodge strike entered its second month, the AFL-CIO executive council approved a motion supporting the strike and pledging the solidarity of the national labor movement. This was an important step. It recognized that the copper strike had national importance. Of course any strike or labor battle is important to other workers. The union movement is strongest when it puts into

practice the idea that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

But the importance of this strike goes beyond that idea. By August it was clear that Phelps Dodge was out to get rid of the copper unions. Even the top officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and other unions involved saw this clearly and said so.

Unions in the copper industry did not come on the scene yesterday. Copper miners have a rich tradition and militant union heritage that goes back over 50 years.

The unions in the copper industry are an historic conquest of the fight for industrial unions and a gain for the majority Chicano, Mexicano, and Native American work force in the area. If an important component of that bastion of the labor movement is divided off and broken, it will be a step backward for all labor.

A defeat at Phelps Dodge would not break the USWA and other powerful unions on a national scale or even in the entire copper industry. But the employers would get a foot in the door, and such dangers can never be taken lightly.

The AFL-CIO's August resolution also recognized that the ranks of the labor movement *want to express solidarity with this strike*. The union ranks know what pictures of the National Guard and state cops escorting scabs through picket lines mean.

Since the strike began, when workers have had an opportunity to express their solidarity with it they have done so. Members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers building a power plant near Phoenix have raised some \$21,000 for the strikers. They have walked the picket lines with them. They have helped strikers dig out from the flood.

Other workers across the country who have learned about the strikers' plight have responded similarly. But if an organized appeal for solidarity was made, many thousands more would come to their aid just as they did for striking coal miners in 1977-78 during their heroic 110-day strike.

Why hasn't this happened? The top officials of the AFL-CIO have not organized it to happen. Since the resolution of support was passed in August, fundamentally it has been left to lie on the table.

AFL-CIO national convention

The AFL-CIO held its constitutional convention in Hollywood, Florida, in early October. Every AFL-CIO union sent delegates. Leaders of city and state central labor councils were on hand. It was a perfect opportunity to mobilize the entire labor movement in an active campaign of sol-

idarity to win the Phelps Dodge strike.

This reporter attended the AFL-CIO gathering. *Not a word about the copper strike was heard on the convention floor.*

The October issue of the USWA newspaper, *Steeltalk*, reports that the AFL-CIO convention "reaffirmed its full support of union members striking the Phelps Dodge Corp. and set up a procedure to help strikers and their families." *Steeltalk* goes on to explain that an "AFL-CIO Assistance Fund" has been established, the federation itself has pledged \$20,000 to it, and "initial pledges from about a half dozen unions totaled in excess of \$50,000."

This small step will be welcomed by the strikers and it is progress. However, if reference to it on the floor of the convention passed the notice of this reporter, it also went by without notice from the editors of the *AFL-CIO News*.

The official AFL-CIO publication printed summaries of each day's proceedings in Hollywood. No mention of the copper strike appeared. The special expanded edition of the federation paper, which reported on the convention after it ended, likewise had no mention of the strike. This is despite the fact that many other matters of importance to the labor movement (as well as many of no importance) were mentioned.

Money not enough

Perhaps the assistance fund was set up in some meetings off the convention floor. Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that no active campaign of solidarity aimed at mobilizing the power of the labor movement behind the strikers was launched at the convention, nor is one being proposed by AFL-CIO officials now.

The fund will be welcomed. Correspondent Karen Kopperud reports that some strikers, including one of the chief picket captains, have felt it necessary to circulate a petition addressed to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland asking for further confirmation of the AFL-CIO's willingness to stand behind the strikers financially.

The strikers know that money alone won't win this strike. Given the depressed world market for copper, Phelps Dodge may be able to continue for some time with the level of copper production that it maintains now with the scabs it employs.

That does not mean it is too late to win the strike. It does mean that a change in strategy is necessary. The full power of the organized labor movement and its allies must be brought to bear.

The officials of the union movement must tell the ranks the truth about the issues and the stakes in this strike. The strikers themselves must be organized to tell their story in union meetings across the country. Demonstrations should be organized. Thousands of other unionists can be brought to join the picket lines. The USWA took precisely that step in its strike against the Tenneco Corp. at the Newport News shipyard in 1979.

Such a campaign can be taken outside the unions as well. Three hundred women at the national conference of the National Organization for Women signed petitions supporting the Phelps Dodge strikers. Most did not know much about the strike before they arrived at the conference. Once they found out they were eager to express their support.

Black, Chicano, Latino, and Mexicano organizations can be approached as well.

Farmers too will help the strikers. Picket captain Jim Krass was warmly received when he spoke on behalf of the copper strikers at a farm-labor rally protesting the effects of the economic crisis in Minnesota on November 1.

No one knows better than the strikers themselves that the situation in Arizona is a grave one. These workers have done everything the labor movement could have asked, and more, to stand up to the anti-union offensive. They are totally justified in expecting the leadership of the labor movement to come fully to their defense.

This change in course would not only help the strikers. It would be a step in defending the interests of the entire working class.

Farrell Dobbs: socialist strategy in the labor movement



Farrell Dobbs

Militant/Howard Petrick

This week we are reprinting the "Afterword" to Farrell Dobbs' four-volume history of a powerful class-struggle tendency among Midwest Teamsters in the 1930s and early 1940s.

Dobbs was national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party for 19 years and a central leader of the Teamster battles he wrote about. He died this October 31 at age 76. Meetings to celebrate his many contributions to the revolutionary workers movement are scheduled in many cities across the country.

Dobbs' history of the Teamsters begins with *Teamster Rebellion*, in which he describes the hard-fought strikes in 1934 that broke the back of the open shop in Minneapolis and won union recognition for Teamsters Local 574 (later 544).

In the second volume, *Teamster Power*, Dobbs explains how the Teamsters went on to consolidate union power in Minneapolis, extend class-struggle unionism throughout the north-central United States, and carried out a victorious 11-state organizing campaign among over-the-road drivers. Dobbs and other revolutionary socialists of the Communist League of America, forerunner of the SWP, played a central role in these battles.

Teamster Politics takes up the rich experience of the Minneapolis Farmer-Labor Party and the efforts of class-struggle unionists to transform it into a labor party that would champion the interests of workers and all the oppressed. This volume also tells how the Teamsters fought FBI frame-ups, organized the unemployed, and established a self-defense force against fascist attacks.

Teamster Bureaucracy, the final volume, explains how the Minneapolis Teamsters fought to defend their gains against the combined forces of Franklin Roosevelt's Justice Department and FBI, local police and politicians, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters bureaucracy headed by Daniel Tobin.

The culminating battle in that fight — the 1941 Smith Act trial of 28 socialists and union leaders — is recounted in detail in this volume. (As a result of this trial, Dobbs served 13 months in prison for his political opposition to U.S. imperialism's course in World War II.)

The following is the final chapter of *Teamster Bureaucracy*, titled "Afterword." In it Dobbs generalizes the lessons of the Minneapolis Teamsters experience and applies them to the struggle for socialism today. His conclusions are invaluable for the new generation of class-struggle militants seeking to lead the labor movement.

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In its transitional program for socialist revolution the Fourth International asserts: "All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. It is now the turn of the proletariat, i.e., chiefly its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

Verification of the latter statement will be found in the history of the Minneapolis Teamsters. The leadership problem confronting labor today is pinpointed by the contrast between the opening and closing phases of the General Drivers Union's story.

In 1934, at the outset of the period covered in my four-volume account of developments within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), workers throughout the country were becoming radicalized under the adverse pressures of a severe capitalist crisis. Combative moods were growing in intensity among them, and they were ready for organized action on a massive scale in defense of their class interests. The way was thus open to build strong trade unions. These could serve both as direct instruments of struggle within industry and as a base from which to launch independent labor political action on a national scale in a fight for supreme power.

In Minneapolis an unusual situation

zation of independent mass political action, by steps that could lead to the development of a labor party based on and controlled by the trade unions.

Those accomplishments were made possible through the interplay of two basic factors. One of these was the skillful and considerate leadership of the workers by revolutionary socialists. The other was our championing of trade union democracy. Full membership participation was encouraged in the organization's internal affairs. Freedom to express all points of view was upheld, as was the workers' right to set policy by majority vote.

As successes in the fight against the employers were achieved through this combination of able leadership and internal union democracy, the workers acquired increasing awareness of their great strength in class unity. They also began to get a better notion of what was needed to defend their interests. But variations existed in their grasp of class relations under capitalism and of the bosses' inherent antagonism to organized labor. Perceptions of that basic issue ranged from only elementary trade union consciousness in most instances, across intermediate stages of class-struggle understanding reached by more limited numbers, to attainment of a revolutionary socialist outlook by a few. This unevenness in levels of development presented no serious obstacle to progress, however, so long as labor generally remained in a state of upsurge. Workers who had become more advanced could take advantage of the existing struggle momentum to activate their lagging comrades. Step by well-timed step, in accord with the pace of events, effective

“The misleaders managed to tie the new industrial union movement to the Democratic Party, keeping the workers mired in capitalist politics.”

existed at the time of the upsurge in labor militancy. Locally, there was an exceptional relationship of forces between the main radical tendencies. Among the Trotskyists expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 had been the most capable trade unionists in its Minneapolis branch. When the potential for mass action developed later on, those seasoned fighters took the initiative in helping the workers conduct effective strikes in support of their demands upon the bosses; and in doing so they were able to beat the Stalinist hacks in a direct contest for leadership of the city's key labor contingent, the trucking employees.

We had a similar advantage over the social democrats. Many had previously left that tendency in Minnesota to help form the Communist Party in 1919. Since then the social democrats had remained quite weak in the state, especially in Minneapolis; and as the Teamster struggles unfolded, most of the militants among them were won over to the Trotskyist party.

With the Trotskyists thus constituting the dominant force in the radical movement locally, it was possible for us to play a decisive role in the broad ranks of labor. We mobilized the trucking workers of the city for action on the basis of our class-struggle line. Both the local AFL officialdom and the IBT bureaucracy were outflanked through development of the combat momentum needed for the union ranks to brush aside all internal obstacles standing in their way. The trucking employers were defeated in battle, and a strong Teamster organization was consolidated in Minneapolis. After that our class-struggle course was extended into the surrounding area by means of a campaign to unionize over-the-road drivers. On the electoral plane, when the Stalinists and right-wingers made a shambles of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota we pushed for reorgani-

forces could thereby be mobilized for action in the trade union and political spheres.

The concrete manner in which the situation was handled at each stage of developments within the Teamster movement has been detailed in my four volumes. These were written to provide something more than a description of the events that transpired. I have attempted to place the reader in the position of the revolutionists who guided the union ranks — retrospectively looking over their shoulders, so to speak — as they assessed each successive problem and decided how to deal with it. My purpose was to help find clues to ways and means of transforming labor's potential class power into a dynamically active force in the continuing struggle against the capitalist exploiters.

The reader should keep in mind, of course, that both the precise strategy and specific tactics set forth in the books on the Teamsters were attuned to a concrete situation at a given time and place. For that reason the methods then employed cannot be applied mechanically under new and different conditions. But an imaginative interpretation of the fundamental concepts we translated into action during the 1934-41 period should be helpful to militants in grappling with today's problem of labor leadership.

In addition, material dealing with the roots of present leadership defaults in the trade unions will be found in the series on the Teamsters. The main threads of the analysis presented there can be summarized briefly as follows:

Nationally, the relationship of forces on the left was unfavorable to the Trotskyists during the 1930s. We were a small propaganda group. Our activities had to center on assembling the initial cadres for the reconstruction of a revolutionary socialist

party in the aftermath of the Stalinization of the Communist Party. The advantageous position of the Minneapolis comrades was, therefore, unique. Elsewhere in the country our movement did not have the required strength and opportunity to play a leading role in labor struggles to the extent that we found possible in the Teamsters.

Nationally, both the Stalinists and social democrats had us outnumbered; and those tendencies — each representing a particular form of reformism — acted more or less in concert with the business unionists who constituted the labor officialdom. As a consequence, the workers of the nation lacked leadership of the kind needed to help them safeguard and promote their class interests.

The misleaders were able to prevent the labor upsurge from going beyond the unionization of the unorganized mass production workers into the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations], although much more was possible at the height of its energies. They managed to tie the new industrial union movement to the Democratic Party, beginning with the 1936 national elections, thereby keeping the workers mired in capitalist politics. By mid-1937, class-collaborationist norms were reestablished to a large extent in setting trade union policy. Reliance on help from the Roosevelt administration was substituted for use of the union's full power, and a staggering setback resulted for the CIO with the defeat of the Little Steel strike.

Because of those leadership defaults the combat momentum of the insurgent masses was crippled and eventually broken. Even though strikes continued to occur episodically, the tide of battle had turned. A change in mood came over the union ranks. Militants found it more and more difficult to draw reluctant elements into action. Cautious attitudes became more pronounced, and a more conservative climate developed. To an increasing extent the best fighters found themselves swimming against the stream, except during those interludes when new struggles flared up briefly.

In that changed situation the bureaucrats took one step after another toward restriction of the democratic and fighting spirit in which the CIO was born. Consolidation of their control over the organization pro-

Tribute meetings

New York

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

District 65 UAW Hall

13 Astor Place, 11th Floor
(near Broadway and 8th Street)

Speakers will include:

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

For more information: (212) 925-1668.

Minneapolis-St. Paul

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

Machinists' Labor Temple

1399 Eustis St.

St. Paul

Speakers will include:

Jack Barnes, John Nestvedt, Ellie Garcia, Helen Scheer, Dave Salner, Mary-Alice Waters.

For more information: (612) 644-6325.

Northern California Bay Area

Tuesday, November 22; reception, 6:00 p.m.; meeting, 7:00 p.m.

IBT Local 70 Hall

70 Hegenberger Road

Oakland (near Oakland Coliseum: BART to Coliseum, AC transit Bus #57)

Speakers will include:

Jack Barnes, Clifton DeBerry, Theresa Delgadillo, Connie Harris, Sam Man-

FIDEL CASTRO SPEAKS ON GRENADA

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by Fidel Castro, president of Cuba, to more than a million people in Havana November 14. The people had gathered to honor Cuban workers killed during the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The English translation of Castro's speech was distributed by the Cuban government.

Fellow countrymen:

On October 15, 1976, a little over seven years ago, we gathered here, in this same place, to deliver a funeral address for the 57 Cubans who were vilely murdered in the Barbados plane sabotage,* carried out by men who had been trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Today we have come once again to bid farewell — this time to 24 Cubans who died in Grenada, another island not very far from Barbados, as a result of U.S. military actions.

Grenada was one of the smallest independent states in the world, both in territory and population. Even though Cuba is a small, underdeveloped country, it was able to help Grenada considerably, because our efforts — which were modest in quantity though high in quality — meant a lot for a country less than 400 square kilometers in size, with a population of just over 100,000.

For instance, the value of our contribution to Grenada in the form of materials, designs and labor in building the new airport came to \$60 million at international prices — over \$500 per inhabitant. It is as if Cuba — with a population of almost 10 million — received a project worth \$5 billion as a donation.

In addition, there was the cooperation of our doctors, teachers and technicians in diverse specialties, plus an annual contribution of Cuban products worth about \$3 million. This meant an additional annual contribution of \$40 per inhabitant.

It is impossible for Cuba to render considerable material assistance to countries with significantly larger populations and territories, but we were able to offer great assistance to a country like tiny Grenada.

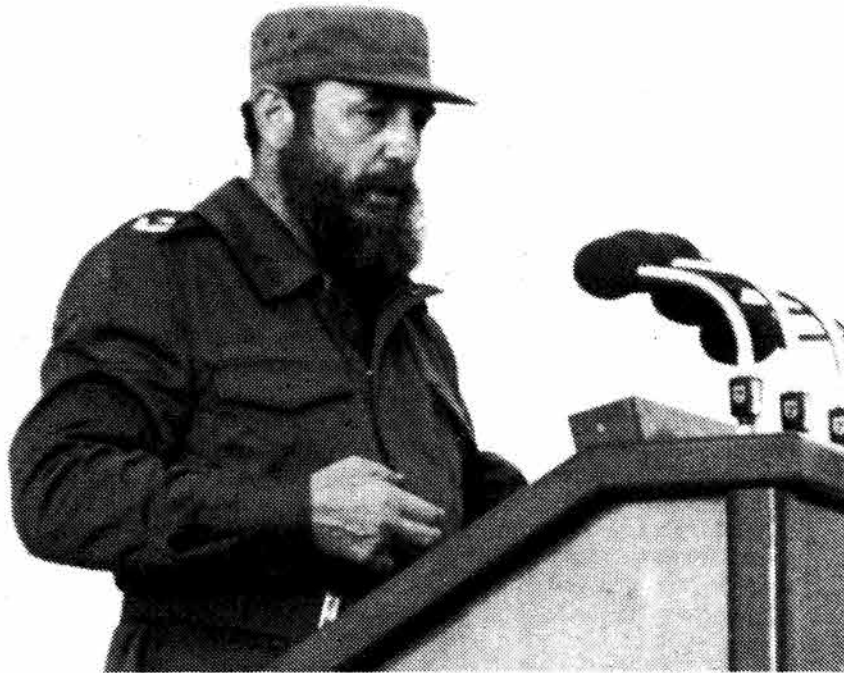
Caribbean nations amazed

Many other small Caribbean nations, accustomed to the gross economic and strategic interests of colonialism and imperialism, were amazed by Cuba's generous assistance to that fraternal people. They may have thought that Cuba's selfless action was extraordinary. In the midst of the U.S. government's dirty propaganda, some may even have found it difficult to understand.

Our people felt such deep friendship for [Maurice] Bishop and Grenada, and our respect for that country and its sovereignty was so irrefragable, that we never dared to express any opinions about what was being done or how it was being done.

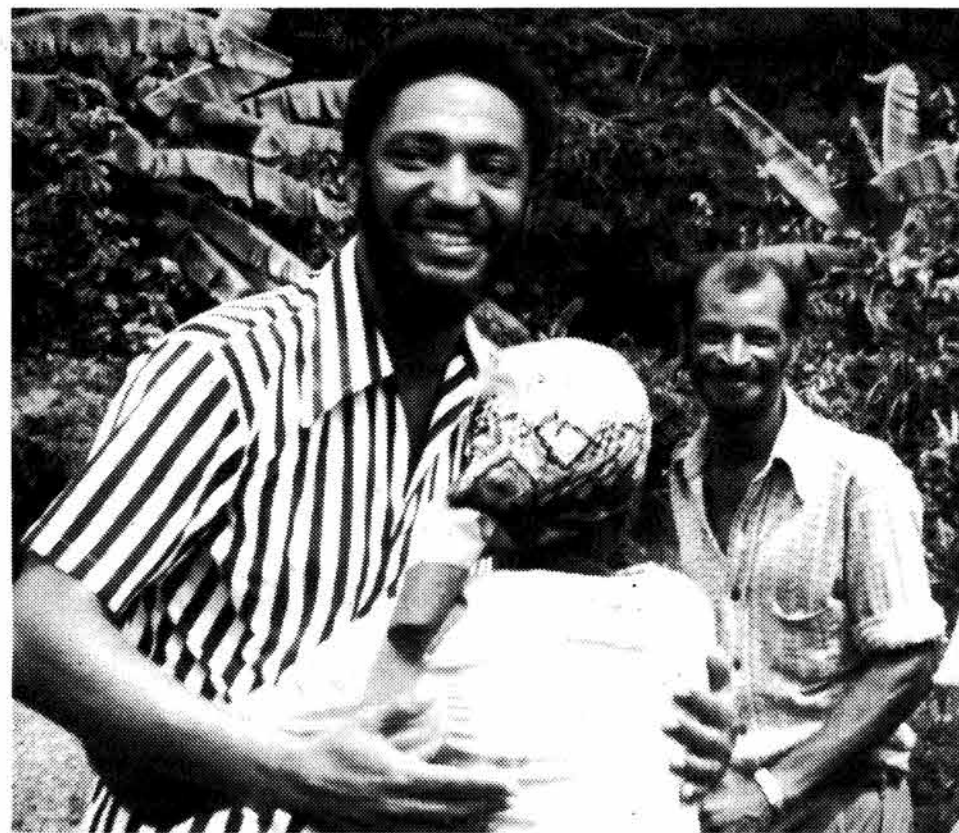
In Grenada, we followed the same principle we apply to all revolutionary nations and movements, full respect for their policies, criteria and decisions, expressing our views on any matter only when asked to do so. Imperialism is incapable of understanding that the secret of our excellent relations with revolutionary countries and

*On Oct. 6, 1976, a Cuban airplane crashed off Barbados as a result of an explosion on board. Counterrevolutionary terrorists trained by the CIA took credit for the blast, in which a total of 73 people were killed.



Militant/Fred Murphy

Cuban President Fidel Castro: "The invasion of Grenada should lead us to an awareness of the realities and dangers that threaten the world."



Militant/Wayne Carter

Murdered Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop: "He was a true revolutionary — conscientious and honest."

movements in the world lies precisely in this respect.

The U.S. government looked down on Grenada and hated Bishop. It wanted to destroy Grenada's process and obliterate its example. It had even prepared military plans for invading the island — as Bishop had charged nearly two years ago — but it lacked a pretext.

Socioeconomically, Grenada was actually advancing satisfactorily. The people had received many benefits, in spite of the hostile policy of the United States, and Grenada's Gross National Product was growing at a good rate in the midst of the world crisis.

Bishop was not an extremist; rather, he was a true revolutionary — conscientious and honest. Far from disagreeing with his intelligent and realistic policy, we fully sympathized with it, since it was rigorously

adapted to his country's specific conditions and possibilities.

Grenada had become a true symbol of independence and progress in the Caribbean. No one could have foreseen the tragedy that was drawing near. Attention was focused on other parts of the world.

Door opened to imperialism

Unfortunately, the Grenadian revolutionaries themselves unleashed the events that opened the door to imperialist aggression. Hyenas emerged from the revolutionary ranks. Today no one can yet say whether those who used the dagger of divisionism and internal confrontation did so for their own ends or were inspired and egged on by imperialism.

It is something that could have been done by the CIA — and, if somebody else

was responsible, the CIA could not have done it any better. The fact is that allegedly revolutionary arguments were used, invoking the purest principles of Marxism-Leninism and charging Bishop with practicing a cult of personality and with drawing away from the Leninist norms and methods of leadership.

In our view, nothing could be more absurd than to attribute such tendencies to Bishop. It was impossible to imagine anyone more noble, modest, and unselfish. He could never have been guilty of being authoritarian. If he had any defect, it was his excessive tolerance and trust.

Were those who conspired against him within the Grenadian party, army, and security forces by any chance a group of extremists drunk on political theory? Were they simply a group of ambitious, opportunistic individuals, or were they enemy agents who wanted to destroy the Grenadian revolution?

Not first time

History alone will have the last word, but it would not be the first time that such things occurred in a revolutionary process. In our view, [Bernard] Coard's group objectively destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression.

Whatever their intentions, the brutal assassination of Bishop and his most loyal, closest comrades is a fact that can never be justified in that or any other revolution. As the October 20 statement by the Cuban party and government put it, "No crime can be committed in the name of the revolution and liberty."

In spite of his very close and affectionate links with our party's leadership, Bishop never said anything about the internal dissensions that were developing. On the contrary, in his last conversations with us he was self-critical about his work regarding attention to the armed forces and the mass organizations. Nearly all of our party and state leaders spent many friendly, fraternal hours with him on the evening of October 7, before his return trip to Grenada.

Coard's group never had such relations nor such intimacy and trust with us. Actually, we did not even know that this group existed.

It is to our revolution's credit that, in spite of our profound indignation over Bishop's removal from office and arrest, we fully refrained from interfering in Grenada's internal affairs. We refrained even though our construction workers and all our other cooperation personnel in Grenada — who did not hesitate to confront the Yankee soldiers with the weapons Bishop himself had given them for their defense in case of an attack from abroad — could have been a decisive factor in those internal events.

Those weapons were never meant to be used in an internal conflict in Grenada and we would never have allowed them to be so used. We would never have been willing to use them to shed a single drop of Grenadian blood.

Arrest of Bishop

On October 12, Bishop was removed from office by the central committee, on which the conspirators had attained a majority. On the 13th, he was placed under house arrest. On the 19th, the people took to the streets and freed Bishop. On the

Continued on next page

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same day, Coard's group ordered the army to fire on the people and Bishop, [Unison] Whiteman, Jacqueline Creft, and other excellent revolutionary leaders were murdered.

As soon as the internal dissensions, which came to light on October 12, became known, the Yankee imperialists decided to invade.

The message sent by the leadership of the Cuban party to Coard's group on October 15 has been made public. In it, we expressed our deep concern over both the internal and external consequences of the split and appealed to common sense, serenity, wisdom, and generosity of revolutionaries. This reference to generosity was an appeal not to use violence against Bishop and his followers.

This group of Coard's that seized power in Grenada expressed serious reservations toward Cuba from the very beginning because of our well-known and unquestionable friendship with Bishop.

The national and international press have published our strong denunciation of the events of October 19, the day Bishop was murdered.

Relations with new government

Our relations with Austin's short-lived government, in which Coard was really in charge, were actually cold and tense, so that, at the time of the criminal Yankee aggression, there was no coordination whatsoever between the Grenadian army and the Cuban construction workers and other cooperation personnel.

The basic points of the messages sent to our embassy in Grenada on October 12 through 25, the day in which the invasion took place, have been made public. Those documents stand in history as irrefutable proof of our unblemished, principled, position regarding Grenada.

Imperialism, however, presented the events as the coming to power of a group of hard-line communists, loyal allies of Cuba. Were they really communists? Were they really hard-liners? Could they really be loyal allies of Cuba? Or were they rather conscious or unconscious tools of Yankee imperialism?

Pol Pot

Look at the history of the revolutionary movement, and you will find more than one connection between imperialism and those who take positions that appear to be on the extreme left. Aren't Pol Pot and Ieng Sary — the ones responsible for the genocide in Kampuchea — the most loyal allies Yankee imperialism has in Southeast Asia at present?

In Cuba, ever since the Grenadian crisis began, we have called Coard's group — to give it a name — the "Pol Potist group."

Our relations with the new leaders of Grenada were to be subjected to profound analysis, as was set forth in the October 20 statement by the party and government of Cuba. In it, we also stated that, due to our basic regard for the Grenadian people, we would not rush to "take any steps regarding technical and economic cooperation which might jeopardize the basic services and vital economic interest of the people of Grenada."



Bernard Coard, who overthrew Bishop's government. "In our view," said Castro, "Coard's group objectively destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression."

We could not accept the idea of leaving the Grenadians without doctors or leaving the airport, which was vital to the nation's economy, unfinished. Most certainly, our construction workers were to leave Grenada when that project was completed, and the weapons that Bishop had given them were to be returned to the government. It was even possible that our very bad relations with the new government would make it necessary for us to leave much earlier.

Complex, difficult situation

The thing that placed Cuba in a morally complex, difficult situation was the announcement that Yankee naval forces were en route to Grenada. Under those circumstances, we couldn't possibly leave the country. If the imperialists really intended to attack Grenada, it was our duty to stay there.

To withdraw at that time would have been dishonorable and could even have triggered aggression in that country then and in Cuba later on. In addition, events unfolded with such incredible speed that if the evacuation had been planned for, there would not have been time to carry it out.

In Grenada, however, the government was morally indefensible. And, since the party, the government and the army had divorced themselves from the people, it was also impossible to defend the nation militarily, because a revolutionary war is only feasible and justifiable when united with the people. We could only fight, therefore, if we were directly attacked. There was no alternative.

It should nevertheless be noted that, despite these adverse circumstances, a number of Grenadian soldiers died in heroic combat against the invaders.

The internal events, however, in no way justified Yankee intervention.

Since when has the government of the United States become the arbiter of internal conflicts between revolutionaries in any given country? What right did Reagan have to be so aggrieved over the death of Bishop, whom he so hated and opposed? What reasons could there be for this brutal violation of the sovereignty of Grenada — a small independent nation that was a respected and acknowledged member of the international community?

Assassination of Martin Luther King

It would be the same as if another country believed it had the right to intervene in the United States because of the repulsive assassination of Martin Luther King or so many other outrages, such as those that have been committed against the Black and Hispanic minorities in the United States, or to intervene because John Kennedy was murdered.

The same may be said of the argument that the lives of 1,000 Americans were in danger. There are many times more U.S. citizens in dozens of other countries in the world. Does this, perchance, imply the right to intervene when internal conflicts arise in those countries?

There are tens of thousands of Grenadians in the United States, England, and Trinidad. Could tiny Grenada intervene if domestic policy problems arose that pose some threat to its compatriots in any of those countries?

Putting aside the fallacy and falseness of such pretexts for invading Grenada, is this really an international norm that can be sustained? A thousand lessons in Marxism could not teach us any better about the dirty, perfidious and aggressive nature of imperialism than the attack unleashed against Grenada at dawn on October 25 and its subsequent development.

19 lies

In order to justify its invasion of Grenada and its subsequent actions, the U.S. government and its spokesmen told 19 lies. Reagan personally told the first 13:

1. Cuba was responsible for the coup d'etat and the death of Bishop.
2. The American students were in danger of being taken hostage.
3. The main purpose of the invasion was to protect the lives of American citizens.
4. The invasion was a multinational operation undertaken at the request of Mr. [Paul] Scoon and the eastern Caribbean nations.
5. Cuba was planning to invade and occupy Grenada.

6. Grenada was being turned into an important Soviet-Cuban military base.

7. The airport under construction was not civilian but military.

8. The weapons in Grenada would be used to export subversion and terrorism.

9. The Cubans fired first.

10. There were over 1,000 Cubans in Grenada.

11. Most of the Cubans were not construction workers but professional soldiers.

12. The invading forces took care not to destroy civilian property or inflict civilian casualties.

13. The U.S. troops would remain in Grenada for a week.

14. Missile silos were being built in Grenada.

15. The vessel *Vietnam Heroico* was transporting special weapons.

16. Cuba was warned of the invasion.

17. Five hundred Cubans are fighting in the mountains of Grenada.

18. Cuba has issued instructions for reprisals to be taken against U.S. citizens.

19. The journalists were excluded for their own protection.

Methods of Hitler

None of these assertions were proved, none are true, and all have been refuted by the facts. This cynical way of lying in order to justify invading a tiny country reminds us of the methods Adolph Hitler used during the years leading up to World War II.

The U.S. students and officials of the medical school located there acknowledge that they were given full guarantees for U.S. citizens and the necessary facilities for those who wanted to leave the country.

Moreover, Cuba had informed the U.S. government on October 22 that no foreign citizens, including Cubans, had been disturbed, and it offered to cooperate in solving any difficulty that might arise, so that problems could be settled without violence or intervention in that country.

No U.S. citizen had been disturbed at all prior to the invasion, and if anything endangered them, it was the war unleashed by the United States.

Cuba's instructions to its personnel not to interfere with any actions to evacuate U.S. citizens in the area of the runway under construction near the university contributed to protecting the U.S. citizens residing in that country.

Reagan's reference to the possibility that Grenada might turn into another Iran — a reference calculated to appeal to the U.S. feelings wounded in that episode — is a demagogic, politicking, dishonest argument.

Lies about airport

The assertion that the new airport was a military one — an old lie that the Reagan administration had dwelt on a lot — was categorically refuted by the English capitalist firm that supplied and installed the electrical and technical equipment for that airport.

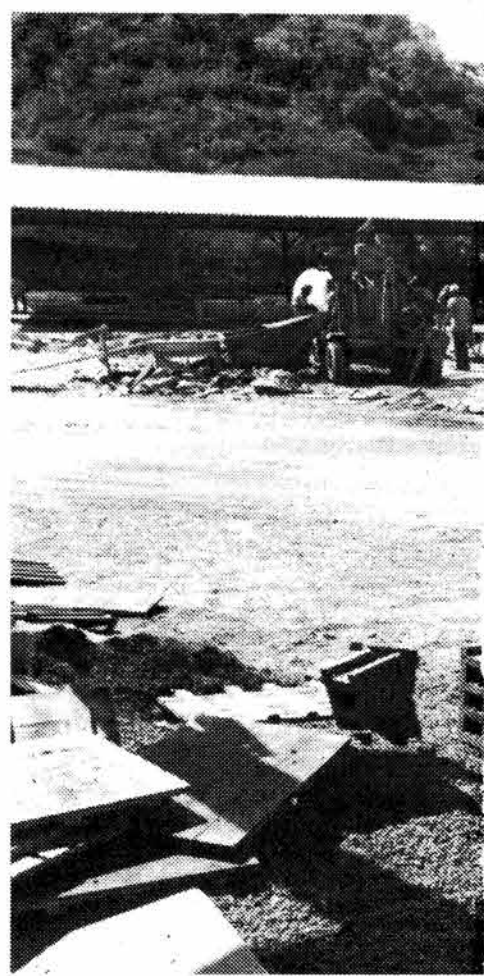
The British technicians of the Plessey Company, which has made a name for itself internationally as a specialist in this field, worked alongside the Cuban construction workers, to whose civilian worker status they attest. Several countries of the European community that are members of the Atlantic alliance cooperated in one way or another with the airport. How can anyone imagine them helping Cuba to build a military airport in Grenada?

However, the idea that Grenada was being turned into a Soviet-Cuban base is refuted by the proven fact that there wasn't even one Soviet military adviser on the island.

The supposedly secret documents that fell into the hands of the United States and were published by the Yankee administration a few days after the invasion refer to the agreement between the governments of Cuba and Grenada by virtue of which our country was to send Grenada 27 military advisers, which could later be increased to 40 — figures that coincide with the ones Cuba published on the number of advisers, which was 22 on the day of the attack, to which were added a similar number of translators and service personnel from the mission.

Nowhere in those documents that they have been crowing over is there anything that has anything to do with the idea of military bases in Grenada.

What they do show is that the weapons that the Soviet Union supplied to the government of Grenada for the army and the



Grenadian workers build housing plant country, it was able to help Grenada com



Grenadian hospital destroyed by U.S. bombing for imperialist domination and the unj

militia were subject to a clause that prohibited their export to third countries. This refutes the idea that Grenada had been turned into an arsenal for supplying weapons to subversive, terrorist organizations, as the present U.S. administration likes to call the revolutionary and national liberation movements. No weapons ever left Grenada for any other country, and, therefore, Reagan can never prove that any did.

The assertion that Cuba was about to invade and occupy Grenada is so unrealistic, absurd, crazy, and alien to our principles and international policy that it cannot even be taken seriously. What has been proven is the absolutely scrupulous way in which we refrained from meddling in the internal affairs of that country, in spite of our deep affection for Bishop and our total rejection of Coard and his group's conspiracy and coup, which could serve only the interests of imperialism and its plans for destroying the Grenada revolution.

The messages containing precise, categorical instructions to our embassy in Grenada, which have been widely publicized by the government of Cuba, constitute irrefutable proof of the clear position of principles maintained by the leadership of our party and state with regard to the internal events in Grenada.

Civilian status of Cubans

The civilian status of the vast majority of the Cuban cooperation personnel in Grenada has been shown to the whole world by the hundreds of foreign journalists who saw them arriving in our country and who



Grenada Government Information Service

with materials donated by Cuba: "Even though Cuba is a small, underdeveloped country."



s: "What a high price our peoples have paid in blood, sacrifice, poverty, and mournful social systems it has imposed on our nations."

were able to interview each and every one of them.

Nearly 50 percent of them were over 40 years old. Who could question their status as civilian cooperation personnel and workers with long years of experience on their jobs?

When the U.S. government spokesmen asserted that there were from 1,000 to 1,500 Cubans in Grenada at the time of the invasion and that hundreds of them were still fighting in the mountains, Cuba published the exact number of Cuban citizens who were in Grenada on the day of the invasion — 784, including diplomatic personnel with their children and other relatives.

The agencies that sent them and the kind of work they did were also reported, as well as the instructions given them to fight in their work areas and camps if attacked, and the fact that it was impossible — according to the information we had — that hundreds might still remain in the mountains.

Later, the names and jobs of all cooperation workers were published, as well as the known or probable situation of each one.

The facts have shown that the information provided by Cuba was absolutely true. There isn't a single fact in all that information that could be proven false.

U.S. initiated fighting

The assertion that the Cubans initiated the acts of hostility is equally false and cynical.

The irrefutable truth is that the Cubans

were sleeping and their weapons were stored at the time of the air drop on the runway and around the camps. They had not been distributed. There weren't enough to go around, and they weren't distributed until the landing was already underway. And that is when the Cuban personnel went to the places assigned to them for that emergency.

Even so, our personnel, now organized and armed, had time to see the U.S. paratroopers regrouping on the runway and the first planes landing. That was the invader's weakest moment. If the Cubans had fired first, they would have killed or wounded dozens — perhaps hundreds — of U.S. soldiers in those early hours.

What is strictly historical and strictly true is that the fighting began when the U.S. troops advanced toward the Cubans in a belligerent way.

It is also true that when a group of unarmed cooperation personnel was captured, they were used as hostages and forced to lead the way in front of the U.S. soldiers.

Treacherous, surprise attack

The invasion of Grenada was a treacherous surprise attack, with no previous warning at all — just like Pearl Harbor, just like the Nazis. The note from the government of the United States to the government of Cuba on Tuesday, October 25, in an attempted response to our note of Saturday, October 22, was delivered at 8:30 in the morning, three hours after the landing had taken place and an hour and a half after the

U.S. troops began attacking our compatriots in Grenada.

Actually, on the afternoon of the 25th, the U.S. government sent the government of Cuba a deceitful note that led us to believe the fighting would cease in a reasonable and honorable manner, thus avoiding greater bloodshed. Although we immediately responded to that note, accepting that possibility, what the U.S. government did was to land the 82nd Airborne Division at dawn on the 26th and attack with all its forces the Cuban position that was still resisting.

Is this the way a serious government behaves? Is this the way to warn of an attack? Was this the way to avoid greater bloodshed?

Mr. Scoon blatantly declared that he approved of the invasion but that he had not previously asked anyone to invade Grenada. A few days after the landing, Mr. Scoon — lodged in the *Guam* helicopter carrier — signed a letter officially requesting the intervention. Reagan could not prove any of his false assertions.

As a pretext for keeping the *Vietnam Heroico* — which was in the port of St. George's on the day of the invasion — from being used as a means of transportation for evacuating the Cuban hostages from Grenada, it was alleged that it carried special weapons. Its captain was immediately asked if by any chance he carried weapons onboard, and the only thing that was determined was that it had just one fearful weapon — its name: Vietnam.

Slandorous charge

The slanderous charge that Cuba had given instructions to carry out actions against U.S. citizens in other countries was given a worthy, official and public reply based on the reality, proven by the history of the revolution, that Cuba has always been opposed to acts of reprisal against innocent people.

The government of the United States has not even condescended to make known the number of people arrested nor the figure of Grenadian losses, including civilian losses. A hospital for the mentally ill was bombed, killing dozens of patients.

And where is Mr. Reagan's promise that U.S. troops would withdraw in a week? President Reagan himself in his first address to the U.S. people, at 8:30 a.m. on the day of the invasion, in a speech prepared before the landing, stated that the situation was under control.

That same day, his own spokesman described the resistance the invading forces were facing. The military parade the Pentagon had planned to hold in four hours did not take into account the tenacious and heroic resistance of the Cuban cooperation personnel and of the Grenadian soldiers.

Who, then, has told the truth, and who has cynically lied about the events in Grenada? No foreign journalists — not even those from the United States — were allowed to see and report on the events on the spot.

The pretext that this prohibition was a security measure for the journalists is both superficial and ridiculous.

What they obviously wanted was to monopolize and manipulate the information so they could lie without hindrance to world public opinion, including the people

of the United States. This was the only way they could spread deliberate lies and falsehoods of all kinds — which would be difficult to clear up and refute after their initial impact and effect on the people of the United States.

Even in this, the method used by the U.S. administration was fascist.

What is left now, objectively, of those 19 assertions?

Where are the silos for strategic missiles that were being built in Grenada?

Impact on U.S. public opinion

But all those lies that the world did not believe, told by the U.S. president and his spokesmen, made a tremendous impact on U.S. public opinion.

Moreover, the invasion of Grenada was presented to the U.S. people as a great victory for Reagan's foreign policy against the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement. It was linked to the tragic death of 240 U.S. soldiers in Beirut, to the memory of the hostages in Iran, to the humiliating defeat in Vietnam and the resurgence of the United States as an influential power on the world scene. A dirty, dishonest appeal was made to U.S. patriotism, to national pride, to the grandeur and glory of the nation.

This was how they got a majority of the U.S. people — it is said that it was 65 percent at first and then 71 percent — to support the monstrous crime of invading a sovereign country without any justification, the reprehensible method of launching a surprise attack, the press censorship and all the other procedures the U.S. government used for invading and justifying its invasion of Grenada.

Hitler acted the same way when he occupied Austria in 1938 and annexed Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia in 1938 in the name of German pride, German grandeur and glory, and the happiness and security of German subjects.

If a poll had been taken in Hitler Germany at that time, in the midst of the chauvinistic wave unleashed by the Nazis, around 80 or 90 percent of the people would have approved of those aggressions.

The deplorable, truly dangerous fact — not only for the peoples of the Caribbean, Central and Latin America, but for all the people of the world — is that, when world opinion unanimously denounced the war-mongering, aggressive, unjustifiable action that violated people's sovereignty and all international norms and principles, most of the United States — manipulated, disinformation and deceived — supported the monstrous crime committed by their government.

U.S. politicians

There is something even more disturbing: when this about-face was effected in U.S. public opinion, many U.S. politicians who initially had opposed these events ended up by condoning Reagan's actions, and the press — censored, humiliated, and kept at a distance from the events — ended up moderating its complaints and criticism.

Are these, perchance, the virtues of a society where the opinion and the political and the informational institutions can be grossly manipulated by its rulers, as they were in German society in the time of fascism?

Continued on next page

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Continued from preceding page

Where is the glory, the grandeur and the victory in invading and defeating one of the tiniest countries in the world, of no economic or strategic significance?

Where is the heroism in fighting a handful of workers and other civilian cooperation personnel whose heroic resistance — in spite of the surprise element, the shortage of ammunition, and their disadvantages in terms of terrain, arms, and numbers — against the air, sea, and land forces of the most powerful imperialist country in the world forced it to bring in the 82nd Airborne Division when the last stronghold was being defended at dawn on October 26 by barely 50 fighters?

The United States did not achieve any victory at all — not political or military or moral. If anything, it was a pyrrhic military victory and a profound moral defeat.

As we pointed out on another occasion, the imperialist government of the United States wanted to kill the symbol of the Grenada revolution, but the symbol was already dead. The Grenadian revolutionaries themselves destroyed it with their split and their colossal errors.

We believe that, after the death of Bishop and his closest comrades, after the army fired on the people, and after the party and the government divorced themselves from the masses and isolated themselves from the world, the Grenadian revolutionary process could not survive.

In its efforts to destroy a symbol, the United States killed a corpse and brought the symbol back to life at the same time. Was it for this that it challenged international law and won the repudiation and condemnation of the world?

Does it feel such contempt for the rest of humanity? Is that contempt really so great that Mr. Reagan's appetite for breakfast on November 3 was not at all affected, as he declared before the press?

If unfortunately all this were true — and it seems to be — the invasion of Grenada should lead us to an awareness of the realities and dangers that threaten the world.

Mr. [Thomas] O'Neill, speaker of the House of Representatives, said that it was sinful that a man who was totally uninformed and ignorant about international problems and who doesn't even read the documents was president of the United States. If we consider that the United States has powerful sophisticated means of conventional and nuclear warfare and that the president of that country can declare war without consulting anyone, it is not only sinful but truly dramatic and tragic for all humanity.

An air of triumph

An air of triumph reigns in the Reagan administration. The echoes of the last shots in Grenada have barely died away and already there is talk of intervening in El Sal-



Cubans demonstrate October 26 against invasion of Grenada: "Our country might be wiped off the face of the earth, but it will never be conquered and subjugated."

vador, Nicaragua, and even Cuba, in the Middle East and southern Africa.

Imperialism's acts of interference and military aggression against progressive countries and national liberation movements continue unabated.

In Europe, the first of the 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles are already being deployed, surrounding the USSR and other socialist countries with a deadly ring of nuclear weapons that can reach their territories in a matter of minutes.

Not just the small countries, but all humanity is threatened. The bells tolling today for Grenada may toll tomorrow for the whole world.

The most prestigious and experienced scientists and doctors assure us that humanity could not survive a global nuclear war. The destructive power of these stockpiled weapons is a million times greater than that of the unsophisticated bombs that wiped out the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in just a few seconds. This is what the Reagan administration's aggressive, warmongering policy can lead to.

Meanwhile, the arms race is already a reality in the midst of the worst economic crisis the world has witnessed since the '30s. And, with the problems of development of the vast majority of the peoples in the world still to be solved, who can feel confidence in a government that acts as precipitately, rashly and cynically as the U.S. government did in Grenada?

Reagan did not even bother to listen to the advice of a government as closely linked to him politically, ideologically, and militarily as the British government.

It is not strange that, in a poll taken just a few days ago, more than 90 percent of the British people were categorically opposed to the United States' having the unilateral prerogative of using the cruise missiles that are being deployed there.

Malvinas War

In our hemisphere, just a year and a half ago, a NATO power used sophisticated war means to shed Argentine blood in the Malvinas. The Reagan administration supported that action. It did not even consider the Organization of American States or the so-called security pacts and agreements, but scornfully pushed them aside.

Now, basing itself on the alleged request of a phantasmagoric organization of micro-states in the eastern Caribbean, it has invaded Grenada and shed Caribbean blood and Cuban blood.

Nicaragua paid a price of over 40,000 lives for freedom, and nearly a thousand more sons of that noble people have been killed in attacks made by mercenary bands organized, trained, and equipped by the U.S. government.

In El Salvador, over 50,000 people have been murdered by a genocidal regime whose army is equipped, trained, and directed by the United States.

In Guatemala, more than 100,000 have died at the hands of the repressive system installed by the CIA in 1954, when it overthrew the progressive Arbenz government.

How many have died in Chile since imperialism staged the overthrow and assassination of Salvador Allende? How many

have died in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, and Bolivia in the last 15 years?

What a high price

What a high price our peoples have paid in blood, sacrifice, poverty, and mourning for imperialist domination and the unjust social systems it has imposed on our nations.

Imperialism is bent on destroying symbols, because it knows the value of symbols, of examples and of ideas. It wanted to destroy them in Grenada, and it wants to destroy them in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba.

But symbols, examples, and ideas cannot be destroyed. When their enemies think they have destroyed them, what they have actually done is made them multiply. In trying to wipe out the first Christians, the Roman emperors spread Christianity throughout the world. Likewise, all attempts to destroy our ideas will only multiply them.

Grenada has already multiplied the patriotic conviction and fighting spirit of the Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, and Cuban revolutionaries. It has been proved that the best U.S. troops can be fought and that they are not feared. The imperialists must not ignore the fact that they will encounter fierce resistance wherever they attack a revolutionary people. Let us hope that their pyrrhic victory in Grenada and their air of triumph don't go to their heads, leading them to commit serious, irreversible errors.

They will not find in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba the particular circumstances of revolutionaries divided among themselves and divorced from the people that they found in tiny Grenada.

In more than three years of heroic struggle, the Salvadoran revolutionaries have become experienced, fearsome, and invincible fighters. There are thousands of them who know the land inch by inch, veterans of dozens of victorious battles, who are accustomed to fighting and winning — when the odds are 10 to 1 against them — against elite troops, trained, armed, and advised by the United States. Their unity is more solid and indestructible than ever.

In Nicaragua, the imperialists would have to confront a deeply patriotic and revolutionary people that is united, organized, armed, and ready to fight and that can never be subjugated. With regard to Cuba, if in Grenada, the imperialists had to bring in an elite division to fight against a handful of isolated men struggling in a small stronghold, lacking fortifications, a thousand miles from their homeland, how many divisions would they need against millions of combatants fighting on their own soil alongside their own people?

Cuba will never be conquered

Our country — as we have already said on other occasions — might be wiped off the face of the earth, but it will never be conquered and subjugated.

In the present conditions of our continent, a U.S. war against a Latin American people would raise the morale of all the peoples of Latin America and turn their feelings against the aggressors. A bottom-

less abyss would be opened between peoples, who — because they are in the same hemisphere — are called upon to live with one another in peace, friendship, and mutual respect and cooperation.

The experiences of Grenada will be examined in detail to extract the utmost benefit from them for use in case of another attack against a country where there are Cuban cooperation personnel or against our own homeland.

The Cubans who were captured and virtually turned into hostages had an unforgettable experience of what a country occupied by Yankee invading troops is like.

The physical and psychological treatment given the cooperation personnel who were taken prisoner was insulting and a cause for indignation. Promises of all kinds were made to each of them to try to get them to go to the United States. But they were not able to break their steel-like staunchness. Not a single one deserted his homeland.

There was no manipulation of the news, nothing was hidden from the people in our country. All reports concerning the invasion that were received directly from Grenada were transmitted to our population just as they arrived, even though the ones on October 26 turned out to be exaggerated.

As a matter of principle, at no time were efforts made to play down the seriousness of the situation or to minimize the magnitude of the dangers facing our compatriots.

We are deeply grateful to the International Committee of the Red Cross for its interest, dedication, and efficient efforts to identify and evacuate the wounded, sick, and other prisoners and the dead as quickly as possible.

We are also grateful to the governments of Spain and Colombia for the immediate efforts they made in this regard.

Grenadian, U.S. mothers

In bidding farewell to our beloved brothers who died heroically in combat, fulfilling with honor their patriotic and internationalist duties, and in expressing our deepest solidarity with their loved ones, we do not forget that there are Grenadian mothers and U.S. mothers who are crying for their sons who died in Grenada.

We send our condolences to the mothers and other relatives of the Grenadians who were killed and also to the mothers and other relatives of the U.S. soldiers who died — because they, who also suffer from the loss of close relatives, are not to blame for their government's warmongering, aggressive, irresponsible actions. They, too, are its victims.

Every day, every hour, every minute — at work, at our studies and our combat positions — we will remember our comrades who died in Grenada.

The men we bury

The men whom we will bury this afternoon fought for us and for the world. They may seem to be corpses. Reagan wants to make corpses of all our people — men, women, the elderly and the children! He wants to make a corpse out of all humanity.

But the peoples shall struggle to preserve their independence and their lives! They will struggle to prevent the world from becoming a huge cemetery! They will struggle and pay the price necessary for humanity to survive.

However, they are not corpses! They are symbols. They did not even die in the land where they were born. There, far away from Cuba, where they were contributing with the noble sweat of their internationalist work in a country poorer and smaller than ours, they were also able to shed their blood and offer their lives. But in that trench, they knew they were also defending their own people and their own homeland.

There can be no purer way to express the generosity of human beings and their willingness to make sacrifices. Their example will be multiplied, their ideas will be multiplied in us. No power, no weapons, no forces can ever prevail over the patriotism, internationalism, feelings of human brotherhood, and communist consciousness which they embody.

We shall be like them, in work and in combat!

*Patria o muerte!
Venceremos!*



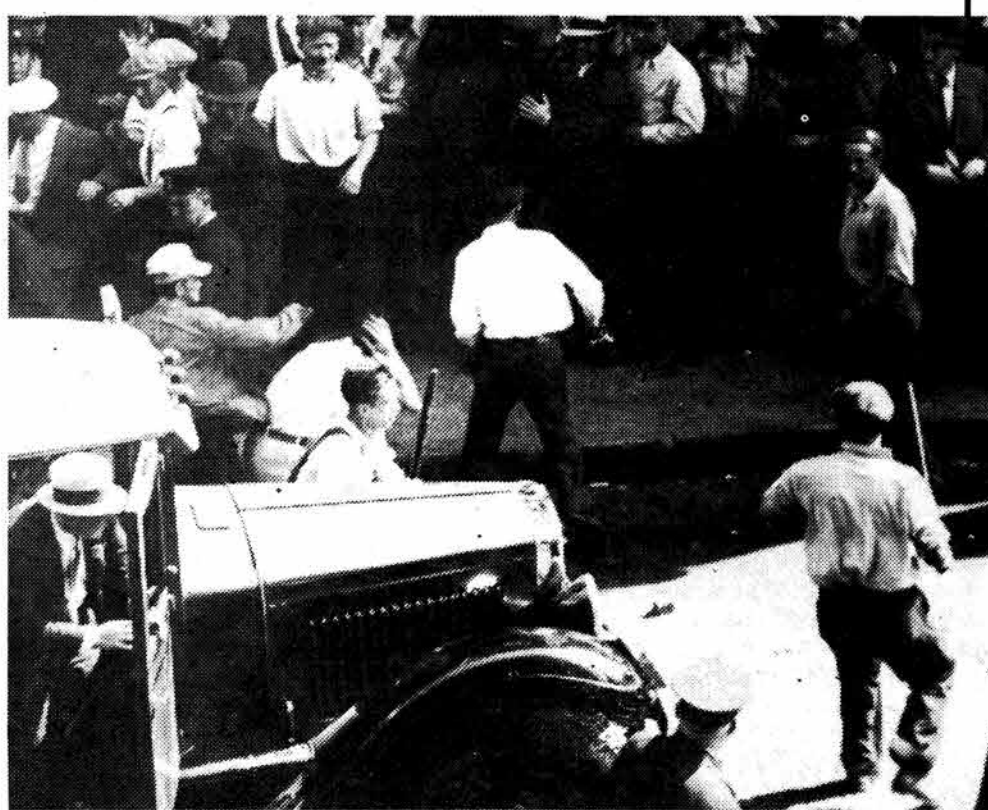
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At right, bosses' deputized goons arrive to attack Teamster pickets in 1934 battle to make Minneapolis a union town. Employers continue today resisting union organization. Shipyard workers of United Steelworkers Local 8888 (left) in Newport News, Virginia, won nationwide labor support in 1978-79 fight for union recognition and contract. This is the kind of union solidarity and militancy it will take to push back bosses' attacks.

ceeded at the same time that dictatorial rule was being reimposed within the AFL. Bit by bit, such rank-and-file democracy as had been established during the upsurge was undermined. The unions were gradually brought under the domination of an officialdom ready to act in "partnership" with the employing class.

Roosevelt took advantage of the opportunity provided by these developments to implement the imperialists' key objective at the time. He lined up the labor bureaucracy in support of preparations for war, and, as a necessary corollary, he launched a witch-hunt against militants who resisted his foreign policy. This was made all the easier for him by labor's previous failure to take the independent political road, which left the capitalists in unchallenged control of the government. He had a free hand to use a wide range of repressive devices, including assignment of the FBI to a primary role as political police.

Such were the circumstances in 1941 under which General Drivers Local 544 clashed with IAT President Tobin over the war issue. By then adverse developments nationally had thrust us into a position where we had few reliable allies and many enemies. Under FBI guidance, opportunists within the local union had organized a clique, which acted in collusion with Tobin and with various governmental agencies in attacking the democratically

elected leadership. Tobin's goons, aided by hacks from the national AFL [American Federation of Labor], joined in the assault. Those reactionary forces were backed up by the city administration, the county courts, and the state government. On top of that, Roosevelt moved against us on three more fronts: through the National Labor Relations Board, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Department of Justice.

Faced with so formidable a combination of foes, an isolated local union had no way of successfully defending itself. We were reduced to fighting a rearguard action, doing so as skillfully as possible in an effort to minimize the losses suffered in our defeat.

Local 544's victimization was the prelude to a larger tragedy. From then on the workers collectively have paid a heavy price for the class-collaborationist policies imposed upon the trade unions by the bureaucracy's betrayal. Included in the cost were U.S. entry into World War II and subsequent wars in Korea and Vietnam. So long as monopoly capitalism exists, the danger of further imperialist attacks on other countries will continue, along with the threat of nuclear holocaust.

Here at home, meanwhile, the boss class has imposed harsh restraints upon the trade unions through antilabor laws, court injunctions, outrageous fines, and frame-ups of militants. Inflation and unemployment have reduced living standards, eroded job security, and thrust many into poverty. Oppressed nationalities, especially, have suffered from deprivation of their economic, social, and democratic rights. Women continue to face discrimination on every level. The masses generally have experienced attacks on their civil liberties as efforts to organize in defense of their interests have been disrupted by the FBI, CIA, and other agencies of the political cops. In addition, capitalist greed has led to dismantling and decay of social services, rape of the environment, and other crimes against the people.

One of the major factors preventing effective struggle against economic and social deterioration has been accelerated degeneration of the labor officialdom since World War II. Right after the war, from 1945 to 1947, bureaucratic control over the trade unions was temporarily shaken by a massive resurgence of working-class militancy. But once again the misleaders of labor succeeded in preventing the formation of an independent labor party and thus kept the workers tied to capitalist politics. Since that time they have moved, one step after another, toward intensified subservience to the ruling class.

So far as officials in the upper strata of the union bureaucracy are concerned personally, capitalism works fine. Huge salaries, expense accounts, and other emoluments enable them to maintain high living standards. Job security — for themselves — is implicit in their control over the workers mass organizations, as is assurance of lavish pensions when they re-

tire. For those reasons the union bureaucrats, like the bosses, consider anyone who wants to change the existing system an "irresponsible radical."

But there is one catch in this otherwise ideal situation for the labor skates. An illusion must be maintained that they are effectively representing the workers in collective bargaining. Without that false face their basic role as de facto agents of the bosses would be exposed, and a majority in the union ranks would begin looking for a way to do a housecleaning job on them. To avoid that danger they must get occasional concessions for the membership from the employers. On balance, these must be sufficient to convince a considerable section of the workers that the class-collaborationist line followed by the bureaucrats is acceptable. In that way, so long as the economy is on the upgrade, a relatively stable component within the union membership can be maintained for use in suppressing internal revolts.

If the bureaucracy mobilized the ranks

especially, the top union officials play the role of lickspittles. That has been illustrated most fully in the criminal support given by George Meany and his cohorts to the brutal assault on the Vietnamese by the U.S. imperialists and in their reactionary opposition to the American antiwar movement.

Up to now the labor bureaucrats have gotten away with this treachery. But new trends are developing that will undermine their control over the workers movement. U.S. imperialism is falling into increasing difficulties at the center of the developing world capitalist crisis. Under these circumstances the labor bureaucracy's class-collaborationist practices will have less and less success in obtaining collective-bargaining concessions from the employers. And, at the same time, the ruling class will move in devious ways — as in New York City's contrived financial crisis — to protect capitalist profits by driving down the workers living standards.

As these trends persist and worsen, the

“Up to now the labor bureaucrats have gotten away with this treachery. But new trends are developing that will undermine their control over the workers movement.”

for struggle to win the needed concessions from the bosses, however, a climate would be created in which its control over the unions would be jeopardized. So another course has been taken. The top labor officials have supported the ruling class on most social and political policy questions, hoping to get in return at least minimal employer responses to the workers' economic demands.

These officials have gone a long way toward converting the trade unions into auxiliary instruments of repression acting in collusion with the capitalist authorities. Among the consequences has been the clamping of collective bargaining into an iron vise. One jaw consists of restrictions imposed upon organized labor by the bosses' government. The other takes the form of bureaucratic controls within the unions themselves. Through this combination of repressive forces the workers have been subjected to steadily intensifying exploitation at the hands of the capitalists.

An equally reprehensible situation exists concerning struggles by doubly oppressed layers of society, such as oppressed nationalities and women. Those movements are largely ignored, or at best given little more than lip service, by the trade union bureaucracy. If, however, the ruling class shows open hostility toward a particular oppositional tendency — as it did in the case of Malcolm X, for example — the labor fakers are quick to oppose that tendency as well.

In the sphere of capitalist foreign policy,

workers are bound to become more combative, more disenchanted with official union policy, more rebellious. The top bureaucrats, whose domination over the unions will thus become threatened, are certain to react viciously. They will intensify the present use of red-baiting and violence against internal oppositions; and, parallel with such actions, their self-serving alliance with the employers and the capitalist government will be further tightened.

As that contradictory situation unfolds, opposition to the present official union policies can be organized on an expanding scale. Large numbers of workers can be brought, in stages, toward adoption of a class-struggle program required to defend their interests — if the left-wing forces in their midst proceed with the necessary patience and astuteness.

It would be unwise, for instance, to begin with efforts to vote incumbent officials out of office so that correct policies might be instituted forthwith by a new leadership. The bureaucrats could normally counter such a move rather easily at the present juncture. They would need only to direct an appeal to the more backward sections of the union membership, claiming no more was involved than the "outs" trying to dump the "ins." Since arguments in favor of new policies would seem rather remote to many workers upon first hearing them, the reactionaries could easily fog the issues. There would be no real prospect of immediately ousting the incumbents, and a false impression could be created that they

Continued on next page.

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Socialist strategy in the labor movement

Continued from preceding page
are immune to removal through an election contest.

If the rebel forces proceed, instead, by pressing at the outset for official adoption, or at least tolerance, of policies that will enable the workers to fight off the capitalist assault on their living standards, better results can be obtained. As things get worse under the present officers, broadening layers of the membership will become more open-minded toward new ideas and methods of action. Awareness will grow that organized labor is on the wrong track programmatically. Pressures will mount for a major shift in line. When the incumbents fail to respond adequately, more and more workers will come to recognize that the leadership personnel must be changed, and they will be ready to act accordingly.

Moves toward reconstruction of the leadership in the foregoing manner will very likely become possible mainly at the local union level during the first phase of developments. But action at that level will in itself serve to put heavy pressure on the lower echelons of the general bureaucratic structure. Instead of the bureaucracy splitting the workers to maintain its sway, the workers will be able to split the bureaucracy in their fight for rank-and-file control over the unions.

Efforts toward that end can be set into motion along the lines followed in bringing William S. Brown, Patrick J. Corcoran, John T. O'Brien, and other union officials over to the workers' side in the fight during the 1930s to build a more effective Teamster organization. (See *Teamster Rebellion*, chapter 4, and *Teamster Power*, chapters 13 and 17.) A recent positive example was the 1977 Steelworkers Fight Back campaign of Ed Sadlowski, who is a district director, and other staff members and local officials of the United Steelworkers against the encrusted, class-collaborationist I.W. Abel bureaucracy.

The relevant elements of the class-struggle program needed by the trade unions should be introduced realistically on a transitional basis. In that way the unfolding labor radicalization can be guided from its present stage toward higher forms of development along the following lines:

Proposals for immediate action should center on problems involving the workers' urgent material needs and the defense of their democratic rights. It is also important that the fight around those issues be attuned to the existing levels of consciousness in the union membership. Then, as significant forces are set into motion through that approach, several things take place. Rank-and-file militancy rises. Increasingly sharp clashes with the bosses result, during which the workers begin to shed class-collaborationist illusions and acquire class-struggle concepts. Lessons thus learned during industrial conflicts can prepare the union ranks for an advance toward action on a political plane. In short, a foundation

is laid from which to initiate transformation of the trade unions themselves into instruments capable of developing far-reaching revolutionary perspectives.

As the transitional process from where they are to where they should be continues, the workers' attention can be focused on broad questions which go far beyond day-to-day issues on the job. They will learn in that way to generalize their thinking in class terms, and the development of a conscious anticapitalist outlook will follow.

If, during the course of their experiences in struggle, the labor militants are helped to analyze the causes of the social and economic ills facing them; if they are aided in perceiving the essence of an outlived capitalism — they will learn that the existing problems are not incidental and episodic at all, but the consequence of a deep structural crisis of the system. They will then see why governmental control must be taken away from the capitalists by labor and its allies.

Basic to such a rise in the workers' class consciousness is understanding that a fundamental change must take place in the role of the trade unions, which constitute the existing form of mass organization among the workers in this country. These broad instruments of struggle must be turned away from reliance upon so-called friends among the capitalist politicians. They must break off the self-defeating collaboration with the bosses' government, that has been imposed by bureaucratic misleaders. The unions must be transformed into mechanisms for independent and militant

workers will be faced with an increasingly urgent need to act on the new and higher plane of politics.

Therefore, efforts to build an effective left wing in the trade unions will run into insurmountable obstacles unless the workers move toward resolving the problem of political action. A vigorous campaign must be conducted to break the labor movement from subordination to capitalist politics and to launch an independent labor political organization. This campaign will have to focus initially on educational propaganda for a change in labor's political course, but it should not be conducted in an abstract, routine manner. Ample opportunity will be found to concretize the propaganda by drawing the lessons of setbacks caused by the misuse of labor's inherent political strength. This can lay the basis for an advance, as soon as it becomes realistic, to an agitational campaign designed to convince the ranks of the urgency of forming a labor party.

In the process of creating their own mass party, based upon and controlled by the trade unions, the organized workers can draw unorganized, unemployed, and undocumented sections of their class into a broad political alliance. Labor will then be in a position to act both in a more unified manner and through advanced forms of struggle.

The workers will learn to generalize their needs, as a class, and address their demands on a political basis to the capitalists, as a class. Political confrontation of that kind — for example, the nationalization of

In addition, the experience of the Vietnam War holds an important lesson for the trade union movement. The labor bureaucrats sided with the imperialist aggressors in that conflict, against the welfare of people in the U.S. and in violation of the rights of another nation. But many in this country, who had the insight and courage to uphold the democratic principle of self-determination for colonial peoples, opposed the assault on the Vietnamese. Taking to the streets in vast protest demonstrations, they organized one of the most powerful mass movements in U.S. history. This domestic resistance made it politically untenable for the U.S. capitalists to proceed at all hazards with their attempt to conquer the people of Vietnam, who defended themselves heroically and effectively. In the end the imperialists were frustrated and defeated. The intended victims established the right to manage their country's affairs as they may choose. Here at home, all who are fighting for their own democratic rights, for changes in social and economic policies, acquired new struggle momentum from the setback dealt to the U.S. imperialists abroad.

Organized labor can profit by following the example set by the antiwar movement. If trade unionists aid the victims of U.S. imperialism in other countries — and at the same time back all progressive causes within the United States — they will earn extensive support for their own struggles. An anticapitalist united front can thus be built, both nationally and internationally, and, as it grows in strength, the relationship of class forces will be changed to the decisive advantage of the workers and their allies.

During the advance toward attainment of those goals yet another vital problem must be kept in mind. History shows that, as mass resistance to the capitalist exploiters grows, they will supplement the government's repressive role with extralegal forms of attack on those in rebellion. Some aspects of that trend have already become a familiar part of industrial and social struggles in this country: use of hired thugs and vigilantes against strikers, for instance, and of Ku Klux Klan-type terrorism against oppressed nationalities. Those are only forerunners of even harsher measures to come as the social crisis gets more acute. The most diabolical of the extralegal onslaughts will take the form of a fascist movement — heavily financed by monopoly capital — which will try to smash the trade unions and other protective organizations of the oppressed masses.

In looking for means of defense against such assaults, it would be fatal to rely on the bosses' government, no matter how liberal its face. Capitalist politicians in public office are themselves tools of the ruling class, which instigates the legal and extralegal violence used to keep the masses in line. Therefore, these Democrats and Republicans will do nothing effective that cuts across the needs of their masters, which means they can be expected to shield and abet the repressive forces — surreptitiously, if not openly.

If those who become targets of capitalist violence are to protect themselves, they must prepare for self-defense, as required at each new stage of the class struggle. It is the duty of the trade unions, especially, to show initiative in this respect, and all potential victims of extralegal attacks should be drawn into a united defense movement on the broadest possible scale.

At every juncture in the unfolding social conflicts, the workers and their allies need guidance from a revolutionary socialist party. That is the reason for the existence of the Socialist Workers Party. Its scientific analysis of the class struggle provides in fullest measure the political consciousness and program that the anticapitalist movement must have. Therefore, it is uniquely qualified to shape the basic proposals, broad strategy, and tactical steps required for the most effective mass action.

In the course of events, increasing numbers of militants who come to recognize those facts will be ready to join in building such a party on an expanding scale, as they did in Minneapolis during the 1930s. As members of the revolutionary party, they will learn fundamentals involved in the fight against capitalist exploitation as well as lessons of past class struggles on a

Continued on Page 16

Trade unions must break off the self-defeating collaboration with the bosses' government and be transformed into mechanisms for independent and militant action.

action by the workers all along the line. Restrictions on the right to strike must be vigorously opposed and freedom to exercise that right firmly asserted. Internal union democracy must be established so that all questions can be decided on the basis of majority rule. Then, and only then, will organized labor manage to bring its full weight to bear in confrontations with the employers at the industrial level.

Whenever conflicts of significant magnitude erupt within industry today, the government intervenes on the employers' side; and this interference is bound to intensify as capitalist decay gets worse. From this it follows that trade union action alone will prove less and less capable of resolving the workers' problems, even on a limited basis. Objectively, industrial conflicts will assume more and more a political character, and even the most powerfully organized

a given industry under workers control — will raise labor action as a whole to a higher plane and at the same time impart new vigor to the continuing trade union struggles. Increased militancy within industry will serve, in turn, to reinforce activity in the political sphere. In that way interacting processes will develop through which the workers will attain greater class consciousness, more complete solidarity, and, hence, mounting ability to outfight the bosses.

Before unity of the exploited masses can be attained, however, still another of organized labor's existing policies must be thoroughly reversed. The labor movement must champion and give unqualified support to the demands of the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and other oppressed national minorities, and of women and youth.

As Leon Trotsky insisted in discussions during the 1930s, the American workers must learn to act politically and to think socially if they are to attain the class consciousness and solidarity needed to defeat the exploiters. This is the opposite of the narrow class-collaborationist course pursued by the labor bureaucracy and the privileged layers they reflect. Thus, as a matter of principle, the trade union movement must use its power to actively fight for such progressive demands as affirmative action programs against racial and sexual discrimination on the job, in the union, in hiring, housing, health care, and education; the right to abortion and child care; busing and bilingual, bicultural education; the right to a free college education for all youth.

If unconditional backing of that kind is given, the labor movement will be helping itself in a double sense. The strengthening of anticapitalist struggles on other fronts will make it harder for the employing class to concentrate its fire on the trade unions. The greater the scope of mass confrontations with the bosses' government, the more effectively will labor be able to involve its natural allies in the development of independent political action on a massive scale. This was true in the 1930s and it is even truer today, when women, oppressed nationalities, and workers under 20 have become the majority of the American work force and a substantial component of the union movement.

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Blacks in forefront of Grenada protests

Media covers up depth of opposition

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

"If the United States wants to restore democracy so much," said David Hood of the Grenada Revolutionary League, "why don't they go fight the apartheid regime of South Africa?" The audience of 300 Blacks greeted him with whoops and hollers. Hood was speaking at an October 25 rally in Harlem to protest the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Opposition to the U.S. war against Grenada is deepest among Blacks. This is reflected in discussions at the workplace, in polls, and in the many protest activities in the Black community and on college campuses. The big-business media has been trying to bury this news as part of its effort to make U.S. working people appear solidly behind Washington's invasion.

Hundreds of Black students gathered in protest on campuses such as the University of Pittsburgh and Cleveland State University. The Black United Front in New York organized a memorial meeting for the slain leaders of the Grenada revolution that drew 300 — including many Grenadians from Brooklyn's large West Indian community.

Many Black newspapers have spoken out against the U.S. invasion of the revolutionary Black island. The *Sun Reporter* of San Francisco has carried several front page articles blasting the invasion. *Big Red*, a Brooklyn newspaper, has had extensive coverage of the U.S. aggression, including columns on the legacy of the Grenada revolution for Black Americans. New York City's *Amsterdam News* has also placed news of the U.S. invasion on its front pages, and run columns explaining the Grenada invasion as part of Washington's general war aims in the Caribbean and Central America.

"In the wake of the planned and executed invasion of Grenada," says the *Amsterdam News* in an October 29 editorial, "President Reagan and his minions would have us believe that it was a matter of necessity for our marines and paratroopers to vanquish the leadership, army, and militia representing 110,000 Grenadians in order that 1,000 Americans there be protected, and Grenada be freed of Marxist influence."

"It is incredible," the editorial continues later, "that our government expects us to buy this additional BIG LIE, or indeed, sit still for it!"

Jesse Jackson, the Black civil rights leader seeking the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, also spoke out against the U.S. invasion. On November 6, three days after officially announcing his candidacy, Jackson appeared on CBS-TV's *60 Minutes*. When asked by reporter Mike Wallace, "Would you have sent troops to invade Grenada?" Jackson said, "Absolutely not."

"Why," asked Wallace.

"I think," Jackson said, "that we should have tried to negotiate the American students out — assuming they were in danger. And so far there is no conclusive evidence that they were in danger. I would not have participated in the press blackout, with its dictatorial overtones. When a general can decide that the press should not have the right to take the risk, then the American public is only left with a general and Secretary of Defense points of view, and has lost its right, as a civilian population, to help determine military policy."

A congressional delegation that recently toured Grenada was used to parade former critics of the Reagan administration's policy who now support the invasion. News about disagreements in the delegation was covered up.

Rep. Ronald Dellums, for example, was part of the delegation. So was Rep. Louis Stokes. The two Democratic congressmen are both members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and opposed the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Dellums and Stokes tried to counteract the media blackout on their views with a November 9 news conference of their own.

Dellums said he opposed the U.S. invasion from the beginning "because I do not

subscribe to the politics of violence and force, especially where constructive, peaceful alternatives are available."

"As a result of this inspection trip," Dellums continued, "not only has my initial assessment of the situation been confirmed, but I have found many new reasons to expand the scope of the questions that must be raised, and to insist on further congressional inquiries, because of our responsibilities under the Constitution."

Dellums and Stokes said that the CBC unanimously adopted their report on the situation in Grenada. "I believe," Dellums said, "that the troops should be returned home immediately."

National Black party congress meets

Continued from front page

conditionally the right of the Grenadian people themselves to determine how to resolve their own internal situation."

Turning to increased U.S. military backing for counterrevolutionaries attacking Nicaragua, Ras Tabasimu declared, "We condemn the Reagan administration and the Democrats in Congress for continuing and escalating aid to counterrevolutionaries in their attempts to overthrow the Sandinista government of Nicaragua and call for the immediate end to such aid and further attempts to destabilize that government."

Solidarity with the Grenada revolution and outrage against the U.S. invasion was a central theme throughout the congress. This was reflected in the activity of chapters and local organizing committees (LOCs) reported during the congress.

Many of the congress participants had been to Grenada either on NBIPP-organized tours or others and had been hosting forums in the Black community before Washington's invasion.

After the invasion, nearly every chapter and LOC initiated or participated in the many picket lines, forums, and meetings called to protest Washington's action. Congress participants brought leaflets and fact sheets they used to educate the Black community and others about what the Grenada revolution had accomplished and why the Reagan administration invaded.

The congress decided to continue these efforts. There was discussion about using January 15, the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., and March 13, the day the Provisional Revolutionary Government was established in Grenada, as focal points for national NBIPP activity.

The discussion also emphasized that it is important for NBIPP members to study and discuss the lessons of party building in Grenada in order to better organize here in the United States.

Another major agenda point was the Democratic Party presidential candidacy of Rev. Jesse Jackson and NBIPP's perspec-

Black rail workers awarded back pay

Blacks — and the entire labor movement — won an important victory on November 9. Burlington Northern, Inc., one of the country's largest rail carriers, agreed to award \$10 million in back pay to Blacks discriminated against by the company, according to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC).

In addition to the \$10 million back pay settlement, the commission said, the rail carrier also agreed that "rejected Black applicants who reapply will be given priority consideration for new jobs during the six-year term of the decree." The agency reported that under the hiring provisions of the agreement, "all such qualified applicants will receive an offer of employment," and this would result in about 5,000 job offers.

Blacks discriminated against in the company's Locomotive Engineer Training Pro-



Rally in Brooklyn denounces U.S. invasion of Grenada. Blacks have been most outspoken in factories and communities against criminal war.

tives for the 1984 elections.

The congress participants noted that there is a deepening political discussion taking place in the Black community on how to get political power to improve our situation. Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party presidential nomination and how to relate to it are a big part of that discussion.

NBIPP's charter defines its stance toward the Democratic and Republican parties. "Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours.... Their policies reveal contempt for the interests of Black people, and have existed solely for the maintenance of the existing political and socio-political system."

The congress discussion reflected the breath of opinions in the Black community. At least three positions emerged on how to relate to the 1984 elections, including Jackson's campaign. They were all in the context of how to build NBIPP as the discussion in the Black community deepens in 1984.

One of the positions noted the increased intensity of the attacks on the Black community under the Reagan administration and that his defeat would give the Black community some "breathing space." It urged that "critical support" be given to the Jackson campaign. Critical support was defined as actively participating in the meetings and other activities organized in support of the Jackson campaign while not endorsing Jackson's Democratic Party candidacy.

Another position called on Blacks to register and vote as independents and for NBIPP to intervene in the discussion among Black activists on what way to go forward. It opposed endorsement of Jackson's campaign.

A third position urged NBIPP to endorse Jackson's campaign and participate in his campaign committees.

More than 30 congress participants took the floor to discuss NBIPP's stance and

position on the Jackson candidacy and 1984 election perspectives. All recognized that Jackson's candidacy and the willingness of Black activists to give NBIPP a hearing posed a big challenge. Consequently, they gave serious attention to proponents of all points of view.

While recognizing the deepening attacks on Black rights under the Reagan administration, many congress participants pointed out that the problem was not just Reagan, but the capitalist system; and that both the Democratic and Republican parties supported that system. They defended Jackson's democratic right to run for president, but pointed out the problem is that he is running as a Democratic Party candidate.

Several expressed support for the position that NBIPP should call on Jackson to break with the Democratic Party and run as an independent. Still others expressed the need for a fusion of the first and second positions and for NBIPP to intervene in campaign events around Jackson's candidacy with NBIPP's charter and program. Congress participants also raised the need to solidarize with Jackson on specific questions where there was agreement, such as denouncing the U.S. invasion of Grenada and support for the Equal Rights Amendment for women.

The congress reached a consensus to continue the discussions around the Jackson campaign and the 1984 election perspectives. Everyone felt the need to bring the discussion back to their local areas and involve all NBIPP members as well as others in the process of discussion.

The congress also marked the end of the terms for NBIPP officers. It noted that while NBIPP has lost members, a leadership team is beginning to jell that can carry out the decisions made by the party as a whole.

Those elected to serve for the next two years include: national cochair Debra Watkins and Ron Daniels; presiding officers Kabili Tayari and Cathy Flewellen; and Bob Wells, treasurer.

The congress also mandated the Women's, Labor, Youth/Students, and Elderly national commissions to choose their chairs in the near future.

Texas cattle starve as surplus corn rots

Devastated by drought, many cattle ranchers across the South and West don't have enough feed for their livestock. They are demanding that the U.S. Department of Agriculture release grain stored at a government warehouse in Plainview, Texas.

There is nearly 23 million bushels of surplus corn in the storage facility — enough to feed starving Texas cattle for 300 days. Maintenance costs for storing the grain run taxpayers \$500,000 a month.

Farmers argue that the corn is molding in the warehouse and will not be fit for any use if it is not released soon.

So far federal officials have turned a deaf ear to the needs of the ranchers.

U.S. gov't steps up frame-up of Puerto Rican fighter

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

Alberto De Jesús Berríos, a Puerto Rican supporter of independence for his homeland, has been accused of misusing his Social Security number and is being held under an abusive bail of \$2 million. According to the Committee of Family and Friends of Alberto De Jesús, two days before completing a nine-month jail sentence for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury, De Jesús was visited in his Miami jail cell by FBI agents, who told him of the new charges.

De Jesús was arrested January 17 in Green Bay, Wisconsin, where he lived since 1980 with his companion María. He was then taken to Puerto Rico to testify before a federal grand jury. Without being accused of anything, his bail was set at \$250,000. Nor was he permitted to speak with a lawyer before appearing before the grand jury.

That grand jury supposedly investigated an ambush of a U.S. Navy bus that occurred in December 1979 in Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico. De Jesús had nothing to do with that incident, but he was forced to leave Puerto Rico in 1980, after being submitted to a cruel campaign of harassment and persecution by the FBI and police.

De Jesús was a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and actively participated in the support campaign for the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, most of which has been occupied by the U.S. Navy for more than 40 years.

Like many other Puerto Rican patriots, De Jesús refused to testify before the federal grand jury, whose objectives are to persecute and intimidate the Puerto Rican socialist and independence movements.

Even without being formally charged or tried, De Jesús was sentenced to nine months in jail far from his home because of his political convictions. In February they sent him to the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City. Two months later he was transferred to the Miami Correctional Center to isolate him even more from his family and friends. He was later transferred to a prison in Wisconsin.

With the recent fabricated charges against De Jesús for misuse of his social security number, the U.S. government and its repressive agencies show that they are

not slackening their effort to destroy all opposition to their policy, especially in their most important colony.

In the last two years, six Puerto Ricans, defenders of the island's independence, have been imprisoned by the federal grand jury. Like De Jesús, they were not jailed for having committed any crime; in fact, they haven't been charged with any. They are being punished for their political ideas and activities and for not testifying before this repressive institution.

When they are not jailed, they are murdered. In 1978 two independence fighters were murdered in an ambush carried out on the Cerro Maravilla in Puerto Rico by the Puerto Rican police and FBI agents. The scandal sparked by this double murder has forced the Puerto Rican Senate to take up the issue and to open a public investigation.

In 1979 Ángel Rodríguez Cristóbal, a Puerto Rican independence fighter, was murdered in a Florida prison cell. He was arrested with 20 other persons after a protest action on a Vieques beach used for target practice by the U.S. Navy.

Two indicted in murder of Asian

BY JOHN OLMSTED

DETROIT — After an eight-month international campaign of protests, Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz were indicted by a federal grand jury here November 2. They were charged with conspiracy to deprive Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American, of his civil rights and killing him because of his race.

Chin was celebrating at a prewedding party given by his friends at a bar in Highland Park, Michigan, on June 19, 1982, when Ebens and Nitz began yelling at him that Asians were stealing "American" jobs.

Ebens, a 44-year-old general foreman for Chrysler, and Nitz, 25, his stepson, called Chin a "chink" and "nip" and other racist names. Outside the bar, they beat him to death with a baseball bat.

When the case was tried this March, they were let off with a slap on the wrist: three years' probation and a fine.

In response to the indictments, Chin's mother, Lily Chin, said: "I'm grateful and hopeful, but happy I am not. My son is gone forever."

Helen Zia, president-elect of American Citizens for Justice, which was formed to protest the original sentences, called the indictments "a first step in possibly seeking justice" and "a culmination of eight months of hard work trying to convince the Department of Justice and the American people that not only was a murder committed, but it was a serious violation of Vincent Chin's civil rights."

Louisville rally hits racist merger

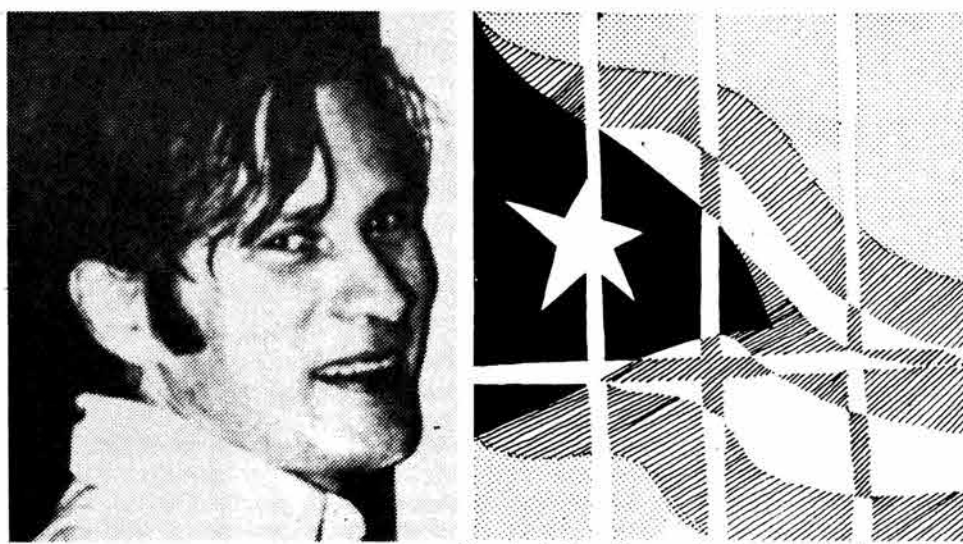
BY CRAIG HONTS

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — On October 23, a spirited rally of over 500 people in Louisville's predominantly Black West End blasted the proposal to merge the city and county governments here.

The merger proposal put forth by the city's bankers and large corporations is widely opposed in the Black community, because it would drastically reduce the role of the Black community in local government. The proposal would also eliminate bargaining rights for many city employees. For this reason it is strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO in Louisville and Jefferson County.

Rev. W.J. Hodge, pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist Church, attacked the merger plan for being "unfair, racist, elitist, and deceptive." He explained how Blacks, who now hold 4 of 12 seats on the Board of Aldermen in Louisville, would at most hold 5 of 27 seats on the merged government's council.

Hodge pointed out how small cities in



Comite de Familiares y Amigos de Alberto de Jesús

Alberto de Jesús: \$2 million bail for alleged misuse of Social Security number.

In June of that year five active supporters of Puerto Rican independence were sentenced in New York City to three years in prison for refusal to testify before a grand jury supposedly investigating the clandestine Puerto Rican group Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

In June four Puerto Rican activists were arrested in Chicago and accused of "seditious conspiracy to achieve Puerto Rican independence." The police and capitalist press are trying to link those four, and a Puerto Rican cultural center that was raided the following day, with terrorist activities. The four still remain in prison, and are subjected to restrictions that amount to mental and physical torture.

The Puerto Rican patriot Alejandrina Torres, one of those arrested, was kept for several months in a cell in the men's section of the prison "for security reasons" of the U.S. government, according to Juan Antonio Corretjer, a Puerto Rican independence leader and poet, in the newspaper *El Nuevo Día* on October 14.

On October 20, two other independence fighters, Federico Cintrón Fiallo and Carlos Noya Muratti, were found guilty of refusing to appear before the same grand jury. An earlier trial against them had to be declared a mistrial when the jury couldn't reach a verdict on Cintrón Fiallo's and Noya's guilt.

death cast all this in doubt."

The murder brought home the racist logic of the auto companies' campaign to blame Japanese workers for layoffs in the industry here. The United Auto Workers leadership, despite its agreement with that campaign, published an article in the union's magazine, *Solidarity*, denouncing the murder of Chin and racism against Japanese workers.

With the indictment of Ebens and Nitz the campaign for justice for Vincent Chin has won a significant victory. What remains is to bring the killers to justice.

Black Indpls. students attacked

INDIANAPOLIS — Black students here are being bused to the predominantly white suburban schools as part of a desegregation plan. Black parents are demanding representation on the suburban schools boards to have some say over their children's education. The busing program originally mandated two-way busing, but now — after a federal court ruling gutted the desegregation plan — only Black students participate.

This and other issues were discussed at an October 16 rally here, held at the Christ Missionary Baptist Church. More than 60 people attended the gathering, which was sponsored by a group of Blacks called Con-

cerned Parents. In addition to demanding the right to vote for suburban school boards, the Concerned Parents are supporting the NAACP's call for federally appointed monitors to oversee desegregation because of repeated attacks and threats against Black students.

Since the very beginning of one-way busing, racist thugs have tried to intimidate Black students attending suburban schools. In the fall of 1981 a busload of Black students was attacked by a club-wielding racist mob in broad daylight at a busy intersection in Perry Township. The racists who carried out this attack got off scot-free. Such "racial incidents" have continued.

Anita Funches, official spokeswoman for the Concerned Parents, told the *Militant* before the rally, "The news media has given a distorted view of the desegregation process. They have said that all is well, but all is not well. Because of the many problems, we decided that it was time for parents to start to become overt in our actions."

The parents group established a network to document attempts to intimidate Black students and to let parents know that racist attacks and threats are not isolated incidents.

The Indiana State Legislature has already refused to hear proposals for representing Blacks on the suburban school boards in Indianapolis, so the Concerned Parents are going to court. They are racing against time in this legal fight because the next school board election is in May and there won't be another election until 1988.

Just to begin this court battle will require between \$7,000 and \$10,500, and a door-to-door fundraising campaign is already under way. Over \$1,000 was collected at the rally and an additional \$1,000 was pledged by the Community Desegregation Advisory Council.

230,000 farms added to foreclosure suit

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N.D. — On October 28 U.S. federal district Judge Bruce Van Sickle expanded a class-action lawsuit by nine North Dakota farmers against the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) to include about 230,000 farmers with FmHA mortgages in 43 other states.

Van Sickle said his ruling would not apply in six states in which statewide class actions are pending or have already been certified.

The farmers included in the expanded lawsuit will also be covered by a temporary national injunction against the FmHA foreclosing on farmers with delinquent mortgages.

The judge had previously issued a more limited foreclosure injunction on May 5 covering 8,400 North Dakota borrowers.

According to Sarah Vogel of Grand Forks, North Dakota, attorney for the farmers, "This is going to stop the FmHA from commencing lawsuits against over 17,000 farmers nationwide."

North Dakota farmers are fighting the FmHA's repeated violations nationally of a 1978 loan deferral and foreclosure moratorium passed by Congress. The 1978 congressional action requires FmHA to refrain from foreclosing and defer loan payments if a farmer is in financial trouble through no fault of his own, said Van Sickle.

Judge Van Sickle will hold a hearing January 9 to decide whether the temporary injunction should be made permanent.

'Hanna K': a fine film that received bad press

Hanna K. Written by Franco Solinas, directed by Costa-Gavras, with Jill Clayburgh; a Universal release.

BY PAUL SIEGEL

Costa-Gavras' *Hanna K.* is a fine film that has received a bad press.

Vincent Canby in the *New York Times* found its sympathies to be confused and its story line to be unrelated to its political subject. Stanley Kauffmann in the cold-war "liberal," pro-Israeli *New Republic* took these two points and made them the basis for a savage attack on the film.

Costa-Gavras, he claimed, wanted his film to sell widely among Americans, who are generally sympathetic

FILM REVIEW

to Israel, and therefore obscured his political message, presenting it "with such patent cheapness, such marketplace ambiguity, that few people with strong views are likely to waste time and energy on it."

Likewise Kauffmann found that the "plot contrivances" of the story of Hanna Kaufman dwell "vulgarily" on the "concocted tribulations" of its heroine. It therefore "merits the dated and detestable tag, a Woman's Picture."

What Kauffmann calls "marketplace ambiguity" is in actuality the subtlety of a film which, although its political sympathies are entirely clear, renders reality in all its complexity. We may be sure that if Costa-Gavras had sacrificed the complexity of life for the simplicity of a cartoon, the Kauffmanns would have damned the film as simple-minded.

Palestinian situation

Through Selim Bakri, the Palestinian in *Hanna K.* who is charged with being a "terrorist infiltrator," Costa-Gavras gives artistic expression to the Palestinian situation. Selim claims he has smuggled himself into Israel only to reclaim his ancestral home, his legal efforts from abroad having been shunted aside and denied.

The village in which his family had lived for centuries, razed by the Israelis and given a new name, is now a kibbutz of Russian Jews. It is as if it had never been.

Selim himself, when he is a prisoner in the dock, is said sarcastically by the district attorney to have used so many aliases and false passports that even he cannot say who he is. To this Hanna, Selim's lawyer, responds quietly that maybe he does not exist at all.

Selim, in his desire to return home, is, of course, representative of the Palestinians. They have been uprooted, and their very existence as a nation has been denied. They can only regain their national identity through struggle, as is true of his personal identity.

What Canby and Kauffmann do not understand is that one can be a supporter of the Palestinian cause and also be sympathetic to Jews. In a moving speech, Hanna's

law professor, played by an Israeli member of Costa-Gavras' international cast, tells of the long history of Jewish oppression.

When Hanna, a child of Holocaust survivors, asks if this justifies oppressing another people in turn, Joshua, the district attorney, answers "Yes."

But what we see in *Hanna K.* is the truth of Marx's profound observation that a people which enslaves another people cannot itself be truly free. The conclusion of the film, which is symmetrical to the beginning, brings this out graphically.

The opening scene, grippingly ominous in its somber pre-dawn setting, had depicted the hunt for Selim. After a trained military dog led the Israeli soldiers to the well at the bottom of which he was hiding, a Palestinian house that had harbored him was blown up.

At the conclusion Hanna goes to her door to answer the bell, unprepared for the shock of what she sees on her threshold. It is the score or so of Israeli soldiers Joshua called for to apprehend Selim, armed to the teeth and starkly menacing.

Full of contradictions

Israeli society is shown to be full of contradictions, which are driving it into a blind alley. Hanna has gone to the university law school to become a lawyer. Yet, although women have this opportunity, the religious forces which find justification in the Bible for Zionist expansionism are so strong that Hanna cannot have an abortion in Israel, and at the famous Wailing Wall men and women are segregated in prayer. The legal cards are seen to be stacked against Selim, and yet a dedicated lawyer like Hanna is able to make use of the judicial process to have him declared innocent — but, not free to return to his home, he is expelled to Jordan.

When he makes his way back to Israel and there is a second trial, the case, thanks to Hanna's persistence, threatens to become a cause célèbre. Hanna is therefore offered a deal: Selim will go to South Africa, with which Israel has close relations, and will subsequently be able to make legal claim as a South African citizen to his family's property.

But what we have seen of Palestinians caught up in Israel's legal system does not inspire confidence as to future action on such a claim.

When Joshua suggests this deal, he remarks that Selim is light-skinned enough so that he would be accepted in South Africa.

The contradictions of Israeli society are also captured visually, notably in Selim's excursion into the old Arab section of Jerusalem, which is in sharp contrast to the modern new Israeli section.

The only scene filmed outside of Israel is said to be the opening scene, which was filmed in Italy, possibly because the Israeli authorities would have objected to it. As it is, there was a big Israeli press campaign after the making of the film, which was a source for foreign exchange for Israel, affirming that Costa-Gavras was prejudiced and questioning the judgment of the authorities in having



Universal City Studios, Inc.
Jill Clayburgh as Hanna Kaufman with director Constantin Costa-Gavras rehearsing a scene on location in Israel.

permitted the film to have been made there. It is still uncertain whether the film will be allowed to be shown in Israel and, if so, in what form.

Hanna

Hanna, a U.S.-born Jew, is seeking to find herself, as the Palestinian Selim is seeking to retrieve his identity. She leaves her French husband Victor because she feels she is unable to be an independent person in this marriage.

This is not at all the tear-jerker that Kauffmann indicates it is, as Hanna is far too spunky a person to indulge in self-pity or to appeal to sentimentalists. She refuses the easy-going Victor's offer to accept her baby as his own if she will return to him; she refuses Joshua's offer to do "the honorable thing."

If *Hanna K.* is a "woman's picture," it is a picture of and for today's women fighters for women's rights.

Jews, scattered in various countries, as the Palestinians are scattered, may be said to face choices similar to those of Hanna. Some may choose to seek assimilation into wealthy society, in which case they will lead a comfortable but stifling existence.

Others may also choose to live in or identify with Israel, with its increasingly militaristic spirit, which is typified by the arrogant, self-righteous native born Israeli Joshua.

The third choice that Jews can make is to become fighters for social justice. It is concern for social justice that leads Hanna to a clearer perception of the oppression of the Palestinians.

Newport News shipyard workers ratify contract

BY CHARLES BARNET

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — Members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888 have ratified their second contract with Newport News Shipbuilding. The vote was 2,318 for the proposed agreement and 1,166 against.

The November 1 voting outside the gates of the Tenneco Corp.'s giant shipyard came only days after the USWA crushed the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association

(PSA) in a union-representation election.

The PSA, a company union ousted by the USWA in a major battle in the late 1970s, obtained enough signatures on petitions earlier this year for a new election. Local 8888 mobilized a big campaign by workers to counter the PSA challenge.

The overwhelming Steelworker win on October 27 — 13,591 to 2,535 — prodded Tenneco into serious negotiations.

The new contract contains modest gains

in wages, pension and health benefits, and contract language. The agreement increases wages 25 percent over the 43-month life of the contract. There is an immediate 9 percent across-the-board hike followed by a 7 percent increase in March 1985 and another 7 percent hike in May 1986.

The contract also increases monthly pension benefits to retirees from \$14 to \$15 for each year of employment. The maximum major medical lifetime benefit increases from \$25,000 to \$250,000.

While the wage increases compare favorably to those negotiated in many other settlements across the country over the past few years, the contract, nevertheless, fell below the expectations of many workers.

Many shipyard workers calculate that since Tenneco is making huge profits and has a large backlog of navy contracts, they should share in the wealth. They are also still looking to make up for the many years of substandard PSA contracts.

Steelworkers who voted for the contract told the *Militant* that it was "the best the union could do with the number of members we have." Virginia's "right to work" for less laws mean union membership is not automatic.

One Steelworker explained: "We need more members. We wouldn't have enough support in a strike. You also have to remember that Christmas is right around the corner." Many workers believed to vote no would mean a strike.

The most frequently heard criticism of the contract was that "it's not enough money." Many workers were also hoping for either a dental plan or sick leave. Sick

leave is a benefit once enjoyed by workers in the yard. The PSA gave it back to Tenneco in its 1975 contract.

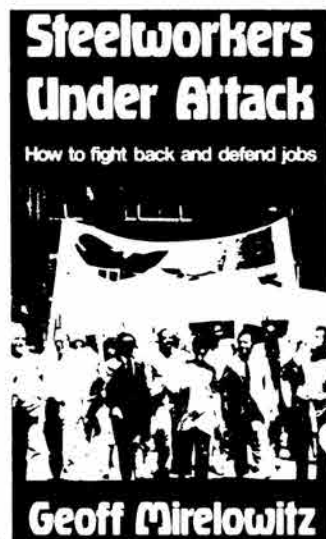
Some workers also expressed concern about the provision in the agreement that triples the length of waiting periods before new workers receive the full rate of pay in his or her job classification. "This is a big concession to the company. It will make it harder to recruit new workers to the union," said one Steelworker.

Over the last years Tenneco has hired thousands of new workers. These recently hired workers were a prime target for PSA organizers when they circulated petitions earlier this year.

The relatively low number of union members casting ballots was probably in part the result of long lines at the voting locations. Unlike the vote on the first contract in 1980, which lasted two days, this vote took place on a single day.

Following the contract vote the anti-union *Daily Press* published an editorial entitled "Here to Stay" which admitted the Steelworkers had decisively beaten the PSA and expressed the hope that the new contract would lead to "a future of cordial relations between workers and managers." But as shipyard workers know, Tenneco's tight-fisted negotiators give the lie to such an idea.

Steelworker Eli Green, a pipefitter, told the *Militant*, "Local 8888's Volunteer Organizing Committee was a key element in the victory over the PSA. Maintaining a strong Volunteer Organizing Committee will still be necessary if we are going to increase our membership and force Tenneco to abide by the letter of the contract."



Steelworkers Under Attack

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

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

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

Wrong image — Scott Carpenter, one of the original U.S. astronauts, had a job lined up as a spokesperson for MasterCard until



Harry Ring

he told reporters he had been out of work. Jobless, not poor, mind you. He lives in a swank, gated, and guarded L.A. suburb. But MasterCard decided his disclosure would suggest he was working for

them because he needed the money. Which, apparently, is as bad as borrowing money because you need it.

Can't say he's not trying — Talking with a representative of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, Reagan wondered, "You know, I turn back to your ancient prophets in the Old Testament and the signs foretelling Armageddon and I find myself wondering if — if we're the generation that's going to see that come about."

Urban Renewal — With a \$300,000 federal grant, New York's city fathers are giving a lived-in look to some of the miles

of abandoned tenements in the Bronx. Decals, featuring curtains, shutters, and flowers, are being plastered over the front of the buildings. "I recognize this is superficial," an official acknowledged. But, he added, "we want people to know we still care."

Where else but America — The treasury secretary has endorsed a bill that would exempt active-duty GIs from federal taxes if they were killed during the past three years in such areas as Lebanon or Grenada. Any payments owed for previous years would, of course, still be due.

Splitting their trade — Babcock & Wilson, the engineering

folk who designed Three Mile Island, also market antipollution devices.

And don't swallow the bones — Bluefish are running on the Atlantic Coast, but the government advises going easy on them since they're heavily laced with the poisonous chemical, PCB. If you do eat any, it's suggested, remove the skin and fat, and most of the dark meat.

Overqualified? — Jim Bunning, the losing Republican candidate for governor of Kentucky, did offer credentials for the job. A leaflet advised that in addition to being "intelligent," he's a former

baseball star and has nine children (a ball team?) all born in Kentucky.

Astonishing — According to a Gallup Poll conducted for the *Wall Street Journal*, most people have a low opinion of the honesty of business executives. In fact, the *Journal* noted, with apparent surprise, "the public thinks business is much more dishonest than businessmen do themselves."

From the happy couple — If you're planning on tying the knot, and have enough friends who smoke, Tiffany's will provide wedding invitations etched on lead crystal cigarette boxes, \$156 each.

Castro rips mask off U.S. lies about Grenada

Continued from front page
on the people and the party and government had divorced themselves from the masses." Through these actions, the Coard grouping "sank the revolution and opened the doors to imperialist aggression."

Were the members of the Coard group "really communists" and "hard-liners"? Castro asked. "Or were they rather the conscious or unconscious instruments of Yankee imperialism?" More than once in the history of the revolutionary movement there have been evident connections "between imperialism and those who assume what appear to be extreme-left positions." Castro cited the example of the Kampuchean butchers Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, who are now "the most faithful allies of Yankee imperialism in Southeast Asia." When the crisis broke out in Grenada, Castro noted, Cuban leaders had labeled Coard's followers "the Pol Pot grouping."

Cuba's relations with the new Grenada regime led by Coard were "cold and tense," Castro said, "owing to our well-known and unquestioned friendship for Bishop." Cuban workers and aid personnel remained in Grenada after Bishop's overthrow only because "we could not resign

ourselves to the idea of leaving the Grenadians without doctors or leaving unfinished the airport that was vital for the country's economy." Moreover, a flotilla of U.S. warships was already heading for the island: "To withdraw at such a moment would have been dishonorable and even could have stimulated aggression, first in Grenada, and then in Cuba itself."

But the new Grenadian government was

"morally indefensible," Castro said. Nor could Grenada be defended militarily, because "the party, the government, and the army had been divorced from the people." Therefore, the Cubans on Grenada "could only fight if we were directly attacked."

The Cuban personnel indeed defended themselves heroically when the U.S. invaders launched an unprovoked assault on their installations at the new civilian airport

they were helping to build for Grenada. In paying a final tribute to the Cubans who fell in an unequal battle against U.S. marines and paratroopers, Castro concluded:

"No power, no weapons, no force can ever prevail against the patriotism, the internationalism, the feelings of human solidarity, and the communist consciousness that they represented."

Monterey union activist suspended by Hyatt

Continued from back page
charged with breaking wine glasses and supposedly refusing to go back to work.

Now the union is also fighting the 14-day suspension of Collins. The suspension is a result of a work accident several weeks ago in which a piano was broken when it fell off a truck Collins was driving. Collins is the only one singled out for disciplinary action despite an eyewitness report that he was not responsible for the accident.

This suspension is an attempt to prevent Collins from talking to coworkers about his case and a further attempt to get Collins out of the Hyatt for good.

Support for Collins' defense effort has come from Julie Brown, past chapter president Local 535, Service Employees International Union; Dr. Benjamin Shaw, president of Monterey Peninsula NAACP branch; Rev. C. Lewis McFadden, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church; and Alonzo González, trustee and past president of Salinas League of United Latin American Citizens.

In addition others opposed to prosecution of this case include Rev. Steven Dewberry, chair of San Diego chapter of People United to Serve Humanity (PUSH); Fred Anderson, past president Hartnell College

California Teachers Association; Nancy McClintock, chair, Monterey County Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Seaside City Councilman Mel Mason; and several local attorneys.

Also the executive board of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 in San Jose sent a statement to the district attorney condemning this assault on workers' rights.

Collins' preliminary hearing has been postponed until December 1. Supporters of Collins are urging that letters demanding that the charges be dropped be immediately sent to the Office of the District Attorney, 1200 Agujito Rd., Monterey, Calif. 93940.

The district attorney's office told a *Monterey Peninsula Herald* reporter that letters have been "flowing in." Such support is crucial in order to stop this frame-up. Collins faces up to three years in prison and a \$50,000 fine.

Contributions and copies of letters should be sent to Ken Collins Defense Fund, P.O. Box 437, Seaside, Calif. 93955.

Socialist strategy in labor movement

Continued from Page 12
world-historical scale. Through that education they will become better equipped to apply valid principles in today's conflicts. Their capacity will become enhanced to exert helpful influence within the broad mass movement in ways that will add to its efficiency in action, to its prospects for ultimate victory.

Such growth in the numerical strength and influential role of the revolutionary socialist party is, in the last analysis, decisive for the acquisition of supreme power in the United States by the workers and their allies; for only that kind of politically advanced formation, geared for combat in a scientific way, can lead the masses successfully in defeating the capitalists and their repressive apparatus.

It will then be possible to assume governmental power through assertion of majority rule, after which economic and social relations can be reorganized on a rational basis. An enlightened society can be constructed along socialist lines, in which there will be peace, freedom, equality, and security for all.

As the Teamster story demonstrates, the principal lesson for labor militants to derive from the Minneapolis experience is not that, under an adverse relationship of forces, the workers can be overcome; but that, with proper leadership, they can overcome.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Chile: Repression and Resistance. Speaker: Bob Bruce, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

The Continuing Fight to Organize Agricultural Labor in California: the United Farm Workers Campaigns Today. Speakers: Rev. Fred Eyster, executive director, Farm Workers Ministry and UFW spokesman; Raúl González, *Militant* reporter. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

San Diego

Salt of the Earth. Classic film of the struggle to organize copper miners in the Southwest. Speaker: member of International Association of Machinists who recently visited striking copper miners in Arizona. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

tion: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Labor-Community Speak-Out: U.S. Out of Grenada and Central America! Speakers: Salvador López, former national education secretary of Railroads Systems Union in El Salvador; Harold Rogers, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Conrad Worril, national secretary of Black United Front; Marge Jinbrick, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 794. Sun., Nov. 20, 4 p.m. Shiloh Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester. Ausp: FENASTRAS Tour Committee. For more information call (312) 536-7642.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Nicaragua Under Fire: Why Reagan Hates the Sandinista Revolution — Why We Should Support It. Eyewitness report by Dee Scalera, just returned from two months in Nicaragua, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 18, 7:30

p.m. Donation \$2; pre-forum dinner, 6:30 p.m. (\$3). 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond and Halsey). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Rally Against Show Trials in Northern Ireland. Speaker: Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, leader of Irish freedom struggle. Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. John Jay College, Auditorium 1311, 59th St. between 8th and 9th Aves. Donation: \$5. Ausp: N.Y. H-Block/Armagh Committee.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Real Cuba. Eyewitness Accounts and Slide Show. Speakers: Kipp Dawson, and Clare Fraenzl, members of United Mine Workers. Fri., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland, Room 18. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Dallas

Employers Offensive Against Labor. What Can Be Done to Fight Back. Speakers: James Kendrick, auto worker and member of Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

In Defense of the Cuban Revolution. The Truth About Cuba's Role in Grenada. Speakers: Elizabeth Whittaker, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Nov. 20, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Socialist Workers Campaign Party: Chris Rayson for Mayor of Milwaukee. Sat., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. 2637-A W National Ave. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

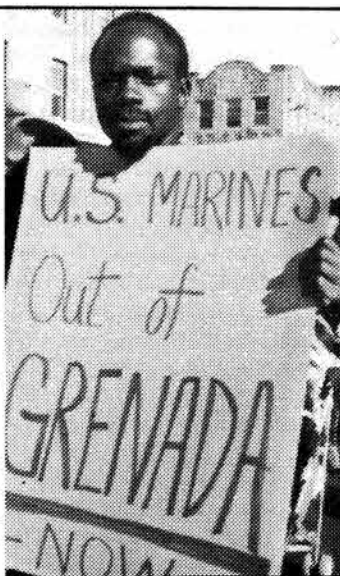
COME TO THE YSA CONVENTION

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

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

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

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



Socialist oil workers discuss solidarity

Continued from Page 7

In several of the cases, the union has defended women.

One example is that of Laura Carnes, a Louisiana refinery worker who won reinstatement to her job after being fired for allegedly inadequate work performance. Her real crime was being a woman and a union activist.

An OCAW local in Toledo recently sponsored a joint meeting of women oil workers and the Coal Employment Project (CEP) in response to stepped-up firings of women there. The CEP helps women get and keep jobs in the coal mines.

OCAW convention resolutions mandate the formation of Human Relations Committees to deal with civil rights and sex discrimination in every local and district. Los Angeles oil workers described the activities of a Human Relations Committee in their local, which involves a number of women workers. It has been instrumental in beginning to deal with the problems women face and educating the entire work force on the need to defend women workers.

The OCAW International Executive Board recently issued a series of guidelines on how the union should defend women against cases of sexual harassment (see excerpts on page 7). These guidelines can be an important educational tool for explaining how the company utilizes sexual harassment to divide the union.

The guidelines point out that grievances can and should be filed in cases of sexual harassment by supervisors. They also strongly condemn harassment of women by male coworkers and provide for union disciplinary proceedings against male workers who do so.

The importance of OCAW taking up the fight for affirmative action in hiring, upgrading, and training women, Black, and Latino workers was also discussed.

The March 1984 convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women was looked to as an important gathering for all women in OCAW.

Grenada

The U.S. invasion of Grenada, which came on the heels of the bombing of the U.S. military compound in Lebanon, generated big — and often heated — discussions in the refineries.

The discussions tended to be polarized. Initially most people were for the invasion, and those workers with the most anticommunist, prowar ideas tended to feel more confident about expressing their views. The barrage of propaganda about a "Soviet-Cuban threat" to take over the island had an impact on workers.

When socialists in the refineries began to answer Reagan's lies and slanders with some facts, many workers were willing to listen and talk. This gave other workers

who had doubts about or were opposed to the invasion more confidence to also speak up.

Socialist oil workers decided that their number one task now is to get out the truth about Grenada and Cuba, and to explain why workers should oppose Washington's war against them, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

To accomplish this, they decided to step up sales of *Militant* subscriptions and single issues on the job and at refinery entrances and to sell lots of copies of the new

pamphlet, *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers*.

They also focused on the importance of building antiwar protest activities among coworkers and in OCAW. In Los Angeles two refinery workers who were not active in antiwar activities previously attended an emergency picket line against the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Oil workers from Louisiana reported on the support from two OCAW locals for the recent tour of Salvadoran unionist Sonia Galán. Galán is talking to unionists across

the country about why they should oppose U.S. intervention in Central America.

The meeting concluded that oil workers who have read the *Militant* and are interested in socialist ideas would get a lot out of going to the YSA convention, which will take place in St. Louis from December 28-January 1. The convention will discuss how working people can fight against — and put an end to — Washington's war against workers at home and internationally. It will also celebrate the 25th anniversary of the workers and farmers revolution in Cuba.

UAW ends strike over hours, safety

BY SUSAN BERMAN

CLEVELAND — United Auto Workers Local 122 voted November 6 to ratify a new contract, ending their five-day strike at Chrysler's Twinsburg stamping plant.

The 3,200 workers shutdown the plant over forced overtime and unsafe working conditions. Since June, most workers have been working seven days a week, 10 to 12 hours a day.

The new contract gives workers every third weekend off, but not until January.

The strike by Local 122's members, who make doors and underbodies for most of Chrysler's cars and trucks, stopped production at seven other Chrysler plants — virtually halting the company's assembly of vehicles in the United States and Canada.

Forced overtime at the plant has been combined with a big clampdown by management on absenteeism. Union members told the *Militant* that any employee with six days' absences in the last six months have faced disciplinary action.

One worker reported being brought up on disciplinary charges because he must see a doctor once a month for a back injury that occurred on the job.

Union members were also angry about the dangers of forced overtime. Just two weeks before the strike, one worker was crushed to death in a stamping press.

The company claimed he hadn't followed safety procedures. But pickets pointed out that the reason was he was overworked and tired because of the overtime.

Union members know Chrysler could meet its production schedule without the killing overtime by hiring more workers. There are still Local 122 members on layoff, besides thousands of other Cleveland workers who want to work at Chrysler.

A common sentiment on the picket lines was expressed by one striker: "The name of the game is profits. This company will do anything it can to squeeze more money out of us — even if it means killing us — be-

fore they hire more people."

In addition to overtime, union members explained that hazardous conditions, like oil spills on the plant floor, make work a threat to their lives. One of the provisions of the new contract includes a promise to hire more janitors.

Several strikers said that since the signing of the last national contract they have faced increased harassment on the shop floor — foremen standing over their shoulders or spying on them from behind the line, waiting for a worker to make one false move.

Many Black workers feel the harassment has been combined with stepped-up attacks on them. Black workers are some of the most outspoken union militants. The company has done what it can to divide the workers along racial lines.

Elimination of apprenticeship programs, for instance, has guaranteed that skilled

trades jobs at the plant remain disproportionately white.

But Local 122 members reported that their real strength was their ability to cut across these racial divisions and function as a unified body.

Some union members are bitter over the last national contract. While they feel the small wage gains made in the contract were important, they believe the overtime situation and crackdown on work rules were an unnecessary trade-off by the international union officials.

The strike was especially effective in shutting Chrysler plants down because of the auto companies' adoption of "just-in-time" deliveries of parts, which eliminates stockpiles. Without the reserves of body parts — the Twinsburg plant is the sole supplier of some parts — Chrysler's assembly was halted completely.



Chrysler workers at Twinsburg, Ohio, listen to details of contract between UAW and company before voting to ratify it.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 839-5316. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954. **FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S. Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

GARY: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. **INDIANAPOLIS:** SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. **DES MOINES:** YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box

80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 23 Central Ave. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. **Harrisburg:** SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. **State College:** YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

'Bomb' smear of Salvador rebels

The *Washington Post* utilized the November 7 detonation of an explosive in the Capitol Building for a smear attack on the liberation forces in El Salvador.

The paper suggested November 9 that the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN) were involved in planting the explosive.

Anonymous phone calls after the bombing said it was carried out by the "Armed Resistance Unit." The group is unknown in the radical movement.

But the *Post* rushed into print with its smear charge against the Salvadoran freedom fighters, citing faceless FBI sources as the evidence.

The *Post*-FBI smear artists used a brush broad enough to also include the Cuban revolution and the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The *Post* wrote, "FMLN and FDR are two groups . . . that have claimed responsibility for the bombings that have plagued major institutions in Washington and New York. . . . the FMLN is composed of guerrillas who receive Cuban aid and cooperate with both the Armed Resistance Unit and a Puerto Rican terrorist group called the FALN, according to information developed by the FBI."

This slanderous charge was promptly and firmly denied by the FDR-FMLN. In a November 9 statement issued in Washington, they declared, "The FDR-FMLN categorically rejects these allegations and denies any participation in the explosion that damaged the U.S. Capitol or in any other similar incident in the United States."

The statement noted, "The FDR-FMLN is an alliance of legitimate and representative forces of the Salvadoran people, who have been forced to resort to armed struggle in El Salvador as the last and only available means to achieve justice and freedom."

FBI director William Webster rehashed the frame-up at a meeting with reporters November 10.

Asked if the Soviet Union, Cuba, or the Puerto Rican

independence movement might have been involved in the bombing, he responded, "Those things cannot be ruled out."

He added another layer to the smear by freely asserting that Puerto Rican "terrorists" have gone to Cuba "at various times for various purposes."

Webster also made a point of hailing the confirmation of Francis Mullen as head of the Drug Enforcement Agency.

A day earlier, Mullen, an ex-FBI official, joined in a news conference with Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles to repeat earlier, fabricated charges that the Cuban government is involved in the drug traffic.

Mullen conceded, "It might be very difficult to make the case in court," but assured that his information was based on "current intelligence" that was secret and "very sensitive."

The attempt to hang the Capitol incident on the FDR-FMLN and the recycling of the drug charges against Cuba assumes a special inflammatory purpose at the present time.

The key point was made in the FDR-FMLN statement, which said:

"It is precisely the increasing international recognition of the justness of our position, the overwhelming solidarity we are receiving from throughout the world, and our clear advances in El Salvador . . . that explain this type of false and malicious accusation."

"Given the difficult situation of the Salvadoran army, the fact that Guatemalan and Honduran troops have been deployed near the Salvadoran border, and the enormous number of U.S. military troops in the Central American region, this sort of accusation can only have the objective of undermining the legitimacy of our Fronts in order to create favorable conditions, especially in regard to U.S. public opinion, for justifying further military action against us."

Reagan's anticommunist junket

President Reagan's recent trip to Japan and Korea this month was a media event designed to shore up support for his anticommunist allies in Tokyo and Seoul.

The people of the two countries, however, did not welcome him with open arms.

In Tokyo, thousands of protesters marched on the U.S. embassy, chanting, "Reagan, we don't want you here." They were also protesting Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's arms buildup and plans to deepen the U.S.-Japanese military alliance.

In Hinode, a village outside Tokyo where Nakasone and Reagan held informal talks, residents held a protest rally and adopted a resolution declaring, "Reagan, who ordered the Grenada invasion, should not come to Japan."

In South Korea, there were large student demonstrations against Reagan's visit prior to his arrival. At Korea University in Seoul cops used tear gas to break up a protest by 1,000 students who chanted, "Down with fascist [South Korean] President Chun Doo Hwan." Forty students were arrested.

Television reports showed South Korean troops and cops beating and manhandling potential demonstrators.

Security by Japanese and South Korean cops and military reached unheard-of heights. At least 90,000 police were mobilized to protect Reagan in Japan, and in South Korea the number of cops and soldiers was even bigger.

Despite the attacks on South Korean demonstrators and Chun's placing hundreds of his opponents under house arrest during the visit, Reagan refused to condemn the fiercely repressive Chun regime. Even before Reagan's visit, thousands of trade unionists, religious figures, students, and others had been languishing in Chun's prisons.

Reagan repeated his anticommunist theme throughout his tour.

Referring to the shooting down of a South Korean airliner for violating Soviet airspace, and to the Burma bombing that left 17 South Korean government officials dead, he charged that the "free world" faces a threat from the Soviet Union and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea).

"Americans are now standing tall and firm," he said during a highly staged visit to U.S. troops near the Demilitarized Zone located between the DPRK and South Korea. "No terrorist should question our resolve. No tyrant should doubt our courage." Washington has 40,000 troops stationed in South Korea.

Reagan's rhetoric to the contrary, the protests that marked his trip show that the peoples of Asia understand that it's U.S. imperialism that backs the real tyrants in the region. And the Grenada invasion shows that it's U.S. imperialism that is the real terrorist in the world.

Gutting the equal time law

The Federal Communications Commission has now virtually completed its job of gutting the "equal time" provision of the Federal Communications Act. This assures an almost total monopoly of air time to the hand-picked candidates of big business.

The law provides that where any candidate for public office is given TV or radio time, all other candidates for the same office must be granted equal time. When applied, the statute gives minority candidates some degree of access to a broader audience, since they can hardly compete in buying commercial air time.

However, during the 1976 presidential race, the FCC ruled that staged debates between James Carter and Gerald Ford could be treated as "news" and therefore equal time would not apply.

This was appealed up to the Supreme Court by the Socialist Workers Party and others. But the high court refused to review this trampling on the statute.

With that victory under its belt, the FCC has now drawn the noose even tighter. It ruled November 8 that broadcasters could stage studio debates between candidates of their own choosing and this too would be classified as "news." This would apply to all election contests from local to national and pretty much makes the equal-time law a dead letter.

The FCC acted in response to petitions from broadcasters and from a former member of the Carter administration.

The FCC decision was protested by the League of Women Voters and others. League Pres. Dorothy Ridings said, "Putting the debates in the hands of the broadcasters allows profit-making corporations . . . to make as well as cover the news." She said the league is considering a court appeal.

The league protest is to be welcomed in light of the unfortunate fact that it contributed to the crippling of equal time. It was the sponsor of the 1976 "great debates" deemed "news" by the FCC. The debates were limited to those arbitrarily classified as "major" candidates by the league. In numerous contests in the 1983 elections, the league evoked protests by barring socialists and other nominees from debates it sponsored.

Responding to the possibility that broadcasters might discriminate against some candidates, an FCC lawyer offered the generous thought that in such instances people could "complain" to the commission.

A spokesperson for the broadcast industry welcomes the ruling as permitting "viable" candidates air time.

Who are the "viable" candidates? Those so tabbed by the big-business and political forces that control the airwaves.

Maurice Bishop speaks: appeal of Grenada revolution

The next several weeks we will be running excerpts from speeches by Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop who was murdered October 19.

A collection of over 20 speeches by and interviews with Bishop is scheduled for publication by Pathfinder Press in December. The following excerpt is from a speech Bishop gave in New York City on June 5, 1983. The entire speech is available in a pamphlet, *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers* (see ad on page 6).

With the free milk distribution in our country last year, a small island like Grenada, 73,000 pounds of milk were distributed free every single month to over 50,000 people — nearly half of the population.

Last year, too, under the house repair program in our country, over 17,240 individuals benefited. Under this program, the poorest workers in our country are entitled to a loan to repair their houses, to fix the roofs, to fix the floors to make sure that rain does not fall on a child while he's trying to study.

That is why today the agricultural workers understand what the revolution is about because they have felt the weight of the revolution.

The people understand that in all areas of their basic needs, attempts are being made to solve these problems.

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Two and a half million gallons more of water, pipe-borne water, are flowing into homes of our Grenadians at this time. Before the revolution, in many homes and in many parts of the country, pipes had actually rusted up because water had not passed there for years. The pipes just stayed there and corroded. The people understand what it means when electrification is brought to their village. The people understand what it means when they know that by the middle of next year we will have doubled the electricity output and capacity in our country, and therefore more people will have the possibility of using electricity.

Thirty percent of the lowest-paid workers in our country no longer pay any income tax at all. These workers take home all their money. Old-age pensioners had their pension increased by 10 percent last year and this year it is going up again by 12.5 percent. Our people know that last year some \$43 million were spent on the international airport project alone, and another 40 million will be spent on that project this year again.

They know that last year over 49 miles of feeder roads were built — feeder roads being the roads that connect the farmers to the main roads — so now the produce can be brought out safely. They know that apart from these 49 miles of feeder roads, that 15 miles of farm roads were built, and 14 new miles of main roads were also built, totaling, therefore, something like 78 new miles of roads in our country last year alone.

Our people, therefore, have a greater and deeper understanding of what the revolution means and what it has brought to them. They certainly understand very, very clearly that when some people attack us on the grounds of human rights, when some people attack us on the grounds of constituting a threat to the national security of other countries, our people understand that is foolishness. They know the real reason has to do with the fact of the revolution and the benefits that the revolution is bringing to the people of our country. The real reason for all of this hostility is because some perceive that what is happening in Grenada can lay the basis for a new socioeconomic and political path of development.

They give all kinds of reasons and excuses — some of them credible, some utter rubbish. We saw an interesting one recently in a secret report to the State Department. I want to tell you about that one, so you can reflect on it. That secret report made this point: that the Grenada revolution is in one sense even worse — I'm using their language — 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. [Applause]

I can see from your applause, sisters and brothers, that you agree with the report. But I want to tell you what that same report said that also made us very dangerous. That is that the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada are predominantly Black. [Applause] They said that 95 percent of our population is Black — and they had the correct statistic — and if we have 95 percent of predominantly African origin in our country, then we can have a dangerous appeal to 30 million Black people in the United States. [Applause] Now that aspect of the report, clearly, is one of the most sensible.

Southern Pacific joins 'quality circle' bandwagon

OAKLAND, Calif. — Within the past month, Southern Pacific Railroad set out to hold 108 meetings with its rail employees throughout the system. The company wishes to set up better channels of communication between management and its employees. "We want to hear from you," one officer told a meeting of 200 employees here in Oakland.

Five or six meetings were held in Oakland for different shifts on different days, including for all the 14-odd craft-

one seemed very taken in by all the flag-waving.

Then the meeting was opened up to the employees to talk about "whatever was on their minds." The silence in the room was deafening. Many workers just looked at the ground. You could see the anger on their faces. But the silence didn't last for long. Once it was broken it was like an avalanche.

Worker after worker explained in great detail how the company was mishandling the railroad — the waste, mismanagement, and callous disregard for its employees.

As one switchman put it, "You paint this rosy picture of how things are after years of scrimping and squeezing, working short and unsafely, losing people and jobs. Is this the way you want us to continue work so you can take the money you save from us and build that \$4 billion high-rise project in San Francisco? I've never seen morale so low in this company, we need some relief. What are you really telling us here? 'Go back and work harder'?"

The operating craft employees were the boldest in their comments. Because they run the trains they see first-hand how the company is run and make it their business to follow things very closely.

Another switchman, after reporting on the mismanagement, waste, and negligence in repairing track and broken switches stated, "The UP [Union Pacific] has a slogan 'we can do it better'; SP's slogan should be 'we can do it worst!'"

In response to some of the questions, one of the chiefs responded by saying, "Let me put it to you bluntly. We're trying to increase the price of our stocks." He went on to explain that if the company made more money it would be passed on to us in the form of better wages and job security, the implication being we're all in this together.

But no one seemed very convinced. Many workers were worried about what the ulterior motive was behind

the big pep talk. "Contract talks are approaching," said one electrician. "It's a very appropriate time for the company to be eliciting 'worker-participation.'" "It's concession time," one worker said after the meeting, "and they've got to get us ready to be willing to sacrifice a little more."

Towards the end of the "show" we were told of a fresh approach to management-employee relations — the quality circle. It seems to be a new trend as pointed out in recent *Militant* articles and now the railroads are trying it out too.

"It's called transportation problem-solving," they told us. "This process allows you [the lowly worker] to choose a problem and follow it through." This way we can help even more in saving the company money!

If we actually did "follow it through" one thing would be crystal clear, we'd have no use for these pompous managers policing our work and contributing very little to overall production that *could* benefit us all. We would have no "morale problem" if we ran things in our own interests and in the interests of our brothers and sisters throughout the country instead of for the profits of a tiny few. The brothers who spoke at the meeting made it clear they knew far more about how to run a railroad than the high-paid starched shirts who ran the meeting.

One other thing was pretty clear from discussion after the meeting — workers are getting fed up with the idea that one day we will benefit from making some concessions now "in hard times." The only people it's *never* hard for are the bosses that run the show for their profits.

The credibility these large companies have with their employees is even less than with the government that represents them. The mood in that room made it clear that it won't be easy for the rail barons to get what they want this next time around.

This column was written by a rail worker employed by Southern Pacific at the Oakland yard.

UNION TALK

unions, so that all employees would get a chance to "participate."

The first part of the meetings was intended to bring us up to date on the financial picture of SP Transportation Co., comparing it to the other five major lines nationally. SP does a lot more than run a railroad, however. The San Francisco-based company also owns other railroads, truck lines, an oil pipeline network, a coal-slurry pipeline, a mortgage insurance company, real estate developments, and an equipment leasing firm. SP is one of the oldest and most powerful corporations in California.

A slide presentation by none other than the chairman of the board of directors himself ballyhooed the railroad's management and gains over the last year. One of the major railroads in the country, it has been able to reduce labor costs by 22 percent over the last three years. But it still complains of having to put out too much money each year in personal injuries. And thanks to us diligent employees, "we've" saved on fuel costs and other nicker-and-dime-type schemes to keep the company afloat during hard times.

The SP insignia flashed on the screen at the end of the slide presentation as if it were the American flag, but no

LETTERS

Iron Range forum

On October 28, the Iron Range chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) presented a forum on Central America.

The discussion centered around the week's invasion of Grenada and the U.S. role in attempting to crush the Nicaraguan revolution.

Sharon Anderson, from Grand Forks, North Dakota, representing Church Women United, was the featured speaker.

She described her visit to Nicaragua last March when she along with other church women were able to meet with government officials, including Tomás Borge, and travel to Jalapa on the northern front where *contras* were carrying out raids into Nicaragua.

Anderson was in Nicaragua when Pope John Paul II visited and she along with thousands of Nicaraguans were disappointed and angry that the pope did not call on former members of Somoza's National Guard and their U.S. backers to support peace. During the discussion Anderson explained that the only media in the U.S. that gave an accurate account of the pope's visit was the *Militant*.

Other speakers included John Fields, a Vietnam veteran from Minneapolis who has been active in solidarity actions against U.S. involvement in El Salvador, and Elizabeth Kilanowski, who traveled to Nicaragua this summer. She represented Iron Range NOW and spoke against the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Pauline Callaway, from the newly formed Duluth chapter of the New Coalition of Conscience, pointed out that the coalition was an ongoing group that would speak to the needs of Blacks in Duluth and around the country.

A carload of people from Duluth, 60 miles away, drove up to the Iron Range for the event as well.

Elizabeth Kilanowski
Virginia, Minnesota

T-shirt

The *Militant* recently printed a picture of a Lebanese rightist wearing a T-shirt with the slogan: "Kill 'Em All — Let God Sort 'Em Out."

Here in San Antonio this same shirt can be bought at several locations. An army surplus store downtown has a window display of various Marine and Army shirts in the same vein. These include: "Let Us Win Your Hearts and Minds Or We'll Burn Your Damn Huts Down," "Kill a Commie for Mommy," and so on. (On the other hand there is one that reads: "USMC - Marines - Uncle Sam's Misguided Children.")

You can see where the Lebanese rightists get their ideas from.

A Reader
San Antonio, Tex.

Nicaragua solidarity

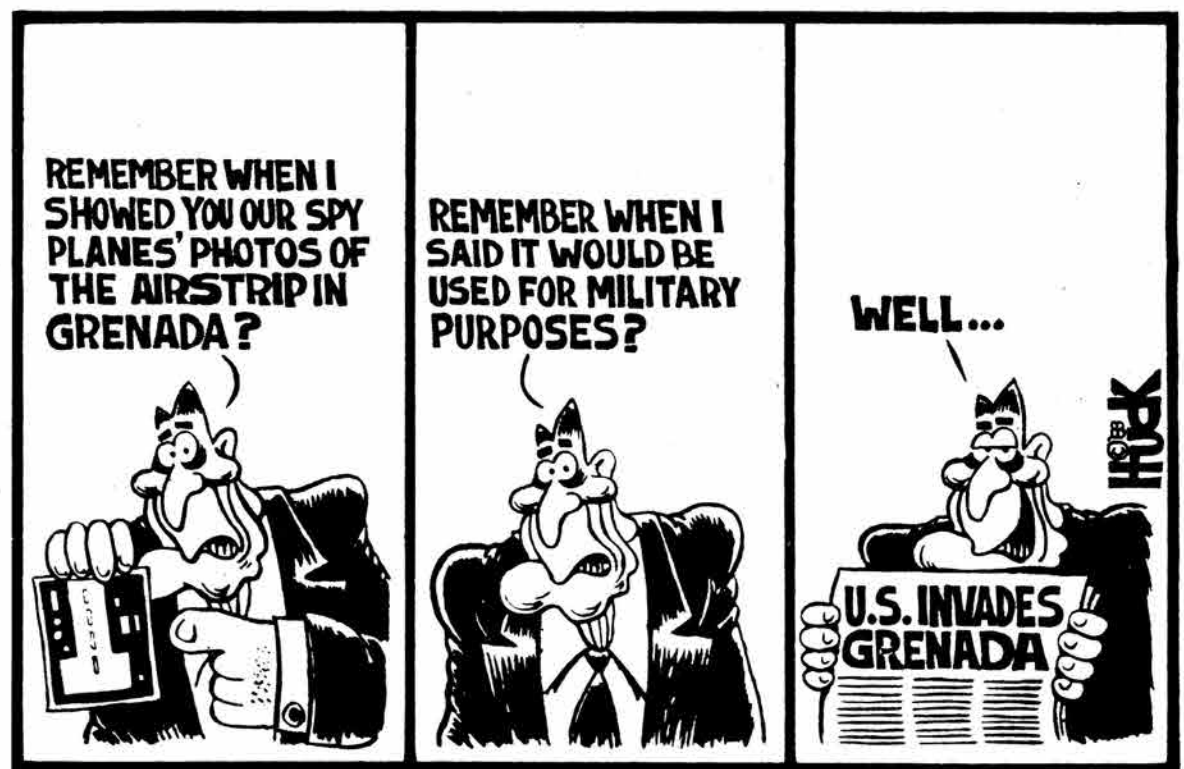
Miriam Hooker, second secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy in the United States, called for stepped-up efforts among supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution to turn back the CIA-sponsored attacks on her country in an October 20 speech to 150 people at the Newman Center at the University of Minnesota.

The fact that the meeting took place at all was a victory for opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America. Commandante Olga Aviles, president of the Nicaraguan Committee for Peace, had been scheduled to speak. She was denied a visa, and Hooker spoke in her place.

Citing the increased attacks by CIA-financed counterrevolutionaries, Hooker warned that the next step by the United States is direct military intervention in Nicaragua through the use of the Honduran army. She said, "You can tell the Reagan administration they are going to have to kill all the Nicaraguan people before they can destroy our revolution."

The Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee, which sponsored Hooker's visit to the Twin Cities, raised nearly \$1,000 to help the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE) rebuild child-care centers that have been destroyed in the attacks by the counterrevolutionaries.

Bill Arth
Minneapolis, Minnesota



Pack of lies

I read the article in your October 26 issue which exposed as a fraud the Americas Watch report which charged there are no human or democratic rights in Cuba. I also read the report itself, and as one who lived in Cuba for eight years I can confirm that the report is a pack of lies.

One really despicable part of the report is the allegation of brutal treatment of political prisoners.

The case of the "clean up" of the Escambray Mountains stands out particularly in my mind.

Prior to the unsuccessful 1961 invasion of Cuba this remote area in central Cuba was the focus of CIA-supported counterrevolutionary bands.

They terrorized some peasant families into supporting them. Other peasants supported them willingly because they believed the lies they were hearing about the revolution.

After the defeat of the U.S.-organized invaders at the Bay of Pigs, detachments of the People's Militia went into the Escambray to root out the remaining bands. Peasant families were temporarily relocated, and peasants who had cooperated with the *gusanos*

("worms" — counterrevolutionaries) were sentenced to terms on prison farms near Havana.

Along with a number of other ordinary Cubans, families of those on the prison farms were moved into the fine homes that rich Cubans had abandoned in the Miramar section of Havana when they left for Miami.

We were among those fortunate enough to be assigned a house there and so I got to know a good number of the families of prisoners.

That period, in the early and mid-1960s, was probably the hardest time Cuba went through economically, mainly because of the inhuman U.S. blockade, with Hurricane Flora wiping out huge agricultural areas for good measure.

I never actually checked the ration card of a prisoner's family. But we had the definite impression that they had at least as much food, if not more, than the rest of us.

Women told me they and their children had regular medical checkups.

Wives were able to have conjugal visits with their husbands in individual private houses at the

farms once every 45 days.

They told me that while their husbands lived in barracks, there were no bars on the windows, and no fences around the farm.

There were school programs for the families in Havana. Women were given sewing machines and classes on using them. They told me their husbands also had school programs as well. One young woman I became friends with, María, was the daughter of a prisoner. She told me how badly she felt that her family had been taken in by the lies of the *gusanos*.

She explained that they lived a very isolated life in the Escambray and that learning to read and write and see the real world made her realize what the revolution was actually about. It was this process that won her and her family to becoming firm supporters of the revolution.

Eva Chertov
New York

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.

Canadian workers beat back gov't British Columbia unions, allies vow to continue fight

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — The labor movement backed by its allies won a big victory here November 13, forcing the Social Credit (Socred) government to back down on laws that would have virtually destroyed the right to have unions in the public sector.

For the previous two weeks the trade unions united in Operation Solidarity had shown what a powerful force the labor movement is when it acts together. First the 35,000 members of the British Columbia Government Employees Union (BCGEU) went out on strike November 1. Then when the government refused to budge on seniority rights for public-sector workers or on any of the other demands of Operation Solidarity, the province's 28,000 teachers and 14,000 education workers took to the picket lines November 8.

Community support groups organized in the Lower Mainland Solidarity Coalition and Women Against the Budget helped staff the picket lines when teachers in some districts were served with injunctions.

During the week of Nov. 14-18 another 120,000 civic employees, bus drivers, ferry workers, railway workers, and hospital workers were scheduled to join job actions. And more and more workers in private industry were favoring hitting the bricks to back the movement. Operation Solidarity's game plan had established that the province's 300,000 private-sector workers would join the strike only if back-to-work legislation was brought in or if any union leaders were jailed.

The strikers faced sustained attacks from Vancouver's big-business media. "Solidarity Perpetrating Terrorism," howled one Vancouver *Sun* headline, while the *Province* offered "Strike Drove Dad to Steal Baby Food."

B.C. Employers Council Pres. Jim Matking opined that Solidarity "is a monster out of control" and accused it of "guerrilla democracy." TV interviewers were treated to one irate parent who proposed that federal troops take over the schools

and that all North America and even Great Britain be scoured to find scabs to replace the teachers. "Warlords," "Anarchists," and "goons" are words that pepper the media reports and commentaries on the strike.

The fear of this movement's potential power and its growing impact on the thinking of working people convinced Premier William Bennett's government that it had to concede on a fundamental aspect of its austerity program — its frontal attack on the unions.

The Socred budget and accompanying legislation is by far the deepest attack yet on the rights and living standard of Canadian workers. Since July when the Socred government was elected, opposition to the legislation has mushroomed into a mass movement.

The important concessions this movement has won don't mean the fight against the Socred government is over. The government appears to be backtracking on some of its promises to Operation Solidarity leaders in the settlement and is threatening to victimize teachers who participated in the strike.

Many labor leaders stress that the settlement is only a truce since it remains to be seen whether the government will make substantial changes to laws that would weaken human rights and tenants' rights.

On November 14 the unions in Operation Solidarity voted to provide the provincial solidarity coalition with \$50,000 per month to continue the fight against the gov-



Militant/David McDonald
Public-sector workers on strike in Vancouver, British Columbia. Almost 80,000 struck, while 120,000 others were ready to join fight against provincial government's union-busting laws.

ernment. The B.C. Federation of Labor convention, which begins November 28, will evaluate whether a resumption of strike action is necessary.

The commitment by the unionized workers of this province to fight on broader social questions on behalf of women, against racism, on behalf of all those who are discriminated against and oppressed is greater

than ever before.

Jack Adams of the BCGEU summed this up well the day after the settlement when he warned that the battle for social justice has not ended: "What has gone on for the last two weeks will go on again if current problems are not addressed. That's not a threat, it's simply that our members are concerned about social justice."

Pickets halt Greyhound scab buses

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

In a major attempt to bust the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), which represents 12,700 of its workers, Greyhound Corp. tried to start bus operations with scabs November 17. In at least two cities — Philadelphia and Boston — the buses were stopped by mass picketing.

A November 14 deadline set by the com-

pany for ATU members to tell their supervisors they would return to work passed with union members ignoring it, according to ATU officials.

At rallies across the country, ATU members and their supporters were told that only a handful of workers represented by the union had crossed picket lines.

In New York, ATU Local 1202 Pres. Domenic Sirignano told a spirited demonstration of almost 600 at the Port Authority that to his knowledge not one member of his local had crossed the picket lines since they went up November 3.

In Chicago, ATU supporters were told at a November 10 rally by Ellis Franklin, an ATU international vice-president, that Greyhound "must be putting scabs in car trunks if they're getting them in."

He said no more than 60 ATU members nationally were crossing picket lines, despite Greyhound's well-publicized contention that "several hundred" have.

The Greyhound strikers have gained active support from drivers for the Chicago Transit Authority and New Jersey Transit Authority, both organized by the ATU, and from members of the Transport Workers Union in New York, Teamsters in Phoenix, and others.

Chicago transit workers see their union threatened if Greyhound, the nation's largest bus company, beats their ATU brothers and sisters. The Illinois legislature has before it a bill that would force major concessions from Chicago transit workers.

Many ATU members and other unionists, noting the deadly seriousness with which Greyhound prepared for and provoked this strike, are recalling the government's destruction two years ago of PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union. At a Cleveland rally November 11, ATU Vice-president Franklin pointed out the number of defeats the labor movement has suffered since PATCO was smashed.

"It is time," he told the 300-plus ATU members and supporters at the rally, "for the entire labor movement to stand to-

gether." If the Greyhound workers go down, he warned, "your union will be next."

The ATU strike has the formal support of the AFL-CIO and local labor bodies, including the Cleveland and Philadelphia labor councils.

At the New York Port Authority rally, many passing workers cheered the ATU members. At the Cleveland rally, members of a large number of unions were present in solidarity with the Greyhound workers.

Greyhound has mounted a high-pressure campaign to break the strike. Besides the back-to-work orders and the threat to operate with scabs, the company has spent millions on newspaper ads in 170 cities and on hand-delivering propaganda packets to all its ATU workers.

Greyhound has also ostentatiously taken applications across the country from potential strikebreakers.

In a particularly mean-spirited move, Greyhound also briefly halted health insurance payments to retirees.

The company has issued frequent news releases that distort or falsify the truth about it or the union. These have been run almost verbatim by the big-business media — which has angered many strikers.

An example of this is the echoing of Greyhound's claims that drivers make \$35,000 a year, including benefits. But that's only if they drive year-round, which most don't. And out of that comes uniforms and housing while on the road.

Greyhound wants major concessions, including forcing drivers to pay meal costs, a 9.5-percent cut in wages, loss of four paid holidays, hiring of part-time drivers, and more.

These concessions would cost ATU members \$8 million yearly, pickets in Chicago point out, while 38 Greyhound officers and board members get \$6.6 million a year.

Contributing to this report were Sue Adley, Susan Berman, Holly Harkness, and Scott Ware.

Monterey union activist suspended

BY JANICE LYNN

SEASIDE, Calif. — In the context of growing support for union activist Ken Collins who is being framed up on a charge of attempted arson, management at the Hyatt Del Monte Hotel in Monterey suspended Collins November 11 from his job.

The 14-day suspension came one day after a widely covered news conference was held at the Monterey County Court House to protest the frame-up and announce the initial support received from prominent individuals in the community.

Collins, a banquet set up person at the Hyatt Del Monte Hotel, was arrested October 5 after helping douse some fish nets that were smoldering in a storage room in which Collins and a coworker had been working earlier. Collins is an active member of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union Local 483. He was a picket captain during the hotel-workers strike in the summer of 1982.

Collins is also a leader of the Seaside Young Socialist Alliance and recently joined the Socialist Workers Party.

When arrested on the arson charge Collins was interrogated about his attitude towards Hyatt management in relation to his union activities.

At the November 10 news conference, Richard Criley, vice-chair of the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union, told the media that he had been following labor frame-up cases for decades. He described the prosecution of Collins as a

"classic case of union-busting."

He said after studying the material he concluded that the charge of attempted arson would entail one of the most unlikely scenarios he had ever seen.

Rather, he said, this kind of frame-up is a tactic used by companies and police to try to intimidate and single out union activists and outspoken radicals like Collins and to weaken the union movement.

The attempted-arson charge follows other attempts by Hyatt to harass and get rid of Collins and others who participated in the strike.

One year ago Collins was grilled by Monterey police regarding a fire in an abandoned building at the Hyatt. No charges were ever filed. In new information just released to Collins' attorney, some light is shed on why Collins was singled out.

In a report on an interview by a Monterey Fire Department officer with Bob Keller, chief of security for the Hyatt Del Monte Hotel, it is revealed that "Mr. Keller stated that Ken Collins should not be above suspicion in our investigation as he was a strike captain for the Union. Mr. Keller felt that he had been a rabble-rouser during the union strike as he was very vocal but had done nothing physical or violent."

Shortly after this, an unsuccessful attempt to fire Collins was beaten back by the union which filed a grievance challenging Collins' dismissal. He had been falsely

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