

## Greyhound strike solid as company pushes showdown



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

November 23 labor rallies supporting Greyhound strikers forced company to close down in New York City (shown here), Boston.

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

As several labor solidarity rallies and extensive picketing successfully cut travel on Greyhound buses over the Thanksgiving weekend, striking members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) voted overwhelmingly to reject the corporation's latest offer.

Of 9,522 voting Greyhound strikers, only 325 voted yes, the ATU reported. The number of "no" votes was 9,181, or more than 96 percent; 16 ballots were void.

In Phoenix, John Teets, Greyhound's chairman, responded on November 29 to the union's rejection of the proposal by refusing to accept an ATU offer to resume negotiations. Instead he said the company would carry out its threat to expand operations with or without the union.

In San Antonio, a striking Greyhound driver was arrested and held on \$25,000 bail in a federal prison on a frame-up charge of "being involved in the destruction of an interstate motor vehicle," according to the FBI.

Rallies in support of the ATU members, 12,700 of whom have been on strike against Greyhound since November 3, were held November 23 in Boston, New York City, Washington, D.C., and Albany, New York.

The largest, in Boston and New York City, amounted to mass picketing. In both cities, Greyhound was forced to suspend operations.

In Boston, 5,000 unionists first took part in a rally called by ATU Local 1205 and the Massachusetts State Labor Council and then marched to the Greyhound terminal, where they picketed across the street.

The day before, 25 strike supporters were arrested when they sat down in the terminal. Boston cops threw out all report-

Continued on Page 17

## Nicaragua counters invasion threats

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government is leaving no stone unturned in the effort to mobilize international public opinion against a U.S. invasion.

Concretely, it has taken the initiative to remove a number of possible pretexts for direct U.S. military intervention. In recent weeks:

- 1,136 Cuban teachers returned home one month before the end of the school semester. Hundreds of Cuban technicians, doctors, and military instructors have also returned to Havana.

- The Nicaraguan government pledged to eliminate all foreign military advisers and reduce the purchase of arms — provided other countries in the region agree to do so as well.

- Leaders of Salvadoran and other national liberation organizations have been asked to reduce their presence in Managua.

- Formal meetings have been held with the Catholic Church hierarchy and the right-wing political parties to try to reduce tensions.

- Government leaders have met with the editors of the reactionary daily *La Prensa*, and agreed to reduce censorship and to assure access to scarce newsprint.

- U.S. embassy officials have been met

that it views merely the *example* of the Nicaraguan revolution a deadly threat to imperialist control over the region.

As revolutionary internationalists, the Sandinistas recognize that their responsibilities in defending Nicaragua extend not only to the workers and farmers of that country, but to those throughout the entire region. As Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega told the United Nations General Assembly in September, Washington's aim in seeking to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution is to "undermine the struggles of the people of the region and, in particular, the struggle of the people of El Salvador.

"Crushing the Nicaraguan revolution," Ortega said, "would mean crushing the possibilities of change in Central America and would maintain the system of injustice and lack of freedom."

The aim of the Sandinistas' recent moves is to buy time to further prepare diplomatic and military defense against an invasion. Or, if that is not possible, to at least increase the political cost to Washington of such a direct U.S. intervention.

At the same time, these steps taken by the Sandinista government have helped unite broad layers of the population behind

Continued on Page 16

## Nicaraguan leader Borge barred from U.S.

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, November 29 — Less than 24 hours before flight time, Interior Minister Tomás Borge was informed by the U.S. embassy here that Washington had — once again — denied him a visa to the United States.

Borge told a standing-room-only news conference "reliable sources told us the visa was denied by President Reagan himself."

The U.S. embassy had two words to reporters: no comment.

Describing the decision as part of the hard line of U.S. repression against his country, Borge said that above all "it is a denial of the rights of the North American people to be informed about what is happening in Central America and what is happening in Nicaragua."

Borge, a central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), reminded the press corps that Nicaragua has never denied a visa to any U.S. official. Many administration officials and dozens of senators and congressmen have visited here. In fact, any U.S. citizen can come without a visa.

"Reagan himself could come and speak with whomever he wished. We are not afraid of him. The media in Nicaragua, especially *La Prensa*, cover extensively what he says."

Borge said the objective of his visit to four U.S. cities was to speak of peace and to make clear to the American people the democratic nature of the Nicaraguan political

system. Nicaragua, he said, wants to remove any pretext for war.

Borge said Nicaragua's flexible position regarding arms, advisers, and the opposition shouldn't be seen as a position of weakness but rather of strength, and that the Nicaraguan government has *confidence* in its people.

Borge also condemned the outlandish charge that Nicaragua is a threat to U.S. national security.

"Nicaragua is 80 times smaller than the United States. It has almost 90 times fewer inhabitants. Just the cost of U.S. manufacture of strategic bombs is 62 times greater than the annual budget of Nicaragua . . . from the military point of view it is absurd to make this comparison, aside from the fact that our military is of a completely defensive nature."

Borge angrily told reporters that his visa had been denied along with that of El Salvador's right-wing political leader Roberto D'Aubuisson. "How can they compare me with this criminal?" he asked foreign journalists, who are well aware of this Salvadoran butcher's record.

Many U.S. big-business journalists appeared to be unconcerned with Washington's flagrant attack on democratic rights.

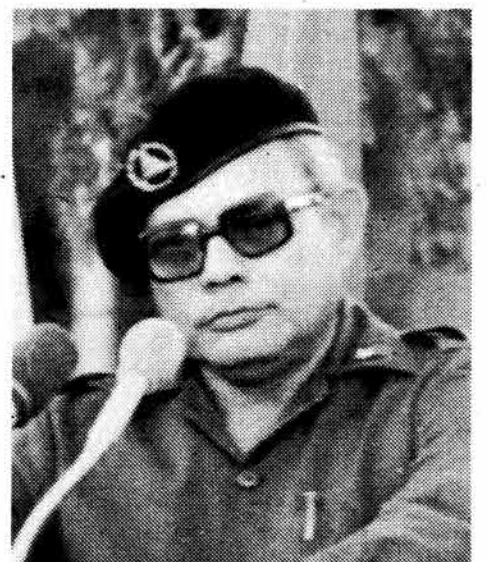
Instead they badgered Borge about the recent departure of Salvadoran revolutionaries and Cuban advisers, insinuating that the departure of the Cubans was routine or for vacation purposes.

Borge explained that many Cubans had left. If a peace accord were signed with the

Central American countries, all advisers would leave tomorrow, if necessary, he said.

He explained that the FSLN did not ask Rubén Zamora, a leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, to leave Nicaragua. He said that was a decision of the Salvadoran revolutionary forces.

At the same time, he explained, "nobody can deny that a war in which the Salvadoran revolutionaries are winning is being directed by leaders in El Salvador, not from a house in Nicaragua."



Militant/Michael Baumann

Tomás Borge

### On-the-scene report

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

with to make clear there is no "threat" to the safety of U.S. citizens residing here, and that in fact special measures are being taken to assure their safety.

- Leaders of both the government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have issued formal statements assuring middle and rich farmers that their land will not be touched so long as they continue to produce.

The Sandinistas harbor no illusions that such steps will block an eventual U.S. invasion. Washington has made crystal clear



# Oppositionist in USWA race

BY CRAIG LANDBERG

EAST CHICAGO, Ind. — "We can no longer afford leaders who have stood by idly while plants close and jobs are lost by the thousands," Ron Weissen told a November 26 news conference here, as he formally announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The special election is scheduled for March 29 to fill the vacancy created by the death of the former international president, Lloyd McBride. The two other announced candidates are International Vice-president Joe Odorich and International Secretary-treasurer Lynn Williams. By a 16 to 12 vote the USWA International Executive Board chose Williams over Odorich to serve as interim union president until the March 29 referendum election by the union ranks.

Weissen is the president of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works, outside of Pittsburgh. He is known in the union as an opponent of many of the policies of the top USWA leadership.

The concession contract which slashed the wages and benefits of workers in the basic-steel industry last March is expected to be an issue in this election. Weissen denounced concessions as "nothing more than a union-busting tactic." He contrasted his position to that of Odorich and Williams who negotiated and recommended the deal to USWA local presidents, who voted to accept it (workers in basic steel do not have the right to vote on their own contract).

Weissen pointed out that the concessions have not saved jobs as promised. Rather, he said, the USWA has lost even more jobs. Weissen was critical of the steel corporations for not investing in existing steel plants the money saved through these concessions.

Weissen said the March industry-wide contract has encouraged the steel companies to step up their demands for more concessions on the local level. Individual USWA locals have been pitted against one

another, he said, with the threat that those locals that do not agree to further concessions will have their mills shut down.

The policies of the current USWA leadership, Weissen charged "have destroyed the concept of collective bargaining and taken the USWA from being a unified strong union to being a group of small locals that are trying to survive while the companies pick us off one by one."

He observed that his own local union has refused further concession demands. If he is elected USWA international president, Weissen promised, the steel industry will get the message that "the party is over and that they can no longer walk all over us."

Weissen outlined a six-point platform for his campaign. This included: the membership's right to vote on contracts, no more concessions, strengthening civil rights provisions in contracts and the union constitution, and greater democracy at in-

ternational union conventions. Weissen's platform also calls for a union fight "to stop the companies and the banks from taking their investments out of our nation's basic industry," and for "clarification of contract language and improvements in the arbitration process."

At a reception following the news conference Weissen told a small group of supporters from USWA District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area that the union should "go back in the streets like it did in the 1930s" to defend previous gains won by the membership. This is necessary, he said, because the only thing the steel companies recognize is power.

He also called for solidarity actions with USWA members and other unionists who have been on strike against the Phelps Dodge copper company for five months, as well as for support to the striking Greyhound workers.



Steelworkers protested Reagan's visit to Pittsburgh last spring. Discontent is reflected in upcoming steel-union election.

## Veteran Chinese revolutionist dies

P'eng Shu-tse, an early member of the Chinese Communist Party and a leader of the Fourth International, died of a heart attack on November 28. Born into a peasant family in Hunan province in 1895, P'eng participated in the Chinese Marxist movement from its beginning. He joined the first communist organization in China in 1920 and studied at the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow, 1921-24.

During the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, P'eng was a member of the Communist

Party's Politburo and a central organizer of the revolutionary upheaval. He was chief editor of the party's main newspaper, *Hsiang-tao chou-pao* (Guide Weekly), and its theoretical magazine, *Hsin ch'ing-nien* (New Youth).

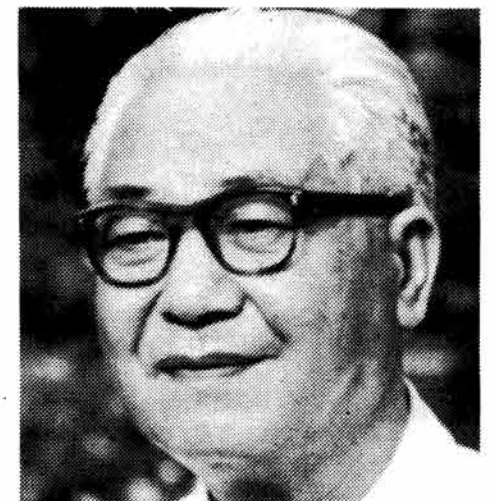
P'eng knew and worked with all of the CCP's leading figures, from Mao Tse-tung to Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-ch'i, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. After Stalin's policy of collaboration with Chiang Kai-shek led to the 1927 defeat of the Chinese workers and

peasants, P'eng joined with the CCP's founding leader, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, to form an opposition faction in the party in support of the struggle in the Communist International led by Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky. This struggle sought to reaffirm the revolutionary Marxism of Lenin against Stalin's new policies.

Expelled from the CCP in 1929, P'eng and Ch'en were the founders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. For the next 54 years P'eng devoted his life to building that movement.

He was also a leader of the Fourth International, founded in 1938, and for many years was on its leading bodies. Although he had retired from activity in his last years, the 1979 world congress of the Fourth International, in recognition of P'eng's long record of service, elected him as a consultative member of its International Executive Committee.

Letters and telegrams may be sent to Ch'en Pi-lan, c/o the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Ch'en, a leader of the CCP and of the women's movement in China in the 1920s, had been P'eng's companion since 1925.



P'eng Shu-tse

## 'Working-class road to peace'

The upcoming second issue of *New International*, a magazine edited by U.S. and Canadian revolutionary Marxists, has as its first article "The Working-class Road to Peace" by Brian Grogan, a British member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Grogan explains that the source of war, and the subsequent threat of nuclear annihilation, is the imperialists' drive to defeat national liberation struggles and workers and farmers governments. "That is why the class battles today over the extension of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean," Grogan states, "are at the very center of world politics."

World peace, he explains, requires that working people deal the exploiters new defeats such as Vietnam, rather than shrinking in fear before the imperialists and thus emboldening them.

Grogan's article, written prior to the U.S. invasion of Grenada, is based on a talk at the August 1983 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

Two other articles in *NI* deal with another topic discussed at the Oberlin conference — the gap between the colonial struggles and the level of workers' political consciousness in the United States and

other imperialist countries.

The "Arsenal of Marxism" feature in this issue is a 1916 article by Gregory Zinoviev, one of the Russian Bolshevik leaders, on the role of the labor bureaucracy and labor aristocracy in the degeneration of the German Social Democratic Party prior to World War I.

The third article, written as a companion piece to Zinoviev's, is by *NI* editorial board member Steve Clark. It traces the development of the Marxist understanding of the labor aristocracy: those better-paid and regularly employed workers who identify with their employers rather than with other workers, particularly the most oppressed workers and workers of colonial countries.

The first issue of *NI*, copies of which are still available, contained "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today" by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and "Lenin and the Colonial Question" by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, vice-president of Cuba and a member of the Cuban Communist Party's political bureau.

Send orders to *New International*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions are four issues for \$12. Single copies are \$4.

## Judge orders halt in farm foreclosures

The Farmers Home Administration has been ordered to halt farm foreclosures for the rest of the year. The temporary restraining order was imposed by federal district Judge Bruce Van Sickle in Bismarck, North Dakota, on November 14. The order applies to both real estate and movable property, such as machinery and livestock.

The order was a result of a lawsuit by nine North Dakota farmers against the FmHA. In October Judge Van Sickle granted the suit status as a national action representing farmers as a class. The order applies to only 44 states, because similar actions are pending in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kansas, Minnesota, and Mississippi.

The judge will hear arguments on a permanent order in January.

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# Commonwealth plans Grenada 'police' force

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

The Commonwealth governments have agreed to help build a proimperialist regime in Grenada. The Commonwealth of Nations — made up of the British government and former colonies — met in New Delhi, India, November 23-29. Debate on the U.S. invasion of Grenada, a Commonwealth member, dominated much of the discussion at the meeting. A compromise proposal aimed at bolstering a right-wing government in Grenada appears to have been worked out.

Opposition to the U.S. invasion was voiced by representatives of several Black nations. On the first day of the confab I.T. Tabai, president of the Pacific Island nation of Kiribati, said, "We are no longer justified to continue to believe we are safe."

President Forbes Burnham of Guyana held a news conference in New Delhi to express his opposition to the U.S. invasion. Burnham said the invasion had been planned "for a long time" by the U.S. government. The Guyanese leader said the invasion violated the United Nations charter and international law.

Other opposition was expressed by African delegates to the conference. Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe blasted the U.S. aggression. They said that the participation of the Antigua, Jamaican, Barbadian, Dominican, St. Lucian, and St. Christopher-Nevis regimes in the occupation force provided "cover for a U.S. invasion." The African leaders also said the invasion would embolden the South African government to step up its military aggression in southern Africa.

Meanwhile, the six eastern Caribbean regimes that joined in the U.S. invasion of Grenada continued to defend their action. "We had no compunctions about going in," said Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica. "If exactly the same circumstances arose, I would do exactly the same."

Charles, speaking at a New Delhi news conference of her own, said the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) had responded to a plea for help from the British-appointed governor-general of Grenada, Sir Paul Scoon. The message, said Charles, was sent "by word of mouth." The OECS then called upon the Reagan administration to "help" them invade Grenada, claiming that an alleged military buildup on the island with active involvement of "Cubans, Russians, Bulgarians, North Koreans, and Libyans" threatened neighboring nations.

The actual reason for the U.S. invasion

was to ensure that Grenada's working people couldn't mobilize themselves to reestablish a government of workers and farmers like that headed by murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Washington is maintaining its occupation of the island to try to eradicate all traces of the Grenada revolution. The invasion and occupation violate Grenada's national right to self-determination by imposing on the Grenadian people a regime not of their own choosing.

British government officials were initially tiffed at Washington for not being consulted about the invasion. However, that has now been put aside as the U.S. government actively seeks Britain's help in establishing a proimperialist government in Grenada. On November 27 U.S. and British officials met in Grenada to discuss the British role in rebuilding a capitalist police force on the island. "My encouragement," said Maj. Gen. Jack Farris, commander of the U.S. occupation force, "was for the British to take over. We can't do it, but the Brits are very good at it. Everybody admires the British police."

According to the November 28 *New York Times*, the British government, is "anxious to take a role in the rebuilding of Grenada and has been working closely with the Americans."

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government also worked hard at developing the compromise resolution on Grenada at the Commonwealth meeting in India. The accord reportedly calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Grenada. But, in classic diplomatic double-



U.S. troops in Grenada with hooded prisoner. Commonwealth governments discussed ways to aid Washington in building up a proimperialist regime on island.

speak, it calls for the involvement of all English-speaking Caribbean governments in "the future security of Grenada," reports the *Times*. Besides the six countries that were part of the U.S. invasion force, the new military strike force would include contingents from Belize, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas, Guyana, and St. Vincent. The London Metropolitan Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police would serve as advisers to the military force.

The most ominous aspect of the reported Commonwealth plan is that this strike force is viewed as the basis for a permanent Caribbean-wide military body. It would be used throughout the region against working

people who dare to struggle to throw off the yoke of imperialist rule.

Meanwhile, Scoon's interim government is still not functioning. Alister McIntyre, who Scoon named head of the Grenadian regime, won't be able to fill his post. It was announced at the Commonwealth conference that McIntyre needed four months of medical treatment in Geneva.

Governmental power in Grenada continues to be wielded by the U.S. military. The White House announced November 25 that it was earmarking another \$15 million to finance its occupation of the island bringing the total military-occupation bill to \$34.5 million.

## Farm workers' advocate faces jail

BY JANET POST

TOLEDO — Jack Kilroy, an attorney for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) in Ohio, goes on trial January 13. Kilroy is charged with a traffic violation. The frame-up charge grew out of an incident in Putnam County, Ohio, in 1979, when the FLOC lawyer was nearly beaten to death by four sheriff's deputies. The cops physically picked up Kilroy's car and moved it so they could drive their prisoner truck into the tomato fields to arrest 29 demonstrating farm workers. "They locked me behind the bars of the paddy wagon," said farm worker David Bermúdez, "and made me watch while they fractured our attorney's skull."

Local government officials have whipped up so much anti-Chicano sentiment,

says FLOC president Baldemar Velásquez, that "If this trial does not have a positive conclusion, it will be open season on the Mexicans in Putnam County."

FLOC organizes 4,700 farm workers in northwestern Ohio — mostly migrant Chicano laborers who pick tomatoes. They work for farmers who are contracted by big companies such as Campbell Soup Co. FLOC has been on strike against Campbell since 1978. The company has refused to negotiate with the farm workers union, saying it can't "tell farmers how to run their businesses."

The soup firm, however, would like to settle the dispute without recognizing the union — a demand that FLOC refuses to accept. FLOC president Velásquez told a

support rally here October 31 that Campbell officials were offering child-care centers, health insurance, training to operate mechanized harvesting equipment, and modern labor camps for FLOC's agreement to drop the demand for union recognition. Also speaking at the rally was Salvador López, a Salvadoran trade unionist who is touring the United States. He brought solidarity greetings from Central American farm workers.

Union recognition is the farm workers' central demand. FLOC is fighting for three-way collective bargaining between the union, growers, and the canneries.

Last August FLOC tried to bring national attention to the farm workers' demands by marching from northwestern Ohio's tomato fields to Camden, New Jersey, where Campbell is based. César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers of America, joined the 560-mile march outside of Philadelphia.

This holiday season FLOC plans to run full-page ads in the 10 largest U.S. newspapers to help win support for its struggle. Among the initial signers of the ad are César Chávez and Owen Bieber, president of the United Auto Workers. FLOC is seeking endorsement from other prominent labor and civil rights leaders.

Working conditions for farm workers are horrible. They are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act, nor the minimum wage and child-labor laws. Because their wages are so low, farm workers' children are forced to labor in the fields to help support the family. In addition, mechanization of the tomato harvest threatens farm workers with increased unemployment.

The stakes are high in this battle. Velásquez told the rally that "If the farm workers can win, everybody can win. Because nobody thought the farm workers could get organized."

## Young Socialist Alliance leaders tour U.S.

BY LAURA GARZA

The Young Socialist Alliance has sent two prominent members on speaking tours to take advantage of the growing opportunities to win new members to the YSA and to build its upcoming national convention.

Greg Jackson, an activist in the Black movement and a national committee member of the YSA, toured Cincinnati, Louisville, and Indianapolis in November. Jim Stryffeler, of Cincinnati, is touring several cities in December. Stryffeler is a YSA member who recently won an honorable discharge from the marines after being threatened with disciplinary action for expressing opposition to U.S. troops in Grenada and Lebanon.

While in Cincinnati, Stryffeler and Jackson spoke on a radio call-in show for an Orlando, Florida, station which had heard about Stryffeler's case. Jackson also spoke at the University of Cincinnati about Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party nomination for president and the need for independent working-class political action.

A day-long series of activities, including a forum Greg Jackson gave on Grenada, was held in Louisville. By the end of the evening one person joined the YSA.

Through these tours, and activities such

as protesting the U.S. invasion of Grenada and supporting striking Greyhound workers, the YSA has met many young people interested in attending the convention and learning more about socialist ideas.

The theme of the Young Socialist Alliance's 23rd national convention will be the fight against imperialist war in Central America and the Caribbean. The convention will be held Wednesday, December 28 through Sunday, January 1, 1984, at the Sheraton Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri.

Delegates from 50 chapters in 28 states will be joined by hundreds of members and supporters. Five major presentations are scheduled as well as workshops, classes, and rallies.

The invasion of Grenada and the stepped-up war in Central America will be discussed in a report on the international situation. Reports will also cover the building of an antiwar movement of U.S. working people, the role of the Black struggle in the United States, and the fight for women's liberation.

The YSA was founded in 1960 by a generation of youth inspired by the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution. The YSA's long record in defense of Cuba, as participants in the civil rights movement, and as activists in antiwar and labor

struggles for the past 23 years will be shown in a slide show presentation the first night of the convention.

A rally will be held December 31, on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, to celebrate the opening of the socialist revolution in the Americas and to oppose the U.S. intervention in the Caribbean and Central America. Speakers will include representatives of movements in Central America fighting for liberation.

Classes explaining the basic ideas of Marxism will be held on the *Communist Manifesto*, imperialism, and the origins of women's oppression. There will be classes on current topics such as the war in Lebanon. Rohima Miah, who toured parts of the South this fall with a *Militant* reporting and sales team, will give a class on the fight for Black rights in Mississippi.

The schedule also includes meetings of YSA members who are in the United Mine Workers of America, the United Auto Workers, and seven other industrial unions. They will exchange experiences and discuss their work on the job and in their unions.

The YSA has been actively supporting the strike of Arizona and Texas copper workers since it began last July. A slide show on this strike will be shown at the convention.

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# How Sgt. Stryffeler won fight for free speech for GIs

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Last month a significant victory was won in Cincinnati against an attempt by the military brass to silence opposition to the invasion of Grenada and the ruling-class war drive in Central America. A concerted effort by the Marine Corps to muzzle and victimize Sgt. Jim Stryffeler because of his antiwar views and his membership in the Young Socialist Alliance was defeated by a broad, public outcry in defense of the free speech rights of GIs.

On October 23, hundreds of GIs involved in the U.S. occupation force in Lebanon were killed when a bomb exploded in their barracks outside Beirut. Two days later, the U.S. invaded Grenada. These events sparked a wide-ranging discussion and debate among GIs, as they did among working people as a whole.

Marine Sgt. Jim Stryffeler was assigned to clerical duty in the downtown Cincinnati armed forces Induction Center. Stryffeler, 22 and a five-and-a-half-year veteran of the marines, helped staff the information desk in the reception area of the center. All the clerks, and everyone waiting in the room, watched a TV mounted in the wall and discussed the TV coverage of the invasion all day long.

Stryffeler was an active participant in these discussions. He explained that he was opposed to the use of U.S. troops to crush the Grenadian revolution and feared the intention of the government to extend the invasion to El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba.

Stryffeler's political views were already well known to the Marine Corps brass. While stationed in Okinawa, he had participated in a socialist discussion group with other GIs and voiced his sympathy with Japanese protesters demonstrating against the U.S. military presence there. In March 1983 the *Cincinnati Post* printed a letter to the editor he wrote opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador and supporting the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

In July Stryffeler joined the YSA to work with others to oppose policy in Central America and to learn more about socialism. He participated in the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. Discussions of these events, and political questions of all sorts, were a regular feature of life at the Induction Center Information Desk.

## After Grenada invasion

The brass viewed these discussions as a qualitatively greater threat after the invasion of Grenada. They had already been through the experience of Vietnam — where opposition to the war became widespread in the armed forces. In Stryffeler the brass saw this specter raised again at the very outset of a shooting war in this hemisphere. They decided to victimize him, to set a precedent for intimidating other GIs from speaking out against U.S. war policy or joining organizations the marines deemed "subversive."

Stryffeler's superior officers at the Induction Center threatened him with court-martial for his views. They ordered him to shut up. This campaign reached a high point on the day after the invasion, when a local newspaper made an appointment to come to the center to interview enlistees

## Stryffeler tour builds YSA convention

Jim Stryffeler will be speaking out against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean in the following cities:

Chicago/Gary December 4-6  
Milwaukee December 8-12  
Detroit/Toledo December 11-14  
Cleveland December 16-18  
St. Louis December 19-20

For more information contact the YSA chapters listed on page 17.

about their reaction to the fighting. They assigned an officer to follow Stryffeler everywhere and stop him from talking.

On November 1 Stryffeler was ordered to report to the Marine Reserve Center for interrogation. He was told that the Corps was considering court-martialing him for making a "disloyal statement undermining discipline and loyalty." This vague charge is intended, as explained by the *Manual for Courts-martial*, to be used to punish whatever the marines consider "conduct to the prejudice of good order and discipline or conduct reflecting discredit upon the armed forces." The *Manual* points to such "examples" as "praising the enemy, attacking the war aims of the United States, or denouncing our form of government."

First Sgt. Billy G. Pape filed an official report of the interrogation: "I ask him what party and he said 'Young Social Alliance'. I ask: are you a member he said 'have been associated approx 2 yrs and an active member for 6 months.' He has participated in demonstrations before, and could produce pictures and news clippings; also he sells the political paper for the party in front of stores and plant gates. I ask do you realize what you're telling me: 'yes sir' would you be willing to write a statement concerning your involvement and produce the pictures/news clippings: 'yes sir'. I ask are you a Communist: 'yes sir'."

Stryffeler decided to respond to the escalating threats of court-martial by taking his case to the public. He requested and was granted three days of vacation leave. With the help of the Political Rights Defense Fund, a national civil liberties organization, Stryffeler scheduled a news conference for November 4 to announce his opposition to the invasion and the threats of the Marine Corps to victimize him for these views. He also planned to announce his intention to march in the November 12 demonstration in Washington against U.S. aggression in Central America. Dozens of national and local antiwar leaders and political rights supporters came forward to speak in support of his right to free speech.

## Leave canceled

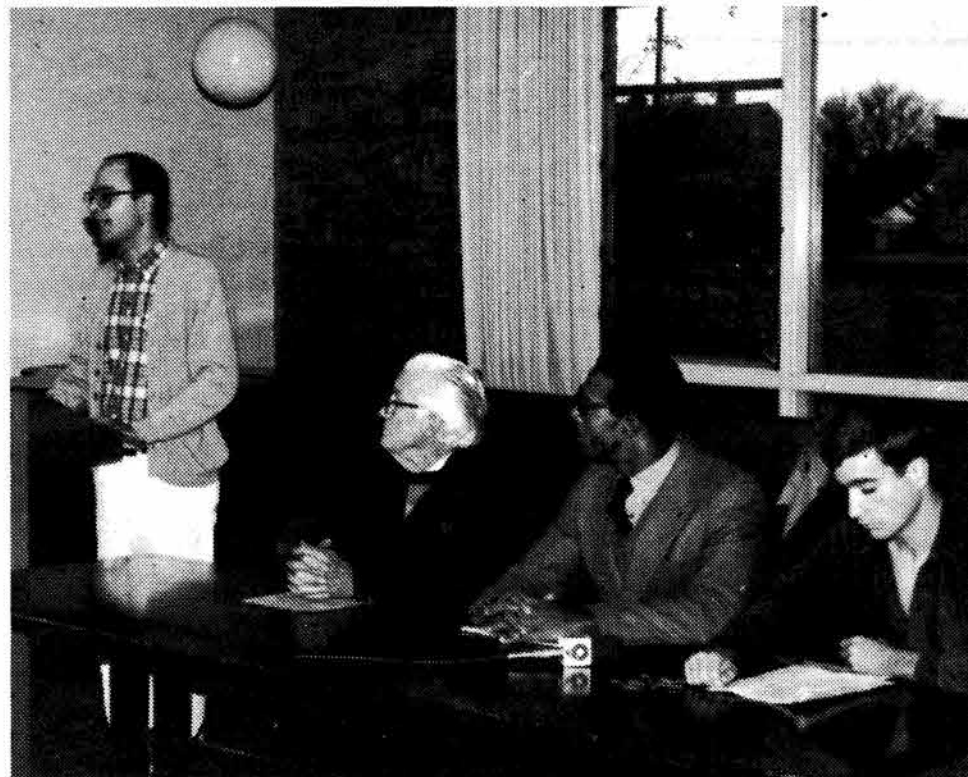
The marine brass decided to prevent Stryffeler from speaking. They called him at 11 o'clock the night before the news conference, canceled his leave and punatively transferred him to the Reserve Center on the outskirts of town.

The next morning Stryffeler's commanding officer tried to force him to sign a statement that his transfer was "pending an investigation into my suspected involvement with a political organization believed to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government." He was told he would be considered for disciplinary action if he was "involved in any media interview, press release/conference."

The marines' lack of success in keeping Stryffeler's views out of the news is contained in a report filed with the Secretary of the Navy by Maj. R.C. Anderson, the officer who was placed in charge of the case: "It came to our attention," Anderson reported, "that Sgt. Stryffeler scheduled a 1000, 4 November 1983 press conference at the Hilton Hotel in Cincinnati to speak out against the invasion of Grenada. He personally did not attend because I had him in my office for questioning at that time. Instead a John Studer, National Executive Director of the New York based Political Rights Defense Fund spoke Sgt. Stryffeler's views."

When Stryffeler reported to the Induction Center that morning for the transfer, he told everyone that he was being sent away because of his views. A number of them shook his hand or clapped him on the back as he was leaving. Others told him they thought he was getting a raw deal. A number called him at home that night to tell him that if he won, they were planning to hold a victory party for him. Exactly one week later the party was held.

All day long at the Reserve Center on



Militant/Morris Starsky

November 20 victory rally for Marine Sgt. Jim Stryffeler, who beat back brass's attempt to muzzle him. From left: Steve Miles, Cincinnati Center for Peace Education; Rev. Maurice McCracken, pastor, Cincinnati Community Church; Rev. Dan Burford, Clergy and Laity Concerned; Stryffeler.

November 4, it was touch and go whether Stryffeler would be court-martialed or not. He was threatened repeatedly. But as the day wore on, stacks of telegrams from supporters of Stryffeler's right to free speech began to pour in from all over the country. Shortly after 4 p.m., instead of filing charges against Stryffeler, the brass handed him a letter informing him that they were recommending him for an honorable discharge from the marines. They ordered him not to talk to anyone about the entire affair and sent him home for the weekend.

Major Anderson informed the Secretary of the Navy: "On leaving his place of duty on 4 November 1983, Sgt. Stryffeler was approached by the press. When questioned by the press, Sgt. Stryffeler stated, 'The views given at the press conference are my own, but, I cannot comment any further at this time.'" The media prominently featured reports of the news conference and the attempts of the brass to victimize Stryffeler, both in Cincinnati and throughout the country.

When Stryffeler returned to work on Monday morning, November 7, he filed a "request mast" form, asking for a leave of absence for Saturday, November 12, in order to "exercise my rights as an off duty Marine to go to Washington D.C. and participate in a peaceful march."

This was summarily denied by his commanding officer, the same Major Anderson. He reported, "Sgt. Stryffeler request to go to Wash DC to demonstrate against US intervention in Central America and Caribbean. Marines are dying in these interventions & he wants to stop it. I told the Sgt he was still under investigation and would not be given leave." Stryffeler appealed this decision to the commanding general. With the march only four days away, the clock was running.

The next day, Major Anderson sent his recommendation for a discharge for Stryffeler to the commanding general in New Orleans. He made the two central points of his "Synopsis of Sgt. Stryffeler's case" that he "has been a member of the Young Socialist Alliance Party" and his "desire to speak out against the invasion of Grenada."

Anderson appended an "Endorsement" to the front of his recommendation, in which he stated, "I would be personally pleased to see something other than an honorable discharge." He also complained about "the 'staged' response by the socialist to Sgt Stryffeler has begun as evidenced by enclosures (9) thru (13)," which included a November 7 editorial page cartoon from the *Cincinnati Enquirer* concerning U.S. policy in Lebanon and copies of a number of letters and telegrams from around the country protesting the Corps' efforts to victimize Stryffeler.

Rounding out Anderson's package to the Secretary of the Navy were copies of several newspaper articles reporting Stryffeler's free speech fight and a copy of a fact sheet on the case distributed at the news conference. Anderson told Stryffeler it would take weeks before the results of his "investigation" and the decision on his recommended discharge could possibly be made.

However, the military continued to be deluged by protest messages supporting Stryffeler's constitutional rights. The Sgt. Jim Stryffeler Free Speech Committee, a local defense group formed to aid the fight to defend his rights, told the press after the victory, "Congressmen Mickey Leland (Texas), Major Owens (New York), Ron Dellums (California) and Louis Stokes (Ohio), all intervened on Jim's behalf. There was a powerful response from religious groups around the country. Civil rights activists and organizations such as Operation PUSH jumped in on Jim's side and against the Marine Corps 'Brass.'"

Trade unionists in Cincinnati and across the country acted to defend Stryffeler's right to free speech. One of the most powerful messages of support came from the father of Randy Clark of Miniog, Wisconsin, who was one of the first marines killed in Lebanon.

## Honorable discharge

Within 48 hours, and against Anderson's recommendation, the Secretary of the Navy signed a full and honorable discharge for Stryffeler. On November 9 eight Marines in their full dress uniforms smartly saluted Stryffeler in the required formal ceremony to mark the occasion. Stryffeler and his supporters had won hands down.

Stryffeler had spoken out as an active duty marine against the invasion of Grenada, demanded his right to participate in the November 12 march against the U.S. war drive in Central America and proudly talked about his membership in the YSA. The marines threatened court-martial, but were forced to grant him a full and honorable discharge. The net result was that the brass was forced to concede that when a GI exercised his constitutional rights to join a socialist organization and speak out against a shooting war they could not victimize him.

On November 12 Stryffeler marched in Washington under a banner reading "US out of Grenada — Free Speech for Sgt. Stryffeler." To underscore the significance of his victory, Stryffeler was approached and congratulated by a dozen active duty GIs who were participating off duty and out of uniform in the march. They told Stryffeler that his fight had encouraged them to continue their efforts to speak out against the deepening war inside the ranks of the armed forces.

Stryffeler accepted his honorable discharge in order to take his antiwar and socialist message and the meaning of his free speech victory all across the country. During the month of December Stryffeler will be touring throughout the midwest, speaking out against the invasion of Grenada and the spreading war in Central America. His tour is sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, and is aimed at building the Young Socialists' national convention scheduled for December 28 to January 1 at the Sheraton-St. Louis Hotel. Stryffeler says the best way people can celebrate his victory is to join him in St. Louis to map out the next stages of the fight against war and for the constitutional rights of all GIs.



# U.S. increases role in Salvador war

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

Is Washington finally demanding that the Salvadoran dictatorship crack down on the country's notorious right-wing death squads?

"We've had it with these guys," a U.S. official was quoted in the November 19 *New York Times*. "If they don't clean up this time, we're going to do something."

U.S. officials have made similar statements in the past, and nothing was done to halt the murders. There is no reason to think this time will be any different.

In fact, the Reagan administration's new-found devotion to human rights is nothing more than window dressing for its plans to escalate U.S. military intervention in El Salvador. The show of concern over the death squads is designed to deflect expected protests of Washington's moves to send U.S. combat troops to prop up a regime of thugs, torturers, and assassins.

Since 1979 the death squads in El Salvador have murdered an estimated 40,000 people — trade union organizers, peasant activists, sympathizers of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), priests, and ordinary working people.

## Tacit encouragement

From the very beginning of U.S. involvement in El Salvador, Washington tried to cover up its tacit encouragement of death-squad activities. Despite the fact that no one has ever been brought to justice for the killings — including the highly publicized murders of four U.S. church women — the White House has routinely certified to Congress that the regime has been steadily improving its human rights performance.

Washington's stance of downplaying death-squad activity began to shift in early October. U.S. officials suddenly adopted a supposed "get tough" attitude toward the regime's refusal to interfere in the death-squads' operations.

This shift came during a pronounced upswing in death-squad murders and kidnappings. During September and October the wave of violence claimed the lives of more than 100 trade union leaders alone. Right-wing terrorists even went so far as to kidnap a high-ranking official in El Salvador's Foreign Ministry.

After that kidnapping, the new U.S. ambassador, Thomas Pickering, met with right-wing ARENA party leader Roberto D'Aubuisson and "really leaned on him," according to the October 7 *Wall Street Journal*. D'Aubuisson, a former army intelligence major and currently president of the Constituent Assembly, is thought to be the key figure in organizing the death squads.

In mid-November the U.S. embassy intentionally leaked the names of three top-ranking military officers also directing the killings: Héctor Antonio Regalado, head of security for the Constituent Assembly and a close friend of D'Aubuisson's; Major José Ricardo Pozo, head of intelligence for the treasury police; and Lt. Col. Aristedes Alfonso Márquez, head of intelligence for the national police.

## Guerrillas aiding right wing?

Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé made a well-publicized visit to El Salvador

## Free Grenada group formed in New York

The Committee for a Free Grenada, made up of supporters of the revolution in that country and opponents of the U.S. invasion, held an organizational meeting in New York City November 21.

Members of the committee, formerly known as the Committee in Solidarity with Free Grenada, helped organize for the November 12 protest in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. They also sponsored a news conference and a large demonstration at the United Nations denouncing the U.S. invasion.

The committee discussed plans for a newsletter and for public activities such as forums and panels "to educate and organize in relation to the Grenadian peoples struggles," as Esmeralda Brown of the organization's coordinating committee described its purpose.



Home of Salvadoran peasant leader marked for death by right-wing terrorists. U.S. "investigation" of death squads is cover for stepped-up intervention.

in November to underscore the administration's new propaganda scam. After his return, in a major policy speech November 16, Iklé charged that the "death squads of the violent right" are actually benefiting the Salvadoran revolutionaries. He told his audience that by assassinating and intimidating members of the "democratic center" in El Salvador, "the violent extremists" on both the left and the right "are in fact working together."

"Both must be defeated," Iklé said.

While in El Salvador, Iklé even made the preposterous charge that "some of the most notorious elements in the death squad activities are in fact enjoying the protection of the Communist guerrillas."

As Iklé was meeting with Salvadoran officials, a death squad carried out a massacre at the El Cauca cooperative farm in southern La Paz province.

Before dawn on November 7 a group of armed men — some wearing military uniforms — dragged nine members of the cooperative from their beds. Two days later the nine were found strangled and stuffed into burlap bags along a roadside. The bodies, including those of two pregnant women, showed signs of torture.

Relatives of the murdered peasants said that some of the victims were among 30 members of the cooperative who had recently signed a letter to the government land reform agency complaining that the cooperative's manager — an activist in D'Aubuisson's ARENA party — was stealing money from the farm's accounts.

A few weeks after this massacre, U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, speaking to a group of Salvadoran businessmen, said that the unwillingness of the Salvadoran government to take action against the death squads "runs an extremely serious risk" of provoking a cutoff of U.S. aid. Pickering called the work of the death squads "another case of fascists serving the Communist cause."

Referring to the murders of the nine farm workers at La Cauca, Pickering asked the businessmen: "Where are the condemnations? Why hasn't the private sector ... publicly condemned such outrages?"

Pickering could easily have answered his own question. Many of those he was speaking to are representatives of the far-right and back the actions of the death squads.

Moreover, why should they feign out-

rage over the killings when Washington itself has given its tacit approval to the Salvadoran oligarchy's rule by terror? Whatever the pretended concern over human rights violations, organized terror on a massive scale remains Washington's real strategy for combating the Salvadoran revolution.

## Army massacre

The depth of U.S. hypocrisy was illustrated by what Pickering failed to condemn. A week before his talk, reporters broke the story of a massacre carried out by the U.S.-trained and advised Atlacatl Battalion during an early November sweep through the villages of San Nicolás, Copapayo, and La Escopeta. The towns lie close together about 45 miles northeast of San Salvador.

Reporters who visited the towns after the battalion left were told by witnesses that the soldiers had massacred some 118 men, women, and children. Many of the victims were herded into houses and then machine-gunned. Survivors said that 30 of the villagers were driven into a lake and drowned.

The Salvadoran army at first tried to hush up the atrocity, but later sought to excuse its action, saying that a few civilians may have been caught in a cross-fire.

In the final analysis, the real audience that Washington has in mind when it makes its sham criticisms is not the Salvadoran authorities, but working people in the United States.

Suggesting as much, editorial writer Frank del Olmo asked in the November 17 *Los Angeles Times*, "Could it be that Iklé and other Reagan aides have conceded the impossibility of the Salvadoran military saving itself and are priming the American public for some form of deeper U.S. involvement to save the government?"

"Perhaps that is why the Reagan Administration is finally, belatedly moving against the right wing in El Salvador. Because even the President must know how bad it would look for U.S. Marines and Army Rangers — fresh from having rescued U.S. citizens from 'leftist thugs' in Grenada — to rush to the aid of a Salvadoran government filled with rightist thugs."

No amount of "humanitarian" declarations can hide Washington's actual war aims in Central America. The Salvadoran dictatorship will remain filled with "rightist thugs," and the U.S. imperialists will do whatever they can to keep it in power, including through the use of U.S. combat troops.

From Intercontinental Press

# Unions blast invasion of Grenada

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

At least two county central labor councils in the San Francisco Bay Area have passed resolutions requesting that the AFL-CIO condemn Pres. Ronald Reagan for the invasion of Grenada and that it demand immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from the island.

The resolution passed November 7 by the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, which represents more than 60,000 union members in the San Jose area, reads:

"Whereas, the United States has invaded the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada on the pretext of protecting American lives there, and

"Whereas, there is no proof of any threat to the lives of Americans on that island, and

"Whereas, no effort was made by the Reagan administration to resolve this problem short of military action, and

"Whereas, the criticism of the nations of the world including our closest allies was expressed in the United Nations,

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council requests that the AFL-CIO condemn President Reagan for this invasion, and

"Be it further resolved, that we request the AFL-CIO to demand immediate return of all American personnel from Grenada."

The resolution was printed in *The Cutting Edge*, published by International Association of Machinists Local 562, which represents workers at the FMC Corp. FMC makes armored vehicles in San Jose.

The Alameda County (Oakland) Central Labor Council adopted a similar resolution.

The U.S. invasion was denounced by Sandra Cooper-Morgan, president of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 535 and the chair of the local's human rights committee, Walter Lippmann.

Local 535 has offices in Fresno, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Diego, San Jose, and Santa Barbara.

District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City also condemned the invasion. In addition, a San Francisco labor rally of 700 participants

sponsored by the Grenada Solidarity Committee October 27 was addressed by members of the SEIU, Molders and Longshoremen's unions, United Transportation Union, and others.

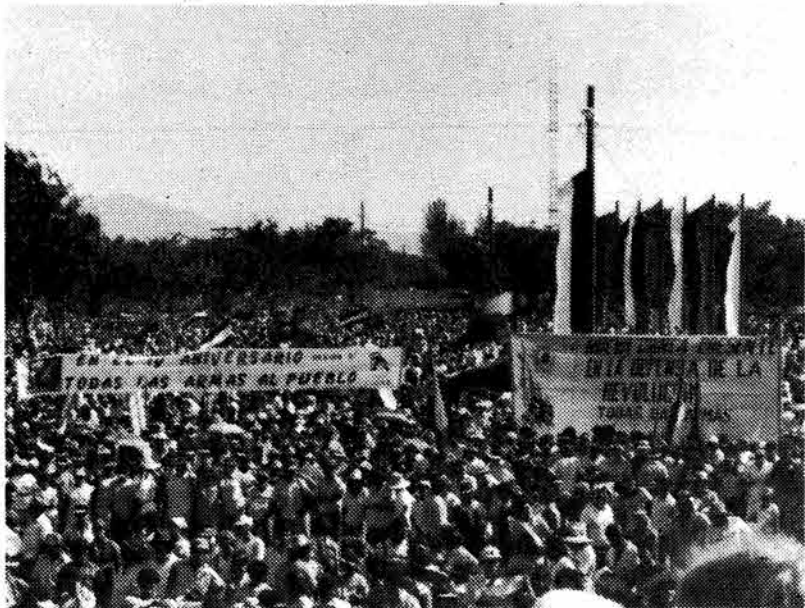
The AFL-CIO Executive Council has not condemned the invasion of Grenada. To the contrary, it intends to cooperate with the U.S. government in destroying the union democracy and advances for workers that the Grenada revolution achieved.

After the murder of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, the AFL-CIO issued a slanderous anticommunist statement that the crime was committed "at the behest of the Soviet Union and its surrogate, Cuba."



Banner at November 12 march in Washington, D.C. Opposition to U.S. invasion of Grenada is being expressed by some unions.





Militant/Michael Baumann

# 'Anti-Semitism' slander of Nicaragua: behind Washington's lies

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Is the Nicaraguan government anti-Semitic?

Beginning last May the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a U.S.-based Zionist organization, has mounted a campaign to convince the world this is the case.

The ADL's charges have received wide publicity, including in many U.S. and Canadian newspapers. This despite the fact they are based solely on the testimony of two individuals — one a former associate of the Somoza dictatorship, the other a bitterly anti-Sandinista businessman.

In Washington, these claims have been repeated and embellished by political figures ranging from President Reagan to liberal Democratic Congressman Michael Barnes, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Latin America.

In Canada they were taken as a pretext by the ultraright Jewish Defense League to lead a group of 60 thugs in attacking the home of the Nicaraguan consul in Toronto.

The campaign, as we shall see, suffers from one small defect, understandably of little interest to those carrying it out: *there is no truth to the claim that Jews are persecuted in Nicaragua.*

## What are the charges?

At a news conference in New York May 23, the Anti-Defamation League presented the testimony of two Nicaraguan Jews now living in the United States — Abraham Gorn and Isaac Stavisky.

They charged, and have subsequently repeated on a number of occasions:

1. The Sandinista revolution has repressed and systematically forced into exile Nicaragua's small Jewish community.
2. They, Gorn and Stavisky, are prime examples of this, having had their property confiscated solely because they are Jews.
3. The repression includes confiscation of Nicaragua's only synagogue, which has since been desecrated with anti-Zionist propaganda.

On June 3, taking the charges for proof, Congressman Barnes jumped in. He accused the Sandinistas of "government-sponsored anti-Semitism" and, according to the *Washington Post*, expressed outrage at having read about the "forced exile by your government of the entire Jewish community."

On July 21, following a White House meeting with Reagan, ADL leader Morton Rosenthal announced the president's message of support for the campaign. According to Rosenthal, Reagan said, with the special venom he reserves for Latinos and Arabs:

"The results of the self-proclaimed blood unity between the Sandinistas and the P.L.O. are evident for all the world to see and are an evil echo of history. Virtually the entire Jewish community of Nicaragua has been frightened into exile. Their synagogue, which had its doors torched by the Sandinista supporters in 1978, has since been confiscated and turned into offices of a Sandinista organization.

"Please share the truth that Communism in Central America means not only the loss of political freedom but of religious freedom as well."

On August 24 the *Wall Street Journal* pitched in, publishing on the editorial page an item rehashing the original charges at length.

The article is signed by Shoshana Bryen, executive director of an organization called the Jewish Institute for National Security. The *Journal* discreetly adds a double-

edged editorial note identifying the institute as "an unofficial liaison between the U.S. military services and American Jews."

On the one hand this absolves the country's main business daily of unwittingly publishing a "military service" handout. On the other, it takes what is obviously a Zionist outfit and tries to palm it off as something representing all "American Jews."

## Nicaragua's record on human rights

These charges are all the more astonishing in light of the fact that such organizations as the United Nations, Pax Christi, Americas Watch, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights have carried out extensive human rights investigations in Nicaragua over the last four years and have not reported a single case of anti-Semitism. (The sole exception is the International League for Human Rights, which earlier this year published a report condemning Nicaragua for anti-Semitism, based on prepackaged material from the ADL.)

Even more damaging, from the point of view of the credibility of the ADL campaign, are reports from two agencies of the United States government, an institution that by no stretch of the imagination can be dismissed as "pro-Sandinista."

One is the U.S. State Department. In its *Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1982*, Reagan's own State Department says: "Adherence to a particular church does not confer advantages or disadvantages in any sphere in Nicaragua."

The other is the U.S. embassy in Managua. In a confidential cable to Secretary of State George Shultz, Ambassador Anthony Quainton warned there "are no verifiable grounds" to accuse the Nicaraguan government of anti-Semitism.

Flatly contradicting the ADL, Quainton added: "Although most members of Nicaragua's tiny Jewish community have left the country, and some have had their properties confiscated, there is no direct connection between their Jewish religion and the treatment they have received from the [Sandinistas]." (Quoted in the September 21 *New York Times*.)

Figuring that if the *New York Times*, no friend of the Nicaraguan revolution, had quoted this much from the cable, there must be even more worth reporting, the *Militant* contacted the embassy here to ask for a copy of the entire text.

It was then that we learned that the cable was "confidential," and the parts quoted in the press "must have been leaked by some-

body in Washington."

The embassy's supposed interest in providing the people of the United States with an accurate picture of developments in Nicaragua did not include providing the *Militant* with a copy of the cable. Instead we were generously offered a sheaf of ADL press clippings, which the embassy press office keeps on hand to assure that poorly informed citizens remain that way.

## Results of investigation

To discover what the embassy was trying to conceal, the *Militant* turned to the National Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (CNPPDH). This is a Nicaraguan-government sponsored organization set up to verify compliance with the country's Statute on Human Rights, decreed one month after the revolution.

The commission has intervened in the past to secure improved conditions for imprisoned former Somozaist National Guardsmen, and more recently helped to secure pardons for 46 Miskito Indians captured while fighting with the armed counterrevolution.

In this instance, the commission made available an extensive report of the investigation it had carried out into the ADL's charges of anti-Semitism. We invite our readers to judge for themselves how well the charges stand up to the facts.

Charge No. 1. Jewish community systematically forced into exile.

Commission findings:

"The majority of the members of the [Jewish] community residing here left in 1972, because of the prospect of a poor business situation following the earthquake that destroyed Managua that year. About two-thirds left the country (from 150 the Jewish population shrank to about 50).

"Additionally, around the time of the insurrection against the Somozaist government, nearly all of these 50 Jews left Nicaragua prior to the triumph of the revolution, for various reasons. For the majority it was economic reasons — prospects of a poor business situation. Others because they feared a policy of anti-Semitism as a consequence of the Israeli regime's arms sales to Somoza, carried out with the help of some of the Jews residing here.

"No policy of anti-Semitism occurred. Those who stayed in Nicaragua and had no links with Somozaism and had not enriched themselves under the shadow of Somozaism, continue to live here in conformity with the laws of the country. If there existed an anti-Semitic policy, that would not have been possible. In actuality,

only a very few had their property confiscated."

In the course of its investigation the commission further found that there are a number of prominent Jews still residing in the country, and that they enjoy rights equal to those of other Nicaraguans. It cited nine individuals as examples — all of them owners of business establishments.

One in particular is worth noting. He is Bernardo Sehtman Gorn, nephew of the same Abraham Gorn who claims all Jews have been forced to flee. Of Sehtman Gorn, the commission says:

"He is the owner of 'Radio Centro,' the biggest electronics and electronics parts store in the country. He is considered to have one of the highest net incomes in Nicaragua. He travels freely to Miami and returns to the country without difficulty. He was never confiscated. He was briefly detained and subjected to an investigation, but was freed after he clarified his position. At no time were his properties ever confiscated."

Charge No. 2. Property of Abraham Gorn and Isaac Stavisky confiscated solely because they are Jews.

Commission findings:

"The Ministry of Justice informed the commission that Abraham Gorn was confiscated in accordance with Decree No. 38, 'which was applied to all associates of Somozaism, because of their connections with Somoza and the regime.' (This decree was applied without discrimination based on race or religion.)

"The property of Isaac Stavisky was confiscated in accordance with Decree No. 282. This decree states that individuals or corporations whose property has been subjected to preventative intervention, and who do not appear in person before the Ministry of Justice within 30 days, lose all right to the affected property, which then becomes property of the state."

## Case of Abraham Gorn

In the case of the confiscation of Gorn, the commission said, taken into account was a telegram found in his records, dated January 27, 1979, instructing him to go to the airport to pick up a shipment marked "National Guard Supplies."

By the ADL, Gorn is usually identified as a "textile engineer." In reality he was a factory owner who used the National Guard to break strikes.

The commission reports:

"The workers at his factory accused Gorn of decapitalizing. The CNPPDH investigating commission spoke with various employees of this factory who reported that

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Militant/Michael Baumann  
Part of Palestinian solidarity demonstration of 20,000 in Managua in June 1982. To Reagan this is "evil echo" of anti-Semitism.

a great part of its domestic sales were recorded on unnumbered receipts, so as to reduce taxes on sales and income. They added that the factory 'burst into flames' three days after the earthquake of Dec. 22, 1972, a fire that brought Gorn a large insurance settlement.

"The workers also said that Gorn was frequently visited at his factory by José Somoza [half-brother of dictator Anastasio Somoza] and other high officials of the Somozaist National Guard. They said that on one occasion, during a strike in 1971, Gorn called in the National Guard. They came immediately, entered the factory, and fired tear-gas grenades at the workers."

Somoza-era records examined by the commission reveal that "textile engineer" Gorn, on a commercial farm he owned outside Managua, violated even the dictatorship's notoriously lax labor code.

"The CNPPDH obtained documents that indicate Gorn was the object of numerous labor complaints lodged with the Labor Inspector in Tipitapa by workers at his hacienda La Campana. According to the documents, Gorn acknowledged that he had not paid many social benefits, including vacation time, holidays, or overtime pay during the Somoza regime, and that he had promised to pay them immediately."

Gorn's claim that he was forced to flee Nicaragua was contradicted by none other than his own nephew:

"Gorn was not expelled from the country, his nephew Sehtman Gorn told a member of the CNPPDH. He said his uncle was placed under preventative detention at his hacienda La Campana, near Tipitapa, some 30 kilometers northeast of Managua. He was detained for a week at the police station in Tipitapa. Following his release, he opted for asylum in the Costa Rican embassy in Managua, near his home in Las Colinas. A few days later the government of Nicaragua gave him safe-conduct to leave Nicaragua. A plane was flown in from Costa Rica to take him there. He today owns a textile factory in Costa Rica."

Charge No. 3. Synagogue confiscated and desecrated.

The commission found that neither the synagogue nor the owner, the Israeli Congregation, had ever been registered as such with the department of deeds, entered on the tax rolls, or requested recognition as legal entities in accordance with the law.

The synagogue had in fact been registered as the *personal property* of Abraham Gorn and was confiscated as such along with his other holdings.

The lack of documentation, the commission said, "may have provoked confusion concerning the legitimate owner of the synagogue."

To rectify this, the commission recommended returning the synagogue to the congregation as soon as it filed the necessary legal papers.

An investigation into the case of the synagogue was also conducted by the Managua-based Central American Historical Institute, a widely respected research organization headed by Jesuit scholar Alvaro Argüello. Its report says:

"During the insurrection, the synagogue suffered minor damage when an anti-Somoza rebel placed a bomb near the building. The incident took place during the war against Somoza, and within a context in which Israel was continuing to grant aid to Somoza. The failure to distinguish between the policies of the Israeli government and the conduct of individual Jews may explain the action against the synagogue."

This was, moreover, a single, isolated incident by a single individual. The ADL is understandably silent in citing other cases of anti-Semitic attacks. There have been none.

The Historical Institute continues: "After the synagogue was confiscated, it was turned into a center for the Sandinista Children's Association. The ADL reports that its inside walls were adorned with anti-Zionist propaganda. A visit by the Instituto Historico staff to the locale showed no evidence of this propaganda; however, the staff of the Sandinista Children's Association said that there had been posters hung during a fund-raising campaign for Pales-

tinian children organized by Nicaraguan children following the bombing of Beirut."

#### The question of motive

Is the ADL really interested in the situation of Nicaraguan Jews?

Or is its aim to slander the Sandinista revolution so as to justify increasing Israeli military aid to the reactionary regimes surrounding Nicaragua?

Consider, finally, the following. On August 3, after the Nicaraguan government offered to return the synagogue, Jaime Levy, one of Nicaragua's most prominent Jews, cabled the ADL:

"The government will pay expenses for legal fees but we need the aid of the New York consistory for monthly maintenance of the building-taxes and the rest. Remember, there are hardly three of us."

Levy was out of the country when the *Militant* tried to contact him. But Rolando Najlis, one of the two other practicing Jews referred to in Levy's telegram, told the *Militant* at the end of October: "I haven't heard of any response to the request."

Even if there was, Najlis said, "what good would it do? There are only three of us, and that's not enough for a congregation. I think the building would be better off left as a school. At least then it would have some social use."

Najlis added, "I'll tell you like I've told 10 other journalists, I never, absolutely never, suffered any form of discrimination from the Sandinista government. If I had I wouldn't be here."

## Reporter's notes on Nicaragua's gains

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Nicaragua's workers and peasants really want to continue learning."

That's the only conclusion we can draw, says the vice-minister of adult education, Ernesto Valecillo. Because "despite the economic limitations imposed by imperialist aggression, our adult education programs met 90 percent of their goals" in the first semester this year — 166,000 students, out of a projected 187,000.

In the north, where it is not unusual for night-school students to come to class with books in one hand and a militia rifle in the other, 30,000 took part in the adult education program.

For the second semester, which began in early October, it is hoped to double this number in the border provinces, enlisting 30,000 more students from the farm workers and volunteer brigades that are mobilizing for the cotton and coffee harvests.

Of the 18,000 "people's teachers" who give night-school classes, about a quarter are themselves students, Valecillo says.

The youth in the mass organizations are the most important source of teachers. More than a third of the instructors are between the ages of 15 and 19, and a quarter come from the Sandinista Defense Committees and the peasant and stockraisers organization, National Union of Farmers and Ranchers.

The average level of education in Nicaragua today is about 2.5 years of schooling. The U.S.-financed counterrevolution would like to keep things that way. Terror squads make literacy instructors a special target. So far this year 36 "people's teachers" have been killed and 58 have been kidnapped.

One sign of the growing literacy among workers and farmers is the increasing readership of the Sandinista Front's daily *Barricada*.

Only a little more than a year ago, *Barricada*, with a circulation of 42,000, was the smallest of the country's three daily papers.

Both the independent prorevolutionary *Nuevo Diario* and right-wing *La Prensa* had larger sales (although many of the latter in Miami).

Today *Barricada* is on top, the national circulation has just broken the 100,000

mark — the largest of any paper in the history of Nicaragua.

Much of the increase in readership stems from the work of the mass organizations, particularly circulation drives carried out in the country's largest factories by the unions that make up the Sandinista Workers Federation. Street sales are up too. *Barricada* vender Ramón Canales in the southern city of Granada reports he now sells 200 copies a day, up from 20 when he first began hawking the paper.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front is growing too.

In addition to taking in Sandinista Youth members with three years of exemplary activity, growing numbers of workers, agricultural laborers, and peasants are being brought into the party.

In the most recent levy, 237 new militants were sworn in at a special ceremony October 18, in the northern agricultural city of Estelí.

Most of the new militants are from the Segovia Mountains, bordering Honduras, where fighting is the heaviest.

No figures on the size of any of Nicaragua's 10 political parties (4 right-wing, 6 left-wing) are available.

But it is clear that even in terms of formal membership the FSLN is larger than all others combined.

At national conventions held at the end of September, the right-wing Social Christian and Social Democratic parties could barely muster 300 participants each.

What they lacked in size, they tried to make up in zeal in chanting anticommunist slogans. "Russians and Cubans out of Nicaragua!" was a chant led from the floor at the Social Democrats' conclave, where U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton was a "special guest."

The Social Christian Party announced it would initiate "an active, nonviolent campaign" against the new military service law, but prudently provided no details on what this would involve.

The Social Christians, who appear not to have noticed that the country is at war, declared that compulsory military service is merely a ruse for recruitment to the FSLN.

The big coffee growers of Matagalpa and Jinotega provinces may not be the country's most enthusiastic supporters of

the social changes brought about by the Sandinista revolution; but they like even less the threat of bankruptcy because of counterrevolutionary attacks.

In a meeting with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Langhorne Motley October 15, they gave the visiting U.S. diplomat what must have been one of the shocks of his life.

They read him a formal protest demanding "a halt to aid to the counterrevolution," pointing out that "the private sector... has been seriously affected by the actions of counterrevolutionary military units based in Honduras."

Five governments that are themselves the victims of imperialism have helped recently to drive a big hole through the U.S. economic blockade.

Algeria has now become the world's largest market for Nicaragua's exports. Agreements were signed, during a visit in mid-October by Nicaraguan Junta member Sergio Ramírez, for the purchase by Algeria of \$80 million in coffee and sugar, at prices above the depressed world market level.

Libya, during a visit by Commander Tomás Borge, agreed to provide \$30 million in cash, \$50 million in loans, and a passenger jet liner.

Yugoslavia has granted \$10 million in loans for the purchase of badly needed agricultural equipment, and \$15 million for upgrading Nicaragua's railway system.

North Korea, which signed a \$30 million trade agreement with Nicaragua October 20, has also recently sent a shipload of corn (2,000 tons) and agricultural equipment.

Bulgaria, in an agreement signed earlier this year, has pledged \$179 million in a three-year program to develop 89 projects in agriculture, industry, mining, and transportation. It is also buying \$37.5 million in Nicaraguan agricultural products this year.

In addition, a number of West European governments have continued to aid the Sandinista revolution, though much more modestly in comparison with their resources.

Italy is providing \$40 million in loans for continued work on Nicaragua's geothermal power projects; France, \$10 million in medicine; Austria, a \$10 million line of credit; and Spain, three different lines of credit for a total of \$45 million.



# SWP leaders evaluate Grenada events

## See class battles heating up as rulers press takebacks at home, abroad

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — The recent events in Grenada and their meaning for the confrontation that is shaping up between U.S. imperialism and the workers and farmers of the Americas were at the heart of the discussions and decisions of the recent meeting here of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee (NC).

Invited guests at the five-day meeting included state, local, district, and branch organizers; leaders of the SWP's political activity in the industrial unions; members of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance; and international co-thinkers of the SWP.

Participants included coal miners, garment workers, auto workers, and steelworkers; activists in Central America solidarity committees; members of the National Black Independent Political Party; and fighters for women's equality. The majority of the SWP's membership is industrial workers.

### U.S. invasion of Grenada

The meeting began with a report by Steve Clark for the SWP Political Committee on the Grenada revolution.

Clark pointed out that the U.S. invasion of the Black-populated island flowed from Washington's goal of wiping out every vestige of the four and a half years of the Grenada revolution. The U.S. government wants to impose a proimperialist regime that will reverse the revolutionary course followed by the workers and farmers government led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

The NC reaffirmed the party's previous analysis of the Grenada revolution on several key points.

The March 1979 insurrection against the proimperialist regime of Sir Eric Gairy was a democratic, anticapitalist revolution whose leadership — the New Jewel Movement (NJM) — was consciously guiding the masses toward the establishment of socialism.

Led by the NJM, the masses dismantled the old army, police, and government apparatus and replaced it with a workers and farmers government. The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), based on the armed workers and peasants, relied on mass mobilizations to begin the long and complex process of transforming Grenada from an impoverished semicolon of imperialism to a country where human needs took first priority.

Clark listed the huge obstacles to abolishing capitalism in a country as small and poor as Grenada, with its tiny industrial working class. All these problems were exacerbated by Washington's unrelenting attempts to economically isolate and militarily threaten Grenada from the first day of the revolution.

Despite these obstacles, Clark said, the NJM was correct to take political power and use it to begin the process of constructing a new society. The revolution brought astonishing gains to the Grenadian people, both in improving the quality of life and in the formation of democratic structures to involve the masses in running the country.

The NJM, Clark said, was a Marxist leadership which, along with the Cuban Communist Party and the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, was part of the working-class vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Central America, the Caribbean, and internationally.

The actions and program of the NJM leadership, particularly its most prominent spokesperson, Bishop, became a permanent acquisition of the revolutionary movement. To promote and help preserve these lessons, Pathfinder Press is rushing to print a collection of Bishop's speeches, which will be distributed as widely as possible.

This is particularly important, Clark noted, given the revolution's international impact, especially on Blacks in the United States and Britain.

### Secret faction

Clark then reviewed the events inside Grenada that preceded the invasion and were seized upon by Washington as a pretext for its aggression.

NJM leader Bernard Coard had appar-

ently been organizing a secret faction in the NJM, the army, and the government apparatus for some time. This included pushing aside some central NJM leaders and then finally beginning to raise false charges against Bishop himself — that Bishop was "petty-bourgeois"; that he was a social-democrat, not a real communist, and that he was building up a personality cult around himself.

Coard's faction blamed the objective problems facing the Grenada revolution on Bishop, and put Coard forward as the "real Marxist." The Coard faction was also impatient about the pace of social change in Grenada, and wanted to administratively speed things up.

At the end of September, when Bishop was out of the country, Coard's secret faction had reached such dimensions that it was able to begin systematically disarming the peoples' militias. Bishop's house arrest in mid-October, therefore, marked the culmination of a process that had been going on for some time — the overthrow of the workers and farmers government.

### 'No Bishop, no revo'

The slogan that then appeared on the walls in Grenada — "No Bishop, no revo" — showed that many Grenadians understood that political power was no longer in the hands of the workers and farmers, that it had been usurped by Coard's clique.

A massive street demonstration freed Bishop from jail on October 19. In a last-ditch effort to salvage the revolution, Bishop tried to arm the masses to militarily defeat the traitors who now ran the country. The Coard group, however, was able to use their control of the army to assassinate Bishop and several other central NJM leaders, effectively ending this attempt to save the revolution.

Clark pointed out that it's a sure bet that the CIA had a hand in the events leading up to the overthrow of the PRG. However, Clark stressed, the Grenada revolution was destroyed from within. By their extreme subjectivity and factionalism, the Coard group "gave the Grenadian revolution on a platter to the U.S. with all the trimmings," as one NJM leader put it.

The disorientation and demoralization that flowed from this betrayal dictated the limits of the popular resistance by the Grenadian people to the massive U.S. invasion of their country. The invasion was designed to prevent the success of any attempts by NJM leaders to organize the masses to overthrow the new government.

Clark also discussed the exemplary leadership role that the Cuban Communist Party and Cuban government played internationally in analyzing the events in Grenada as they happened, exposing the lies of U.S. imperialism, and orienting revolutionaries as to how to respond to these events.

The Cubans' response won them new respect among fighters everywhere, including among radicalizing workers, especially Blacks, in the United States.

### War and revolution

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes gave a report which summed up the perspectives for the international struggle between the imperialist ruling classes and the oppressed and exploited classes.

The continuing worldwide crisis of imperialism cannot be solved short of a major new economic expansion of imperialism. It is, therefore, driven to qualitatively cut back the share of the world's wealth that goes to the workers and peasants. This is a question of survival for the imperialists, Barnes said. This transfer of wealth must be carried out successfully both in the semicolonial world and in the imperialist countries, including the United States.

This forcible downgrading of the standard of living of hundreds of millions of people can only be accomplished through force and violence. That's why a massive military build-up is taking place, not only by Washington, but by Paris, London, and other imperialist centers. This is what's behind the wars today from Lebanon to Chad to Central America.

What is shaping up, Barnes emphasized, is the beginnings of a real world conflict.

The center of this resistance to imperialist takebacks is in Central America and the Caribbean. That's where the example of the Cuban socialist revolution is being extended by the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

For the imperialists it is intolerable to allow the example to spread of what can be achieved when capitalist rule is overturned.

That's why the big-business government in Washington has no choice but to send troops — *hundreds of thousands of them* — to try to halt and reverse the revolutionary process in Central America. Grenada was the opening battle of what will become a titanic war in the entire region. And there

is no guarantee that Washington will win this one.

### Upheavals at home

Barnes explained that the decisive difference between what's shaping up in Central America today and the Vietnam War is the character and scope of the response that can be expected inside the U.S. working class.

Accompanying Washington's efforts to drown Nicaragua and El Salvador in blood will be ruling-class efforts to increase the violence, exploitation, and economic pressures directed at working people in this country.

Already, many workers see that the war against the peoples of Central America is part of the same class war that is being carried out against Greyhound workers, Arizona copper miners, and the Black community.

U.S. intervention in Central America is already a big topic of debate and discussion in the labor movement and the Black community. And there are millions of workers in this country from Latin America who identify with the people U.S. troops will be shooting at.

What all this adds up to, said Barnes, is that a big war, with U.S. troops in Central America, is going to be coupled with massive battles here at home — in the labor movement and the Black community. These battles will be bigger than the Black rebellions and huge student strikes that occurred during the Vietnam War. And these struggles will begin to pose the question of which class should run this country.

Yet, Barnes said, the U.S. ruling class has no choice. It will invade Central America, and it will pay the price — at home and abroad.

### Defending democratic rights

An essential part of the ruling-class preparation for war is more and bigger attacks on democratic rights. Defense against those attacks was presented in a report by Larry Seigle for the Political Committee.

Because the ruling class understands the stakes in the coming confrontation in Central America and the Caribbean, they intend to do everything they can to disrupt, divide, smash, and demoralize all those who put forward a revolutionary working-class solution to the coming crisis. Thus, Seigle said, the SWP will be involved in more and more fights to defend its own democratic rights and the rights of the whole working class.

Seigle explained that the working class is the class with the biggest interest in defending democratic rights, which were won through struggles by the exploited and oppressed.

This means, Seigle said, that the working-class vanguard takes the field, politically, as communists and as democrats. The framework is always the same — defense of the class interests of the workers, which includes defense of democratic rights.

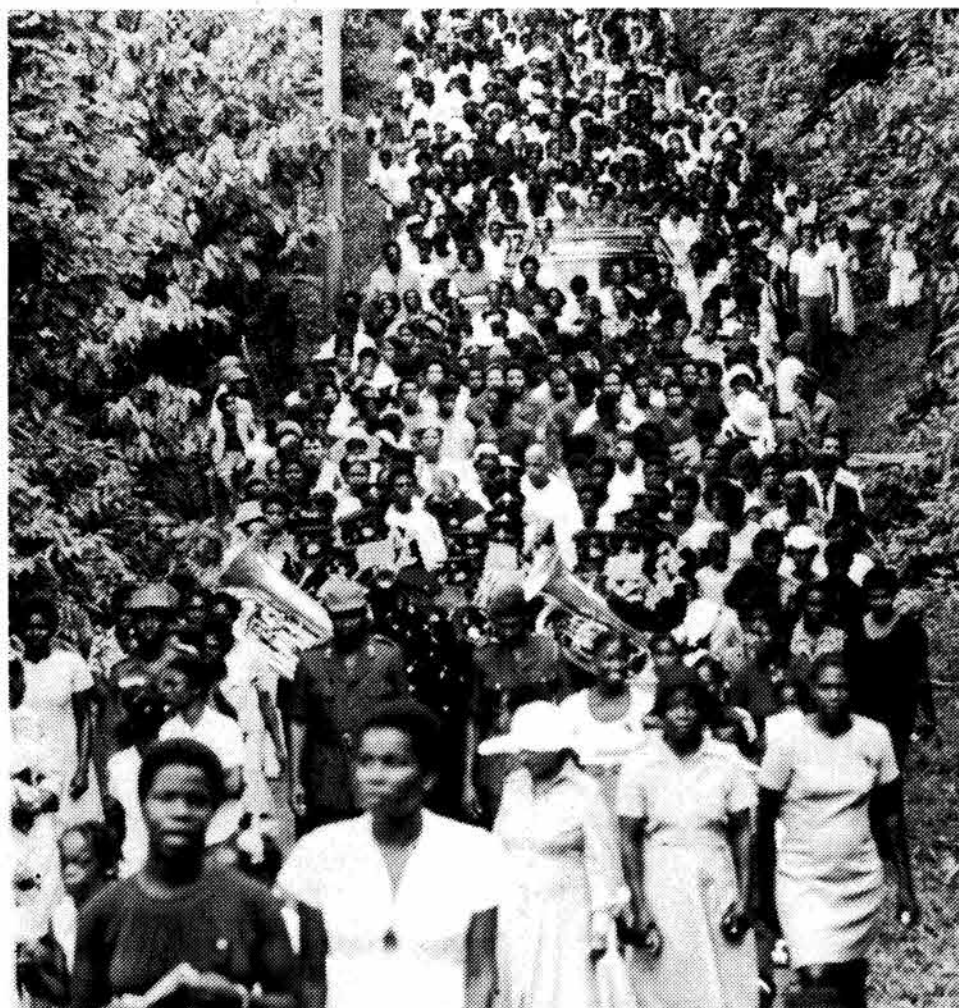
### Party legality

Seigle also addressed the fight for maximum legality for the SWP. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, for example, claims the right to deport noncitizens who are members of the SWP, like the Mexican-born socialist Héctor Marroquín.

The Marine Corps claims the right to court-martial or discharge socialists, as in the recent case of Marine Sgt. Jim Stryfeler, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

And many employers in plants producing military materiel claim the right to fire supporters of the SWP and YSA. Of course, claiming the right to do these things and actually being able to carry them out are two different things, said Seigle. The outcome of these battles is not predetermined. The key is how serious a fight is put up by supporters of democratic rights.

As long as the United States is ruled by the capitalist class, Seigle said, fighters for the revolutionary abolition of capitalism will never be totally legal. The fight for



1980 funeral procession for Grenadian youth killed by counterrevolutionaries. Grenada revolution installed workers and farmers government that mobilized masses to free country from imperialist domination. Bernard Coard's forces overthrew government, opening door to U.S. invasion.





**Greyhound workers and supporters in Los Angeles. Greyhound strike is example of workers' willingness to struggle in face of big assaults by bosses. Class-wide solidarity must be mobilized to push back employers' concession demands.**

maximum democratic rights — for the SWP and the entire working class — will be a permanent feature of building the revolutionary party in the United States.

Seigle also explained that the SWP has a unique record in the workers movement of defending the democratic rights of everyone under attack, whether the party agrees with the victims' ideas or not. No matter who is the immediate target of ruling-class or right-wing violations of democratic rights, Seigle emphasized, it's the working class and the oppressed nationalities that always end up being the victims.

One important battle in the SWP's fight for democratic rights is the fight to force the Fisher & Moest law firm of Los Angeles to pay damages for a disruptive lawsuit that they carried out against the SWP for their client, Alan Gelfand. Seigle reviewed the new stage in this case. He explained that the government is trying to use the case to get the judge to rule that the government has the "right" to infiltrate political organizations through the use of informers.

#### Antiwar sentiment

A report on the U.S. political situation was given by Political Committee member Mac Warren.

Warren pointed out that the Grenada invasion had intensified the discussions in the unions and on the job about U.S. intervention abroad.

The Grenada invasion also confirmed, Warren said, that the way the ruling class intends to try to reverse the deep-seated antiwar sentiment among U.S. working people is through scoring some military victories.

The response of most workers to the bombing of the U.S. military compound in Lebanon was to get the U.S. troops out of there. A majority of workers, however, supported the invasion of Grenada just a couple of days later.

The discussion under the political report revealed that there were a large number of workers, particularly Black workers, that did oppose the invasion from the beginning.

A member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union from Baltimore described the discussions among the predominantly Black and female work force in her plant.

She said that the bombing in Lebanon and the invasion of Grenada sent shockwaves through what had hitherto been a "quiet place." Everyone, it seemed, had a relative in the marines. The day of the invasion, the socialist garment worker decided to circulate a petition during her first break. It was addressed to Reagan and demanded that he stop the invasion and bring the troops home now from Lebanon and Grenada.

She was unsure of the response she would get, since there was a lot of confusion over the meaning of the Grenada events. Within two hours, however, 45

people — almost everyone who was asked — had signed the petition. Other people began circulating it and by the end of the day they had collected 85 signatures.

The petition led to bigger discussions on Grenada and the role of Cuba and also to increased sales of the *Militant*.

#### Takebacks continue

The attacks by the employers and their government on working people's living standards is continuing despite the upturn in the economy, said Warren.

The strikes by Greyhound workers, Arizona copper miners, telephone workers, and airline employees show that the ranks of the unions are willing to fight to defend themselves, said Warren. These skirmishes with the employers, who are backed by the government's courts and cops, have helped a broad layer of workers understand more clearly the class-divided nature of this society, and the need for solidarity with other victims of the bosses' attacks.

The combativity and advancing consciousness of rank-and-file workers, however, has not been reflected in more militant action on the part of the labor officialdom. In fact, said Warren, in the struggles that have taken place, the officials have tended to settle for less than what could be won if they were willing to mobilize the ranks in a determined fight.

In the political arena, the officialdom subordinates the interests of the workers to its support for the two parties of the employers — the Democrats and Republicans. The AFL-CIO convention decision to endorse Walter Mondale's campaign for the Democratic Party presidential nomination means that organized labor will pour \$20 million into Mondale's coffers.

In this context, Warren said, the socialist approach to defending the working class is increasingly seen as a practical program for today. Key elements of the socialists' view are: the need for solidarity with all the victims of the capitalist offensive, both in the United States and in other countries; real union democracy so that workers can wield the power of the union to defend their interests; and political independence from the parties and government of the employers.

Warren also pointed to the leading role that Black workers are playing in the discussions among working people, women, Latinos, and farmers on how to obtain political power. One reflection of this discussion is the decision by Jesse Jackson to run for president in the Democratic Party primaries. The kind of dialogue his campaign is generating means that the opportunities to advance the idea of genuine independent Black and labor political action, outside of and against the Democratic and Republican parties, are very big in the 1984 elections.

Warren pointed to the role that the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) can play in this political ferment. This small vanguard formation has a program and working-class outlook that points

in the right direction for Blacks and other working people.

#### Biggest sales in years

Craig Gannon, the newly elected SWP National Organization Secretary, reviewed some of the party's key tasks.

In response to the Grenada invasion, in addition to initiating and participating in protest actions, the party carried out its single biggest sales effort in several years, selling more than 13,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in one week.

The party also carried out the biggest single weekly plant-gate sales in its history. Almost one year ago, the SWP decided to make sales of the press by every member at a plant gate each week a norm of membership. Gannon reported that the average participation of party members in those sales has reached 60 percent. This marks big progress in reaching thousands of industrial workers with the socialist press every week. It also shows, Gannon said, that more work needs to be done to universalize this norm.

Gannon also evaluated the gains made in the recent *Militant* and *PM* subscription drive (see story on page 12).

#### New hiring

The economic upturn that has begun has meant a modest but important increase in the number of SWP members who are again working jobs in basic industries organized by the big industrial unions. This means, Gannon said, an important increase in the party's ability to be part of the polit-

ical discussions and struggles taking place on the job and in the labor movement.

Important progress has been made, for example, in getting back into the large auto assembly plants that are organized by the United Auto Workers.

The report also confirmed that the party was making progress on its decision to begin to organize its active supporters more systematically as a way to increase the party's forces. Many branches have organized meetings for these supporters which include reports on big political events. Many supporters came forward to aid the party in responding to the Grenada events.

Gannon also reviewed the party's financial situation. Weekly contributions to the party from members is on the rise as more get back into jobs in basic industries. The \$125,000 party-building fund, which had been launched in the summer, was lagging, however, and more leadership attention needed to be paid to it.

The objective developments in the class struggle mean that a number of workers will want to become part of the socialist movement. This is most true of young workers, Gannon said. That makes publicizing and attending the upcoming YSA convention, to be held in St. Louis, of special importance (see story on page 3).

The experiences of socialist workers that were shared at the meeting made clear that as the ruling-class offensive against the peoples of Central America and the people of the United States heats up, SWP and YSA members and supporters are in the thick of the discussions and struggles that are breaking out.

## With an organized effort we can finish party-building fund on time

#### BY HARRY RING

As of this writing there are less than five weeks remaining to complete the Socialist Workers Party \$125,000 Party Building Fund. Because we got off to a slow start, collections have lagged significantly behind schedule. This made it necessary to extend the original December 1 deadline to January 1.

The purpose of the fund is to help meet those financial needs of the organization which go beyond the income from the regular weekly contributions of members and supporters. If we fail to complete the fund on schedule, it will mean added pressure on our 1984 budget.

Meanwhile, we can report a gratifying response to the Farrell Dobbs Party Building Fund. Contributions and pledges for this separate, special fund were taken at memorial meetings for this outstanding party and union leader.

So far, at total of \$12,500 has been contributed or pledged to the Dobbs fund.

But this doesn't in any way diminish the need for a special effort on the \$125,000 fund. As an organized political movement, we strive to function on the most sound financial basis realistically possible. But, invariably, there are political developments that demand a response which, in financial terms, takes us beyond budgetary projections.

One significant example of this has been the momentous events in Grenada, and the response of SWP members to them.

Stepped-up efforts by party activists made possible the rapid publication of the pamphlet, *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers* following his murder October 19. And, by year's end, we'll have a good-sized new book of Maurice Bishop's speeches.

This book will also include Fidel Castro's major speech of November 14 on the Grenada events. The entire speech appeared in the November 25 *Militant*.

In addition to organizing forums on Grenada, SWP members participated in building various meetings honoring the slain revolutionary leader.

On the domestic front, party activists have been working to help build solidarity with the embattled Greyhound strikers whose determined fightback is winning

such encouraging support.

Certainly we have not been slow in responding to these events. Now we have to ensure that our response to the financial challenge confronting us is commensurate.

It will take a special, well-organized effort by all party units to close the gap and complete the fund in full and on time. With such an organized effort, we can do it.

Finally, we urge every *Militant* reader who has not already done so, to contribute to this important fund. Simply fill out and clip the coupon below and mail it in, today.

Party Building	FUND	GOAL \$125,000
		SHOULD BE \$90,000
		\$84,200 WHERE WE ARE

#### I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the Socialist Workers Party 1983 Party Building Fund.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Make checks or money orders payable to Party Building Fund. Send to SWP, 14 Charles La., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# How rank-and-file revolution cha

## Lessons of the fight for mine health, safety, and union democrac

BY LINDA MAY O'BRIEN

The history of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) includes a rich tradition of militant defense of the interests of coal miners in their struggle against the employers and the government. At important times it has set a vital example for the rest of the labor movement.

This was true in the late 1960s when rank-and-file miners began a historic fight to defend their health and safety. This led to a determined struggle against both the employers and the entrenched bureaucracy in the UMWA that collaborated with the employers. The result was that the misleadership headed by UMWA Pres. W. A. (Tony) Boyle was overthrown. It was a virtual revolution in the union.

This process, which established significant rank-and-file democracy and control in the union, is still alive today. The earlier events that brought the union to where it is now hold important lessons for miners and other workers.

The article in last week's *Militant* (the first in this series) outlined the current assault against the UMWA that has been mounted by the coal operators and the government. This article looks at some of the experiences and lessons of the earlier stage of the struggle. It can be helpful to union militants today who are discussing how to map out an effective course to fight back against the offensive of the employing class.

Rank-and-file democracy and control in the UMWA represent a problem for the employers. That is why the coal operators frequently describe this democracy as "unruliness," "irresponsibility," "chaos," and "anarchy."

Union democracy is a "built-in flaw in the union," according to Island Creek Coal Company Vice-president Jack Katlic. "I'm talking about contract ratification and the election," he said. Since the miners won the right to elect their district officials "a line of discipline has been severed in the UMWA," said Katlic. "It used to be you had some kind of discipline on the local level when a union local got a little out of hand," Katlic complained.

Many company officials would like to go back to the way things used to be before

the struggle that changed the UMWA. But the democratic gains of that struggle are an immense source of strength for the union and have been key to its ability to stand up effectively to the employers' attacks.

How were these advances made? What were the problems that faced the miners who led the struggle and what are some of the lessons for today?

### Miners for Democracy

What became known as the Miners for Democracy (MFD) movement in the UMWA developed out of battles in the late 1960s to protect miners' health and safety. The role of the top union officials of that time, who collaborated with the operators and the government and tried to sabotage the miners' struggle, convinced many UMWA members of the need to fight for a new leadership.

This developed alongside and was inspired by other important struggles in the United States. Blacks were winning victories in the fight for civil rights and taking important steps against racist discrimination inside the labor movement itself. Women were beginning to press for equality. A mass movement against Washington's war in Vietnam was growing and demonstrating in the streets. Many workers were beginning to oppose the social cost of the war here at home.

For miners the mid-1960s marked the beginning of the end of a 15-year period of devastating unemployment and mine mechanization that led to a reduction in their numbers from over 400,000 in the late 1940s to some 125,000 by 1964.

This hit Black miners especially hard because the coal companies systematically discriminated against them in training to operate the new machinery.

The coal operators' attacks also took a toll in other ways.

Pension and health benefits for widows and disabled miners were cut. Wage gains did not keep pace with those of other industrial workers.

Safety in the mines was neglected. The scourge of black lung disease, related to the inhalation of coal dust, spread, and compensation for miners disabled by it was virtually nonexistent.

John L. Lewis and other UMWA officials had led important strikes during

World War II when other union leaders openly sacrificed workers' interests to the war effort. Other important strikes won the Welfare and Retirement Fund following the war. But by the 1950s this had given way to a policy of accommodation with the coal operators.

No national contract strikes occurred for almost 20 years. The operators were able to limit the royalties they paid towards pension and health benefits to the low rate of 40 cents per ton of coal mined.

By the mid-1960s the coal operator offensive and the collusion of top union officials with it had yielded results for the employers. Profits were boosted and by 1965 coal production had gone up to over 500 million tons, up from 392 million in 1954.

But this upturn also led to a pick up in employment. More young people went into the mines. Increasingly this included veterans, many of whom had served in Vietnam. Stirrings of rank-and-file protest began to surface in the coal fields. The union membership developed a greater confidence in its ability to fight and win back rights and benefits that had been taken from the union.

This was reflected in protests against the inadequate contracts that Boyle (who became president in 1963) signed with the coal operators. At the time miners did not have the right to vote on their contracts. In 1964 18,000 miners registered their dissatisfaction with one of these deals through a two-week wildcat strike. In 1966 some 40,000 miners struck again.

Similar "unauthorized" strikes occurred in response to arbitrary firings of union activists. In 1965 a strike of 20,000 miners in Illinois took place over this issue. In the same year 10,000 miners struck over the firing of six people in West Virginia, including five local union officers fired for protesting safety violations.

In both cases these strikes were opposed by the UMWA district leaderships which were appointed by President Boyle. When the West Virginia miners — known as the Bellaire Six — formed a defense fund to aid their struggle, Boyle attacked it as "dual unionism."

While many of these battles did not lead to victory, genuine rank-and-file leaders were emerging from them. Many miners were drawing the lessons of the problem the Boyle bureaucracy posed for miners who wanted to defend the union against the operators.

### Farmington disaster

On November 20, 1968, a terrible explosion rocked Consolidation Coal Co.'s No. 9 mine in Farmington, West Virginia. Seventy-eight miners were killed. The response to this tragedy on the part of Consol, the government, and the Boyle leadership of the UMWA had a profound impact on the ranks of the union.

"We must remember that this is a hazardous business and what has occurred here is one of the hazards of mining," West Virginia governor Hulett Smith callously told the miners.

"The company has done all in its power to make this a safe mine," said J.C. Moore, assistant secretary of the Department of the Interior. "We don't understand why these things happen, but they do."

This response angered miners. But many were infuriated when this same pro-company stance was echoed by President Boyle. The day after the blast, while the families of the trapped miners kept vigil, Boyle congratulated Consol for being "one of the better companies as far as cooperation and safety are concerned." Later he added, "As long as we mine coal there is always this inherent danger of explosion."

While government spokespeople like Moore feigned ignorance of the cause of mine disasters like the Farmington explosion, miners themselves had a different view. They knew all too well that the drive for more coal production and greater profits was responsible for these deaths and those of other miners.

Boyle's reaction convinced many that they would have to take the fight against this into their own hands.

### Black lung fight

An issue that many miners saw as closely related to mine safety was health conditions and the dreaded black lung disease. At about the same time as the Farmington disaster the first cohesive and organized movement to demand legislation to protect and compensate miners for black lung began to take hold in West Virginia.

A little more than a month after the explosion the Black Lung Association was formed in southern West Virginia by a small core of union activists working with crusading doctors organized as Physicians for Miners' Health and Safety. The miners included recognized leaders and fighters in their UMWA locals such as local presidents Charles Brooks, a Black miner; Arnold Miller; and Elmer Brown; as well as Earl Stafford and Woodrow Mullens.

The influential coal operators in West Virginia adamantly opposed black lung legislation. The West Virginia Coal Association went on a vigorous campaign against it.

Led by the Black Lung Association, the ranks of the union mobilized to demand that the state legislature act. The miners won the support of other workers, doctors, lawyers, and others.

A large public rally was held in Charleston in January 1969. Miners and their allies pledged they would swarm the capitol building during the legislature's hearings on the proposed law, to make sure the elected officials knew how they felt.

When the Democrats and Republicans failed to act quickly to enact a strong bill, a strike erupted in February involving 95 percent of the state's miners. It lasted three weeks. Black Lung Association Pres. Charles Brooks explained "this time the coal miner is asking for something for himself. So if it takes pressure to get this done, put pressure where it belongs."

As promised, busloads of miners, their families, and supporters rallied in the state capitol. Their slogans expressed their determination not to leave the capitol or go back to work until they got what they came for. "Stop Black Lung Murder," was one. "Let the Senate mine the coal," and "No law, no coal," were others.

This campaign of militant, independent working-class action got results. Ground-breaking legislation was passed and signed on March 11.

It was a victory that demonstrated that the control over the lives and welfare of miners exercised by the coal industry and its political parties could be broken. It gave powerful momentum to the developing ferment throughout the UMWA on the issues of health, safety, and union democracy. It showed the power of united rank-and-file action.

### Health and Safety Act

The victory in West Virginia encouraged rank-and-file miners to press for safety and health legislation on the national level. New organizations sprang up, including one made up of the widows of the Farmington disaster, reflecting the broad social movement for the rights of working people that was developing in the coal fields.

As they had done in West Virginia, the miners and their allies pressured Congress and Pres. Richard Nixon's administration to pass the federal Mine Health and Safety Act. A public campaign was mobilized including demonstrations of miners in Washington, D.C.

The 1969 federal act was a landmark victory for the miners. It required frequent inspections, mandatory penalties for violations, and acceptable coal-dust standards. It gave extensive powers to coal-mine inspectors, including the right to enter a mine and shut it down if necessary. Criminal charges could be brought against the companies.



Miners marched on Washington to demand mine health and safety legislation.

UMWA Journal



# Changed the United Mine Workers

Y

After the act was passed, miners found the government and the operators working against the intent of the bill. Black Lung compensation claims, for example, were being rejected or delayed.

In response the miners continued to rely on their own independent action. The *Bulletin*, published by the Black Lung Association, explained:

"The Black Lung Association is sick and tired of getting the runaround from Social Security flunkies. . . . It appears that the S. puts saving money over serving disabled miners. . . . It seems that the only way miners can get the Black Lung program straightened out is to go to the top and demand that they act — NOW — TO WASHINGTON!"

These efforts pressured Congress to adopt further legislation that strengthened the original act. Nixon refused to sign the bill. Over 1,000 miners went out on strike. There was widespread sympathy among other working people. The Black Lung Association leaders made it clear to Nixon that if he left on an international trip, as planned, without signing the bill, he had better return to the country in daylight because by night "the lights might not be on at the Washington airport." Nixon signed the bill on May 20, 1972.

In this fight too, rank-and-file miners had to contend with sabotage by the Boyle bureaucracy in the UMWA. Boyle supported weaker legislation than the miners ultimately won through their own independent action. His appointed district officials could not even allow the Black Lung Association to use UMWA district headquarters for meetings. More and more miners came to the conclusion expressed by Arnold Miller that "the kind of unity it took to win [the black lung victory] will be necessary to win the fight to clean up the union."

In the summer of 1970 another rank-and-file organization, the Disabled Miners and Widows of southern West Virginia merged. Its spokesperson was Robert Payne, a Black miner disfigured by burns suffered on the job.

This group sought to win fair payments for the widows and disabled miners. When the Boyle administration took no action on the issue, the group used strike action to press their case. Though unsuccessful at the time, their cause received wide attention and became a component of the broader movement developing in the coal fields.

Other strikes occurred that same summer directed against the operators' repeated safety violations. Miners demanded the government enforce the safety regulations mandated in the 1969 legislation. At one point over 20,000 miners were out in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia.

As rank-and-file leader Elmer Brown asked, "Why is it that the health, safety, and lives of working people are always put second to the profits of the operators?" And answered, "We want our rights and we're prepared to fight even if it means closing the coal fields this summer."

## Yablonski challenge

In the midst of these developments an action of international UMWA officers was held in December 1969. Joseph Yablonski, a former district president and a member of the International Executive Board from Pennsylvania's District 5, decided to challenge Boyle for the presidency of the union. He explained his reasons for challenging the bureaucracy, of which he had been a part since 1942:

"I do so out of a deep awareness of the sufferable gap between the union leadership and the working miners that has bred neglect of the miners' needs and aspirations and generated a climate of fear and inhibition."

Yablonski's program gave voice to any of the aspirations of the developing rank-and-file movement. It called for replacing the entire Boyle regime and committed his slate to help lead the fight for



When top UMWA officials would not fight for needs of membership, rank-and-file miners like these took matters into their own hands, threw out the bureaucrats and changed the union.

health and safety. It called for better contract and pension benefits, for restoring the right of the ranks to elect their district officials (known as district autonomy), and for other steps to democratize the union. The district autonomy issue was deeply felt because for years a majority of the union's districts were under receivership and district officials were appointed by the international.

The Yablonski campaign attracted many of the genuine leaders who had come forward in the battles in the coal fields. Elmer Brown, a leader in southern West Virginia was his vice-presidential running mate.

But the campaign also faced certain obstacles. The rank-and-file movement was still in its early stages. The many local struggles and rank-and-file leaders had not yet linked up into a national movement. Yablonski, himself an international official, had not been part of these struggles.

Moreover, the campaign faced the anti-democratic, gangster-like methods of the Boyle regime. Boyle's goons threatened and intimidated the candidates and their supporters. Yablonski was denied access to the *UMWA Journal*, one of the means of reaching the widest number of miners with his proposals.

On election day vote fraud was widespread. Boyle won and Yablonski was credited with about 45,000 votes, a third of the total. His appeal for a union review of the election procedures was denied. He then filed charges with the U.S. Labor Department in an effort to force the union bureaucracy to hold democratic elections.

Twenty-two days after the election Boyle struck back. On December 31, 1969, Yablonski, his wife, and daughter were murdered in their home. On January 7, 1970, some 20,000 miners struck in mourning and protest. Many believed Boyle had ordered the murder. Later he was convicted of the charge.

## Rank and file organizes

A group of rank-and-file leaders from several states decided to continue the fight. Miners for Democracy was formed and utilized the publication *Miners Voice* as its organizing tool. The rank-and-file leaders and the movement they represented did not wait for the federal government to act. Rank-and-file struggles continued and gained a broader base of participation from the membership of the UMWA.

The experience of a 54-day strike over the national coal contract in 1971 coupled with other developments led many miners to important conclusions.

Many were dissatisfied with the contract Boyle negotiated. They became more convinced that rank-and-file miners had to have the right to vote on the contract. As a miner in Ellsworth, Pennsylvania, put it: "We've been getting the shaft time and again. We have to work under the contract. We want to vote on it. It's that simple."

Another lesson many miners were learning was that no matter what health and

safety legislation was put on the books, it was only as effective as the mobilization of miners made it. The law was only enforced when the miners pressed the government to do so.

This realization led many miners to think politically in a new way. They began to look at other ways that the government defended the interests of the employing class against the interests of working people. A key example was Nixon's phony "wage-price freeze" in 1971 that was really aimed at holding down wages and boosting corporate profits.

This new thinking about politics was reflected in action initiated by some of the leaders of the rank-and-file movement although it remained within the framework of the Democratic Party. Arnold Miller, for instance, ran for the West Virginia House of Delegates in 1970. He explained in the *Miners Voice*:

"We learned that we didn't have any coal miners in our state legislature to represent us in our fight. . . . I encouraged as many coal miners to run for seats in the House of Delegates as I could, and then I thought I could run myself to lead the way. . . ."

Harry Patrick, another MFD leader also gave voice to these ideas. "If we can straighten out the UMWA," observed Patrick, "maybe we can straighten out West Virginia. The union should be the leader in the fight for better government. It should lead the fight to protect the environment."

"It should be the leader in the fight against wars like the one in Vietnam, that's taken the lives of our sons, relatives, and fellow workers," said Patrick.

These ideas ring truer than ever today. Miners and the entire working class confront a government that is waging war against workers and farmers abroad and at home. It does this to protect the profits and political interests of big business and the employing class.

The leadership role of Black miners in the rank-and-file upsurge in the coal fields at that time also raised the need for the union to oppose racial discrimination.

Many miners today see the need for the union to also fight against discrimination against women miners, another tool the employers use to weaken the UMWA.

## MFD takes on Boyle

In May 1972 the Labor Department, responding to the pressure from the ranks, ordered the 1969 union election rerun. This was viewed as a new opportunity for the ranks to take over their union and install a leadership accountable to the membership, one that would help lead the fight for miners' interests.

Many rank-and-file organizations and miners came together at a convention of 500 people in Wheeling, West Virginia, on May 27-28, 1972. This convention, brought together under the slogan "Let's make the UMWA stronger," outlined a platform titled the "Miners Bill of Rights." It

spoke to the burning issues that had given rise to their movement: safety, health, and union democracy.

It vowed to replace Boyle's one-man international safety committee with an educated and determined staff to push for strict government enforcement of federal safety legislation. It made black lung compensation and adequate pension benefits and health coverage for widows a goal.

The idea of a six-hour shift, with one shift a day for safety maintenance, was also promoted. So was a serious commitment to organize the nonunion mines.

To return the union to the democratic control of the ranks the MFD campaign stood for the right of the membership to ratify contracts, the right to vote for district officials, and democratically conducted conventions.

The Wheeling convention elected a slate of leaders brought forward by the struggle itself: Arnold Miller for president, Mike Trbovich for vice-president, and Harry Patrick for secretary-treasurer.

The MFD campaign was much more than a group of candidates who proposed some changes in the union. The election was much more than the traditional "ins" versus the "outs" that many union elections turn out to be. The MFD campaign was itself an organic part of a rank-and-file movement that started with the real needs of coal miners. The MFD activists took the campaign to bath houses and mining towns throughout the coal fields from Kentucky to Utah.

Boyle, though under indictment for defrauding the union of funds and soon to be indicted for responsibility in the Yablonski murder, waged a desperate struggle to hang on. His campaign focused on smear tactics and attempted to red-bait the MFD movement as being run by "communists."

This failed. Miners were looking for leadership which would draw its strength from the ranks. Their voice was heard on December 20, 1972, when the MFD slate was swept into office.

As the newly elected officers put it:

"This election has been an historic occasion for the American labor movement. For the first time, you have replaced an entrenched labor bureaucracy with leaders chosen from the rank and file. As fellow coal miners we know the problems miners face. As your International officers, we are going to act to meet those problems."

The MFD victory deepened the rank-and-file movement in the union. It led to further mobilizations of the membership to advance its own interests. How this unfolded over the course of the next 10 years will be the subject of the following article in this series.

Linda May O'Brien is a former underground coal miner. She was employed by Consolidation Coal at its Blacksville No. 2 Mine in West Virginia. She was a member of UMWA Local 1702.



# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

SALT LAKE CITY — Sales at plant gates have been a major activity of socialists here over the fall. We sell regularly at the Kennecott Copper mine, smelter, and refinery; the Chevron and Phillips oil refineries; U.S. Steel; a garment shop organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); and to city workers.

The *Militant's* coverage of the Arizona copper strike has been especially well-received at the Kennecott plant gates. Over the course of the fall, sales teams brought along signs that advertised the *Militant's* support for the copper miners in Arizona. These signs really helped to get the paper in the hands of workers. Later our signs also announced the *Militant* and *PM* coverage of the U.S. intervention in Lebanon. We sell to long lines of cars down the street as the

thousands of workers enter the plant, so we don't often have long discussions. But many workers have their \$1 or 75¢ held outside their car windows as they grab a *Militant* when they pass by our salespeople.

Signs have also been useful at the Chevron sale, helping us to stand out clearly in the darkness of the early morning hours before the day shift. The first time the team brought a sign, we sold four papers.

Over the past two months, we have sold a total of 217 papers at the Kennecott copper facilities. These include 53 at the mine, 85 at the refinery, and 79 at the smelter. Four times we didn't take enough copies of the *Militant* with us and we ran out of papers during the sale. These successful sales continue despite harassment from city police and plant security guards,

who periodically run us off the sale at the mine.

The sales at Kennecott are very important. Kennecott Copper is the largest employer in Utah. The workers are primarily organized by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Although they settled their contract negotiations last spring without a strike, workers at Kennecott are keenly aware of the importance of the struggle being waged by copper miners in Arizona. In our discussions with these copper workers we found out that they are donating \$100 a month from their paychecks to the copper strikers in Arizona.

At one of our copper sales locations, there have been lively exchanges about the strike, about Nicaragua, and about the socialist newspaper. Comments by right-wingers at the gate are generally countered by other workers who buy the papers.

Currently the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance don't have members who work in the plant because of layoffs. The consistency with which these workers buy the *Militant* shows not only their solidarity with the Arizona copper miners strike. It also shows that many of them are receptive to socialist ideas.

At one of the sales at the Kennecott smelter, our team reported that a bus driver stopped his bus and bought a *Militant*, saying he was a union man too. The bus driver also took campaign literature for the Socialist Workers campaign of Bob Hoyle for mayor of Salt Lake City and passed them out to the passengers on his bus.

We also prepared a leaflet advertising the subscription offer for the *Militant* and *PM* to pass out to workers at these plant-gate sales. We want to follow up on these successful sales by turning some of our sales of single issues to these industrial workers into subscriptions.



Militant/Lynn Allen  
Selling *Militants* at November 12 protest in Los Angeles against U.S. intervention in Central America, Caribbean.

## FINAL SCOREBOARD

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Albany, N.Y.	70/92	5/5	75/97	129
Manhattan	150/193	50/47	200/240	120
Los Angeles	100/115	75/93	175/208	119
Newark	110/132	30/33	140/165	118
Atlanta	85/98	5/6	90/104	116
Brooklyn	110/132	40/41	150/173	115
San Antonio	60/68	25/29	85/97	114
Greensboro, N.C.	50/56	0/1	50/57	114
Twin Cities	120/139	10/8	130/147	113
Virginia, Minn.	75/82	0/2	75/84	112
Detroit	85/94	5/5	90/99	110
Price, Utah	35/37	5/6	40/43	108
Harrisburg	35/38	5/5	40/43	108
Boston	95/96	15/23	110/119	108
Salt Lake City	70/69	5/11	75/80	107
Philadelphia	100/104	25/27	125/131	105
Oakland	90/100	15/10	105/110	105
Toledo	70/75	5/3	75/78	104
St. Louis	120/124	0/1	120/125	104
Phoenix	75/89	25/15	100/104	104
Miami	70/76	10/7	80/83	104
San Jose	75/77	15/16	90/93	103
Wash., D.C.	90/98	25/19	115/117	102
Seaside, Calif.	45/46	5/5	50/51	102
Denver	80/91	15/6	95/97	102
San Diego	70/72	30/29	100/101	101
Morgantown, W. Va.	70/70	0/0	70/70	100
Louisville	55/54	0/1	55/55	100
Kansas City	65/65	10/10	75/75	100
Lincoln, Neb.	35/34	0/0	35/34	97
Milwaukee	110/99	10/9	120/108	90
Indianapolis	80/63	0/3	80/66	83
Cleveland	80/64	5/3	85/67	79
Dallas	50/40	15/9	65/49	75
Baltimore	65/48	0/0	65/48	74
Charleston, W. Va.	45/33	0/0	45/33	73
San Francisco	90/62	40/22	130/84	65
Portland	45/28	10/8	55/36	65
Seattle	75/49	5/2	80/51	64
Cincinnati	70/44	0/1	70/45	64
Pittsburgh	135/79	0/2	135/81	60
New Orleans	80/48	5/0	85/48	56
Newport News, Va.	75/41	0/0	75/41	55
Albuquerque	50/32	15/3	65/35	54
Birmingham	70/36	0/0	70/36	51
Houston	60/34	30/11	90/45	50
Tucson	30/15	10/4	40/19	48
Chicago	135/51	15/3	150/54	36
Gary	45/14	5/0	50/14	28
<b>Total sold</b>	<b>3,496</b>	<b>544</b>	<b>4,040</b>	<b>101</b>

## Subscription campaign successful: how we did it

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

From the end of September to Thanksgiving Day members and active supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance waged a campaign to win new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a biweekly, Spanish-language socialist magazine.

As the final scoreboard above shows, we topped the national goal. While not every city reached their local goal, selling 4,000 subscriptions nationally represents a big boost for the socialist movement in the United States.

How did we do it?

During the weeks following the October 25 U.S. invasion of Grenada, socialists mobilized to use the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to counter the giant lie campaign carried out by the Reagan administration against Cuba, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, and Grenada.

Through sales of the two publications socialists linked up with tens of thousands of workers who wanted to discuss why the U.S. had invaded Grenada, Cuba's role, what life is like for workers in revolutionary Cuba, and many other fundamental questions. Subscriptions sold in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion pushed the drive over the top.

The campaign to win 4,000 new readers began September 24 and ended November 19. In the months leading up to the drive, socialists had been meeting and talking with hundreds of workers at steel mills, rail yards, auto plants, garment shops, coal mines, and electronics assembly factories through regular sales at plant gates. These sales have made it possible for socialist workers to reach out to many more workers than they would normally talk to — both in their own workplace and with workers in other industries.

As the economy began to pick up slightly in recent months, socialist workers were called back from layoff or hired into industrial jobs along with thousands of other workers. Sales at plant gates became an indispensable back-up to the discussions and activities on the job.

Tied to the drive for 4,000 new subscribers was the goal of maintaining and increasing the number of plant-gate sales. At the same time a special effort was made to sell subscriptions in the plants.

Socialist workers in Detroit, Kansas City, Toledo, and Dallas sold over 90 subscriptions to auto workers, most of them coworkers. They reported that many of these workers had been unable to find work for months during the height of the recession, or worked when they could find jobs at minimum wage or part-time. Many were Vietnam War veterans, Blacks, and women who were the first to be laid off and now are in no mood to consider concession contracts or another U.S. aggression of the Vietnam type.

Over 70 workers in International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union- and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union-organized shops bought subscriptions to the *Militant*. Sixteen bought *PM* subscriptions.

Similar experiences were repeated with workers in other industries. In spite of widespread plant closings and deep-going layoffs, working members of the United Steelworkers of America bought 66 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 3 to *PM*; 45 members of the United Mine Workers of America bought introductory subscriptions and others renewed. We sold 33 *Militant* subscriptions and 1 *PM* subscription to members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; 34 *Militant* subscriptions and 3 *PM* subscriptions to Inter-

national Association of Machinists members; 22 to Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers members; and 26 to rail workers.

Progress was also made in reaching the goal of 100 percent participation by the SWP membership in sales at plant gates. At the beginning of the drive around 53 percent sold at plant gates; at the end around 60 percent.

An important part of meeting the challenge of selling 4,000 subscriptions was the organization of subscription teams in working-class areas — especially Black and Latino. Branches of the SWP fielded teams in their cities and to areas not recently visited by *Militant* salespeople.

In many cities the socialists reported that there was a new mood among the working people they met as they sold door to door. Many invited the socialists in to discuss the major political events of the week, and thanked them for being introduced to the *Militant*, *PM*, and the activities of the SWP. Many said that they wanted to be kept informed of future activities and have since attended forums and demonstrations against the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Socialists in Phoenix, Tucson, Albuquerque, and Los Angeles combined forces to make regular trips to support the striking copper miners in Arizona. In Arizona 120 copper miners now subscribe.

In Minnesota the subscription drive began with door-to-door sales on the Iron Range, talking with thousands of workers laid off from the iron ore mines. In the first weekend alone they sold 26 subscriptions.

In Mississippi the socialist sales team found receptivity to the *Militant* among people who had never seen it before. Workers at plant gates and on the giant cotton plantations welcomed a newspaper that tells the truth.

Over 300 subscriptions were sold to par-

ticipants in the November 12 demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Hundreds more were sold at other actions including picket lines of striking workers.

A step forward was also made in reaching students with socialist ideas, with 320 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 21 subscriptions to *PM* sold to them over the fall.

Results of the drive show a steady advance in our efforts to reach Spanish-speaking workers in the United States, with a number of areas going over their projected goals for subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Nationally, 544 subscriptions to *PM* were sold, 144 over the initial goal.

This was the first campaign to substantially increase the subscription base of the *Militant* and *PM* since the fall of 1981. It was the first subscription drive the SWP has conducted in the framework of regularized weekly plant-gate sales.

From the beginning it was clear that the goal was a challenge, both because of the "rustiness" in selling subscriptions and because of the political and organizational challenge of expanding plant-gate sales while selling subscriptions. Many branches got off to a slow start but were able to turn it around through discussions and experience.

On balance, the subscription drive accomplished its purpose. Socialists reached out and met tens of thousands of working people in 31 states who are seriously considering new perspectives. Socialists in branches around the country are now discussing how to expand regular sales of the socialist press at plant gates along with keeping in touch with the thousands of new readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, with the goal of winning many of them to membership in the SWP and YSA.



# Nat'l Black party marks advance in clarity, building political vanguard

BY MALIK MIAH

The recent congress of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) received scant attention from the news media, including most of the Black and left press. It was not considered important enough to warrant coverage. Yet for Blacks and for the working class as a whole it was a significant gathering and represented an advance in the consolidation and clarification of a revolutionary Black vanguard.

The NBIPP has only a couple dozen chapters and local organizing committees (locs) around the country. However, its discussions on political perspectives and its building of an alternative party for the masses of Blacks are important for all working people, those who suffer from the blows of the bipartisan government and employer attacks.

The third National Party Congress held November 10-13 discussed the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the escalating war drive by imperialism in the Middle East and Central America, and the political stakes Blacks face in the 1984 presidential elections. (See November 25 *Militant* for report on the congress.)

The importance of NBIPP for the Black liberation struggle and the working-class movement lies in its programmatic perspectives. This program — codified in its charter adopted at the 1981 congress — outlines a perspective that can lead toward winning Black self-determination and end the oppression and exploitation that stems from capitalism.

The latest congress made no alterations of the charter and the discussions on Grenada, Central America, the 1984 presidential elections, as well as on other issues, were conducted in its context.

## What charter says

"Our party," the charter states, "is a political organization which strives to prioritize the needs of the people and unite them around a concrete program. It synthesizes the aspirations of the people, and begins to define political programs and develops an ideological framework for mass political action."

"The National Black Independent Political Party aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation."

Based on those aims, the charter explains NBIPP's relationship to and view of the two major capitalist parties:

"Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours. They have consistently used power and government to create policies

for Black economic underdevelopment, political exploitation and cultural destruction. Their policies reveal contempt for the interests of Black people, and have existed solely for the maintenance of the existing political and socio-economic system.

"So we established the National Black Independent Political Party, understanding that past and its triumphs, failures and possibilities, but reaching to surpass that legacy and to create new forms of economic, political and social power which will enable us to create a new future for our people."

Over the last three years NBIPP has tried to understand and apply these perspectives. This has not been an easy task. The objective pressures faced by the small leadership team composed of individuals from many different backgrounds — nationalists, Pan Africans, socialists, and so forth — have been enormous.

These objective pressures include Washington's campaign to whip up support for its wars in Central America and the Middle East; the increasing attacks on democratic rights; union-busting by Phelps Dodge, Greyhound, Continental, and many other companies; and escalating attacks on gains won by Blacks in the areas of voting rights, housing, education, and affirmative action.

Under these blows, many organizations in the Black community, as in the working class as a whole, have politically retreated. They have failed to lead a response to the racist, antilabor offensive of the government and employers. This has led to some setbacks, particularly for the trade unions, some demoralization, and increased polarization. This was most evident after the U.S. invasion of Grenada, including in the Black community and the unions.

At the same time, anger in the Black community and among all working people is rising. The willingness to fight back exists. The problem is forging a leadership capable of leading that process.

## Source of misleadership

The chief source of the present misleadership that prevails in all social movements is the influence from top layers of the trade union officialdom represented by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Their policies are not based on mobilizing the ranks of the unions and other working people to oppose the attacks of the employers and their government. Rather, they seek collaboration and accommodation with the employers.

In the political arena this means urging support for the employers' parties, particularly the candidates of the Democratic Party. They place the principal blame on Reagan and the Republicans for inflation and massive unemployment, and urge working people to join together to defeat Reagan by backing Walter Mondale for president in 1984. But in fact, these big economic problems are created by the capitalist system, not by any one party or



Militant/Lou Howort

policy. The employers' attacks on Blacks and other workers are bipartisan.

This policy of the trade union officialdom, who head the only mass working-class organizations, influences the political outlook of the major leaderships in the Black, Latino, and women's movements. The leaderships of these movements likewise orient to reforming the capitalist government and system instead of leading a fight to replace it by one led by workers and farmers. The political disorientation of the Black misleadership, for instance, is seen in their single-minded campaign to build a movement to defeat Reagan in 1984.

## NBIPP stays the course

NBIPP, while affected by these pressures, has, after a series of clarifying political discussions, avoided falling into the trap of the two-party capitalist framework. As the recent congress reaffirmed, NBIPP maintains that the road to Black liberation is through independent working-class political action, including building a mass Black party.

NBIPP also recognizes that at this time its perspectives are held by a small minority in the Black leadership. Most other Black leaders oppose NBIPP because it opposes the capitalist system.

NBIPP's views are likewise a minority viewpoint among the masses of Blacks. While most Blacks support many of the demands raised in NBIPP's program, most lack a clear perspective on how to achieve them. They don't yet see a mass Black and working-class party leading a fight for the demands.

An advance made at the party congress was coming to a clearer understanding within the party of the importance of building NBIPP as a step towards building a mass Black political party. This objective was discussed in a situation where pressure is felt by NBIPP. It comes from the misleadership in the Black community that aims to keep Black political activity tied to the Democratic Party and capitalist politics.

The discussion at the congress on how NBIPP could and should take its program to those Blacks inspired by Jesse Jackson's campaign to win the Democratic Party presidential nomination, for example, was set in the context of tapping the anger in the Black community. Those politically attracted to the Jackson campaign especially are potential supporters of NBIPP's perspective of independent Black politics as outlined in the charter.

Most delegates at the congress agreed that the main task facing NBIPP in 1984 is to use its program to help advance the political understanding of as many Blacks as possible. Party members were urged to conduct these discussions on the 1984 elections as participants in the day-to-day political struggles occurring in our communities and workplaces.

## Collective leadership

NBIPP faces leadership pressures that are reflections of the impact of broad economic and political stress as well as the inherent difficulties in building a collective leadership.

The handful of NBIPP leaders represent a political vanguard in the Black community. This flows from their political understanding of how Black liberation is to be achieved — against capitalism — and that beginning to build a political formation to help lead the fight for liberation is essential. Thus they represent a kernel, an ex-

pression, of the alternative leadership to the liberals who are now the major spokespeople for the Black nationality.

Overcoming the problem of leadership in the Black community is one of NBIPP's central aims. The fact that NBIPP exists at a time when most working-class leaders are retreating under the blows of the capitalist crisis underlines its importance. It is an example.

Moreover, NBIPP's difficulties in getting a hearing, winning more activists to join the long-term task of building an independent party, shows that building a party based on a program opposed to racism, sexism, capitalism, and imperialism is not easy. Yet, in spite of the difficulties, the leadership team that is building the party is politically stronger today than it was three years ago when the party began. It is clearer on its aims. It has less illusions about what it will take to achieve them. It has seen many of the initial leaders succumb to the pressures. Some have joined the Jackson campaign, saying building a Black party is unrealistic today, and others have become demoralized.

While NBIPP is a smaller party than it was in 1980, it is now more firmly based on its perspectives and has a leadership that can take advantage of the many opportunities in 1984 and the future. There is a basis to really "build the Party from the bottom up."

Those in the Black community who agree with the charter and the need to build an alternative party to fight for the rights of Blacks should join NBIPP. The major civil rights organizations did not become what they are today overnight. Maurice Bishop, the slain revolutionary leader of Grenada, once explained that building socialism is not like making a cup of instant coffee. That's also true in building a serious political formation opposed to the rulers of this country. Building NBIPP is a step in that direction.

## Congress cuts abortion funds for Medicaid clients, gov't workers

Recent bipartisan votes in both houses of Congress have resulted in new attacks on the right of women to choose abortion.

On November 11, House and Senate negotiators agreed on a spending bill that includes a prohibition on the right of federal workers to use their health benefits to finance abortions except when the life of the woman would be endangered by carrying the fetus to term. Last year, 17,000 abortions were financed by these health plans.

In addition, Congress has renewed its seven-year-old ban on the use of federal Medicaid funds for abortion. Disregarding the health and well-being of the working-class women who utilize Medicaid, the legislators have limited the exceptions to this ban. They say that only if the life of the pregnant woman is in danger can Medicaid funds be used.

Previously, the Hyde amendment had permitted Medicaid abortions in cases of rape and incest as well.

These moves negate the recent Supreme Court ruling upholding abortion as a woman's right to control her own body. It is a blow to thousands of women whose only alternative to a federally-funded abortion is carrying the pregnancy to term or performing an abortion on herself, with all the dangers involved.

## Reading on the Black struggle

### Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

*The struggle to break with the Democratic and Republican parties*

Edited by Mac Warren, this Education for Socialists publication includes articles on the Freedom Now Party, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party, National Black Assembly, and more. 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50.

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*An Important Step Forward for Blacks and Other American Workers*

Education for Socialists publication by Nan Bailey, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren. 32 pages, \$1.25.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.



# L.A. garment workers fight union-busting

BY SETH GALINSKY

LOS ANGELES — At a militant and spirited rally of striking garment workers and their supporters, leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) here vowed to win a contract from Southern California Davis Pleating Co., or force the company out of business.

More than 100 workers and their supporters gathered at the ILGWU union hall on November 20 for the rally. The strikers are predominantly Latino and female. The rally was conducted in Spanish and English.

The 150 workers at Davis have been on strike since August 10 after rejecting the company's blatantly union-busting proposals. The company is demanding a 20 percent reduction in wages, two weeks less vacation, scrapping four holidays, compulsory overtime, and the right to contract out all work.

Those at the rally heard a number of union and community leaders. Cornelius Wall, vice-president of the Western Region of the ILGWU, was one of the speakers. "We think," he said, "it's a terrible disgrace" that the company refuses to negotiate. "But these are brave workers," Wall added, "and we will bring the company to the bargaining table, or see that this company does not exist."

Jim Murray, vice-president of the Amalgamated Transit Union also spoke. Murray represents all Greyhound workers in the Southwest. The audience broke into applause when he introduced 12 striking Greyhound workers who came to show their support for the Davis strike.

"I am happy to have my members here," Murray said, "because they recognize the need for labor unity. If we stay together, if we work together and recognize the need for labor unity, we will win."

"We wouldn't have to be here if we had stopped transportation around the country when they went out to destroy PATCO."

## Referendum vote in California hits bilingual rights

BY BILL BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO — The democratic right to vote is being threatened in this city. On November 8 Proposition O was passed 98,333 to 59,314. The racist measure advocates that ballots and other election materials no longer be printed in Chinese and Spanish.

Federal law presently requires that voters in cities with Chinese and Spanish-speaking communities be provided with materials in their own language. Proposition O mandates the San Francisco city and county Board of Supervisors to urge Congress and the president to alter this law.

Proposition O was designed to fuel the anti-immigrant hysteria that the U.S. capitalist class is trying to foment. They hope to get working people fighting among themselves and blaming each other for the suffering caused by the ruling class itself.

The big-business media here went on a major propaganda campaign supporting the measure. They peddled the idea that passage of the proposition was a foregone conclusion, which kept many people away from the polls.

In addition, the labor movement failed to mobilize opposition to the measure.

Pat Wright, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Francisco mayor, blasted the proposition and called for a vote against it. She said that the Voting Rights Act and its amendments, which guarantee bilingual ballots, "are a precious acquisition of the civil rights movement. The attempt to relegate Chinese and Spanish-speaking people to the level of second-class citizens is part of an attempt to erode some of the very few rights oppressed people have in this country."

"It's no mistake," she said, "that the most prominent supporters of Proposition O — like City Supervisor Kopp and the *San Francisco Examiner* — are among the leading opponents of school desegregation and equal education."

We wouldn't have to be here if we had shut down transportation in honor of the Continental Airlines workers."

Miguel Machuca, western states director of organization for ILGWU, was the final speaker. He spoke of the difficulties the strikers have faced and the sacrifices they've made. "But," said Machuca, "all those problems, those sacrifices, have not deterred us. We have grown and the morale of the workers is increasing."

"There is no sacrifice too harsh, no instrument that can hold back this struggle. The bosses of Greyhound and Davis are saying 'Give me, give me, give me.' Well, we will give them. We'll give them struggle and blood. Long live the strike!"

Rally participants then took cars and buses to the home of Gene Davis, the owner of Davis Pleating, for a picket. Messages of support and donations to the strike fund can be sent to Strike Workers Committee, ILGWU Southern California District Council, 400 West 9th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90015.



Militant/Lynn Allen

Striking Southern California Davis Pleating Co. workers in November 12 demonstration in Los Angeles demanding "U.S. out of El Salvador!"

## Black socialist blasts Miami bosses

"At the Tiger Bay political club luncheon this week, [Jackie Floyd] likened President Reagan's 'rescue' of American medical students on Grenada with the Bay of Pigs invasion."

"She went a step further and said she wished the outcome had been the same, a remark that brought howls of rage and cries of 'Castro lover' from the audience."

"If she had been a man," said Hal Bergida, a club officer, "she would have been in a fistfight." — News item in the November 5 *Miami Herald*.

BY MARK BLACK

MIAMI — The Tiger Bay Club is an exclusive club of rich businessmen and politicians. They hosted a major debate for the mayoral candidates that received extensive coverage in the media.

It was the most hostile crowd the Socialist Workers Party candidate Jackie Floyd faced in the campaign here. But because the media was there it was an important opportunity to get her campaign known more widely.

The candidates for mayor debated each other half a dozen times on television, radio, and in community meetings.

In every debate the socialist candidate got her message through clearly — against Reagan's wars, against police brutality, in support of unions, and for women's rights. She argued that the main division in Miami is between the workers and their employers — not between the three "ethnic" groups the other candidates always referred to: Blacks, whites, and Cubans.

Politics in this city has a right-wing image. It is backed up by a real history of right-wing terrorist attacks. A month before the November 15 election, the *Herald* ran a front-page article documenting ties between the 10-year incumbent, Maurice Ferre, his best-publicized challenger, Xavier Suárez, and right-wing terrorist groups.

Socialist views are not supposed to be expressed here.

So, the landlords, bankers, factory owners, and politicians in the audience at the Tiger Bay Club confronted one of their nightmares when Floyd got up to speak:

"I am a garment worker, a poor person. I know that I am addressing those who are the source of our problems."

"I am speaking for the workers at Eastern Airlines, the workers in the factories, the people who just served your food."

"The problem we face is a government at war — against working people and poor people at home and abroad."

"I demand that the U.S. get out of Grenada and Lebanon. We have to stop Reagan from taking other young men like Guillermo San Pedro from Hialeah and Curt Smith from Liberty City to die for the rich."

"We should stop all war spending — those billions should be used to deal with the problems of jobs and housing."

"I ask why you can sit here in the fancy DuPont Plaza Hotel and eat well while in my neighborhood people don't have decent housing. (Boos)"

"It's because this government and the whole system is run for the rich."

"I'm running to call upon working people to come together. We need our own party, a labor party, and our own candidates — not those bought and paid for by the rich, such as Ferre, Suárez, Simonhoff, Rolle, and Lambert. (Boos)"

"I saw the real hope for our future," Floyd continued, "when I went to Grenada last March. I saw the progress that workers and poor people were making there with the revolution. I saw what Reagan wants to crush with his invasion. (Boos)"

"I know he'll have the draft soon for his wars in Central America and the Caribbean and in the Middle East. He's going to take more youth from Overtown and Little Havana and send them to die for the rich. I am opposed to this."

One of the biggest tests for the campaign came in the clothing factory where Floyd works in Hialeah.

Hialeah, a city with a majority Cuban population right next to Miami, has the largest concentration of clothing factories in the area. Around the time the campaign began, Floyd was hired at Coleman clothes, one of the few union-organized plants. She joined the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union a month later.

In the week before the election, a big article appeared in the *Miami Herald* about

the socialist campaign. The same evening she appeared on a half hour program on WQBA — "Radio Cubanísima," the most popular radio station in the city. The following day she took off work for some campaign events including the debate at the Tiger Bay Club.

That same day, right-wingers at Coleman made up picket signs and marched around the lunch wagon demanding she be fired. They started a petition and kept the plant in an uproar all day with workers arguing for and against her right to a job.

But the union business agent stated that Floyd had done nothing she should be fired for, and if she had any trouble, the union would back her. The company decided to take no action against her.

When she returned to work the next day, most of the workers made a point of being friendly to her. None, not even the right-wingers who demonstrated the day before, made any hostile remarks.

One of Floyd's campaign supporters who works at Coleman put it this way: "The right-wingers suffered a setback. They could not get Jackie fired. They could not whip up a majority of other workers to take action against her."

"As several days passed, more and more workers have indicated to Jackie and me that they thought she had a right to the job, and that they were not part of the right-wing campaign."

## Gov't defeated in Foat trial

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

On November 16 a Louisiana jury found Ginny Foat not guilty of murder. Foat, former president of California state National Organization for Women (NOW), had been charged with killing an Argentine businessman in a New Orleans suburb in 1965. The jury's verdict is a defeat for the government, which sought to use the trial to smear the women's rights movement and make inroads against democratic rights.

Foat was arrested in January of this year on a warrant issued in 1977. She challenged the government's right to arrest her on a six-year-old warrant regarding an alleged crime that took place 18 years ago. The Louisiana Supreme Court, however, ruled on September 30 that Foat would have to stand trial.

The prosecution's only bit of evidence was the testimony of John Sidote, Foat's former husband. Sidote, who beat and sexually abused Foat while they were married, was a hostile witness. He is currently serving a 25-year sentence in a Nevada prison for a 1965 murder in that state. In 1977 Sidote confessed to slaying the Argentine businessman near New Orleans, and implicated Foat in the crime. Louisiana officials promised Sidote immunity from prosecution if he would testify against Foat.

The big-business media also tried to rail-

road Foat into prison. Pre-trial media coverage was so intense that the state District Court hearing the case delayed the trial until November 7.

The capitalist media tried to demean Foat's character by harping on her several marriages and a supposed job as a go-go dancer.

But the main target of the smear campaign was the women's rights movement itself. Fighters for women's rights were being cast as cold-blooded murderers. It didn't take the jury long to see through the government's flimsy case. After the verdict one juror said, "We discussed it for two hours, we covered all the angles and took one vote. There was no disagreement."

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# L.A. suit challenges illegal cop activity

## ACLU action will spotlight police ties with John Birch Society

BY HARRY RING

A Los Angeles cop who spied jointly for the police and a John Birch Society front operation may be the star witness in a damage suit on behalf of a host of victims of illegal activity by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

A California judge granted immunity from prosecution to LAPD Detective Jay Paul. Unless reversed, this means Paul will have to testify in a suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California on behalf of 131 individuals and organizations seeking damages from the cops. The trial is slated to begin December 5.

Paul was a member of the LAPD's Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID), a scandal-ridden spy outfit that was dissolved last spring and replaced by an Anti-Terrorist Division with the same antiliberties function.

Last January it was disclosed that Paul had 180 boxes of secret police dossiers, totaling some 100,000 pages, stashed in his home and garage. It was then revealed that he was feeding these into a computer setup operated by Western Goals, a "foundation" created by the late Rep. Lawrence McDonald. A Georgia Democrat, McDonald was president of the ultraright Birch Society when he died on the Korean plane that violated Soviet territory.

Initially, the LAPD tried to suggest Paul acted on his own in feeding the secret files into the Western Goals data bank.

But an investigator retained by the Los Angeles City Council advised that the city pay Paul's legal fees in the ACLU suit since evidence strongly suggested that Paul had acted with the approval of his superiors and that reports based on the material held by Paul were routinely made available to the LAPD.

At least one of Paul's spy reports — on a California judge who presided on an aspect of the ACLU suit — reportedly went to the office of Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates, also an outspoken right-winger.

The Paul revelations broke in the media last January as the result of an earlier string of disclosures about illegal activity by the LAPD.

### School dossiers

In November 1982, an associate superintendent of the Los Angeles school system told a reporter that several years previous he had been offered secret LAPD files relating to the ongoing fight against school segregation and for busing.

He said the proffered material included files on some 300 school employees and others favoring desegregation and that the cops told him, "Here's some solid derogatory information about some of your employees."

The Los Angeles County district attorney announced a probe of the PDID and that a grand jury would investigate the apparent removal of files.

At that point, Detective Paul came forward with a single box of files — relating to the proponents of school desegregation — which he said he had at home.

Visits to his home and garage then turned up the other 179 boxes.

Paul reportedly entered LAPD confidential files — illegally — into the Western Goals computer, along with material forwarded from the outfit's national office in Alexandria, Virginia.

The computer equipment, whose location was kept under wraps by Western Goals for "security" reasons, was set up in the Los Angeles law office of Paul's wife, Ann Love.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Paul told investigators that he tapped into the computer bank to compile intelligence reports for the LAPD. He also reportedly showed his superiors in the PDID how they could use a video display terminal in their office to obtain information from the Western Goals system.

A *Times* "police source" said Western Goals had a reputation for serving as a "clearing house" for certain police departments which have been barred from keeping political files on citizens.

By funneling such illegal information to the Birch front, the police circumvent court orders and other restraints and retain access to a broad range of "laundered" intelligence material.

### Helping 'crippled' FBI

A 1981 fund pitch for Western Goals declared it was filling "the critical gap caused by the crippling of the FBI, the disabling of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the destruction of crucial government files."

Western Goals literature advises that "thousands of documents related to the internal security of our country and the protection of government and institutions from communist-controlled penetration and subversion" have been computerized and are "just a push of a button away from our veteran analysts who will continue to work closely with the official agencies in charge of our protection."

When the revelations broke about Paul's possession of the LAPD dossiers, Western Goals quickly retrieved its computer tapes from him.

Afterward, Police Chief Gates told reporters his investigators had gone to Virginia to persuade Western Goals to turn over LAPD material Paul had fed into the computer but, he said, the foundation was not cooperative.

The chief, who generally sees civil liberties as only one step removed from communism, took quite an understanding attitude, explaining that the Birchite officials "have certain rights and they are protecting those rights."

(According to the *Times*, Detective Paul had earlier helped set up an interview with Chief Gates for the Birch Society's *Review of the News* and the chief made the cover of the magazine's Sept. 24, 1980, issue.)

When the Los Angeles City Council was advised as to the likely ties between the police and the Birch society, the council members were reported fearful that the scandal would continue to mushroom.

And rightly so.

This past October, O'Melveny & Myers, the city's second biggest law firm, accused the LAPD of misconduct against it.

The prestigious firm charged that in 1977-1978 one of its clients, a member of the Black Panther Party, was actually an LAPD plant and was monitoring the firm's confidential discussions with the Panthers regarding a suit being considered at the time against illegal police harassment of the party.

The firm had agreed to represent the Panthers without charge as part of its community legal services program. The Panthers had been the target of heavy police victimization and wanted to sue to put a brake on the cops.

### Breach of confidentiality

One of the four Panthers delegated to meet with the firm while the case was being prepared and negotiated with the police was a man named David Bryant.

Files obtained by the ACLU in preparation for its pending suit revealed that



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

In 1975, delegation including Political Rights Defense Fund representative Steve Schmuget (left) met with Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley (right) and police officials. Delegation demanded action against right-wing terrorists attacking Socialist Workers Party and others. Bradley assured police were on the case, but there were no arrests. Recent revelations confirm police cooperation with right-wingers like Birch Society.

Bryant was an undercover cop assigned by the PDID to infiltrate the Panthers.

He regularly reported to the police on the development of the Panthers' case which, in 1978, was settled out of court.

In a belligerent response to the law firm's complaint, Chief Gates demanded an apology and accused the lawyers of "lack of good citizenship."

The use of a police spy against both the Panthers and their attorneys is a small part of the LAPD's illegal drive against the Panthers and other opponents of racism.

Back in 1971, Louis Tackwood, an ex-informer for the LAPD surfaced. He told the media he had helped set up a police shootout against the mosque of the Nation of Islam. He had also been involved in a police-promoted shootout between the Panthers and US, a cultural-nationalist group. Two Panthers died in that confrontation.

Tackwood also testified that L.A. secret cops had advance knowledge of the 1970 Marin County, California, courthouse shootout where four people died. The cops did nothing to prevent it.

This was the widely publicized episode where activists took a judge hostage and police responded with guns blazing. In the aftermath, authorities tried, unsuccessfully, to railroad Angela Davis as an "accessory."

Later a Marin County public defender presented added evidence substantiating Tackwood's assertions about the role of the L.A. cops.

None of this was really new. Since the 1920s, the LAPD had a functioning "red squad." In the 1950s, it became the "Criminal Conspiracy Section." In 1970, it was redubbed the "Public Disorder Intelligence Division." And now in the wake of the revelation of the tight relations between the cops and Birch Society, it's the "Anti-Terrorist Division."

### Leave it to the chief

The only difference between the PDID and the ATD is that the ATD is to be directly responsible to Chief Gates.

According to liberal critics of the cops, this is "progress" since it will assertedly make the chief more "responsible."

The current scandal had its roots in revelations that broke back in 1975. A local newscaster reported at the time that a member of the civilian police commission learned the PDID had a dossier on his wife who was a member of Women For, a liberal grouping whose activity had included helping to elect Mayor Thomas Bradley.

Responding to the revelations about the police spying, city officials hurriedly announced that a staggering 1.9 million files, involving some 55,000 individuals and organizations were being destroyed. The operation was so massive that it had to be subcontracted to a private shredding company with police files moved out by the vanload.

The action was obviously intended to thwart law suits in which disclosure of files would be demanded. But Mayor Bradley, a former police lieutenant, tried to put a different face on it, pretending that it represented an end of the era of police spying on innocent individuals and groups.

Authorities did concede that some 2,500 files on about that number of organizations and individuals were being maintained.

And that probably didn't count those turned over to the Birchers for safe keeping.

Indeed in the very period when the LAPD was pretending to be cleaning up its act there was a wave of right-wing terror bombings. In a four-month period beginning in February 1975, when the stories of the files broke, there were 14 bombings of left-wing groupings, including several directed against the Socialist Workers Party. There were no arrests.

### No sweat

In March of that year, a local Nazi gave an interview to the Los Angeles Free Press, a weekly, boasting of the role of his gang in the bombings. He said, "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the Left."

Throughout all of these revelations of illegal police activity, the role of the Los Angeles Police Commission has been particularly shabby. It has persistently refused to expose what the cops are doing and has even tried to whitewash it. This despite the fact that it has now been established that the cops have maintained dossiers not only on wives of commission members, but on commission members themselves. It has been confirmed there were files on two former police commission members now in the judiciary. One is a California state judge, the other sits on a federal appeals court.

One former police commission member, now a federal judge, is Mariana Pfaelzer. She heard the trumped-up case brought by Alan Gelfand against the Socialist Workers Party.

Involving a costly diversion of SWP resources, the case was based on what Judge Pfaelzer now admits was a patently absurd and slanderous accusation that the SWP is in fact an FBI front. Meanwhile, she permitted the case to continue for four years.

During Judge Pfaelzer's tenure as a member of the police commission, new "guidelines" were adopted purporting to establish that the PDID would keep files only on those who threatened to "disrupt" the public order.

Pfaelzer conducted what she said was a card-by-card audit of the PDID and reported she had found "a genuine attempt... to adhere to the letter and spirit of the guidelines."

The ongoing revelations about persistent police violation of constitutional rights demonstrates that Judge Pfaelzer's claim is as fraudulent as the "guidelines" themselves.

### PR Defense Fund

Help put an end to lawsuits aimed at disrupting and harassing organizations of the working class and its allies; support the effort to make the law firm of Fisher and Moest financially liable for representing Alan Gelfand, who tried to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party in court, while knowing he had no case whatever.

Send tax-deductible contributions and messages of support to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



**Meal on wheels** — A New York official rejected the charge that the city was doing little to feed the hungry. Right. Like recently



Harry Ring

when Mayor Koch blacked out in the toilet of his favorite Italian restaurant. He and two friends had scarfed down four bottles of wine and the mayor had spaghetti, plus an order of veal chops. He bolted

for the john when they brought dessert and coffee.

**That laid the irradiated egg?** — The Xmas table setting at the home of secretary of war Weinberger features a life-sized silver goose.

**Just ship them to Grenada** — The U.S. Army is using a specially designed video war game to test various military capacities under stress. Next, an army scientist said, they plan to have the game played in a heat chamber so they'll know how GIs can perform "in a field setting where heat and humidity are present."

**Striking an average** — The government says total U.S. income in October translated into \$10,259 for every man, woman, and child in the country. That would mean that if the money were actually spread around somewhat equally and your household includes a couple, plus three kids, you would have an income of \$51,295. Actually, yours may be a bit lower than that. But then you can safely assume your boss's is a bit higher.

**Two tokens?** — The Treasury Dept. got flak with its promotion photo of 45 business and government execs who are bond boosters. All 45 are male. A govern-

ment spokesperson advised that most chief execs are male. One booster, Roger Smith of GM, hastened to add he has no problem working with women and, in fact, GM has two on its board.

**Sock it to 'em** — Aston Martin claims its Lagonda is totally hand made and that the aluminum body is finished with 23 coats of lacquer. Only 24 cars are allocated for the U.S. market each year and an ad suggests you buy one in order to "Demoralize thy neighbor." ("Should they ask where they can get one, tell them they probably can't.") How much are they? Like they say, if you have to ask...

**The bright side** — If you've been disturbed by the escalating price of beer, you may be comforted to know that France will turn out a record 300 million bottles of champagne this year, and the price is not likely to be higher than the 1982 vintage.

**The march of civilization** — Charles of the Ritz, perfumers, will be marketing an aroma-disk player. When the disk is slipped into the player, it produces a smell. The initial catalog includes 40 different scents — "seduction," "men's world," "ocean breeze," etc. The company said it bought the rights from an inventor who doesn't want to be identified.

## Nicaraguan gov't counters U.S. invasion threats

Continued from front page  
the defense effort.

The Sandinistas have demonstrated to their own people that they are willing to negotiate, that they are willing to make concessions that do not compromise the country's sovereignty or revolutionary principles — and that if war comes it is because Washington was not willing to reciprocate.

Washington's response has been twofold. On the one hand, the U.S. media has tended to exaggerate Nicaragua's concessions. The intent is to spread confusion among supporters of the Sandinista revolution, hoping that some will fall for the sucker-bait that the Sandinistas may be "selling out."

On the other hand, U.S. administration representatives have stated that the concessions in reality mean nothing. That, for example, the withdrawal of Cuban teachers was simply a normal end-of-the-year rotation of personnel.

The truth is, however, that the Sandinistas have made concrete concessions to demonstrate their willingness to negotiate. And they are demanding before world public opinion that Washington do the same.

Each of their moves has been intended to show that they meant what they said in the four-point peace proposal they presented to the so-called Contadora group of countries October 15, and to the White House October 20.

In that proposal, Nicaragua accepted all major demands made by Contadora — the committee made up of the governments of Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, and Panama that is seeking to initiate peace talks in Central America.

Nicaragua agreed to: 1. send home all foreign military advisers; 2. not use force to settle any conflict with other Central American governments; 3. not send arms

to El Salvador; 4. begin immediate negotiations with neighboring countries to reduce the arms buildup on all sides in the region.

In return, Nicaragua demanded that the other governments in the region, and the United States, agree to the same thing.

Following a meeting here November 23 between the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) Political and Diplomatic Commission, the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, and the FSLN Department of International Relations, FMLN leader Salvador Samayoa stressed the FMLN's confidence in Nicaragua's solidarity.

The fate of Nicaragua and El Salvador are inseparably linked, Samayoa said. "The imperialists' strategy of aggression is obviously regional; no step is taken in isolation."

"If imperialism is militarily occupying Honduras, it is with the aim of destroying Nicaragua and the Salvadoran revolutionary movement."

"If they invade El Salvador, it is with the aim of liquidating our forces in order to isolate Nicaragua and later invade it."

"If they intervene in Nicaragua, it is with the aim of weakening the revolutionary process in the entire region."

Finally, it is the considered judgement of the FSLN that the Nicaraguan revolution is strong enough to make concessions to domestic opponents — the bourgeoisie, the church hierarchy, and rich farmers — and to imperialism (withdrawal of some Cuban volunteers) without endangering the safety of the revolution.

Two recent examples of the mobilizing capacity of the revolution indicate the basis for this assessment.

The first occurred following the main Sunday masses in Managua October 30, when the Catholic Church hierarchy tried

to organize an antidraft demonstration. In a decisive test of strength, overwhelming mobilization of the mass organizations peacefully prevented the reactionaries from even stepping out into the streets.

The second came just after midnight November 15, when a call went out to Managua's Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) and militias to immediately begin construction of air-raid shelters and

trenches.

Major U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers were scheduled for November 18, and it was thought this could well be the beginning of an invasion.

Within 24 hours a circular defense perimeter was thrown up all around Managua (a city of some 40 square miles), and thousands of air-raid shelters and foxholes were dug in the interior of the city.

## Borge: 'It's their turn to speak'

The following has been excerpted from remarks made by Commander Tomás Borge in Managua on November 24 to a delegation of visiting U.S. doctors.

We have expressed to Contadora, with a clarity that precludes doubtful or suspicious interpretation, that Nicaragua is prepared to initiate immediate discussions leading to immediate agreements to freeze what has been called the arms race in Central America.

This means Nicaragua's renunciation — if agreement can be reached, and we are fully prepared to reach such an agreement — of acquiring certain types of arms necessary for conventional war, the limitation of the number of such arms in accordance with agreements attained. At the same time Nicaragua has made clear, also within Contadora, that it is prepared immediately to remove foreign military advisers, in the context of a simultaneous withdrawal of all foreign advisers in Central America.

The advisers are important for technically developing and arming, but in our case they are not absolutely essential.

We have had assistance in military train-

ing, as is well known, from our Cuban brothers who, with extraordinary respect, have restricted themselves to their technical functions and made no effort to influence our political decisions. In any event, they have been technical advisers for defense, not aggression.

If agreement is reached, we will ask the Cuban government, while expressing our warm gratitude for the service they have rendered, to withdraw their advisers immediately. Are the governments of Honduras and El Salvador prepared to do the same as Nicaragua?

In Honduras there are not advisers, but rather foreign occupation troops. Are they prepared, for the sake of peace, to get rid of these troops, these supposed advisers, who are an outrage to the dignity of their nation?

Nicaragua can get rid of its foreign advisers tomorrow. Can Honduras say the same? Can the Salvadoran generals? It is their turn to speak...

We are prepared to seriously negotiate our differences with the United States and Honduras. Are Honduras and the United States prepared to negotiate seriously with Nicaragua?

## CALENDAR

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**U.S. War Policy: Is It Leading Towards "The Day After?"** Speaker: Halkett Allen, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-128, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9640.

#### San Diego

**"The Day After": How to Prevent It. What Can Working People Do to Reduce the Danger of War?** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**Support the Greyhound Strikers: How to Defend Workers' Rights.** Speaker: Terry Hardy, member Socialist Workers Party, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-522. Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Tribute to Farrell Dobbs.** Speakers: Helen Meyers, Elizabeth Lariscy, Andrew Pulley, others. Sat., Dec. 10, 8 p.m. 7146 W. McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist

Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**What Life is Like in the Soviet Union Today.** Slide show and presentation. Speaker: Mimi Pichey, member of Newark Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from visit to Soviet Union. Translation to Spanish. Preforum dinner (\$3 donation), 6 p.m.; forum (\$2 donation), 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (cor. Raymond). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Teach-in on Palestine.** Panelists: Noam Chomsky; Uri Davis, Israeli peace activist; Mark Solomon, U.S. Peace Council; Samih Farsoun, Palestinian professor and author; John Clark; Rabbi Elmer Berger; Fred Dube, professor of African studies, SUNY; Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition. Sun., Dec. 11, 12 noon to 8 p.m. Washington Irving High School, 17th St. and Irving Place. Donation: \$2. Ausp: November 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 695-2686.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**The Grenada Revolution.** Slide show and report on life in revolutionary Grenada presented by U.S. workers who visited Grenada before

the coup and U.S. invasion. Sun., Dec. 11, 7 p.m. 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Piedmont Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Why the U.S. Government Goes to War.** A Young Socialist Alliance Educational Conference, Sat., Dec. 17. Class 1: "Why Washington Fears the Grenada Revolution." Speaker: Andrew Pulley. 12 noon. Class 2: "The Cuban Revolution — Its Meaning for U.S. Workers." Speaker: Tamar Rosenfeld. 3 p.m. Forum: "U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!" Speakers: Omari Musa and Jim Stryffeler. 7:30 p.m. followed by YSA fundraising party. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2 per event or \$5 for conference. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Socialist Workers Party Headquarters Grand Opening and Rally: U.S. Out of Grenada, Central America, and Lebanon!** Speakers: Kaisha Brown, activist in African-American Coalition for a Free Grenada; Sonia Sánchez, Black activist and poet; Andréa González, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance; Rev. Paul Washington, rector, Church of the Advocate; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 10. Refreshments, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. party to follow. 2744 Germantown Ave. (one block north of Lehigh). Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (215)

225-0213.

### Pittsburgh

**Farrell Dobbs: Celebrate the Life of a Revolutionary Fighter.** Speakers: Kipp Dawson, Al Duncan, Louise Armstrong. Sat., Dec. 3, 7 p.m. 141 S. Highland Ave., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

**Why Washington Wages War Against Nicaragua.** Speakers: Andy Hope, member Central America Mobilization Coalition just returned from Nicaragua; Jon Hillson, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 10, 7 p.m. 141 S. Highland Ave., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**Farrell Dobbs Tribute Meeting.** Speakers: Mary Zins, others. Fri., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 677 S. 700 East. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Farrell Dobbs Tribute Meeting.** Speakers: Kathy Owen, Milwaukee Socialist Workers Party chairwoman. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. 4704 W. Lisbon. Donation: 1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



# Greyhound strikers are standing solid

Continued from front page

ers before making the arrests, eliciting from one unionist the question, "Where do you think this is? Grenada?"

In New York on November 23, more than 2,000 unionists rallied and then marched through the Port Authority terminal, which services Greyhound and other bus lines. At 7 p.m., with its ticket sales reduced to practically nil, Greyhound shut its gates.

ATU members and their supporters cheered wildly. Some leaped in the air. A Black woman near this reporter said, "It's so good to see our side win one." Pickets shook each others' hands and sang "Amen," the civil rights song.

In Boston, too, the unionists saw Greyhound's closing of operations as a big victory.

In both cities, as elsewhere, travel on Greyhound was cut sharply, while there were huge crowds at Trailways and other bus lines.

The pickets encouraged this, both in talking with bus passengers and when they chanted, "Go Big Red [Trailways] — the dog is dead!"

In Boston, an older woman told TV reporters she was taking Trailways for the first time.

"I wasn't about to go down there and help that vicious company take people's jobs away from them," she said.

## ATU members encouraged

ATU members were clearly heartened by the rallies' effectiveness in hurting Greyhound on the Thanksgiving holidays, normally the bus company's busiest time.

A Black Greyhound driver at the Port Authority explained that at earlier rallies there weren't so many supporters. "Many people didn't realize it would go this long," he said, referring to Greyhound's hardnosed refusal to bargain except on the basis of far-reaching concessions by the union.

"Now," he said, "we need all the help we can muster."

What did he think of the mass show of support?

"Very good," he said, smiling. "It's a disease that's catching."

Like many others at the rally, he wasn't at all bothered that the "disease" might make Greyhound's owners sick.

In Albany, 300 strikers and supporters rallied as few Greyhound buses ran. Two demonstrators were arrested, one of them a member of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 301, which represents workers at General Electric's plant nearby.

In Washington, D.C., 200 unionists attended a rally. Cops, out in greater force than usual, made five arrests.

In cities where no special solidarity rallies were held November 23, there were nonetheless larger picket lines than usual.

On November 27, the last day of the holiday weekend, Greyhound workers and their family members marched at the Philadelphia terminal.

In Newark on the same day, spirited ATU pickets said few Greyhound buses were running, as was also true at the Port Authority in New York.

In Indianapolis, where Greyhound has not attempted to run scab buses since starting them on less than 10 percent of its pre-strike runs November 17, a striker told the *Militant*: "If they try to move buses here, we'll give 'em what they got in in Boston."

## Greyhound winces

Greyhound chairman Teets had all but dared the ATU leadership to take the company's latest offer to the membership for a vote. The offer, which would replace a contract that expired October 31, reduced the company's demands for wage concessions to about 7.8 percent from the 9.5 percent Teets first demanded.

But other major concessions on part-time workers, reduced holidays, and other issues were left intact.

The union's 31-member bargaining council unanimously voted to reject the contract but agreed, 18 to 12, with one abstention, to send it to the ranks.

Teets said he was "pleased" that Greyhound workers "will now finally have the opportunity to vote on their own futures," the pro-Greyhound *Arizona Republic* reported.

At meetings and rallies held around the country, ATU officials recommended rejection of the offer. This miffed Greyhound.

"Employees were to be given the chance to vote by secret ballot," whined Frederick Dunikoski, the bus lines' president. "Instead, there have been massive prevote rallies whose objective is to intimidate and coerce employees into rejecting the offer."

But the votes were taken democratically. It was clear at ATU meetings and rallies held to discuss the vote that strikers were quite openly stating their objections to the contract. The massive "no" vote was the result of Greyhound's arrogant take-it-or-leave-it offer, not of any coercion.

## Texas striker arrested

In San Antonio, Edwin Bunte, a driver for Greyhound for 25 years, was arrested because he was in the vicinity of a scab bus that had suffered damage to its windshield.

Bunte was released from the Bastrup federal pen after the union posted his \$25,000 bond.

All over the country, the big-business media have reported allegations of violence against buses as fact, even though they are largely "witnessed" only by Greyhound officials and scabs and even though ATU locals have denied any responsibility for such acts.

But there have been *real* attacks on pickets by cops in several cities — Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Providence, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere.

In Boston, most of the cops at the picket lines have even been *paid* by Greyhound, sent by the city on "special detail." (The cops at the November 23 Boston rally, however, were paid by the city, which mobilized every available policeman for their strikebreaking duty.)

Boston's mayor-elect, Raymond Flynn, after trying to pose as a friend of the strikers, sent a message to union-buster President Reagan urging him to "redouble federal efforts to mediate a settlement."

## Solidarity with strike

Support for the Greyhound strikers is evident at the rallies and on the picket lines.

At the New York rally November 23, a large and spirited contingent from the Transport Workers Union, which organized the city's bus drivers and subway workers, chanted, "ATU! TWU! ATU! TWU!"

Another militant contingent at the New York rally came from District 1199 of the National Hospital Union, most of whose members are Black and Latino. They were joined by the other unionists in chanting, "Fired up! Can't take no more!"

In Boston, construction workers from a number of sites near Greyhound's terminal show up an hour early to join the picket lines and come on their lunch breaks as well.

IUE Local 201 sent a bus with workers from the GE plant in Lynn to the November 23 rally.

In Seattle, a November 20 rally heard from Greyhound strikers, United Food and Commercial Workers who are locked out, striking Continental Airlines workers, and others.

Everywhere, PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union destroyed by the federal government in 1981, is mentioned as an example of what labor can't allow to happen again.

Former PATCO members and leaders have helped the ATU picket lines in Boston and Dallas.

Other bus-company workers have shown their support, including Trailways workers who picket, and the ticket-seller for a small New Jersey line who cheered the Port Authority demonstrators when they marched past his window November 23.

The strikers have other support, too, including student governments at Boston University and Albany State University, both of which voted not to allow Greyhound to sell tickets on campus for the holidays.

In Phoenix, where striking copper workers have appeared at ATU rallies and vice versa, César Chávez, president of the

United Farm Workers, promised to organize Latinos to support the strike.

In a number of areas, ATU members have appealed for support at meetings of other unions and, to a lesser extent, to community organizations.

The ATU speaker at the November 23 rally in Boston was a Black Greyhound driver, who made a special appeal to the Black community for support. At the Port Authority rally, Major Owens, a Black congressman from Brooklyn, was well received by strikers when he promised to organize support for the strike in Black churches and elsewhere.

## Making boycott effective

A nationwide boycott of Greyhound, as the AFL-CIO, the United Mine Workers, and the Teamsters union have called, can be effective against Teets' blackmail — provided the large-scale picketing is kept up and extended.

Support for large-scale picketing by official AFL-CIO bodies, such as in New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia, is a forward step.

An ATU striker in Boston, looking around at the 5,000 unionists supporting the strike, said, "This is what we have to do to win this strike."

## Greyhound's lies aim at breaking strike

Greyhound claims its Thanksgiving bus ridership was "good," that 32 passengers rode each bus compared with 28 the same day last year.

Left unmentioned in the company's news release is that Greyhound is running no more than 10 percent of its prestrike operations.

ATU members in Phoenix have reported that Greyhound was giving working employees the day off so they could ride buses. In a number of cities, pickets have recognized office workers and supervisors on the buses.

And everywhere, pickets report holiday buses carrying few paying passengers.

Clearly, Greyhound is lying in an attempt to demoralize the ATU strikers.

Just like they've done in claiming "1,600" or "1,400" ATU members have crossed picket lines. The actual number is probably not more than 100 nationwide.

Or in the company's highly publicized recruiting of strikebreakers, and its threats to fire strikers, or its claims about high pay — based on the few workers who put in a full year.

It's all aimed at breaking the strike through demoralization, with the witting help of the big-business press.

The trouble for Greyhound is it hasn't worked.

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**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.

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**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.

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**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.

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**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.



## Why they denied Borge a visa

The people of this country are being subjected to increasing curbs on their right to see other countries for themselves and to hear the views of visitors to this country.

This was underlined by the scandalous November 29 decision of the Reagan administration to deny a visa to Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior.

The increased curbs are also pointed up by the administration's ban on travel to Cuba, which the Supreme Court will now review.

Washington had declared Cuba off limits to U.S. visitors throughout the 1960s. In the 1970s, the ban was lifted after a series of successful legal challenges. In 1982 the travel ban was reimposed, with the Treasury Department declaring it illegal to spend U.S. dollars in Cuba. This arbitrary decree defied existing law and was found unconstitutional by a circuit court of appeals.

The government declared that freedom to travel to Cuba "will impair the conduct of United States foreign policy."

It could have been put a bit more plainly. If people from this country are free to see Cuba for themselves, they will be struck by the social gains of the revolution and by how much Cuba is lied about. This would "impair" Washington's war drive against Cuba.

The same essential motivation applies in the denial of

a visa to Borge. He was invited here by university groups and others, who simply wanted to hear the views of the Sandinistas first hand.

One White House spokesperson put it baldly: the government does not want to provide the Nicaraguans "a propaganda platform" in the United States.

What are they afraid of?

Actually, the visa denial was so raw that the administration did feel moved to try to put a small fig leaf over it — denying at the same time a visa to Roberto D'Aubuisson, ultraright president of El Salvador's national assembly.

The attempt to equate Borge and D'Aubuisson is, of course, an outrageous smear.

D'Aubuisson heads the Salvador death squads responsible for a mountain of corpses in that country.

Borge, to the contrary, helped lead the revolution which ended similar slaughter by Somoza's death squads in Nicaragua. The only political murders there today are those committed by U.S.-organized mercenary invaders.

And, unlike Washington, the Nicaraguans, like the Cubans, welcome all visitors to their country — all, as Borge put it, except the Marines.

This contrast alone is a good indication of who has truth and justice on its side.

## Maurice Bishop speaks: honest look at problems

Over the next several weeks we are running excerpts from speeches by Grenadian 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 later this month. The following excerpt is from a January 1, 1983, Grenadian radio address announcing the Year of Political and Academic Education.

New Year resolutions and commitments, projected visions and dedications are meaningless if they are not informed and guided by the lessons drawn from the collective experiences of the past year. Therefore, it is necessary to pause and review the road we have traveled, take stock of our successes and setbacks, and honestly evaluate our shortcomings and failures.

Comrades, 1982 was a year when the present economic crisis in world capitalism, which began in 1979, grew worse and this meant that the economies of

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

our region were severely affected. In January of last year when our People's Revolutionary Government declared 1982 as the Year of Economic Construction we clearly foresaw the worsening of this capitalist crisis during the year and the negative effects it would have on our fragile, open, and dependent economy.

The very future of our revolution hinged on our people's struggle to construct a viable economy out of the ruins and devastation inherited from colonialism, Gairyism, and neocolonialism. Economic construction, laying the basis for genuine economic independence and liberation from imperialism, was to be the key focus and major priority for 1982.

We said then and will continue to say in 1983 that real progress for our country will only be achieved through the hard work of our people and that those who labor to construct must share in the fruits of their labor.

We stressed then and will continue to stress in 1983 that our working class and our working people must be more involved in the planning and decisions affecting their work, as well as the work itself.

The new revolutionary people's democracy must extend from the community to the workplace. More discussions, more seminars, more structures for emulation, more production committees, must be organized and made to function in the factories, farms, and offices of our nation. Our working people must be brought into the process of national economic planning. This heightened democratic activity at the workplace will not only achieve greater production and output, sharpen efficiency, and eliminate waste and corruption but also improve the social wage and thus widen the range and scope of material benefits coming to our working people.

Comrades, even our right-wing detractors are today being forced to acknowledge the progress we have made. For them it is indeed difficult to dispute a World Bank report which states that our poor, struggling country, with all its natural economic limitations and in spite of the dismal legacy of economic backwardness, corruption, and mismanagement from the Gairy dictatorship, and the well-known list of imperialist attempts at economic sabotage, achieved 9 percent cumulative growth in our economy in the first three years of the revolution and the reduction of our unemployment from 49 percent in 1979 to 14.2 percent today.

If we stay firmly on the course we have charted then this modest growth will continue in the years to come and unemployment will be wiped out in Grenada.

But joyful as that prediction may appear to be on the surface there is an underlying problem that we must recognize and address squarely. Yes, there will be many new jobs and yes there will be sisters and brothers now unemployed who must take those jobs. But comrades, what is critically necessary is that they must be ready to take up these jobs. They must be prepared and trained and educated for those jobs. We have to recognize that we cannot build a national economy; we cannot reclaim our economy from the grips of imperialism without a well-trained and highly skilled work force. This low training of our people is a major weakness and if we do not move fast to correct it, the progress of the revolution will be held back.

Our party and government have set the priority [of political and academic education] because we firmly believe that it is on the realization of this basic task that our future will be assured. Without education, no genuine people's democracy can be built since real democracy always assumes the informed, conscious, and educated participation of the people. Without education, there can be no real worker participation, no substantial increase in production and productivity, no individual and collective growth, no true dignity, no genuine independence.

## Exports and 'national security'

Under the guise of controlling "industrial espionage," protecting "technological secrets," and defending "national security," the U.S. government is mounting new attacks on the democratic rights of the American people. These moves, which include direct and dangerous threats to the rights of workers, should be exposed and opposed by all supporters of democratic rights.

In early November a federal grand jury indicted two Californians, two Bulgarians, and a Dutchman on charges of conspiracy to export "nonexportable" computer equipment. They had not stolen anything. The equipment — machinery for the manufacture of computer disks — was not contraband. It was simply "nonexportable." But those indicted now face criminal charges.

Later in November, U.S. customs agents seized \$610,000 worth of sugar-processing equipment which they claimed was bought for Cuba as part of a "smuggling plot" allegedly "masterminded by fugitive Robert Vesco." This too was not military hardware. It is designed to convert sugar-cane byproducts into fuel pellets. Its purpose is to conserve energy. Again, the parts themselves are not illegal goods. What is illegal is shipping them to Cuba.

These two incidents are important examples of a much broader effort to restrict democratic rights that has several components. These include U.S. government moves to restrict the open flow of technology and scientific information; trade restrictions aimed at Cuba and Nicaragua, as well as the Soviet Union and other workers states; and limitations on contacts with people from these and other countries.

This is totally reactionary. What Washington is trying to do, on behalf of big-business interests, is to limit the economic and technical development of countries which happen to have a social system it does not approve of — that is, one based on human needs, not profits.

And these restrictions, plus the resulting lurid "spy" stories, are utilized to foster groundless fears about these countries and to build hostility toward them. They are part of Washington's war drive.

This is intimately connected to steps by the employers and government to tighten their control — and limit democratic rights — throughout industry, particularly at companies holding government contracts and those which are involved in producing war materiel. This in turn includes new efforts to broaden the definition of what scientific endeavors, research projects, businesses, factories, and

plants (as well as which departments within certain plants) are related to "national security."

As a 1981 Defense Department report explained: "just about any export, including feed grain or drilling technology, can be considered a 'significant contribution' to Soviet military potential, provided one adopts sufficiently broad definitions" (emphasis added).

This is also a convenient formula for hamstringing unions. Under the blanket of "national security" all kinds of established union rights can be challenged.

Every one of these curbs on democratic rights is aimed at the American people. Each are among the moves the U.S. government feels compelled to make as it escalates its wars in Central America, the Caribbean, the Mideast, and elsewhere.

Washington attempts to mask these attacks on democratic rights with claims that it is "protecting" the American people. It aims to muddle the issue further by dragging disreputable characters such as Robert Vesco (a former crony of Richard Nixon) into cases like that mentioned above. In other incidents the government charges that "spies" are involved. The purpose is to convince the American people to accept restrictions on the democratic rights of these individuals, with the intention of extending the restrictions to others.

Every single one of these steps must be opposed. U.S. working people have no interest in restricting scientific research or the flow of information. U.S. workers do not benefit from trade restrictions on Cuba, or any other country Washington is hostile towards. Such measures hurt workers in all countries.

"Tighter" controls on the rights of workers in industry are aimed at weakening civil liberties and trade-union activity. The government and the employers step up their search for "industrial spies" and "security risks" as a pretext for doing more illegal spying of their own on workers and our organizations. Increased harassment of workers by the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a Pentagon spy agency, is a prime example.

Employees at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas have been illegally fired for their socialist beliefs. In each of these cases, the company utilized DIS cops to assemble the trumped-up evidence against them.

Democratic rights are indivisible. Whenever the government is successful in taking them away from anyone, it makes it easier to take them away from others.

## Racist judge: castration or jail

It's a mark of how deeply racism and reaction are woven into the fabric of this capitalist society that a circuit court judge could offer Black prisoners the choice between castration and jail.

Judge Victor Pyle did this to three Black men convicted of rape in Anderson, South Carolina. He told them that they could either serve a 30-year term or submit to castration.

One defense attorney, Theo Mitchell, urged the men not to submit to this. Their conviction is being appealed.

According to reports, legal scholars said the sentence, handed down November 18, is the first in modern memory.

So reactionary was the ruling that even the prosecutor said at first he thought the judge was only "kidding."

Apart from the unabashed racism, the judge's stand

bolsters the reactionary notion that rape is not the product of a society which keeps women in second-class status and foments every kind of violence, but rather the result of individuals being "oversexed."

Responding to the judge's sentence, Joy Bennett, director of the Rape Crisis Center in nearby Greenville, commented that "the fact is that rape is a crime of violence, not of sex."

Not surprisingly, Judge Pyle's ruling was reported as evoking much praise from proponents of "law and order."

If the judge's ruling is permitted to stand, it will set a dangerous precedent. It would be a terrible blow to the rights of all victims of racism in this country, as well as giving a green light to racist terrorists like the Ku Klux Klan. This ruling should be strongly protested.



# Racist smear campaign against Jesse Jackson

The following is a guest column written by Mohamed Oliver.

Jesse Jackson announced his campaign for the 1984 Democratic Party presidential nomination on November 3 before an enthusiastic crowd of 2,500 supporters in Washington, D.C. In the throng, however, were members of the Jewish Defense League (JDL), a racist, ultrarightist outfit. They tried to disrupt the rally. "You're



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY Malik Miah

a racist anti-Semite! You're a communist anti-Semite," one shouted before being thrown out by the police.

The JDL has initiated an organization called "Jews Against Jackson," which ran a scurrilous ad in the November 11 *New York Times* attacking the Black civil rights activist. Above a photo of Jackson embracing Yasir Arafat — chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) — the right wingers asked, "Do you believe that any Jew should support this man? Should any decent American?"

The photo was taken when Jackson toured the Middle East in 1979. Jackson's trip, and the publicity it received in the Black press, reflected widespread support in the U.S. Black community for the Palestinian struggle for

national self-determination. This was also shown by the delegation from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) that made a visit to the Middle East at Arafat's invitation just days before Jackson's. Among the Black leaders in this group was Joseph Lowery, the SCLC president.

Both Jackson and the SCLC were sharply criticized for supporting Palestinian rights. Their most rabid critics were Zionists, like those in the JDL.

"I know they say we're being used," Lowery said at the time. "But they've always said that. When we fought segregation in Alabama and Mississippi, then we were being used by the communists. Then later when we marched at Selma, we were being used by the Jews. Now, we're being used by the PLO."

"Well, I reject that racist arrogance. I deny the allegation and I defy the allegator. It's an insidious insinuation that Black folks can't think for themselves."

Hostility to Jackson for his alleged anti-Semitism comes from a broader range of groups than the JDL. The *New York Times* quotes its sources as saying that Jackson lacks credibility among the "great wide swathe of centrist Jews."

Jackson has continued to support a "homeland and a state for the Palestinians" despite the mounting racist pressure on him. He spoke at a November 5 meeting of the Arab-American Antidiscrimination Committee in Los Angeles. There were reports that some of his campaign aides had urged Jackson to speak first to a Jewish organization to help quiet fears that he was pro-Palestinian. But, according to the November 7 *New York Times*, Jackson pointed out that "to appear to back away now from support of a Palestinian homeland would make him

'no different from the other candidates.'"

Yet, Jackson's current positions on the conflicts in the Middle East are contradictory. At the same time that he supports an independent Palestinian state he advocates the continued existence of a secure Israel. Since Israel was created by a settler population that drove the Palestinians out of their homeland, a Palestinian state and a "secure Israel" are incompatible. Support to Israel is the cornerstone of U.S. imperialist policy in the Middle East. Maintaining this imperialist beachhead in the region is the goal of the Democratic and Republican parties — a goal that Jackson also supports.

Jackson has also equivocated on U.S. involvement in Lebanon. At the November 5 Arab-American Antidiscrimination Committee meeting Jackson said, "If we are there to make war, we don't have enough men, and if we are there to commit suicide, we have too many."

When he spoke at the November 12 Washington, D.C., rally against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, Jackson called for a "neutral peacekeeping" force in Lebanon. After being booed for this stance by the otherwise supportive crowd, Jackson quickly added he was opposed to having any U.S. troops stationed in Lebanon.

Yet, the U.S., French, British, and Italian troops that are in Lebanon now were sent as a "neutral peacekeeping" force. What is needed is for all imperialist troops to get out of Lebanon, including the Israeli occupation force.

While disagreeing with Jackson's political views on Lebanon and Israel, the racist anti-Palestinian campaign against him by the JDL and other Zionist groups should be vigorously condemned.

## LETTERS

### Help strike supporter

Dr. Jorge O'Leary, who was fired from his position at the Phelps Dodge company hospital in Morenci, Arizona, needs monetary contributions to buy medicines for the People's Clinic.

O'Leary was fired for publicly disagreeing with the company's policy of refusing medical services to striking copper workers and their families who cannot pay cash, as well as for appearing at the picket lines.

The People's Clinic was started at an old feed store in Clifton. The people of the area donated their services to refurbish the old building. The unions donated \$1,000. Project Concern donated about \$5,000 worth of equipment and supplies.

The effect of the October floods here, coupled with the oncoming cold weather and poor nutrition, means a flu epidemic is probable. Dr. O'Leary is able to buy medicines at wholesale prices. Your dollar will do the work of 20.

Dr. O'Leary has given his services free to the people of Greenlee County when he found them unable to pay for them. He has bought services and medicines for anyone who could not afford them.

For years he has made arrangements for patients to obtain services from specialists out of Tucson or Phoenix and made arrangements that the poor not be billed for them. Now he needs help. He has given more than his share. Can we do less?

Please send your contributions to: Dr. Jorge O'Leary, c/o People's Clinic, P.O. Box 604, Morenci, Ariz. 85540  
Angela Alvililar  
Morenci, Ariz.

### Aid copper strikers

It is imperative that the plight of the copper strikers be known throughout the land. No longer is the strike the only struggle facing these people who fight for a fair contract; they are now being denied civil and human rights. Phelps Dodge is demanding that the strikers agree to voluntary slavery in an effort to remedy their own mismanagement.

The strikers are being arrested, harassed and endangered because they refuse to bow to a company that strives to reduce the work force to a subhuman level that

concentrates solely on production and profit and blatantly ignores the human element that makes this possible. Even the scabs who are now crossing the picketline are to receive a measure of compassion, for their ignorance will cost them dearly, would they take the time to study their own position in this union-busting tactic by Phelps Dodge.

Phelps Dodge has, however, underestimated the strikers. Yes, we want a decent wage to support our families. Yes, we want medical insurance to ensure their well-being. Yes, we want retirement benefits to enjoy the fruits of our labor. But a great big NO to prostituting ourselves to any company that thinks of us only as numbers and dollar signs! The skill and expertise we hold is more important to Phelps Dodge than it is to us at this time, we are a product in demand but our self-respect and value as human beings is not negotiable.

The copper strikers send out a plea for financial and moral support to help combat the injustice that runs rampant with the sanction of the governor and other agencies created to protect our rights. We are desperately in need of funds to pay rent, utilities, mortgage payments, school supplies for the children, and food. Dr. O'Leary generously and faithfully sees to medical needs. However, he too depends on contributions of medicine, help, and money to continue his free clinic.

Listen and realize that regardless of each one's field, if we lose, we may be setting the pattern for what happens to every working man and woman. Look to the copper strikers against Phelps Dodge for what may be all workers' futures. Become an active part in labor's history!  
Viva La Causa!

Fina Roman, president  
Morenci Miners  
Women's Auxiliary  
Clifton, Ariz.

### Camps still on books

An additional point should be added to the article in the November 18 *Militant* on the 1942 Japanese-American internment conviction and its overturn.

The McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 is still law. It is a product of the McCarthy anticommunist hysteria. It provides for

concentration camps for "national security threats" as the government sees fit. Persons and groups can be interned according to a vaguely defined standard. Hence, nationality and/or political views can be used to judge whether someone "qualifies" to be interned.

The recent ruling overturning the 1942 conviction of Fred Korematsu is a victory and a blow against the government's ability to use the McCarran Act. Still a struggle must be waged to prevent its enforcement. The standard of nationality may have been removed, and that standard was applied to free Haitians who were imprisoned while seeking asylum here. And this ruling may be used to defend Salvadorans and others seeking asylum. Yet the existence of the McCarran Act points to the essence of the government: its jealous monopoly of the right to violence. This explains the government's delay until deadline, from January to October, in responding to the re-filed Korematsu suit and its general delay in any redress to Japanese-Americans.

Of course the government's focus is not limited to Japanese-Americans nor Asian-Americans. That is why the discussion within the labor movement on imports, Central America, war, immigrants, etc. needs to be deepened. Labor needs to support the just demand for redress for Japanese-Americans.

A presidential executive order, a military order during wartime, was applied to Japanese-Americans. The McCarran Act may be applied to labor next time.  
Milton Chee  
Jersey City, N.J.

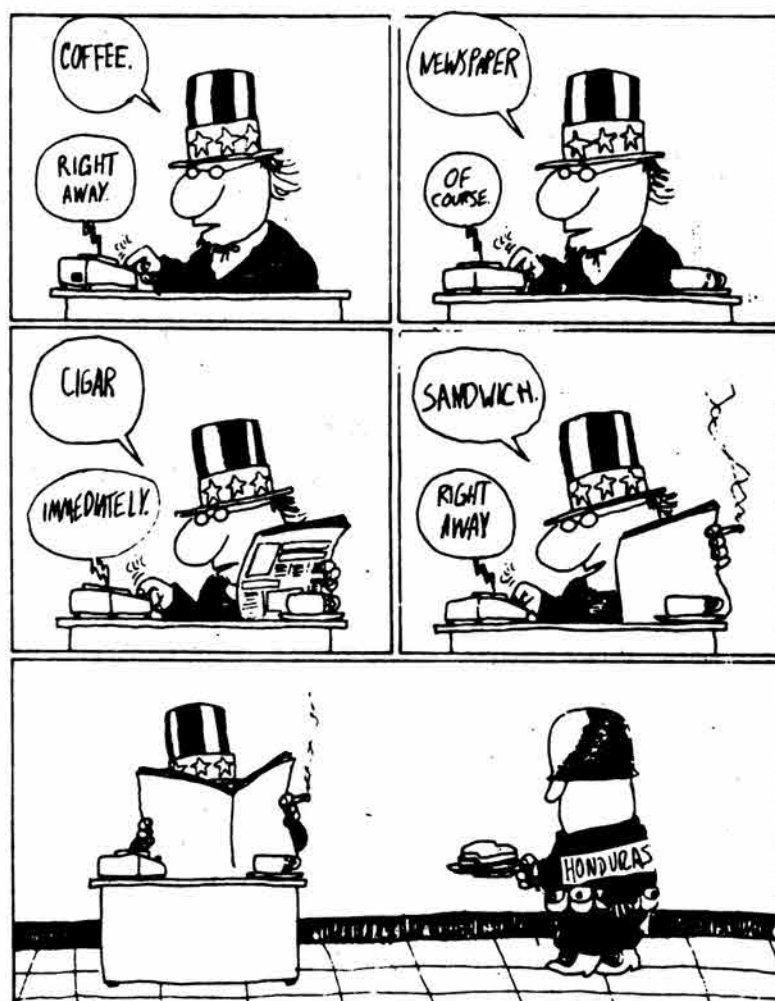
### GI writes

Please cancel my subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. I got a change in orders and will be in Japan for two years.

Good luck to Sgt. Stryffeler and you all.  
A GI  
San Diego, Calif.

### Deadly connection

Two hundred twenty activists involved in either the nuclear freeze campaign or in opposing U.S. military intervention abroad gathered in Washington, D.C., November 11. This conference,



Roger, Barricada, Managua

called "The Deadly Connection," was held to discuss the threat of nuclear war posed by U.S. intervention in the Middle East and Central America. The conference was called by SANE, the Institute for Policy Studies, and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

David Cortwright, executive director of SANE, opened the conference. He said, "there can be no tradeoff between the freeze and little wars." Such a tradeoff, he said, could not bring peace.

A panel included Dr. Charlie Clements, recently returned from a liberated zone in El Salvador and a Vietnam veteran; Janet Shenk, vice-president, North American Congress on Latin America; Michael Klare, Institute for Policy Studies; Joseph Trevino Vietnam veteran and League of United Latin American Citizens; and Roger Wilkins, civil rights activist.

A high point of the panel was Charlie Clements' talk. He pointed to the 13 times the United States has threatened to use nuclear weapons. Each was a result of U.S. intervention in countries like

Iran, Vietnam, or, in 1980, the Middle East. He compared the threat of using these weapons to a man holding a gun to someone's head. Just because the trigger isn't pulled doesn't mean that the weapon was not used. Clements also predicted the United States will intervene more directly in El Salvador.

Following the panel Randall Forsberg, author of the freeze resolution, spoke emphasizing that people working on the freeze have to take up U.S. military intervention abroad. However, she also said that it would be better for those working on the freeze and those opposing U.S. intervention abroad to keep their efforts separate until after the 1984 elections.  
Bill Boyd  
Morgantown, W. Va.

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.



## Jury deadlocks in Alabama frame-up

BY ANDY ROSE

**BIRMINGHAM** — Montgomery, Alabama, police and prosecutors failed to convince a jury to convict Worrie Taylor, the first of five Black men accused of trying to kill two white cops.

A mistrial was declared November 27 after the jury of eight whites and four Blacks declared itself deadlocked on the charge of attempted murder.

Earlier, Judge Randall Thomas threw out robbery and kidnapping charges against Taylor for lack of evidence.

The Taylor family case has become a focus for opposition to racism and brutality by Montgomery police. Hundreds of Blacks packed the courtroom in solidarity with the Taylors. On the other side, Mayor Emory Folmar and scores of off-duty cops attended.

The case began with a violent confrontation last February between two white policemen and members of the Taylor family who had gathered at a Montgomery home after the funeral of a relative.

At that time, Police Chief Charles Swindall issued sensational statements that the cops were "beaten and tortured." He called the Taylors "wild animals that had their prey on the ground."

The Taylors explained that they had defended themselves when two white men broke into the house in the middle of the night with guns drawn. The two had been chasing and shooting at 21-year-old Christopher Taylor. The Taylors said the two men, who were in plain clothes, never identified themselves as police.

Testimony this year before a U.S. Civil Rights Commission panel confirmed that kicking in doors of Black homes without a warrant is common practice for Montgomery cops.

The 13-day trial was marked by contradictions in the police story and the mysterious absence of key evidence.

The two cops, Leslie Brown and Edward Spivey, contradicted their own earlier testimony before a grand jury on such points as:

- Why and how they first accosted Christopher Taylor,
- When the shots were fired that wounded Brown, and

## Workers support unionist

BY KATHY BALL

**SEASIDE, Calif.** — Supporters of Ken Collins have stepped up efforts to bring the facts of the case to workers in the hotel industry here. Collins, 23, is a banquet-setup person at the Hyatt Del Monte and has been charged with attempted arson. If convicted

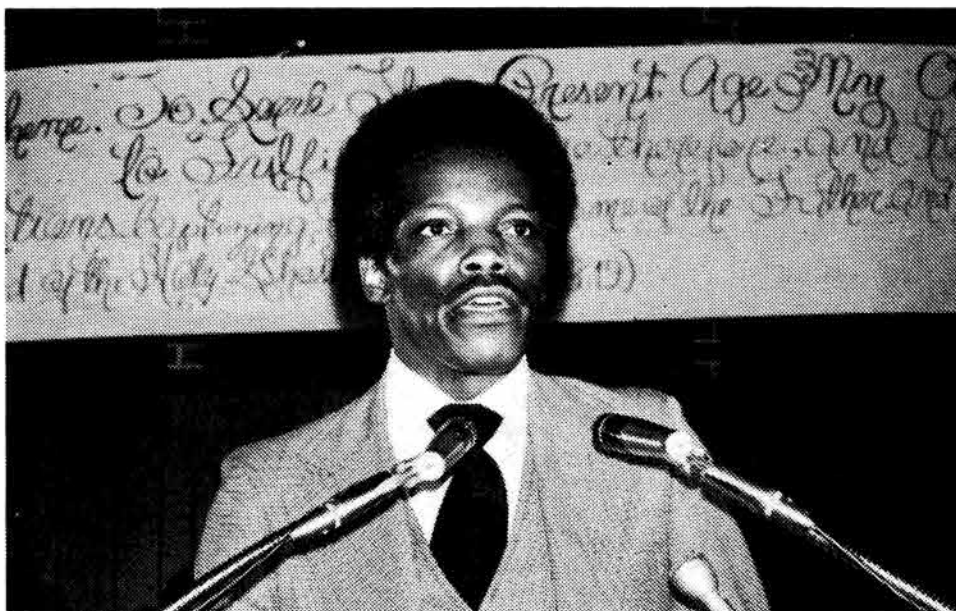
**MONTEREY, Calif.** — In a victory for labor and union activists, the district attorney's office for Monterey County announced at a December 1 preliminary hearing it had decided to dismiss charges of attempted arson against Ken Collins on grounds of insufficient evidence.

he faces a minimum of 16 months or a maximum 3 years in jail and a \$50,000 fine.

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

Last week supporters stationed themselves at three main entrances to the Hyatt hotel grounds and at the Doubletree Inn in order to reach workers as they picked up their paychecks. The response was positive.

Twenty-four signatures were collected on a petition demanding that the district attorney drop the charges against Collins. In addition, some 25 signatures had been col-



Militant/Andy Rose  
**Michigan auto worker Willie Taylor, Sr., one of five Blacks falsely charged with trying to kill white cops who stormed into home in Montgomery, Alabama.**

- Which of the two cops ran out of the Taylor home first after other cops arrived.

While charging that Worrie Taylor shot Brown with a .357 magnum service revolver taken from Spivey, the police never produced this weapon. They said they never recovered it.

"Where is the other gun? Why is it missing? You can reach your own conclusions," defense attorney Troy Massey told the jury.

Massey said it was possible that Brown was shot accidentally by uniformed police who arrived later at the Taylor house.

As further evidence of a cover-up, Massey pointed to the disappearance of an official statement on the incident by those uniformed police. One of the cops, who earlier testified that he co-authored such a report, said at the trial that he couldn't recall writing it.

The Taylors point out that their story is corroborated by the fact that they themselves called the police for help after subduing the intruders. Police say that through a remarkable mechanical failure, both tape recorders that record such incoming calls malfunctioned and no tape is available.

## UAW holds tough in Douglas strike

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

**LOS ANGELES** — Workers at McDonnell Douglas' Torrance and Huntington Beach plants voted by a slim margin November 11 to approve a management contract offer designed to weaken the union by deepening differences within the work force.

lected on the job at the Hyatt — a majority collected by one housekeeper in her department.

Fact sheets were distributed and Collins' coworkers were encouraged to come to the preliminary hearing December 1 to show support for him.

At the Doubletree, the largest nonunion hotel in the area, a worker who had worked with Collins at the headquarters of the 1982 strike explained, "This petition means one thing: the charges against Collins must be dropped. I know him personally. This has got to be a frame-up and it's because he's a worker who supported the strike and fights back. So, sign it so he won't go to jail."

Collins supporters also brought the case to the unemployment office where they met many laid-off hotel workers who were interested in this case.

Discussions on the job about Collins' defense case have stepped up since the petitioning began. One new worker at the Hyatt, who doesn't know Collins personally, is interested in this case "because it's just too hot an issue. You can't ignore this."

There is general sentiment that Collins is being made an example of what they will do with workers who do fight back. Attempts to isolate the most active supporters at the Hyatt have come to light. Several coworkers have been approached by management, who characterized Collins' supporters as "bad news."

The agreement greatly widens the gap between the highest- and lowest-paid workers.

By 1,271 to 1,236, a meeting of the 3,400-member International Association of Machinists (IAM) District Lodge 720 voted to approve the offer.

A similar offer was overwhelmingly rejected October 30 by striking workers at the McDonnell Douglas plant in nearby Long Beach. As members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 148, the 4,600 Long Beach workers are part of a common bargaining unit with McDonnell Douglas employees in Arkansas and Oklahoma. The UAW members walked out October 17.

Despite the IAM vote, UAW members say they will hold firm to defeat the company's attempt to impose a two-tier wage structure — with a higher-paid minority of skilled workers, and cut-rate wages for unskilled or newly hired workers.

The company had rejected an attempt by the UAW and IAM to — for the first time — bargain jointly this year, according to John Absom, president of District Lodge 720.

The IAM vote was held hours before the old contract was to expire.

Workers at Boeing, McDonnell Douglas' chief competitor in the commercial aircraft field, on October 3 accepted a similar contract.

The McDonnell Douglas IAM contract provides for no across-the-board raises. However, workers will get an annual "bonus" amounting to 3 percent of their wages for that year and 45 percent of the workers will receive cost-of-living increases. The COLA will vary from 8 cents to 72 cents an hour and goes to the more skilled workers already drawing the highest pay. Meanwhile, the contract lowers pay rates for newly hired workers and lower-paid categories. Workers already drawing pay above the new maximums for their classifications will have their wages frozen until other workers' pay catches up through cost-of-living raises.

One of the weakest links in the prosecution's case is why Brown and Spivey began chasing Christopher Taylor in the first place. They had been in the area on a missing-person report, but admitted they had already found the person.

The cops say that when they saw several large, new cars with out-of-state tags in a Black neighborhood, they immediately suspected prostitution, gambling, or bootlegging. In fact, the Taylor family members are steelworkers from Warren, Ohio, and auto workers from Pontiac, Michigan.

The cops assert that after they politely summoned Christopher Taylor to talk with them, he suddenly knocked Officer Spivey to the ground and grabbed for his revolver. That would be curious behavior, since Christopher is several inches shorter and at least 50 pounds lighter than Spivey.

Christopher says he fled after the two unidentified white men called to him, "Come here, nigger," and tried to shove him into their car.

Judge Thomas refused to allow as evidence a 1980 complaint by a Montgomery Black who said Officer Brown had hit him with a flashlight and cursed him with a racist slur.

The trials for the four other accused have not been scheduled yet. It is likely the Montgomery authorities put Worrie Taylor on trial first because they thought they could make their strongest case against him. In spite of this first failure to get a conviction, there is no reason to think they will give up trying to railroad the Taylors to prison. Continued efforts to rally public support for the Taylor family are clearly needed.

The IAM members approved the offer despite union officials' recommendations to reject it.

In interviews with a dozen workers at McDonnell Douglas at Torrance, the *Militant* found the upcoming holidays as the most frequently cited reason for passage of the contract.

"Nobody liked the contract, but nobody wanted to strike," one worker said. "The holidays are coming up, and they [the Torrance workers] have house payments they're worried about."

A Chicano worker who had voted against the offer said, "Animosity toward the [local] president" was a factor. "If he's against it, a lot of people are going to be for it," he said.

"Nobody knew what the contract said," he added. "Nobody could interpret it in two hours. We didn't know anything before the meeting, where we heard a two-hour speech and then voted."

Several workers said that if a new vote were held the offer would be rejected.

One said that many workers remembered a 1975 strike, "when we stayed out nine weeks — for nothing. We went back accepting the same old offer. They felt the union didn't back them up then."

"The UAW and IAM should've gone out together," another said.

Although several workers proclaimed they had voted against the offer, not one said they voted for it.

"We'll just have to live with it for three years," a shop steward said.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Bob Berghoff, president of UAW Local 148, said UAW members "had been better prepared than IAM members to understand the issues at stake through meetings and discussions held prior to the vote."

A fact sheet prepared by Local 148 for its members points to the dangers of a two-tier wage structure: it "could weaken our unity in future negotiations, undermining our bargaining strength."