



## U.S. attack on Syria: step toward wider war

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

DECEMBER 7 — The U.S. government took another step toward full-scale war against Syria in order to establish a stable, proimperialist regime in Lebanon.

On December 4 President Reagan unleashed 28 U.S. warplanes in bombing raids against Lebanese villages in the Shuf Mountains east of Beirut. Two of the U.S. fighter-bombers were shot down by Syrian

For editorial on Lebanon, see page 18.

antiaircraft fire. One U.S. airman was killed and another captured by Syrian troops. On December 3 Israeli warplanes had bombed the same area.

This new escalation of imperialist attacks against Syria came only a few days after Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir announced plans to increase U.S.-Israeli military cooperation.

Syrian military officials said two Syrian soldiers were killed and 10 wounded in the bombing attack. Syrian Defense Minister Lt. Gen. Mustapha Tlas told reporters that his government would release U.S. Navy Lt. Robert Goodman, the captured airman, "when the war is over. That is, when the Americans will leave Lebanon."

U.S. aggression against the Lebanese people continued throughout the day. Eight marines were killed while fighting militia of Walid Jumblat, head of Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party (PSP). The PSP is one of the major opposition groups to the rightist regime of Lebanese Pres. Amin Gemayel.



U.S. F-14s preparing for missions in Lebanon. Washington aims to protect corporate profits in Mideast by establishing stable pro-imperialist regime in Lebanon.

The December 4 U.S. bombing raids marked the first time that U.S. warplanes have been involved in air strikes in Lebanon since the marines arrived there to join the imperialist "peacekeeping" force in September 1982. It was also the first time U.S. warplanes were lost in combat since the Vietnam War and underlines how the escalating U.S. aggression in Lebanon threatens to become another Vietnam-type conflict. Moreover, it would be a war that could widen into an armed confrontation with the Soviet Union.

"For some time now," President Reagan

told reporters on December 4, "we have been flying regular and routine reconnaissance flights with unarmed planes in Lebanon as a part of the protection and defense of our forces there." On December 3, two such spy flights were fired upon by Syrian antiaircraft guns and missiles.

"Early [December 4]," Reagan continued, "we responded to this unprovoked attack by striking back at those sites from whence had come the attack."

Reagan failed to mention that the spy planes were F-14 Tomcats. One of the

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## Nicaragua: amnesty for exiles who return

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN  
AND JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In a bold move demonstrating its confidence in the strength of the revolutionary process, the Nicaraguan government is allowing virtually all counterrevolutionaries to return to the country and take part in the elections scheduled for 1985.

Exceptions to the decree, issued December 4, include top leaders of the counterrevolutionary bands and officers of the former Somoza regime's National Guard. Nearly all others can return without fear of prosecution as soon as they put down their weapons.

The decree removes one of the major possible pretexts for a U.S. invasion — the claim that Washington is defending "freedom fighters" allegedly repressed by the revolutionary government.

Today these opponents of the revolution are free to return to demonstrate in practice, in the framework of elections, exactly how much support they have or don't have.

This is a move from strength, not from weakness, government coordinator Daniel Ortega stressed. "Never in our history have we had a government that was more solid or more popular."

We have forged an "indestructible unity" through daily work, the militias, nightwatch, and through production and combat. "Today we are stronger than ever," Ortega told the Council of State December 4, at the closing of the parliament's regular session. The council will continue to meet in special session to draft electoral procedures.

"This strength of the revolution allows us to give an opportunity to those who wish to reincorporate themselves into the new life the revolution has created," Ortega explained.

Specifically, the new decree covers nearly all Nicaraguan nationals who fled following the revolutionary triumph. Excluded besides the ex-Guard officers and counterrevolutionary leaders are those condemned by courts (i.e. associates of Somoza) or currently serving prison terms and members of Somoza's security agencies who were involved in repressive acts.

"In this manner we are giving an alternative to those who — by means of terror, repression, and deceit — have been victims of the aggressive policy of the United States, becoming unconscious instruments

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## Greyhound scab bus kills Ohio picket as company, gov't blackmail union

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

DECEMBER 7 — Striking Greyhound workers are being asked to approve a concessions contract negotiated under company-government blackmail of their union, the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU).

How far the company would go in carrying out its union-busting threats to the 12,700 striking ATU members was demonstrated when a picket was killed by a scab Greyhound bus December 5 in Zanesville, Ohio.

ATU delegates report heavy pressure from government mediators in Washing-

ton, D.C., to reach a settlement on terms unfavorable to the union.

Continuing labor solidarity with the Greyhound strikers was shown in memorial marches for the dead picket, Ray Phillips, in Zanesville December 6 and in Cleveland December 7.

A memorial meeting for Phillips is set for the Port Authority bus terminal in New York City December 14, supported by the Central Labor Council.

The government's complicity with Greyhound was also demonstrated with the frame-up arrest of a striker in San Antonio by the FBI. He has been released (see story page 5), but the government's point — that it would intervene against the union — has been made.

Pickets in Zanesville told the *Militant* that Phillips was killed when a scab trainee driver was ordered by a Greyhound supervisor to ignore a stop sign and run through a picket line at a crosswalk.

One eyewitness said, "This was no accident. Both the driver and the supervisor are guilty of murder."

According to news accounts, the proposed contract, which is being sent out now by mail to ATU members, contains concessions worth an estimated \$55 million to Greyhound over its three-year term that would cost each Greyhound worker thousands yearly in wages and benefits.

The proposal reduces wages and benefits by 14 percent a year, less than the estimated 17 percent in the contract rejected overwhelmingly by Greyhound workers last month. The company had originally

demanded concessions of more than 20 percent.

Important concessions in the current proposal include wage and mileage reductions, a two-tier wage structure with new hires getting less, and higher costs to workers for pensions and medical insurance.

The ATU's Greyhound council approved the proposal December 3, one month after the strike began, by a 162-76 vote based on proportional representation

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## Issues facing miners convention

BY LINDA MAY O'BRIEN  
AND GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

As the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) convention assembles in Pittsburgh December 12, miners are under sharp attack from the coal operators. Close to a third of the active union membership is laid off. Mine safety and health is being willfully neglected. New mining operations are being opened nonunion. A recent court decision holding UMWA locals responsible for company profit losses due to "unauthorized" strikes is the latest example of antilabor government intervention on behalf of the employers.

Much convention discussion will revolve around how to strengthen the union, respond to these attacks, and prepare for coming battles. This discussion will deepen a process advanced a year ago when the rank and file elected a new team

of leaders headed by Pres. Richard Trumka, which pledged itself to a policy of no concessions and militant defense of miners' interests.

The coal operators' attacks on the UMWA are leading to a bigger confrontation between the companies and the union when the national contract expires at the end of 1984. This is part of the full scale assault the employers and their government are waging today against all working people at home and abroad.

That war has escalated sharply. Less than two months ago Washington invaded the tiny island of Grenada. The U.S. occupation of Lebanon continues. In Central America the prospect of a direct U.S. invasion and a region-wide, Vietnam-style war is growing daily.

Many miners, like other workers, are

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Solidarity with Greyhound workers



# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY SANDI SHERMAN

One of the reasons for the Socialist Workers Party's decision to establish plant-gate sales as a regular weekly activity was to maintain contact with workers at factories where party members had been laid off. A report from socialist workers at the Jeep plant organized by the United Auto Workers in Toledo, Ohio, confirms the value of this effort.

Several members of the SWP in Toledo have been hired or called back to work at Jeep in the past few months and are part of a work force of 6,000. Over the course of the fall subscription drive, more than one-third of the 75 subscriptions that the Toledo SWP sold were to Jeep workers. The bulk of those were sold on the job.

Toby Emmerich is one of the socialist workers who used to work at Jeep in 1978-79. She was laid off and has sold papers at the plant gate on and off over the past four years. The fact that Emmerich had been out at the plant gate, selling the *Militant*, has led

to a number of political discussions with her coworkers now that she's back on the job. In the body shop, where she works, she is continually being stopped by people who ask, "Aren't you the one who sells that paper? What's it all about? Can I buy one from you?" Many of these workers never bought the paper before but now want to know why she sells it. Some of them started buying it regularly at the plant gate.

For a time, Emmerich was the only SWP member working at Jeep who sold at the plant gate. Other party members were still on probation. The plant-gate sales, which other Toledo SWP members participate in, continued to be a key way of reaching hundreds of workers. Emmerich reports that one impact of the regular plant-gate sales has been that many workers are already familiar with their ideas even though most socialists are new in the plant. The plant-gate sales, she adds, have played an indispensable role in broadening their contact with

many coworkers. The socialist workers at Jeep are on different shifts or in separate parts of the plant. Sales at the various gates and shifts have become an important way to get to know each other's coworkers.

"Having been at Jeep, doing these consistent sales has really pushed us forward," says Emmerich. "We now have a constant plant-gate contact with a whole number of people." One coworker of Emmerich's, a Black millwright who used to buy papers from her in 1979, bought a subscription from her at the gate recently. The plant-gate sales are now the only way Emmerich has to regularly see this coworker.

When the socialist workers got off probation at Jeep, there were two weeks left in the national subscription drive. The socialists decided to take a goal of selling 10 more subscriptions to coworkers. The Toledo party branch also decided to raise its overall goal from 50 to 75 subscriptions. The result of the two-week effort was 16 of

the 25 subscriptions sold were bought by Jeep workers on the job or at the plant gates. Ten were sold in the first week alone.

Emmerich reports that the plant-gate sales have benefited the branch. "Those who don't work at Jeep — half the branch — are now going and meeting people we work with."

What are some of the differences at Jeep since Emmerich last worked there? "There is a lot more acceptance of socialists in the plant as workers with some interesting ideas. There is more willingness to consider our ideas." When she used to sell out front, many people would simply ignore her. Now there is a lot more discussion.

There is also more harassment from right-wing coworkers who make remarks as they pass by. Emmerich thinks the increasing number of hostile comments are part of the polarization going on now, but "they also show that people feel more comfortable talking with us, and even where there

is hostility, there is also more openness to hearing about our proposals for how to solve the crisis in this country. People want an alternative source of news."

Emmerich reports deep-going discussions on the shop floor about how to strengthen the union so it will fight against company takeback demands and overtime. "There is a conscious search for leadership that will stand up to the company."

The socialists have found a lot of interest in Grenada and opposition to the U.S. war drive among their coworkers. Some coworkers have participated with the socialists in leafleting for antiwar activities at the gates. One young coworker has decided to attend the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in St. Louis. Emmerich reports that the socialists at Jeep are "absolutely confident that we can win some of our coworkers to membership in the SWP and YSA, and that's a big difference from four years ago."

## U.S. attack on Syria is a step toward wider war

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principal purposes of this jet fighter is to attack enemy ground positions. When this warplane approaches, one can only assume you're about to be shot at.

And even if the spy planes were clearly recognizable as such, Syrian anti-aircraft batteries had every right to fire on them. The purpose of spy flights is to prepare for future attacks.

Radio statements in Damascus, the Syrian capital, warned against further U.S. reconnaissance flights, saying such spy missions were "a premeditated, provocative action and Syrian forces have no alternative but to defend themselves against any provocation or aggression."

### U.S. troops in combat

Following the U.S. bombing raids, the Lebanese Army and U.S. Marines went into combat against PSP militia. Despite a supposed cease-fire between the Lebanese regime and the PSP and other opposition forces, Gemayel's troops had been shelling and sniping at PSP militia all day. The opposition soldiers began returning fire in the evening.

Meanwhile, a unit of 10 U.S. marines

took up positions atop a building 40 yards behind a bunker of Lebanese Army soldiers and joined in the fighting. During the battle, which lasted several hours, eight marines were killed and two wounded.

Then, U.S. Navy ships, stationed off Lebanon's coast, opened fire on villages in the mountains east of Beirut. Abu Marwan, a PSP militiaman, said the naval shelling rained explosives on Shuweifat and several other towns and villages. Marwan showed reporters a hospital and many homes that had been hit by the U.S. bombs. He said that no PSP militia had been hurt, but that five civilians were killed and 12 wounded in Shuweifat alone.

Ever since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, Washington and its allies have sought to establish a stable pro-imperialist regime in Beirut. For the last year imperialist troops have been shoring up Gemayel's shaky regime.

Yet, Gemayel's rule barely extends beyond the capital. His government is dominated by the Phalange Party, which is a fascist-like organization with a militia that rivals the Lebanese Army in strength. It was the Phalangists who carried out the massacre of hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in September 1982.

### Attacks planned in Washington

The stepped-up attacks against Syrian troops were mapped out in a series of meetings in Washington. President Reagan met with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens for several days in the last week of November. After discussing their war aims in Lebanon, Gemayel was called in for a De-

cember 1 meeting with Reagan to get his instructions.

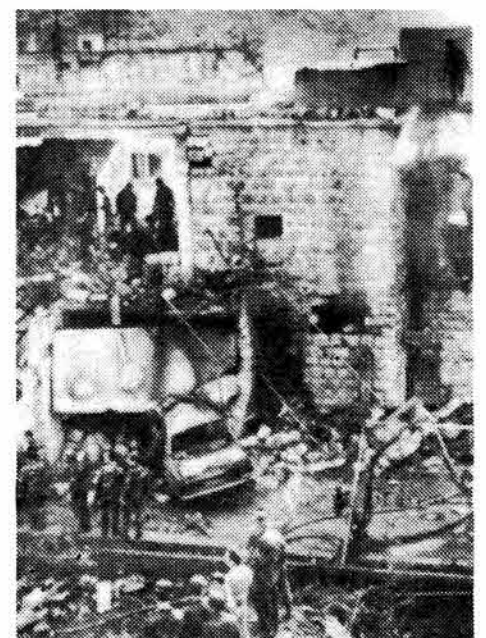
On November 29 Reagan and Shamir reported the results of their talks. "I am pleased to announce," Reagan said, "that we have agreed to establish a joint political-military group to examine ways in which we can enhance Israeli-American cooperation. This group will give priority attention to the threat to our mutual interest, posed by increased Soviet involvement in the Middle East."

Shamir said, "Syria constitutes today a major threat to the peace in the area by occupying more than 60 percent of Lebanon and by its massive concentration of Soviet arms and personnel on Syrian territory."

The Syrian regime has 40,000 troops in Lebanon. Driving these soldiers out of the country has been a major goal of the Israeli and U.S. governments. Reagan and Shamir's attack on the Soviet Union for the aid it gives Syria is aimed at pressuring Moscow to try to force Syria to withdraw its troops.

No sooner had the U.S.-Israeli and U.S.-Lebanese talks ended than U.S. and Israeli warplanes struck. Unfortunately, Syrian Pres. Hafez al-Assad's attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fighters loyal to PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat — who are besieged in Tripoli — helped pave the way for the stepped up U.S.-Israeli aggression. As Syrian troops and PLO renegades killed hundreds of Palestinians and Lebanese in and around Tripoli, Assad's regime became increasingly isolated politically. This fact made it easier for imperialism to launch its latest assault on Syrian troops.

In addition to planning increased aggres-



Lebanese soldiers sift through wreckage left by downed U.S. bomber following U.S. attack on Syrian positions in Shuf Mountains December 4.

sion against Syria, the U.S.-Israeli talks resulted in \$1.275 billion in U.S. military aid to Israel that doesn't have to be repaid. A supposed ban on the delivery of cluster bombs and other war matériel to Israel was also lifted.

In this way U.S. imperialism hopes to prepare for a new war in the Middle East. A U.S.-backed Israeli war against Syria — possibly involving U.S. troops — may be the only way for Washington to expel Syrian troops from Lebanon and stabilize the country's teetering regime.

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Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

## Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



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# NATO Euromissiles: warning to liberation struggles, USSR

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"Today Grenada, tomorrow Woensdrecht!" proclaimed a banner at a huge peace demonstration in the Netherlands. Woensdrecht is the site of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air base where cruise nuclear missiles are scheduled to be installed.

The first missiles have already been delivered to Britain, Italy, and West Germany. In response, the Soviet Union decided to discontinue its participation in the Geneva arms negotiations.

What's the link between the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the deployment of 108 Pershing II and 464 cruise nuclear missiles in Western Europe?

Both are aimed at intimidating the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, Lebanon, El Salvador, Cuba and anyone else that dares to challenge U.S. imperialist domination — including European workers. The missiles are a nuclear shield behind which Washington hopes to carry out murderous bombing raids against Syria and rightist terror in El Salvador with impunity. These missiles also carry a clear message to the Soviet Union: don't provide aid to peoples struggling for national liberation.

The deployment of these mass-murder weapons, far from being the crazed actions of some madman in the White House, is a cold-blooded statement by Washington and its European imperialist allies of how far they are willing to go to quell the revolutionary struggles that are the inevitable results of the worldwide crisis of the capitalist system.

The massive military buildup — including both nuclear and conventional weaponry — is necessary to wage counter-revolutionary wars — as was done in Vietnam and as is being done today from Central America to Lebanon. These wars are all carried out under the protection of U.S. nuclear weapons.

That's why imperialism has fought so hard to deploy these missiles in Western Europe.

## First missile deliveries

The 15 NATO members are the United States, Canada, Iceland, Portugal, France, Britain, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Italy, West Germany, Greece, and Turkey. Of these, France and Greece are not part of NATO's military structure.

NATO has slated 204 missiles for West Germany. Of these, 108 are Pershing II missiles, which are capable of delivering nuclear warheads deep inside the Soviet Union in no more than six minutes. The cruise missiles, which NATO is deploying in Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands, Italy, and West Germany, are slower and are designed to avoid detection by skimming the ground at a height of 50 to 200 feet.

The first missiles delivered went to Britain on November 14. Each warhead of these Tomahawk cruise missiles is 16 times more powerful than the bomb Washington dropped on Hiroshima.

The police arrested hundreds of people who protested the arrival of the missiles.

Nine days later, the first Pershing IIs were delivered to West Germany. Nine journalists were detained for filming and taking pictures in the security zone around the Ramstein air base that the missiles were flown into. Two of the reporters were from the East German press agency and cops said they intended to charge them with espionage.

The Italian Defense Ministry announced on November 27 that the first component of what will be 112 cruise missiles had arrived in Sicily. On December 4, antimissile demonstrators formed a six-mile human chain from the U.S. naval base where the NATO missiles are stored toward Catania in Sicily. Several busloads of protesters blocked the entrance of the base. Thousands gathered in a cold rain in downtown Catania to protest.

Two Italian crewmen from CBS news were arrested while filming the entrance to a NATO base that will house the missiles. They are being held on charges of procuring information regarding state security.

The crackdown on democratic rights that is accompanying the missiles is due to the fact that the Western European governments are faced with massive opposition to the missiles.

Ever since the Dec. 12, 1979, decision by NATO to develop and deploy these weapons, a huge political battle has unfolded in Western Europe over them. This has been a central political issue, with massive protests in the last couple of years against the missiles.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany, which backed missile deployment when it was in office, has come out against it now that it's in opposition.

The British Labor Party and labor federation also oppose the missiles.

In the most recent round of protests on October 22, more than a million West Germans took to the streets, making it that country's largest political demonstration since World War II. The largest antinuclear protest in British history took place as a quarter of a million turned out in London.

Resistance to the missiles, as well as opposition to imperialist military interventions from Central America to Lebanon, has been heightened by the worldwide economic crisis. Working people in the imperialist countries are facing concerted austerity drives by the employers and governments, while the peoples of the semicolonial world are being driven even further into poverty.

## Bipartisan policy

The initial deployment of the missiles represents a victory for Washington in its campaign to force its imperialist allies to shoulder more of the political and military burden for policing the world.

This is a bipartisan policy of U.S. imperialism. It was under the administration of Democrat James Carter that agreement was reached to install these missiles. They are being added to thousands of NATO missiles already in place in Western Europe.

The majority sentiment against these missiles has not been translated into action by the governments in Western Europe. It's not just the governments led by capitalist parties, as in Britain and West Germany, that have welcomed the missiles. It's also capitalist governments led by social-democratic parties, as in Italy and France.

Leading the charge, in fact, has been French Pres. François Mitterrand. No missiles will be placed in France, which has its

own nuclear weapons. But Mitterrand has repeatedly urged deployment and condemned all those who oppose it. Meanwhile, Mitterrand is building up a French Rapid Action Force in order to better carry out military interventions in countries like Chad, Lebanon, and the French colonies in the Caribbean.

The antimissiles movement was not able to stop the initial deployment. However, it has involved millions of Western European workers and farmers in political action and discussions on war, how to stop it, and its relationship to the attacks on their rights and living standards.

This deepening politicization among working people, in fact, is creating a big problem for the ruling classes in Western Europe, a problem which deploying the missiles will not solve.

## Is Soviet Union a threat?

The primary argument in favor of the missiles is the need to defend Western Europe from a supposed Soviet military threat. This lie is told because it is politically impossible for the U.S. ruling class to state its real reasons for fighting wars such as in Vietnam, Lebanon, or Central America. Working people are not willing to lay down their lives for the profits of the big banks and corporations.

So instead we are told we must fight "Soviet expansionism."

Moscow's decision to withdraw from the Geneva arms negotiations once the deployment began is being used to bolster this argument about a warlike Soviet Union.

But it was Washington that dropped the first and only atomic bombs ever used.

It was Washington that threatened to do so again in Korea, the Middle East, and Vietnam.

It is Washington that has initiated every increase in the deadliness and numbers of nuclear weapons.

And it's only Washington that boasts it will use them if necessary.

The Geneva talks originated at the insistence of the European NATO powers that in order to win acceptance for deployment, NATO needed the window-dressing of some kind of arms talks. This was after NATO rejected Moscow's offer to decrease its missile force aimed at Europe in exchange for a NATO agreement to simply not deploy new missiles.

The Soviet Union has itself been the victim of two imperialist invasions and is encircled by imperialist military bases. This



**NATO plans to place 108 of these Pershing II nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Their purpose is to intimidate anti-imperialist fighters and warn Soviet Union against aiding such struggles.**

continues to impose a very heavy burden on the Soviet workers state. And it's working people — in the imperialist countries, the semicolonial world, and the workers states — who are forced to foot the bill for these weapons.

The imperialists hope that their threat to wage nuclear war will strike fear in the hearts of all those who stand up to Washington and Wall Street — from the Nicaraguans to the Greyhound strikers.

But the U.S. ruling class is moving from a position of weakness, not strength. Their system is in crisis all over the world. It's not fear of nuclear war that should be our reaction to this latest escalation, but anger and determination to continue fighting against imperialist intervention in Central America and Lebanon, against further deployment of NATO missiles, and against the ruling class' austerity drive.

## Milwaukee unions hear Salvador labor leader

BY GEORGE O'NEILL

MILWAUKEE — Salvadoran trade-union leader Salvador López carried out a successful tour of Milwaukee November 3-14. During his tour he spoke at eight union meetings, four meetings at universities, two radio talk shows, a major public meeting, and a number of other events.

López was the national education director of the Railroad Systems Union, the major union representing Salvadoran rail workers. He is also a spokesperson for FENASTRAS, the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions.

On November 5, López spoke to a group of about 125 people at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 48 Hall. Also speaking were Jim Groppi, president of Amalgamated Transit Workers (ATU) Local 998 and U.S. Rep. Jim Moody. The meeting was chaired by Charlie Dee, an executive board member of American Federation of Teachers Local 212 and of the Central America Solidarity Coalition in Milwaukee.

Moody expressed his opposition to the U.S. military intervention in Lebanon and the increasingly interventionist and militaristic course of U.S. foreign policy.

Groppi called on the union movement to stop being "isolationist," and to concern itself with what is going on with workers in other unions and workers in general, whether in the United States or elsewhere in the world.

In his talk, López made parallels between the problems facing U.S. workers and Salvadoran workers. He pointed out that the same Phelps Dodge Corp. that is trying to break the miners' unions in Arizona has operated for years in El Salvador paying its workers \$2.50 a day and paying no taxes.

The tour was initiated by a group of 11 local union leaders, including Charlie Williams, the legislative and political coordinator of the Midwest Region of the International Association of Machinists (IAM); John Parr, the executive director of District Council 48 of AFSCME; and Carston Koeller, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers. Several presidents of



Salvador López

Militant

other union locals backed the tour including Ted Krukowski from United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 1111, Bob Laventure from United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 3740; Eula Ladd from Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 64; and Jim Holtyn from Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union Local 23.

López spoke to the members of United Auto Workers Local 1866 on November 6. Local 1866 represents over 2,000 workers at AC Spark Plug, a division of General Motors. The same day he addressed UE Local 1111, which organizes the big Allen Bradley plant in Milwaukee.

At a meeting of Local 68 of ACTWU, which organizes the Eagle Knitting Co., the members voted to become honorary members of FENASTRAS. López attended a reception after the local meeting of Smith Steelworkers Local 19806, which organizes about 4,000 workers at the A.O. Smith Corp., and addressed about 60 delegates at the meeting of IAM District 10, the largest union in the Milwaukee area.

Other union meetings López spoke at included: ATU Local 998, representing Milwaukee bus drivers; USWA Local 2996 at Wehr Steel Co.; the executive board of USWA Local 3740 at International Harvester in Waukesha, Wisconsin; and an informal meeting with members of Allied Industrial Workers Local 232, who had just finished a three-month strike against the Briggs and Stratton Corp.



# Nicaragua: amnesty for exiles who return

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of that foreign power, of the traitors and sell-outs," Ortega continued.

"Today they have the possibility to repent before the people, to turn over their arms and rejoin the new Nicaragua."

Those who decide to return are to be granted safe-conduct by Nicaraguan consulates abroad. Or, if they are currently fighting or hiding inside the country, through regional offices of the Ministry of the Interior. They are guaranteed full participation in the 1985 elections, either as candidates or as voters. But they must return by February 21, the day election procedures are to be announced.

Furthermore, returnees will all be eligible to benefit from free land through Nicaragua's extensive agrarian reform. Former landowners will have their lands returned or, if these properties have been turned over to peasant cooperatives, be financially compensated.

This new decree comes on the heels of other important and related steps taken by the revolutionary government in recent weeks:

- Amnesty for all Miskito Indians in exile in Honduras or in prison in Nicaragua. (Here again, only top counter-revolutionary leaders are excluded.)
- Major loosening of censorship.
- New incentive packages for big coffee and cotton producers.
- Guarantees to big growers and rich peasants that their land will not be confiscated so long as they continue to produce.
- Initial discussions to reduce tensions with the internal opposition: the Catholic Church hierarchy, the right-wing political parties, and the reactionary daily *La Prensa*.

Each of these measures is intended to strengthen the alliance of Nicaragua's tiny working class with the majority sectors of society — the peasantry and the urban middle class (largely made up of vendors, traders, and people running small businesses). Only such an alliance can ensure the unity of the country in face of threatened imperialist invasion.

They are also intended to remove pretexts for such an invasion. In effect, the moves buy time for further strengthening of the revolution, or at least increase enormously the political price the U.S. government will have to pay for direct military intervention.

Ortega explained that while all these

measures thoroughly fit in with the new Nicaragua being built, they are only one aspect of democracy.

"Democracy doesn't begin and end with elections," Ortega pointed out. He explained that it begins with mass participation in decision-making and with the reordering of the economy. It includes agrarian reform, education, and health care.

The best possible proof of Nicaraguan democracy, Ortega said, is that the revolution has carried through on its promise to turn over "all arms to the people." This shows that the government is not separated from the masses but rather is 100 percent confident that the arms will be used to defend the revolution, not overturn it.

Of Nicaragua's 3.5 million people — half of whom are children — Ortega reported "there are 1,603,293 Nicaraguans older than 14 who are ready to fight against the invaders, but some lack rifles."

Those without arms, Ortega said, would have to rely on homemade bombs, arrows, and even rocks to defeat the invaders.

Regarding the current negotiations by the Contadora group — Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela — Ortega reported that Nicaragua was so far the only country to develop peace proposals addressing all 21 points of mutual concern to Central American countries.

Ortega made clear that Nicaragua was not seeking a separate arrangement with the United States. He stressed that there was no possibility for peace in Central America until U.S. intervention in El Salvador stopped.

As the basis for peace, Nicaragua has proposed to the Central American countries in conflict:

- Immediate removal of foreign military bases, schools, and of any other form of foreign military presence, including maneuvers.
- Immediate end to any type of arms buildup.
- Immediate withdrawal of all foreign military advisers.
- Limitations on the size of the regular standing armies of the Central American countries.

"None of these steps can be taken unilaterally by Nicaragua," Ortega said. "They must be met by measures implemented simultaneously by all the Central American governments."

After reviewing the sum total of the steps Nicaragua has taken Ortega said, "In



Barricada/Mario Tapia

Nicaraguan government leaders Daniel Ortega (right) and Tomás Borge (next to him) with Miskito Indians who have benefited from recent amnesty decree. Amnesty covers Miskito Indians in exile in Honduras or in Nicaraguan prisons.

this way Nicaragua is making a new effort that will test the United States' desire for peace."

As has been reported in the local press here, Nicaragua's recent proposals for peace have so far been met by:

- Reagan's veto of certification of human rights "progress" prior to funding for the Salvadoran regime.
- Roving U.S. Ambassador Richard Stone's meeting in Panama with most major Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary leaders.
- Denial for a third time of a visa for Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge to address the U.S. people and governmental representatives. This despite Nicaragua's open-door, no-visa-necessary policy

for any U.S. citizen who wishes to visit here.

• Funded by Washington, counter-revolutionaries killed 29 Sandinista soldiers between November 24 and December 3 in various fighting around the country.

There is no illusion here among government leaders that any step taken by Nicaragua — short of a return to Somozaism — can stop direct U.S. intervention. But there is growing confidence that the invaders will pay an enormous price, and that eventually they will be driven out.

As Daniel Ortega told the Council of State, and television and radio listeners around the country, "The armed people will not be defeated by either bullets or ballots."

## Hundreds in U.S. volunteer for Nicaragua work brigades

BY CINDY JAQUITH

In a demonstration of opposition to a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, hundreds of U.S. citizens are volunteering to go to Nicaragua on work brigades. The internationalist brigades — which will also come from other countries — will help harvest coffee and cotton or work on medical and technical projects. The volunteers will begin arriving in Nicaragua December 18.

The brigades offer an opportunity for U.S. trade unionists, solidarity activists, and others to contribute their labor to help Nicaragua at a time when it is under severe military attack, and to utilize their experience on the brigades to deepen antiwar activity once they return to this country.

In the United States, the brigades are being organized through the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, based in Washington, D.C. In an appeal for volunteers to help pick coffee, the Network says, "The Nicaraguan people, currently mobilized for defense, are short-handed for harvesting their main source of foreign exchange — the annual coffee crop. Nicaragua is seeking hundreds of North American volunteers to live and work with people in the mountains for two weeks or longer, contribute to the economy, and experience firsthand the reality of their revolutionary society."

"Conditions are rugged. You should be in good physical shape and be willing to do day-long agricultural labor for the duration of the trip. This is not a tour."

Local antiwar groups and trade unions can organize a brigade, or individuals can join brigades being organized nationally.

Participants in the brigades must pay their own transportation to and from Nicaragua, which will be \$500-600 from any point in the United States. Nicaragua will provide food, housing, and transportation inside the country.

Volunteers in the coffee brigades will work in Nicaragua for a maximum of one month and then return to the United States.

Participants in the technical brigades will stay in Nicaragua for three to six months. Skills are required for the technical brigades — experience in health, mechanics, agriculture, energy, construction, or architecture. In addition to doctors, nurses, and engineers, many industrial workers can contribute to these technical projects. Trade union locals will want to

consider organizing brigades of skilled workers to help the revolution.

To apply for a brigade, write to the National Network in Solidarity With the People of Nicaragua, 2025 I St. NW, Suite 402, Washington, D.C. 20006. Telephone: (202) 223-2328.

## Nicaraguan diplomats address 300 at N.Y. Central America mtg.

BY CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK — On December 3 more than 300 people participated in an exciting day-long teach-in sponsored by Casa Nicaragua. The theme was "We are Struggling for Peace — International Politics and Nicaragua."

The successful event was another step forward in the dialogue that is developing between Central American and Caribbean revolutionaries and U.S. working people.

In the eight workshops and plenary sessions, representatives from the Nicaraguan mission to the United Nations and the Nicaraguan Embassy addressed all the major lies and distortions of the Reagan administration regarding Nicaragua.

In addition, freedom fighters from Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Grenada provided information on the popular struggles throughout the region.

Orlando Moncada, from the Nicaraguan mission to the UN, explained that the new military conscription in his country will put arms in the hands of the whole people. "If our revolution doesn't respond to the needs of our people, they will have the arms to overthrow it," Moncada declared. He noted that few if any supposedly democratic regimes in Latin America could survive if arms were in the hands of their own people.

A representative of the Grenada Revolutionary League spoke at the plenary session. He stated that the U.S. is now in the process of reimposing colonialism in Grenada. Asserting that revolutionaries would grow stronger and wiser from studying the lessons of the Grenada revolution, he concluded: "Long live the principles of Maurice Bishop! Long live the principles of the 1979 Grenada revolution!"

## Cardenal harassed at airport

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

NEW YORK — Nicaraguan Minister of Culture Father Ernesto Cardenal had a taste of the kind of democracy the U.S. would like to impose on Nicaragua upon his arrival here November 29. "I was detained and interrogated for three hours at the airport," Cardenal told a well-attended news conference the next day at the Nicaraguan Mission to the U.N.

The harassment of Cardenal followed by a few hours the White House decision to deny a visa to Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Commander Tomás Borge, who was scheduled to speak here December 8.

Despite the fact that Cardenal is a member of the Nicaraguan government and carries a diplomatic passport, he was searched and his baggage opened by U.S. officials at Kennedy Airport. They seemed especially interested in a Bible he was carrying, Cardenal told the press conference.

The officials asked him what political party he belongs to and whether the Organization of American States is a legal political organization in the United States. Cardenal came to the United States to inaugurate a Nicaraguan art exhibition sponsored by the OAS in Washington, D.C.

Cardenal spoke about the growth of culture in Nicaragua since the revolution of July 19, 1979. "Before," he explained, "culture was only for a group of privileged people who studied in the universities; now it belongs to all the people, workers and peasants."

Comparing the situation in the United States with that in Nicaragua, he said, in

the United States the only place you might find poetry workshops is in universities, out of reach for most people. But in the new Nicaragua, "we have poetry workshops in the working-class neighborhoods of Managua, in small villages, in the countryside, and also for soldiers and policemen."

Cardenal also explained the efforts to promote the culture of the non-Spanish-speaking population of Nicaragua, such as the Miskito and Sumo Indians, and the English-speaking people of the Atlantic Coast.

However, the U.S. war against Nicaragua is curtailing all these cultural efforts, as it is necessary to mobilize all sectors of the country for the defense, he added.

Asked whether political poems are encouraged, Cardenal answered, "We always insist that the topic need not be political. The same goes for music, painting, and theatre. . . . You can have really awful political poems. Awful in the artistic sense. . . . We're interested in them being good poems."

Later that day, Cardenal read from some of his poems to a standing-room audience of about 1,000 at a meeting organized in Cooper Union by a group of artists who support the Nicaraguan revolution.

The poems evoked an enthusiastic response from the audience, including chants of "¡No pasarán!" (They shall not pass — referring to the counterrevolutionaries).

Asked about the role of religion within the revolution, Cardenal, himself a Catholic priest, answered simply, "To support the revolution."



# Greyhound, gov't blackmail strikers

Continued from front page  
of the locals' membership. The membership vote will be tallied on December 20.

In Phoenix, at Greyhound's corporate headquarters, John Teets, the company's chairman, said he had been "assured by the union that they're overwhelmingly supporting [the proposed contract] and that the final vote will be positive and affirmative."

He was shooting for full service by Christmas, he said.

## Opposition to contract

But local ATU officials in several cities with large memberships — New York, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. — are urging their members to vote no.

In New York, Domenic Sirignano, president of Local 1202, told a December 6 news conference at the Port Authority that he "could not recommend the contract on its merits." He told a meeting of the local's membership the same thing later that day, but warned that continuing the strike would not be easy in face of Greyhound's willingness to carry out its union-busting threats.

"If we could have held out a little longer, been a little stronger, we'd have a lot better offer than what's on the table," he said.

Elsewhere, however, ATU officials are recommending acceptance to their members — in Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, for instance — or making no recommendation, as is the case in Local

1313, which covers Greyhound workers in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas.

## Hard choice for members

ATU members around the country face a difficult choice over the contract proposal. Many have told the *Militant* that while the proposal is bad, they feel they have beaten back Greyhound somewhat and would go back, their union intact, to fight another day.

A St. Louis driver said, "Even though we're taking a 14 percent cut, they haven't been able to bust the union. We won that by staying out and with solidarity from other unions."

A striking Greyhound cashier in Phoenix pointed out that Greyhound had been beaten back on split shifts and part-time workers, and that the union members were giving up two holidays instead of the five the company had demanded.

"We'll go back with our morale high," she said, a sentiment common on picket lines everywhere.

Strikers favoring ratification also point to the company's yearly layoffs from after New Years to Easter. Continuing the strike at least four more months would not be easy.

Strikers also have seen that they face a hostile government, through its cops, courts, and mediation. The big-business media, too, have for the most part reported only the company's side of the strike.

But pro-ratification strikers point out that many workers will vote no, and that they will continue to strike if that's the majority's decision.

In cities where large solidarity actions — virtually mass picketing in many cases — have occurred, sentiment seems more open against ratification. After the December 7 New York meeting of Local 1202, most members said on leaving that they'd vote no.

Anti-ratification sentiment seemed to increase after union members were angered by Phillips' death. "This contract has blood on it — I can't vote for it," said a picket in Boston.

A striker in Philadelphia insisted the union shouldn't go back until the supervisor and driver of the bus that killed Phillips are brought to justice.

Whichever way the ATU members vote,

they clearly feel stronger — and angrier at Greyhound — than before.

"The company didn't know how strong our union was — and we didn't know how strong either," said a Phoenix picket.

Another said of Teets' union-busting attempts, "We will never forget this."

## Solidarity actions

Although solidarity actions have dropped off somewhat since the proposed contract was announced — as Greyhound calculated — they are continuing.

In San Francisco, 1,500 to 2,000 unionists marched from Civic Center to the Greyhound Terminal December 3. The company closed down until long after they'd left.

In Toledo, about 500 ATU members and supporters marched the same day. In Detroit, 400 marched on December 4.

In Philadelphia, a truck convoy of Teamsters and pickets shut down all traffic around the bus terminal November 29.

Picket lines on December 3 and 4 were also bolstered in a number of cities, such as St. Louis, where 200 marched at the bus terminal.

On December 7, 300 to 400 unionists rallied at the Port Authority in New York. The action was endorsed by the Central Labor Council.

Everywhere, *Militant* correspondents report that travelers are honoring the ATU picket lines. At the Port Authority December 6, this reporter saw eight passengers take Trailways after pickets had convinced them of the justice of their strike. Only three went Greyhound in an hour and a half.

Large-scale picketing hurt Greyhound considerably over the Thanksgiving holidays, as the company now admits.

Drivers often honk in solidarity. And workers near terminals go out of their way to express solidarity.

ATU members continue to reach out to other unions. And they get a response. Many workers have joined their picket lines after hearing the strikers' appeals.

In Louisville, tobacco workers have brought cartons of cigarettes to the strikers. At the large GE plant there, the union is asking for \$1 from each of the plant's 12,000 workers for the ATU strikers.

The Teamsters in Toledo have donated \$1,000, as has the ATU local in San An-

tonio that represents the city's bus drivers.

Phoenix Teamsters who work for Greyhound are honoring and joining ATU picket lines.

## More solidarity needed

The Greyhound strikers continue to need solidarity. Their votes will not be counted until December 19 or 20, the union says. Even if they vote to end their strike, they will go back stronger the more they see other workers supporting them.

If they reject the contract, they will need solidarity even more. The wide support they have won will have to be organized — on the picket line — on a much larger scale.

## Frame-up charge dropped against driver in Texas

BY STEVEN WARSCHHELL

SAN ANTONIO — The U.S. attorney here dropped frame-up charges December 2 against Edwin Bunte, a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) on strike against Greyhound.

Bunte was arrested by the FBI November 24 and charged with "aiding and abetting unknown person(s) in damaging a motor vehicle used, operated, and employed in interstate commerce."

Handcuffed and chained, he was taken from the court to Bastrup Federal Prison, where he was held four days until friends, neighbors, and supporters raised \$25,000 bond.

Bunte had been driving home on November 23 from the vicinity of the Greyhound maintenance yard in San Antonio. A Greyhound bus in front of him, driven by scab Connie Woods, lurched across the street to block Bunte's car.

Woods got out of the bus, accused Bunte of following and harassing him, and threatened to kill Bunte.

Cops were called. They didn't arrest Woods for threatening Bunte's life, but questioned both men about windshield damage to the bus — a marble-size hole just below the destination sign.

After the questioning, Bunte went to his home in La Vernia, where the FBI arrested him the next day.

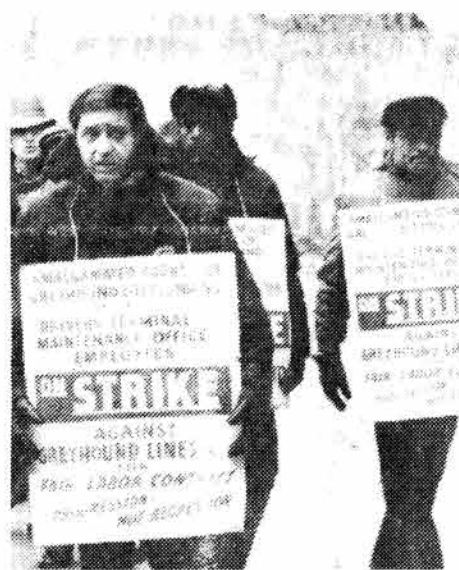
A delegation of 20 striking drivers, in Greyhound uniforms, visited him at the federal pen to show their support.

Greyhound announced he was fired. He has 25 years' service with the company.

ATU pickets told the *Militant* they had received calls from Woods, who claimed he was forced by Greyhound to testify against Bunte and said he'd "tell the truth" at Bunte's trial.

A conviction for Bunte could have meant 10 years in prison and a \$20,000 fine.

ATU members here correctly viewed the dropping of these frame-up charges against Bunte as a victory. Some also noted the federal government's obvious role on the side of Greyhound and against the union.



Pickets at Penn Station in Newark

## Ex-marine: 'attend YSA convention'

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — Former marine sergeant Jim Stryffeler capped a day-long Young Socialist Alliance Educational Conference here December 3 by urging all present to "take the next big step" and attend the YSA's 23rd national convention in St. Louis.

"As young workers, we have a big stake in the direction the YSA goes in the next year," Stryffeler told the audience, which included socialists and supporters from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. "That's what we'll be deciding in St. Louis."

Stryffeler, a member of the YSA, recently won an honorable discharge from the Marine Corps after being threatened with the brig for opposing the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

The YSA's convention is slated for December 28 to January 1 at the Sheraton Hotel in St. Louis. Its theme will be the fight against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

That was also the theme of the gathering here. Calling it a "working meeting," YSA leader Priscilla Schenk opened the conference by declaring, "We are here to educate and organize ourselves to oppose Washington's war."

Schenk, who is married to Héctor Marroquín, a socialist seeking asylum here from Mexico, listed "propaganda, lies, and outright censorship" as "Reagan's new way of trying to convince U.S. workers to support this war. That is why the press was barred from Grenada. That is why Nicaraguan Minister Tomás Borge was denied entry to this country."

The deportation of foreign-born dissidents such as her husband, Schenk continued, is another means of "silencing dissent in this country; of keeping U.S. workers from hearing the truth from the mouths of Salvadoran, Haitian, and Guatemalan refugees."

Drawing on his own experience, Stryffeler lashed out at "the government propaganda machine inside the military," which gives GIs little access to "the other side of the story, better known as the truth."

Nonetheless, he said, "GIs are workers forced into the service by the crisis we all face, and they have the same discussions we do."

Discussion at the New York conference came in a series of classes on the class struggle in the United States, the Black and women's liberation struggles, the situation in Lebanon, and the Central America war.

At several of these, participants talked over the significance of Jesse Jackson's bid for the presidency and analyzed recent events in Grenada. In the Central America discussion, a YSAer just back from Nicaragua reported on preparations there to meet the imminent U.S. assault.

The upcoming national convention will bring together delegates from 49 YSA chapters in 30 states, along with hundreds of other members and supporters. Besides numerous classes and workshops, major events will include:

- Reports on Central America, building an antiwar movement of U.S. workers, the struggle of U.S. Blacks, and the fight for women's liberation.

- A rally marking the 25th anniversary

of the Cuban revolution, with speakers representing Central America's liberation movements.

- Meetings of socialists who are members of industrial unions, to discuss work on the job and in their unions.

Back in New York, Priscilla Schenk assessed the December 3 conference this way: "We represent forces that go far beyond our numbers here. We stand boldly and say, 'We are revolutionaries.' We cannot be silenced, and we will win new fighters to our ranks."

Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon, Palestine:  
**THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.**

Join with young revolutionaries

**COME TO THE YSA CONVENTION**

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

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

The theme of this year's convention will be the

fight against Washington's war in Central America and the Caribbean and the impact of these revolutions on U.S. and world politics. Representatives of struggles around the world will be present as well as activists from the Black, Latino, labor, and women's movements. Convention activities will include rallies, classes, films, and a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

To find out more about how to attend the convention contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 11) or fill out the coupon below.

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

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

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# Background to U.S. invasion of Grenada

First-hand account by Maurice Bishop's press secretary Don Rojas

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

Don Rojas was Maurice Bishop's press secretary and editor of Grenada's *Free West Indian* newspaper. He narrowly escaped death during the October 19 executions of Bishop and other top leaders of Grenada's New Jewel Movement. Four days after the October 25 U.S. invasion of the island, Rojas and his family were rounded up by the occupation forces, interrogated, and expelled from Grenada.

Allowed only a few days in Barbados and Trinidad, Rojas and his family made their way to Canada. Speaking in Montreal at McGill University on December 1, Rojas recounted the tragic events that led to the overthrow of Grenada's revolutionary workers and farmers government and described the subsequent invasion by 6,000 U.S. Marines and Rangers (see article on facing page).

"We come from a people who have a long history, a long proud history, of struggle," Rojas told the meeting. Over the past century Grenada produced many of the Caribbean's most respected class-struggle fighters, trade-union organizers, and revolutionaries, he said.

Turning to the events that led to the assassination of Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Rojas characterized them as "events that in my view could have been avoided."

"But they were events that nevertheless not only led to the tragic deaths of Maurice, Unison Whiteman, Jackie Creft, Fitzroy Bain, and the other leaders of the revolution and prominent trade union leaders — but led to the deaths of dozens of innocent men, women, and children," he said.

"These events, of course, provided a very convenient excuse for the United States to seize on the opportunity that they had been long waiting for, that they had been long preparing for, to invade Grenada and destroy the Grenada revolution — to remove the 'virus,' as President Reagan described Grenada, to remove this massive 'virus' from the Caribbean once and for all.

## 'Bitter irony'

"And it is perhaps one of the most bitter ironies of this whole crisis," Rojas continued, "that the opportunity was provided for them — served up on a platter with all the frills — by a group of immature, unscientific, and, in many respects, opportunistic elements within the New Jewel Movement who proclaimed themselves to be the most militant and anti-imperialist faction of all.

"Yet by their gross errors and miscalculations, it is ironic that they themselves objectively provided the conditions under which the United States moved to invade Grenada."

Rojas described the massive scale of the U.S. invasion — one heavily armed marine for every 18 Grenadian citizens — as being like "trying to crack a nut with a hammer." He also took up the Reagan administration's justifications for the invasion, each one of which, he said, has proved to be a "total fabrication."



Don Rojas at 1982 media conference in Grenada

Militant/Flax Hermes

To fuel the disinformation campaign during the invasion, Rojas explained, sections of the U.S. press began to "shed crocodile tears for Maurice Bishop." All of a sudden, "Maurice was not such a bad guy after all, because, according to their simplistic interpretations, what took place in Grenada was an ideological struggle between the 'moderate' Maurice Bishop faction and the 'hardline communist' Bernard Coard."

That, Rojas said, was an oversimplification. "Yes, there were political differences within the New Jewel Movement. Yes, there were ideological debates. But on the fundamental ideological principle — on the question of the ultimate objective of the Grenada revolution, which was to create a socialist state inside Grenada — there was no difference of opinion between Maurice and Bernard," Rojas explained.

"There may have been differences in leadership style, in methodology, in tactical approach — but certainly no fundamental differences on what the revolution was all about or where the revolution was heading."

Nor, said Rojas, did the claims that the Soviets or the Cubans were responsible for creating the tensions in the party have any truth. He stated that there was "absolutely no involvement by these two countries or the parties of these two countries in the internal frictions of the New Jewel Movement."

However, "if there was any outside interference it would have come certainly, in my view, from the Central Intelligence Agency using an opportunity of friction inside the party to manipulate, to divide, and ultimately to destroy the party and the revolution. But history alone will provide those answers."

## Grenadian people traumatized

Although code-named "Urgent Fury," the U.S. invasion took six days, Rojas noted.

And, if Maurice Bishop and the other leaders had not been assassinated on October 19, "the Americans would not have been able to invade and overcome Grenada in five or six days because they would have met with the resistance of a united people, a people determined to defend their sovereignty, their dignity, and their independence."

Instead, he explained, "what they met on October 25 was a traumatized people, a demoralized people, a people who were united in and of themselves — but not united with their vanguard party and not united with their armed forces."

Grenadians "had been locked up in their homes for five days and threatened with death if they came out of their homes," Rojas said. "That kind of trauma on a people after they have lost their leaders and their sons and their daughters is going to lead to the kind of initial gut reaction that was expressed by many Grenadians."

"If an invading force had come from Mars or Bangladesh or anywhere else, the Grenadian people would have responded with the initial euphoria expressed by many Grenadians. They saw it not as a liberating force sent by Uncle Sam, but as a relief from the oppression that had been put on them by the Revolutionary Military Council."

"Nonetheless," he said, "the young soldiers of the People's Revolutionary Army — many of whom themselves were misled and manipulated by the opportunist elements posing to be ultrarevolutionaries — fought courageously, were wounded or lost their lives."

And, Rojas added, "if you judge by the faces of the Grenadians who I saw, the refugees who were brought to Point Salines on the day I left Grenada — and I saw maybe 2,000 people there — I did not see one with any expression of joy on their face. They were relieved, yes. But they

were also scared, frightened, unsure of the future of their country."

The U.S. military, diplomatic, and political presence will dominate Grenada "for quite some time to come," Rojas thought. Right now, "the groundwork is being prepared for the return of Eric Matthew Gairy — the infamous pirate, the bloody dictator who ruled Grenada for 25 years up to March 13, 1979."

Rojas commented during his talk that while he was not "simplistically optimistic" about what the future holds for Grenada and the New Jewel Movement, he didn't "believe the revolution had been destroyed — set back, seriously set back, yes."

"My optimism rests in the belief that the impact of four and a half years of this revolutionary experiment in a new form of socio-economic development for the Caribbean — an experiment that brought pride, a new sense of patriotism and dignity to the Grenadian people — the impact on the collective consciousness of the Grenadian people, in my view, is not going to be wiped out very easily."

In fact, he said, "there are signs of growing discontent among the Grenadian people. They are now realizing, very painfully, that the so-called rescue mission turned out to be more than that. It turned out to be an occupation. It turned out to be a denial of Grenada's right to independence and self-determination."

Rojas expressed his opinion that the events in Grenada have already begun to have a "powerful impact on the political picture throughout the Caribbean region" and on the balance of forces in the world itself.

"Positively, the invasion of Grenada — despite all the pain, in spite of all the mourning, in spite of the nightmare that a lot of us have to live with and will take to our graves — is providing an impetus at the moment for the peace movement around the world, for the national liberation struggles around the world — particularly in southern Africa and the Middle East — and for social progress and social justice around the world," Rojas said.

"In that positive development I find hope, I find optimism. The struggle will continue and I am convinced that victory is certain."

## UAW paper hits Grenada invasion

U.S. business is happy with the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the United Auto Workers' magazine *Solidarity* says in its November issue.

An article, "Grenada: Making the Caribbean Safe for U.S. Business?" cites a U.S. owner of a paper factory in the Caribbean who said Grenada "was like a nettle in your sock," deterring prospective U.S. investments in the region.

The article reported that the International Metalworkers Federation, with which the UAW, United Steelworkers of America, and other unions are affiliated, called the U.S. invasion of the island an affront to international law and order.

In Canada, UAW Vice-president Robert White urged the Canadian government to condemn the invasion, the magazine noted, while Dennis McDermott, head of the Canadian Labour Congress (the Canadian equivalent of the AFL-CIO) said that "lasting democratization does not spring from military invasions and the imposition of provisional governments."

The article pointed out that low wages in the region are taken advantage of by many U.S. corporations.

The article also took note of concerns that Reagan, following Grenada, would "send troops to El Salvador and Nicaragua for what could be a longer, costlier, and bloodier war." U.S. corporations, the article observed, have "investments in Central America far greater than in the Caribbean — and they may be looking for ways to stabilize the same kind of low-wage climate there that they've been assured of at least temporarily on the islands."

## Exclusive Interview With DON ROJAS

### "Behind the Tragedy in Grenada"

In the December 26 *Intercontinental Press*. On Sale December 16.

Don Rojas was the last living New Jewel Movement leader to speak with Maurice Bishop on the day Bishop and other top leaders of Grenada's revolutionary government were assassinated at Fort Rupert. Rojas, press secretary to Bishop and former editor of Grenada's *Free West Indian* newspaper, narrowly escaped death himself and was forced into hiding.

In the first in-depth interview since he left Grenada four days after the U.S. invasion, Rojas explains what lay behind the events that led to the tragedy. He describes in detail the evolution and character of the faction led by Bernard Coard and examines the circumstances surrounding the arrest of Bishop and the overthrow of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government.

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**Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014**



# 'Fighter jets flying low over your house'

The following is Don Rojas' account of his experiences from the day Maurice Bishop was freed from house arrest on October 19 until Rojas and his family left Grenada on October 29, four days after the U.S. military invasion.

At the time Maurice was killed, I was carrying out a task he himself had given to me. He told me to go to the telephone company in the city and to get word out to the world the people had freed him and to communicate a number of other things he wanted the world to know on that day.

First of all, that Grenadians had the capacity to solve their own problems and there was no need for any outside interference or intervention.

Second, to dispel rumors that the Cubans were involved in the conflict. He wanted that to be made very clear. Right-wing provocateurs, some of them CIA agents who had been flown into Grenada on the day before Maurice's death, had been circulating a lot of anti-Cuban, anticommunist lies to the masses.

Third, he wanted to call on Grenadians abroad — Grenadians living in New York, Toronto, London, and Trinidad — to support the revolution at this time, to express in whatever form they could their solidarity with the revolutionary process.

And finally, he instructed me to call on working-class organizations, progressive trade unions, and other revolutionary groups throughout the Caribbean to make statements of solidarity.

So I went to the telephone company. The telephone company had been controlled by Coard and the others, who had forbidden Grenadians to make any international calls. When we got there the building was barricaded, the door locked. But I talked to the workers inside. I told them I was sent by the prime minister to carry out a task and without any hesitation they let us in. They were very sympathetic to Maurice.

We first called the Caribbean News Agency in Barbados, which has the facility to get news out onto the wire internationally. We were able to make about three or four international calls. Then the shooting took place at the fort. From the telephone company we could hear the shooting and see people jumping off the high walls of the fort — mass chaos, mass hysteria.

I had been at the fort before I left to carry out the task at the telephone company. So it is quite possible that had I not taken Maurice's advice, I would have been wiped out, too.

About 15 or 20 minutes after the shooting started we were told to evacuate the telephone building very quickly because the soldiers were coming down to "recapture" it. So we moved.

Immediately, I went into hiding because I knew it was only a matter of time before they came for me. And, to be sure, at 2:00 a.m. — after Hudson Austin made the announcement that Bishop and Unison and the others were assassinated and put on the curfew — a carload of armed men came to



U.S. soldiers in Grenada

my house to arrest me. I wasn't there, of course, but in lieu of me they took my wife.

They held her in prison for five days. I must say that she was not ill-treated, but she was interrogated. Throughout that whole period my house was under surveillance and an active search was made for me in the neighborhood where I was living.

During that period I was supported and fed by patriotic Grenadians who were loyal to Maurice. They released my wife from prison on the night before the invasion. At 10:00 p.m., about three hours after they released her, they came to the place she was staying looking for me — thinking that by that time I had gone back to rendezvous with her. I wasn't there.

This was six hours before the invasion. And, of course, by then everyone knew the invasion was coming.

The invasion took place the next morning. At precisely 5:40 a.m. the first paratroopers landed. For the first day of the invasion, I had no idea where my wife and children were. I didn't know whether they were safe or killed in the invasion.

Fortunately, the second day we were able to link up again and we survived the experience of full-scale war — jet fighters flying very low over your house, the house shaking and the widows rattling, artillery shells exploding in your yard, M-16 and AK-47 bullets flying by the windows.

For the children, particularly, it was a terrifying experience. People literally slept under their beds. This went on for days.

During a lull in the fighting on Thursday, the American military came into the neighborhood where we were hiding and swept the whole place, ordered everybody out of their homes. Then they conducted a room-by-room search of every house, presumably looking for Cuban fighters. They didn't find any.

I happened to be living in one of the [cottages near Radio Free Grenada] that was strafed. Fortunately, my wife and children had escaped from the cottage on Wednesday by a mere 30 seconds before the shells began to fall. But two very good friends of mine, Grenadians, were killed inside their cottages by the strafing.

Their excuse for the strafing was that there were Cubans in all the cottages. In fact, the vast majority of people who occupied those cottages were non-Grenadian internationalist workers from the Caribbean — Guyana, Trinidad, and other countries. There were also some Grenadians and a group of 14 or 15 Cuban doctors and dentists living in 2 or 3 of the cottages.

When we were able to get back to our cottage — after much pleading — to gather some clothes, we found our door kicked down and all the furniture in disarray. They had searched the house. The beds were overturned. They were literally looking for Reds under the beds. All the houses in the neighborhood were in a shambles.

Then on Friday afternoon, the American troops came for a second time. They evacuated everybody from the same area, saying there was going to be fighting there soon. They herded hundreds and hundreds of us living in the southern St. Georges area down to the Point Salines airport site.

At the airport Grenadians were separated from Americans, and non-Grenadian Caribbeans were put into another batch. At that point they were about to evacuate the Americans. My wife and children who happen to be American citizens had the choice of leaving, and I asked the American authorities to accompany them. Although I gave them "humanitarian" reasons, that didn't seem to convince them after they found out who I was — that I was Maurice Bishop's press secretary.

So the military captain sent for a State Department official. Two of them actually arrived. They sent my family over to Barbados and held me back for interrogation. I was warned that I better cooperate with them or they wouldn't let me join my family.

To add insult to injury, later when I went back to pick up something from my car before leaving on the plane, I started to give my car keys to a Grenadian friend. But I was told by the State Department person that I should leave the keys with him. I asked what for and he said the car was now U.S. Embassy property. So my car was commandeered like many other Grenadian's cars.

Then I was escorted onto the plane by the State Department official who sat beside me the whole way to Barbados.

## Reagan to escalate anti-Cuba drive

Plans for escalated hostilities against Cuba in the wake of the "victory" over Grenada were outlined by a ranking Reagan official.

Some of what's being plotted was laid out by Constantine Menges, senior director for Latin American affairs at the National Security Council. Previously, Menges served in the CIA's Latin American division.

He spoke, on the record, at a Washington gathering of the Cuban American National Foundation, a counterrevolutionary exile outfit.

His remarks were reported in the November 29 *Miami Herald*.

According to the *Herald*, Menge said the administration is preparing "a more activist" plan to "contain" Cuba, and this would include stepped-up support to right-wing Cuban exiles in other countries.

That would mean more aid to exile mercenaries who infiltrate Cuba to commit arson and other sabotage and convey U.S.-prepared germ weapons directed against crops, animals, and people.

Such aid, Menges said, would be "indirect." It would be funneled through other

governments and unidentified "transnational institutions."

Moreover, he said, renewed pressure would be placed on other countries to help tighten the U.S. economic blockade against Cuba. This could include threats of economic reprisals against countries currently trading with Cuba.

A further move would be to pressure West European governments to cool their relations with Cuba. Such pressure is currently being applied in relation to Nicaragua.

Menges also pointed to plans for an escalated smear campaign against Cuba. He said the government would issue a "report" before Christmas, allegedly based on documents seized by U.S. occupation forces in Grenada. These, he asserted, will confirm the U.S. big lie of Cuban-Soviet "subversion" in the region.

Meanwhile, Otto Reich, a Cuban exile flunkey for Reagan, said Washington would agree to normal relations with Cuba if it restored "democracy" (read, capitalism) and reimbursed U.S. companies whose properties were nationalized to the tune of \$3.8 billion.

## MAURICE BISHOP SPEAKS

THE GRENADA REVOLUTION  
1979-83



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# Canada: socialists win right to sue police for spying

BY JOHN STEELE

The following article is taken from the October 31 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Montreal, Quebec, that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

An important victory in the struggle against RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] law-breaking was registered October 13 when the Supreme Court of Canada decided unanimously that Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry can't stop citizens from laying charges against members of the RCMP.

The decision overturns an earlier Ontario Court of Appeals ruling that upheld McMurtry's efforts to prevent socialist writer Ross Dowson and York University professor Howard Buchbinder from prosecuting RCMP officers for criminal acts carried out during the 1970s.

In 1980 and 1981, Ross Dowson and John Riddell, former leaders of the League for Socialist Action (LSA), jointly filed charges against RCMP Commissioner Stanley Chisholm and RCMP Superintendent Ronald Yaworski, the two men responsible for the RCMP's Operation Checkmate. Operation Checkmate was an undercover operation of harassment and disruption of left-wing organizations, including the LSA, carried out by the RCMP in the 1970s.

The LSA is one of the predecessor organizations of the Revolutionary Workers League, of which John Riddell is today a leader.

During the Ontario government's Krever Commission inquiry into the invasion of government health records by the RCMP, it was revealed that the RCMP had circulated fake letters to LSA members in an effort to disrupt the organization. Riddell and Dowson tried to bring the RCMP officers up on a charge of forgery and extortion.

At each stage the Ontario government ran interference for the RCMP. McMurtry refused to prosecute the cops, and by ordering a stay of proceedings he blocked Dowson's own attempt to prosecute. McMurtry claimed the prosecution of RCMP members guilty of breaking the law was "not in the public interest."

In the face of this obstruction, Dowson went to small claims court to seek \$3,000 in damages. On August 10, Ontario Provincial Court Judge Marvin A. Zuker ruled Dowson could launch a new damages suit against Chisholm and Yaworski. The judge ruled they had violated Dowson's right to constitutional freedom and association.

The August 10 and October 13 legal victories come at a time when opposition is growing to the federal government's proposed new security service legislation — Bill C-157. Demonstrations against the bill took place on Parliament Hill and in Montreal on October 15.

The proposed powers of this "civilian" security service would actually *legalize* all the illegal activities previously carried out by the RCMP against government opponents. This puts the lie to the government's claim that disruptive tactics against government opponents ended after Operation Checkmate. On the contrary, disruption has been routine policy all along.

• Last August, for example, Canadian Labour Congress officials charged that the RCMP was carrying out a sophisticated campaign of police intimidation centered particularly on members of public sector unions and women trade union leaders.

• Last year, according to federal Human Rights Commissioner Gordon Fairweather, the RCMP security service ran 76,521 security checks on government and defense industry workers.

• In 1979 and 1980, three members of the Revolutionary Workers League found out the hard way what RCMP security checks are really all about. They were fired from their jobs at the Pratt & Whitney aircraft company plant in Longueuil, near Montreal. Two of them were later fired

from Canadair, a crown corporation.

In both cases the Quebec Human Rights Commission (HRC) found they had been fired for their *political* views and that visits from RCMP agents to company officials at Pratt & Whitney had been "decisive" in that company's decision to fire the three.

Dowson's ability to now proceed with the prosecution of the RCMP officers can help lift the lid on these kinds of RCMP practices. His case deserves the support of all defenders of democratic rights.

However, the Supreme Court decision in no way guarantees that RCMP law-breakers will be punished for their crimes. In fact, the Trudeau government decided last year not to prosecute a *single one* of the hundreds of RCMP officers who have committed criminal acts. Obviously, very few private citizens will have the financial means to themselves prosecute RCMP

LE DROIT  
DES FEMMES  
EMPLOIS  
TRADITIONNELS



Royal Canadian Mounted Police were responsible for firings of three women socialists (above). Proposed new laws would legalize cops' disruption of unions.

COMITÉ DE DÉFENSE  
DES 3 FEMMES  
CONCÉDÉES  
DE CHEZ  
PRATT & WHITNEY

Socialist Voice

members.

What's more, on the very day it ruled on the Dowson case the Supreme Court decided in another ruling that police agencies have the right to keep secret the identities of their informers and *agents-provocateurs*. The court ruled that Jean Keable, the head of a Quebec government commission set up to investigate police activities during and after the October 1970 declaration of the War Measures Act, does not have the

right to demand the identity of Montreal police who were at the time undercover agents in the Quebec nationalist movement. Quebec's mass nationalist movement is a key target of the new federal legislation.

To turn back the assault on democratic rights, mass pressure has to be brought to bear on the federal government to prosecute RCMP criminals and withdraw its new security legislation, Bill C-157.

## Behind witch-hunt of British unionist

BY HARRY RING

Earlier this fall, Arthur Scargill, president of Britain's militant mine workers union, was singled out for an assault that sparked a major witch-hunting campaign against him in the capitalist media.

What happened to Scargill is of interest to working people here because it illuminates the nature of an organization calling itself the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) that has targeted the Socialist Workers Party in a worldwide slander and disruption campaign.

The SWP has been the victim of a lawsuit brought by Alan Gelfand, a Los Angeles lawyer who joined the party on behalf of the WRP. His court action was based on the charge that the leaders of the SWP are FBI agents, and the party is in fact a creature of the government.

After four years of costly litigation, the charge was finally thrown out of court as patently groundless. The SWP is now seeking damages for malicious legal action.

The WRP projects an image of extreme ultraleftism. But the old adage fits: Left in form, right in essence.

The WRP is a bitter foe of the British Labor Party and assails those who favor replacing Thatcher's Tory administration with a Labor government.

For a quarter of a century it has conducted an unrelenting campaign of defamation of the Cuban revolution. It argues that no revolution occurred in Cuba and Fidel Castro is another Batista.

Despite its small membership, the organization boasts a daily newspaper, *Newsline*.

Over the years, many individuals and organizations have been targeted for assault in the pages of *Newsline*. But the attack on mine-union leader Scargill was particularly reactionary.

The handle for the attack was the politically incorrect position Scargill had taken in relation to Poland's independent trade union movement, Solidarity. While Scargill has declared his opposition to the efforts of the Polish regime to break Solidarity, he has wrongly labeled the movement

itself as antisocialist and for the overthrow of the workers state.

Within the British labor movement, Scargill is not regarded as a run-of-the-mill official.

He is prominent in the Labor Party, and a supporter of its left wing, led by Tony Benn.

Some of Scargill's views coincide with those of the British Communist Party, but on a number of important issues he is to the left of it.

Several years ago, Scargill made a trip to Cuba and returned with glowing public praise for the revolution.

During the British war to maintain its imperialist grip on the Malvinas Islands, Scargill did not join in the wave of jingoist support, as so many other union tops did. While favoring a negotiated settlement with Argentina, he did call for withdrawal of British troops.

During a major strike of health workers in Britain last year, in the face of a British law against secondary strikes, Scargill publicly favored unofficial strike action by other unions in solidarity with the health workers.

Such positions are not the norm among the ranking officials of the British labor movement, even among those who present themselves as left wing. Many of these give demagogic lip service to Solidarity in order to help promote anticommunism.

Yet, with this record, Scargill was singled out by *Newsline* for a carefully timed smear attack based on his estimate of Solidarity.

Scargill had made his criticism of Solidarity at a public event last June 25.

On July 16, *Newsline* published an article attacking his stand. The general secretary of the WRP then wrote a letter to Scargill seeking an elaboration of his stand on Solidarity. Scargill replied five days later, stating his position.

Scargill's letter was held by *Newsline* for nearly two months. They published it September 7.

This was the week of the annual British

Trades Union Congress (TUC), a widely covered labor meeting. (The TUC is the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO.)

The *Newsline* attack on Scargill was promptly seized on by the capitalist media for a savage anticommunist campaign against him.

So fierce was the media attack that Scargill had to call a special news conference during the TUC congress to defend himself.

*Newsline* continued its attack. The day after his news conference, it declared, "It is Scargill himself, through his slavish support for Stalinism, who has provided Fleet Street [the London press] with the ammunition that is now being used against him. To blame the Workers Revolutionary Party for the response of the media is absurd."

Why did *Newsline* save Scargill's letter for some seven weeks?

"We chose to publish his correspondence during TUC week in order to ensure the widest circulation within the labor movement."

There was another, equally invidious side to the timing of the attack on Scargill.

In the September 16 issue, the WRP general secretary wrote:

"No one at the time could have foreseen the fact that the controversy would flare up in the middle of an international crisis involving the Soviet Union and world imperialism."

"But even if we had been able to do so," the paper added, "it would not have persuaded the WRP to abandon publication of the reply to Scargill."

What "international crisis" is *Newsline* so ambiguously referring to?

The downing of the Korean airliner that violated Soviet territory.

In Britain, like here, the plane incident was used to create a big wave of anti-Soviet, anticommunist propaganda.

But *Newsline's* explanation is as stupid as it's crooked.

The initial attack on Scargill was published September 7. The Korean plane was downed *six days earlier*, September 1. The red-baiting hue and cry surrounding it was already well under way.

The meaning of the WRP attack was aptly pegged in the September 16 issue of *Socialist Action*, a British weekly published in London.

The paper, while disassociating itself from Scargill's views on Solidarity, declared:

"The WRP must have known the real anti-socialist content of the witch hunt against Scargill on this question. But they chose, through the timing of the publication of the letter, to provide the capitalist press with the ammunition to rubbish Scargill."

"Such behaviour is the equivalent of strikebreaking and scabbing. Its perpetrators have no place within the ranks of the labour movement."

Well chosen words.



Reactionary attack on mine union leader in *Newsline* provided ammunition for capitalists' attempts to housebreak militant workers in Britain.



# White House says no to affirmative action

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In a head-on challenge to the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women, the Reagan administration filed a brief with the Supreme Court arguing that affirmative action is unconstitutional because it discriminates against white people.

The case under discussion is an affirmative action plan adopted by the Detroit Police Department in 1974 to equalize the number of Black and white cops hired and promoted. The plan is being challenged by white police.

The issue in this case is not cops — who are deadly enemies of working people — but the right of Blacks to equal hiring and promotion. If the Justice Department's position is upheld, it would deal a serious blow to all attempts at winning equality through preferential treatment for the victims of race and sex discrimination.

Prior to affirmative action efforts, 4.8 percent of the Detroit police lieutenants were Black. Detroit is — and was then — a majority Black city.

The plan requires the department to keep two separate lists: one for Black officers and one for whites. Rankings within each list are based on a traditional seniority rating system.

Promotions are made alternately from the two lists, so that white and Black police are promoted in equal numbers. The goal is to have half the officers be Black, which is expected to happen by 1990. Today, nine years since the plan began, Blacks make up 30 percent of the police lieutenants. This shows that dual seniority lists and numerical quotas work.

The Justice Department's argument against the Detroit plan hinges on the assertion that Detroit "has long used a merit selection system" in promoting police officers, and that it was the 1974 affirmative action plan that introduced discrimination.

But Judge Damon Keith, who presided over the Detroit police case in federal district court, explained that far from having a pure merit system, Detroit had for more than three decades used examinations and personnel tests that discriminated against Blacks. Speaking more generally, Keith

said, "It is true that affirmative action upsets the expectations of white workers, but such expectations are indeed tainted when they are based on a legacy of discrimination."

The problem is that merit *does not* prevail in a society that is racist, sexist, and class-divided. Why are there relatively few female and Black coal miners in the United States? Is it because women and Blacks are any less able to complete the training it takes to become a competent coal miner? Or is it because the coal companies systematically discriminate against women and Blacks?

Affirmative action plans don't have to "introduce discrimination" — it already exists. What affirmative action plans attempt to do is combat discrimination by taking special measures to close the gap created by years of unfair treatment.

In raising another objection to affirmative action, the Justice Department said, "We have profound doubts whether the Constitution permits government to adopt remedies involving racial quotas to benefit persons who are not themselves the victims of discrimination."

In other words, each individual Black person should have to prove that they weren't hired or promoted for a certain job because they were Black. If they don't have proof that the employer didn't hire them because of racism, then it doesn't matter if the workplace or job category is lily-white — it doesn't mean there's discrimination. According to the White House, it simply means there are no qualified Blacks.

An instructive example in this regard was the case of *Brian F. Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO*.

In 1978, Weber, a white lab technician,



Militant

Women coal miners' banner. Justice Department claims affirmative action "introduces discrimination."

sued to overturn an affirmative action plan negotiated by the Steelworkers with Kaiser. The plan granted Blacks and women one-half of the training positions for skilled jobs, which they had been almost totally shut out of previously.

The Supreme Court ruled against Weber and for the training program in the wake of a national campaign in defense of the affirmative action program waged by the union and civil rights groups.

Affirmative action plans like this one will be next on the chopping block if the court endorses the Justice Department's view.

The Weber case also gives the lie to the White House's main argument: affirmative action discriminates against white people. At Kaiser, for example, many white, male workers were able to get skilled jobs

through the training program that included the affirmative action provisions.

All workers benefit from affirmative action. The second-class status of Blacks and women lowers everyone's standard of living. And conversely, every advance — like in the Weber case — for Blacks and women lifts up all working people.

The only white people who are hurt by affirmative action are the tiny handful that make up the ruling class in this country. They profit from discrimination and foster the divisions among working people.

It's precisely solidarity among working people that the U.S. government wants to torpedo through its drive against affirmative action.

As they began to do in the Weber case so successfully, the unions have a big stake in speaking out against this new attack on democratic rights.

## State Department's 'yellow rain' story is a big lie

BY WILL REISSNER

Washington's charge that Vietnam is using poison gas (popularly called "yellow rain") against people in Laos and Kampuchea has now been proven to be absolutely false.

In 1981 Secretary of State Alexander Haig claimed that the State Department had "firm evidence" that chemical warfare had been waged in Southeast Asia. The charge was later broadened to include the claim that the Soviet Union must have provided the poison gas to Vietnam and was itself using "yellow rain" in Afghanistan.

But when independent scientists finally got hold of State Department samples of "yellow rain," they discovered it was actually bee excrement.

This May 1983 finding by Harvard biochemistry professor Matthew Meselson was scoffed at by the State Department. Administration officials argued that Meselson's findings of bee excrement might explain the "yellow" part, but not the reports of the substance dropping like "rain" over large areas.

But a conclusive explanation for the "rain" part of "yellow rain" has also been discovered. In 1977, four years before the State Department first raised the "yellow rain" charge, Chinese scientific journal *Kexue Tongbao* reported that showers of "yellow rain" had fallen in northern Jiangsu province in September 1976.

Chinese scientists examined the event, found that the "yellow rain" was composed mostly of pollen, and determined that it was bee excrement.

Noted science writer Nicholas Wade asked in the November 28 *New York Times*, "how did the State Department, with access to the world's best scientific advice, overlook this obvious possibility?" Answering his own question, Wade responded, "Plainly, it had political reasons to hurry to judgment about Soviet perfidy."

## Help 'close the gap' in SWP fund

BY HARRY RING

Last week we reported that we had gone over the top in our subscription drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. With a goal of 4,000 new subscribers, we passed the target by 40 for a respectable 101 percent.

The final result was particularly gratifying in that the branches of the Socialist Workers Party, which conducted the drive, had gotten off to a slow start, and for a time

it was an open question whether we would make the goal.

But then the branch leaderships took hold of the project, giving it the necessary political priority and organization. From then on each week we closed the gap.

The same kind of organized political effort is now needed if we're going to complete the Socialist Workers Party's \$125,000 Party Building Fund by the January 1 deadline.

As with the subscription drive, we got off to a very slow start with the fund. But in past weeks, we've been closing the gap.

With \$94,000 now collected, we're within shooting distance of the target. It will take the same kind of leadership that turned around the subscription campaign, but there's no question that we can do it.

In fact, we would now propose that we even set our sights a bit higher. Why not try to reach our goal by the time of the news deadline of the final issue of the *Militant* for 1983, December 21.

Certainly, it's a lot more practical to do it that way if we can. The holiday season isn't the best time for fund-raising. There's the cost of gift-giving, travel, celebrating. And many of us will be traveling to St.

Louis for the Young Socialist Alliance convention.

Completing the fund by December 21 will take added leadership effort, plus the commitment of members and supporters that we so totally rely on.

An example of that commitment. Literally, as we prepared to write this column, a letter arrived from a veteran working-class fighter and SWP builder, Howard Mayhew.

In addition to being a tireless activist, Howard has always been a staunch financial supporter. Now retired, with few spare dollars, he pledged and paid \$200 to the fund early on.

His letter explained that his father died recently at age 96. The old man had always been highly conservative in his political views, and, over the years, he and Howard had their share of political arguments.

"Yet," Howard wrote, "he still named me executor of his modest estate. So we can tip our hat to Dad for the enclosed contribution."

The enclosure was a check for \$1,000.

It was the kind of thing that sustains and deepens your confidence in the people who make up our movement.

## 300,000 in Uruguay protest junta

In the biggest protest against the military government in the 10 years since it seized power, 300,000 Uruguayans marched in Montevideo November 27.

The demonstration, which demanded a return to civilian rule, was the latest in a series of antijunta protests that began in July.

The junta, led by Gen. Gregorio Alvarez, has promised a return to civilian rule — provided it keeps veto power over trade union rights, academic and individual liberties, and tight control over the judiciary and legislature.

The three officially recognized political parties, all of them procapitalist, broke off negotiations with the junta on July 5. On August 2 the junta outlawed all political activities.

But in late August and September a series of demonstrations defied the ban.

One was a Chile-style banging of pots; another was made up of 25,000 workers and students in a country with only 3 million inhabitants.

The demonstrations continued despite repression, such as that by riot police on November 10 who used swords and billy clubs to break up a demonstration of 3,000. Two hundred were arrested as people in nearby buildings shouted, "Assassins, assassins."

More than 7,000 Uruguayans are barred by the military from political life. One out of every 500 Uruguayans has been jailed on political charges during the last 10 years.

Under austerity imposed by U.S. and other banks, unemployment in Uruguay is 16 percent. Per-capita income dropped last year by 20 percent. About a million Uruguayans now work outside the country.

Party Building	GOAL
	\$125,000
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Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the Socialist Workers Party 1983 Party Building Fund.

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# Battles in the coal fields: 1973-19

## Lessons of 10 years of miners' fight against employers, govern

BY LINDA MAY O'BRIEN  
(last of a series)

"The United Mine Workers of America is going to enforce safety to the letter with no ands, ifs, or buts. And if that is not acceptable to some coal operators, then they had better find a new way of making a living."

That was newly elected UMWA President Arnold Miller's message to the union's December 1973 constitutional convention. This idea had been at the heart of the struggle waged by rank-and-file miners against the coal operators and the bureaucratic machine of W. A. (Tony) Boyle, which had run the UMWA. With the victory of the Miners for Democracy (MFD) slate headed by Miller in the union's December 1972 special election, this became the position of the UMWA.

The rank and file had taken the union back from the Boyle bureaucracy and now the membership was prepared to use it to accomplish its original goals: to defend the interests of coal miners against the attacks of employers and the government.

Following the MFD slate's victory, the class struggle in the coal fields sharpened. The employers, who hated the democratic changes in the UMWA, stepped up their attacks on the rights of miners. But the ranks of the union responded with a new confidence drawn from the MFD victory and the experiences that led to it.

The miners believed they had elected a new leadership that would fight with them to defend their interests. This was reflected at the UMWA convention, in the coal fields, and in the pages of the *UMWA Journal*.

"Safety or else!" the front page of the May 15, 1973, *Journal* declared. The same demand was emblazoned on stickers and hardhats all over the mines.

As the ongoing fight for safety showed, throwing out the entrenched bureaucracy and establishing democratic membership control of the union did not solve all the problems facing miners. But it qualitatively strengthened their ability to defend themselves from the employers' attacks. The most conscious union leaders saw that this went beyond defending miners on the job.

"We hope also, to cover subjects that may not appear to affect the UMWA directly," the Feb. 1, 1973, issue of the *Journal* explained. "The quality of a worker's life 24 hours a day instead of just the eight spent on the job is a valid concern of the union and the *Journal*. The kinds of roads miners drive on, the quality of the education their children get, the type of housing available... access to proper medical care—all are subjects we'll do our best to make some sense out of," the miners' publication promised.

### Opposed Vietnam War

It set an example quickly on a vital question for miners and all working people—the war in Vietnam. An editorial in the same *Journal* pointed out that West Virginia, a center of the UMWA, had contributed the highest number of fatalities relative to the size of its population. Speaking to a membership that included many Vietnam veterans, the *Journal* wrote:

"Too many gravestones, too many widows, too much suffering, and too few reasons for it all. In the end, we destroyed Vietnam in order to save it, and we destroyed part of ourselves in the process."

The union also spoke out against the various forms of discrimination the employers used to divide the union. An old dictum of the union's early days was revived: "The coal you dig isn't Slavic coal, or Polish coal, or Irish coal. It is coal."

This idea was extended to oppose the racist discrimination directed against Black miners and also Navajo Indians and Chicanos who work in mines in the West.

Also in 1973, women gained jobs in the mines. The union fought for and won a contract clause outlawing discrimination on the basis of race, sex, or religion. Many saw this as a step toward fighting the dis-

crimination hiring and training practices of the coal companies, which weakened the entire union. This clause also outlawed discrimination based on political activity.

### Institutionalizing democracy

All of these advances were part of a process in which miners, based on their experiences in struggle, were learning to think socially, as workers confronting common problems in society. As this developed, the union also took major steps to firmly establish rank-and-file control of the UMWA and get rid of remaining vestiges of the Boyle bureaucracy.

Salaries of top UMWA officers were immediately reduced, as were excessive expense accounts. Bogus locals, which Boyle had maintained on the books to insure a greater number of delegates loyal to him at conventions, were disbanded.

These were some of the measures the new leadership took in preparation for the union's 1973 convention. Two goals were foremost: 1) a convention that was democratic from the delegate selection process to the proceedings themselves; and 2) effective preparation for the 1974 national contract negotiations, including important changes in the union constitution to insure greater rank-and-file control over contract negotiations.

Prior to the convention the widest local participation in the election of delegates was promoted and rank-and-file discussion of convention resolutions was encouraged.

This reflected an understanding that the purpose of union democracy is to insure that the membership of the union controls what the union does. This is key to any union's effectiveness as a fighting organization.

All of this paid off. Estimates put the number of convention delegates attending their first UMWA convention at 75 percent. About 50 Black delegates were elected. Many delegates were young miners.

The officer's report printed and distributed to every delegate captured what made this different from previous UMWA gatherings and other union conventions. It was titled: "The Year of the Rank & File."

The convention rules committee set the tone with its report:

"We want to prove and demonstrate to all concerned that the United Mine Workers is, in fact, a free and democratic organization, and that can only be done if the representatives of the rank and file are given every opportunity to be heard today and throughout the sessions."

The convention delegates themselves deepened the process of institutionalizing democracy in the UMWA. They enacted provisions to insure fair and honest elections at every level of the union and to pre-

vent improper interference or reprisals against anyone for supporting a particular candidate. They restored full district autonomy, guaranteeing the ranks of each district the right to elect their own officials. Under Boyle most had been appointed by the international after being placed in receivership.

### Preparing for the contract

This convention established the right of the membership to contract ratification. This was connected to a broad convention discussion about the union's goals in the next national agreement with the coal operators. A new procedure was adopted to enable the ranks to express their views about the contract to union negotiators.

The convention directed district conferences to discuss resolutions on contract priorities submitted by the locals. These were passed on to a newly established bargaining council made up of elected members of the union's International Executive Board and district presidents.

The bargaining council was empowered to study and vote on the contract proposed by the union negotiating committee. If the bargaining council rejected the agreement, the negotiators were to be sent back to the table. If the bargaining council approved, the contract was to be submitted to the ranks.

### Read, discuss, vote

An important provision instructed the leadership to provide a full explanation of the agreement to rank-and-file miners at local union meetings. Miners were also guaranteed 48 hours to discuss and read the contract before voting.

"If the rank and file approves," the convention decided, "the contract will be signed. Otherwise negotiations will continue and the president is authorized to call a strike. No one will work under a contract he didn't vote on, and no one will vote without having what he is voting on fully explained."

All of these changes prepared the union well for the 1974 contract fight. It required a 24-day strike, but miners won a decent contract. Over the three-year life of the agreement, wage and benefit increases totaled about 54 percent. Miners also gained one week sick leave, a sickness and accident plan, pension increases, higher payments by the operators towards the Welfare and Retirement Fund, and the right to stop work in hazardous workplaces.

Another feature of the agreement was the establishment of an Arbitration Review Board (ARB) composed of one representative chosen by the union, one chosen by the companies, and one who would be "neutral." Its purpose was to review and sys-

tematize arbitration rulings on grievances. Events proved this to be a setback for the UMWA because most ARB decisions strengthened the hand of the coal operators. An important example was ARB decision number 108, which denied miners the right to explain issues in a mine dispute in public. This was used by the companies to victimize and fire respected union leaders.

### 1974-1977: struggle continues

The miners' victory in the 1974 contract strike did not put an end to the coal operators' attacks on health and safety or union rights. The employers wasted no time in starting to chip away at the contract gains. They recognized that any contract is only as effective as the struggle to enforce it. The goals the operators were unsuccessful in winning at the negotiating table they now tried to gain in the mines. And they pressed hard the advantage they had created for themselves through the Arbitration Review Board.

But this was no one-sided war. The number of "unauthorized" strikes in the coal fields grew in size, duration, and intensity.

The miners fought back against both the policies of the employers and proemployer actions by the government. During the 1974 "oil crisis," 27,000 West Virginia miners struck to protest discriminatory gasoline rationing policies dictated by the state's governor.

In the same year, 8,000 Alabama miners struck for one day to protest imports of South African coal because of the "slave labor conditions" of the Black workers who mined it. This protest was supported by the international and explained in the pages of the *Journal*.

In 1974 the UMWA leadership called a "memorial period" strike to protest "the continuing violence being committed against miners on the job and on the picket line." During this five-day period, the UMWA brought thousands of its members to Harlan County, Kentucky, to support Brookside miners who had been battling Duke Power to win a UMWA contract.

Many local strikes occurred because the coal operators forced grievances over health and safety conditions and other contract violations to arbitration. There, at great expense to the union, decisions were delayed amidst mounds of red tape. Often when the arbitration decision was handed down, it backed an operator's right to "interpret" the contract in his own interest and against the union.

In many cases miners found that strike action was the only way to cut through the red tape and force the employers to settle important grievances on the spot. While the employers, their politicians, and the media screamed long and loud about this disruption of "orderly labor-management relations," the miners were actually continuing an earlier tradition that elsewhere in the labor movement has been eroded by years of collaboration and cooperation with management on the part of top union officials.

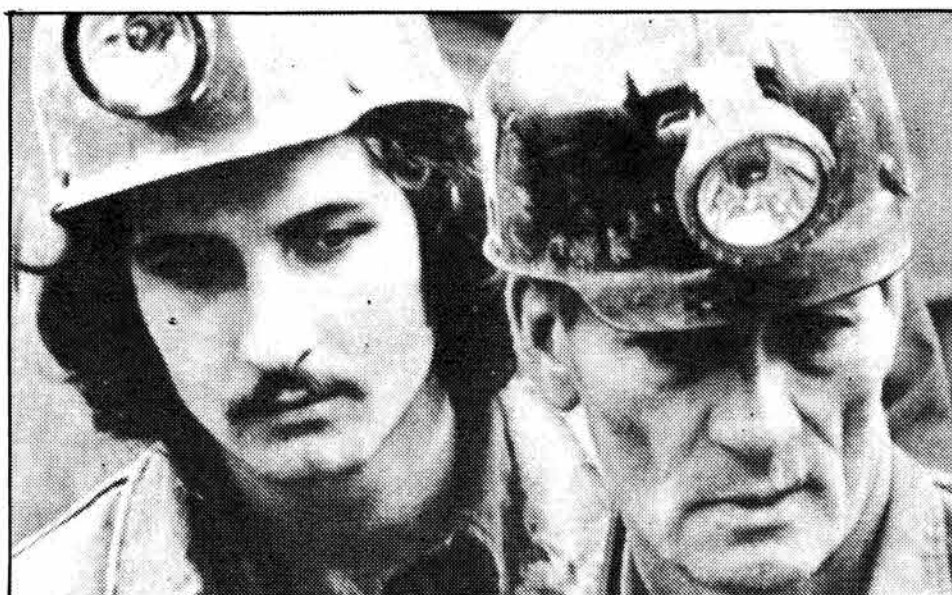
### Courts vs. union

In response the coal operators began to turn more frequently and openly to the use of courts against the union. In 1976, 100 strike-breaking injunctions were issued in southern West Virginia alone.

But the UMWA was not intimidated. In 1975 following a local strike in which a court levied fines against a UMWA local and jailed its president for contempt of court, 80,000 miners walked off the job in protest.

A similar strike took place in 1976 over a court decision backing a company challenge to an arbitration ruling won by the union. A southern West Virginia miner explained: "When that judge gets out of the coal business, that's when we'll go back to work."

The employers demanded even more open government intervention against



### Coal Miners On Strike

By Nancy Cole, Andy Rose, and Stu Singer; \$1. Includes a full account of the 1977-1978 strike and coverage of 1981 UMWA actions. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



workers rights. On Aug. 10, 1976, they took out a full page ad in the *New York Times*. In a classic example of an attempt to turn the victim into the criminal, operators charged the miners were trying to "intimidate federal judges from exercising their judicial function, and companies from seeking their right to relief in court." The ad concluded with a call for federal marshals to "end coal field chaos."

The coal operators pressed ahead on another front. On June 14, 1977, they claimed that the Welfare and Retirement Fund was "going broke" and miners would have to begin to pay for some of their medical benefits.

This threatened a historic gain of earlier struggles that had remained intact even through the worst period of Boyle's givebacks. A key aspect of the Welfare and Retirement Fund was the health card that entitled miners and their families to completely free medical care.

Within a week after the announcement of the fund's financial "problems," 13,000 miners walked off the job in West Virginia alone. Within seven weeks, every mine in West Virginia was shut down tight.

### Leadership problems

Under the pressure of the mounting employer drive against the union and the determination of the ranks to resist it, the leadership of the UMWA was being tested. Differences developed within the leadership and the union over how to respond.

This was reflected in the 1977 union elections. Miller ran for reelection as union president, but he was opposed by his previous running mate, international Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick, who charged Miller with backing away from the original goals and fight-back approach of Miners for Democracy. Lee Roy Patterson, a member of the International Executive Board and former Boyle supporter, also challenged Miller. Miller won the election with 40 percent of the vote.

A deeper test of Miller's leadership, and that of others in the UMWA, came with the 1977-78 contract strike.

### 111-day strike

The confrontation between coal operators and the UMWA that had been brewing for three years exploded with the expiration of the national contract at the end of 1977. In opening the negotiations, the operators warned, "failure to reach a growth labor contract could bring the extinction of the nation's oldest union."

But the miners were determined that any "growth" on the part of the coal industry and its powerful owners, the energy monopoly, would not be at their expense.

The strike quickly grew into a larger class confrontation. The international crisis of the capitalist economic system had been signaled by the worldwide recession of 1974-75, the deepest since before World War II. In the United States the employers had targeted the industrial unions for big takebacks in wages, benefits, and union power in order to raise their rate of profit. The UMWA was to be a prime example in this antilabor offensive.

As this became clear the entire labor movement rallied to the miners' cause. Unionists, farmers, and all working people began to see that they too had a stake in the outcome of the fight. A broad movement of support and material aid grew.

The full story of the strike has been documented elsewhere (see ad). Based on this support and their own strength, the ranks of the union successfully stood up to the coal operators and the government. The union rejected two contracts and defied a federal Taft-Hartley order aimed at forcing it back to work. The miners held out until their negotiators obtained the best contract the union ranks felt was possible at the time.

This included some setbacks, most important, the loss of the free health card and the substitution of a company insurance plan. But other onerous demands of the

# United Mine Workers JOURNAL

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# Safety Or Else

A Special Report On New UMWA Safety Efforts

UMWA Journal

**Headline in mine union paper captured militant determination of UMWA under new leadership. Rank and file took control of union and deepened struggle for miners' interests.**

Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) were dropped. This included BCOA's insistence on the right to suspend or fire workers for leading or supporting strikes and a probation period for new miners before joining the union. In addition wages and some benefits went up about 37 percent.

### Important lessons

The miners' fight inspired millions of other working people, and the most conscious workers drew some important lessons from the experience.

The idea of class solidarity against the employers and the government was given new meaning. Miners telling their story at union halls across the country, demonstrations of support for the strike by other workers, and caravans bringing material aid to the coal fields all set a powerful example.

The value of union democracy as a tool to strengthen the union movement was confirmed in a vivid way. Millions of workers saw for themselves that it was only the UMWA rank and file's right to read, discuss, and vote on the contract that prevented the miners from being saddled with a bad agreement by some union officials who underestimated what the ranks could fight for and win.

Many workers saw that the supposedly pro-labor, Democratic Congress and Pres. James Carter did not hesitate to use the law against workers and the labor movement, through Taft-Hartley injunctions, other antilabor legislation, and court action.

When the miners responded with "Let Taft and Hartley mine the coal," they showed other workers that the labor movement can take what it is big enough to take from the employers, even when the government is arrayed openly against it. But this experience again posed the broader challenge of how the labor movement can mount an effective struggle to change the government. This requires political action by the working class independent of the employers' parties, the Democrats and Republicans, particularly through the formation of an independent labor party based on the unions.

The strike was a sobering experience for the UMWA. The union came up against the real weight of the employers' attacks

and the government's strike-busting role. This put intense pressure on the top union officials. Miller's endorsement of the contract rejected by the membership lowered his standing among the ranks.

As in 1974 after the strike was over, the coal operators again went to work trying to gut the contract and further attack coal miners' standard of living and union rights. By 1979 coal employment had peaked and 10,000 miners were laid off. More mines were being opened nonunion. The share of coal mined by UMWA members continued to drop.

This too had an impact on Miller and other top officials including international Vice-pres. Sam Church. They talked more of "cooperating with the industry" rather than fighting for miners' needs.

At the same time Miller was also under fire from conservative, ex-Boyle supporters like Patterson. All of this pressure led Miller to turn on some of the very democratic reforms he had helped to establish. He justified this with claims that the reform movement "may have gone too far." He insisted, "The president of the union has got to have more control."

But this course would have required a complete reversal of the democratic safeguards won by the ranks in struggle. While many coal miners agreed that there were new challenges facing the union, they did not agree that giving top union officials greater authority without rank-and-file accountability was the way to meet them.

### The Church leadership

In 1979 Miller resigned the presidency due to ill health. Vice-president Church took his place.

The coal operators hoped that Church would "tame" the union and end coal field "chaos." But Church was also quickly tested by the rank and file's militancy and determination to defend the union.

As it was for Miller, Church's big test was the national contract negotiations. Before the contract expiration date in 1981, Church expounded frequently and publicly that "this time" a strike wouldn't be necessary. He claimed he would negotiate the "best possible" agreement.

The deal he came up with allowed BCOA greater inroads into union control in

the mines, work rules, job security, and safety. Church may have thought it was the best deal possible, but the ranks of the union didn't agree. Once again the miners read the proposed contract, discussed it at their local union meetings, and voted it down.

This led to a 72-day strike. In response to BCOA chief negotiator B.R. Brown's complaints about the "disturbing lack of bargaining discipline" in the union, Danny Wells, a Charleston miner, responded:

"We've got people in this union who are intelligent, and they're involved, and they can read. They're not dummies, and what they read in the contract spelled the end of their job security."

Once again the strike did not win everything the miners wanted. But in 1981 with concession bargaining the growing norm for many industrial unions, forcing BCOA to back off its worst demands and winning important wage gains was certainly a partial victory.

It should be noted that despite key weaknesses in the leadership offered by Church during this period, the UMWA continued to set an example for other workers on important social questions.

In the aftermath of the near-disaster at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant in 1979, the UMWA joined with other unions in the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. The miners led in educating other workers on the danger of nuclear power and put forward coal, mined safely and burned cleanly, as an alternative source of energy. A spirited contingent of UMWA miners led a March 28, 1981, demonstration of 10,000 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to keep Three Mile Island shut down.

Earlier the same year, when newly elected President Reagan's anti-working-class budget cutbacks included attacks on black lung compensation, Church called for a two-day strike and organized 8,000 miners to march on Washington to oppose the cuts.

Despite progressive steps like this, many miners made up their minds about Church based on the 1981 contract experience. By the time of the next UMWA elections for international officers in November 1982, the ranks of the union were ready to vote him out.

Church was challenged by a slate headed by International Executive Board member Richard Trumka, from UMWA District 4 in Pennsylvania. Trumka was joined by District 17 Vice-Pres. Cecil Roberts and District 12 Pres. John Banovic on the "Why Not The Best" slate. They ran on a "no concessions" program and launched their campaign this way:

"The present [Church] administration has been part and parcel of negotiating takeaway contracts, which have resulted in a loss of previous gains. The membership is totally fed up with a leadership that wants to 'cooperate' with the coal industry at their expense."

This touched a chord among the rank and file. The overwhelming victory registered by the Trumka slate was not the result of the kind of rank-and-file movement that had led to the Miners for Democracy victory in 1972. But it did confirm that the democratic conquests of the MFD movement remained alive in the consciousness of the union ranks.

Many miners voted for Trumka because they hoped he would be a stronger, more effective leader than Church. The history of the UMWA demonstrates that the best leadership has been that which was most closely connected to the mobilization of the rank and file and under its democratic control. This is the tradition that can best arm the UMWA for its coming battles with the coal operators and the government.

*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.*



# Big challenges face miners convention

Continued from front page

opposed to Washington's war policy. The need for the union movement, including the UMWA, to actively organize and mobilize workers to fight against these wars is also growing.

## Solidarity vital

Here at home the battle lines were recently drawn between the Greyhound Corp. and striking workers. The Arizona copper strike, another target of open union-busting, is heading into its sixth month.

Washington's wars abroad and union-busting at home are all aimed at protecting the profits and political interests of the employers. The employing class views this as one war with many fronts. The labor movement should respond in similar fashion. Whether the employers' attacks are aimed against working people in Arizona or El Salvador, an injury to one is an injury to all. Active working-class solidarity with all victims of the employer offensive is urgently needed.

Miners know the importance of such solidarity from their own experience. The active support of the labor movement, farmers, and other working people strengthened the UMWA's resistance to the mine operators during the 111-day coal strike in 1977-78. Similar working-class solidarity can be decisive for other workers under attack today and for the UMWA in future battles.

The combined government and employer offensive has dealt some severe blows to the UMWA and the entire labor movement. In last year's union election, miners registered their view that one reason for the bosses' success is a leadership problem in the unions.

Although the UMWA has been more successful than many other unions in resisting employer takeback schemes, many miners feel that more could have been saved and further advances made with stronger leadership committed to aggressive defense of workers interests.

This is true for the UMWA and the entire labor movement. The misleadership provided by top AFL-CIO and other union officials leads to greater setbacks than are necessary, given the current relationship of forces between the employers and the working class. Miners are justified in believing that a more determined battle for workers needs can lead to better results.

This understanding is also growing among other workers as shown by the militant resistance put up by Greyhound strikers and their supporters across the country. A similar combativity has been demonstrated by copper miners on strike against Phelps Dodge Corp.

If the required working-class solidarity can be mobilized and some victories scored by the union movement, this will also strengthen the UMWA as it heads toward its own contract negotiations.

## Independent political action

While these battles unfold a pressing problem is becoming more evident. As workers resist the bosses' attacks, the government with its courts, cops, and other institutions comes down squarely against the

union movement.

Coal miners have had their own share of bitter experience with this problem. Anti-UMWA court injunctions have become a regular fact of life in the coal fields whenever miners strike to defend their rights. In the 1977-78 contract strike, Congress and James Carter, the Democratic "friend of labor" in the White House at the time, invoked the Taft-Hartley Act to try to force the miners back to work.

These examples of antilabor government action pose the need for political action by the union movement to change the government. Working people need a government that defends their interests, not those of the banks, big business, and other institutions of capitalist political rule. But the course adopted by the top labor leadership points in the opposite direction. At the recent AFL-CIO convention, the top officials threw union resources behind Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale — Carter's vice-president when Taft-Hartley was invoked!

Campaigning for Mondale — or any of the Democratic Party candidates — will not advance the interests of miners or other workers. That will require political action independent of the two employer parties — the Democrats and Republicans. The growing need for a labor party based on the unions is another objective challenge facing the UMWA and the labor movement.

## Shorter work week

What to do about unemployment will be a big question on the minds of many convention delegates. This is one of the key issues demanding immediate action by the entire labor movement.

One place to begin is with the demand that the employers shorten the work week with no reduction in pay to spread the available work around. If the UMWA were to take the lead in fighting for this, it could inspire and mobilize other unions to join the battle. Such a class-wide fight is precisely what it took to shorten the work week to 40 hours years ago.

In fact this idea was discussed at the UMWA's 1973 convention and put forward as a demand in contract negotiations in 1974. At the 1973 convention the Collective Bargaining Committee explained in its report:

"We know that the coal operators are going to put up a tough fight against the six-hour day. They fought pretty hard against the eight-hour day back in the early days of our union. But . . . miners deserve it and we've earned it. Our safety requires it."

## Discussed contract goals

The six-hour day proposal was part of a broader discussion on the floor of the 1973 convention about contract goals in 1974. The convention linked this proposal to the fight for improved mine safety. It noted that the six-hour day would allow for three working shifts and one shift for safety maintenance.

Similar concern about safety and health since then has prompted the UMWA to take the lead on other important social issues facing working people, including op-



UMWA Pres. Trumka talking with participants at Fifth National Conference of Women Miners. Union endorsed event and Trumka hailed women's contributions to union.

position to nuclear power. The UMWA has joined the movement to shut down nuclear plants with their deadly radioactive waste. It has proposed coal as an alternative source of energy.

The UMWA has argued effectively that coal must be mined safely and burned cleanly, with the use of scrubbers and other modern coal burning technology. This stance also won many environmentalists and others opposed to nuclear power to support of the UMWA in its battles against the coal operators.

This is a useful example for union activists confronted by the issue of "acid rain" — a form of pollution caused in part by sulfur emissions from coal-fired electrical generators. The operators threaten to shut down mines in the eastern coal fields (where coal tends to have higher sulfur content) if pollution controls are mandated.

Of course preventing and controlling acid rain is more expensive than allowing the electrical utilities to foul up the atmosphere. But the powerful energy monopoly that controls the mining industry and the electrical utilities, has made super profits over the years and is well endowed to pay the costs.

Miners and other workers should not be forced into choosing between jobs or a clean and healthy environment. This is just one example of a form of blackmail used frequently by all employers, in which the only choices offered to workers are those that serve the interests of the companies. Miners and other workers need to reject this and concern themselves instead with defending their own interests.

## Women and Blacks in the mines

Another challenge facing the UMWA convention will be deepening the union's commitment to unequivocal opposition to all forms of racism as well as discrimination against women. For many years the UMWA has correctly explained that these are tools used by the employers to weaken and divide the union.

Trumka took an important step in advancing the union's role in the fight to defend the rights of women in the mines when he addressed the Fifth National Conference of Women Miners, held June 24-26.

Trumka noted that the coal operators have always tried to play "the game of divide and conquer." He recognized that women miners face special problems including sexual harassment and job discrimination. "Nonetheless," he affirmed, "the basic interests of [all] coal miners . . . are the same." He stressed the need for union unity to defend the rights of all UMWA members.

## UMWA's fighting capacities

The need for UMWA unity is tied to another important question facing miners: how to improve the fighting capacities of the union and forge a strong, effective leadership in order to win the best possible contract in the next round of negotiations. Most expect the '84 contract battle to be

a tough one. The operators are clearly preparing to follow the example of other employers who used the pressure of high unemployment to force big concessions. Some coal companies are threatening to pull out of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (the corporate industry-wide bargaining arm) as a means of putting more pressure on for concessions.

The union's ranks and leadership are agreed that the UMWA should take no backward steps. A wide ranging discussion is taking place over how to win the best possible contract.

Many ideas have been raised. One is the possibility of a selective strike against one company, rather than the traditional industry-wide strike if the employers again deny miners a decent contract. Other ideas include "streamlining" the contract ratification process and curtailing the role of the union's bargaining council, which now must approve a proposed contract before it goes to the ranks. This proposal is related to others put forward by some miners to strengthen the powers of the international president.

More than 10 years ago the victory of the Miners for Democracy (MFD) slate in the UMWA election capped a historic battle by the rank and file to take control of their union. This resulted in important democratic changes, which today guarantee that convention delegates — most of whom are working miners — will be able to discuss and debate these ideas and others on the convention floor.

The broad social struggle of miners, their families, and supporters that led to the MFD victory still offers important lessons. Methods of struggle that have served the union well before can strengthen the union again today. Two ideas in particular are worth noting.

One is that the UMWA has been strongest when it has stuck together and used its united power against the operators. Any attempts by the employers to divide the union, whether by signing separate contracts or by other means should be rejected.

The second idea is that strong leadership and maximum rank-and-file control are not counterposed concepts. In fact they go hand in hand.

In the 1977-78 and 1981 contract strikes, for instance, the problem was not too much democracy. It was only the rank-and-file's right to read, discuss, and then vote on the contract that prevented the union from taking further steps backward. The bargaining council, a conquest of democratic changes made after the MFD victory, played an important and useful role in assessing the contract proposals.

A strong, capable leadership, committed to opposing concessions and fighting for new gains for miners (goals the Trumka team campaigned for during the election last year) can draw strength from a mobilized and informed rank and file that controls what the union does. The ranks in turn will draw confidence from leaders who take the initiative and demonstrate that they are up to the task.

## Lessons for today's working class fighters

Farrell Dobbs was a leader of the Teamsters union in the 1930s. He helped lead the battle to make Minneapolis a union town, a struggle that helped pave the way for the creation of the CIO. He was the central architect of the campaign to organize over-the-road truck drivers in the Midwest. Dobbs was national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party from 1953 to 1972. In the last 10 years of his life, Dobbs wrote six books that are rich with lessons for working-class fighters who aim to end capitalist rule and construct a new society based on human needs, not profits.

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# Copper strikers win new solidarity

## Unions will pay back-rent debts to stop evictions

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

PHOENIX, Ariz. — "We cannot allow men, women, and children to be put out of their homes of 10, 20, or 30 years on the eve of Christmas." With these words Frank McKee, treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), announced December 1 that the copper unions will pay the back rent owed to Phelps Dodge Corp. by striking copper miners living in company-owned housing in Ajo and Morenci. This could cost the unions \$100,000.

Phelps Dodge had notified all the strikers that they will be evicted within 30 days if they fail to pay the overdue rent. Tom McWilliams, assistant labor relations director for the company, said, "We have told them that they must keep current or be evicted, and we have every intent of seeing that it is done." He added that despite any rent payments the company could still evict strikers if the housing were needed for scabs.

On November 22 Phelps Dodge broke off negotiations. They announced that they would not be available until after January 10. No date for another meeting was set. McWilliams said the company would be available if the unions were willing to change their position and accept company demands to gut cost-of-living adjustments and pay reduced wages to new hires.

On November 23 McWilliams announced that Phelps Dodge was canceling the lease of the Morenci Clifton Metal Trades Council for the building it has been using as a union hall. "The union hall was used to orchestrate... acts of violence," claimed McWilliams. "There are a number of better uses for the building than renting it to people who are unfriendly to us and who use it as a base to attack our employees."

This is the latest in a series of false charges of violence leveled against the strikers who continue to resist Phelps Dodge's all-out assault on their union and their livelihood. Mass picketing by several hundred strikers and their supporters has begun again in Morenci and picket lines are being strengthened in Ajo.

The November 16 *Tucson Citizen* carried a story subtitled "Quiet period ends at Phelps Dodge." Evelyn Caswell, a strike supporter, was injured by a scab's car on November 16. Nancy Hicks, a Women's Auxiliary activist and Primo Martinez, an official of USWA Local 616 were arrested when they tried to mediate with the state police at the scene.

Meanwhile the November 26 *Arizona Republican* revealed that Phelps Dodge could lose its license to operate the Morenci smelter if it continues to violate air quality standards for sulphur dioxide. Sulphur dioxide emissions from this smelter have consistently violated federal and state air-quality standards since the federal Clean Air Act took effect in 1973.

The company is likely to face some \$130,000 in fines for the first half of 1983. Larry Browerman of the EPA is quoted as saying, "There appear to be more violations now than in the first half of the year." The strike began July 1, 1983.

Many strikers, including Alex López, president of Local 616, attribute these increased problems to Phelps Dodge's disregard for maintenance of equipment and safe operating procedures. One striker said, "They have an unskilled, untrained bunch of scabs and they don't care how they work them, just as long as they look like they're producing copper."

Meanwhile support for the strike continues to grow. On November 18 a press conference and picket line was held outside Phelps Dodge Phoenix headquarters. About 75 people, including 20 Greyhound strikers, participated in the action which was called by the Community Solidarity With Labor Committee.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is helping with a food drive for the strikers.

At the November 29 meeting of Local 640 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, it was voted to contribute one dollar per member per month to the strike relief fund. A check for \$1,600 was written that night as the first monthly contribution. Local 640 members, along with other construction unionists, also contributed their skills to help strikers in Clifton repair their homes after the devastating floods of October 1-2.

## UFW's Chavez pledges union aid on Arizona tour

BY JASON REDRUP

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — "It is time to bring your strike out of the hills of Arizona and into the cities of America," César Chávez told 400 copper strikers and their supporters here on November 26. Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers (UFW), recently toured the copper mining towns of Clifton, Ajo, Douglas, and Safford as a gesture of solidarity and support for copper miners who have been on strike against the Phelps Dodge Corp. for over five months.

As the president of a union representing agricultural workers in rural areas, Chávez said he and his union members understand some of the difficulties of a strike in an isolated location. "We will bring the strike to Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco," promised Chávez. "Lots of people want to support your strike but they have to know," he said.

"It is not hard to win a strike if you're not alone," Chávez continued, "and you're not! We need your union. When you are strong, we are strong," he said as he pledged the active solidarity of the UFW. Chávez told the strikers that the UFW owns a radio station in California's San Joaquin valley, which reaches 100,000 farm workers. The union will use the radio to get the truth about the Phelps Dodge strike out to farm workers and others and mobilize support.

Chávez was cheered when he condemned Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt, who used the National Guard in August to reopen mines that had been shut as the result of militant strike action, as "that disgrace who called out the troops on working men and women fighting for justice."

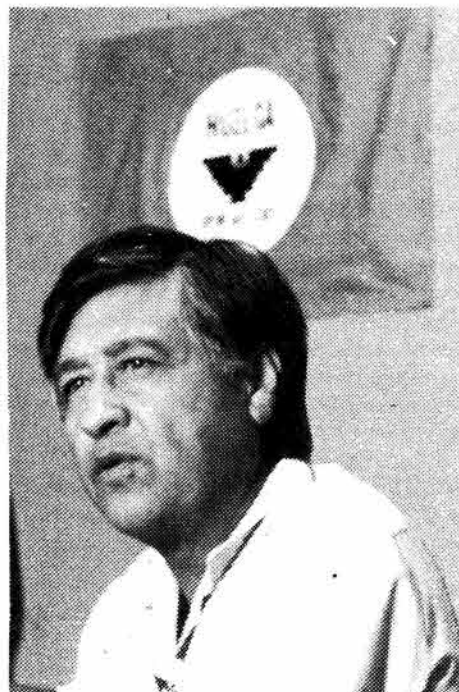
"Your victory," said Chávez, "is our victory. If Phelps Dodge wants to fight, let's take them on — at the picket line, at the state house, White House, and at the board of directors. We'll let the world know what Phelps Dodge is doing to you here in Arizona," said Chávez to cheers of "Viva la huelga!" and "Union! Union! Union!" from the strikers who are predominantly Chicano and Mexican.

Chávez was joined on the platform by Bill Sotero, retired treasurer of the Laborers Union. Sotero, who toured with Chávez, promised the UFW president would not only publicize the strike, but "he is also going to tell the world what those dirty dogs did to your doctor."

Sotero was referring to Dr. Jorge O'Leary, a physician fired from the Phelps Dodge-owned hospital here for supporting the strikers. O'Leary received a standing ovation at the rally. He now operates a clinic that serves the striking miners.

Several officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the union representing the largest number of strikers, also spoke, including sub-district Director Roy Santa Cruz, chief negotiator Alex López, and Local 616 Pres. Angel Rodríguez. López explained that the company has stalled further negotiations until January 10 but predicted, "They'll sit down again before that date because of the kind of solidarity shown today." But, López warned, winning the strike will take even more solidarity.

This was echoed by Kathy and Mike Suttin, two striking Greyhound drivers who drove an 18-wheel truckload of food collected from UFW members. To a standing ovation, Kathy Suttin told the miners: "Today one union can't win a strike. It's going to take solidarity from all unions, not just the Amalgamated Transit Union and the copper unions."



Militant/Larry Lukeart  
On tour of mining towns, farm worker leader César Chávez told miners "it's time to bring strike out of hills of Arizona and into cities of America."

## Fired doctor tells students about strike

BY SIMONE BERG

TUCSON, Ariz. — "People's Clinic" is the name of the medical clinic run by Dr. Jorge O'Leary in a former feed store in the Arizona copper town of Clifton-Morenci. Dr. O'Leary is a former employee at the Phelps Dodge-owned hospital there, who was fired for his support for copper miners on strike against the giant copper company. Dr. O'Leary now treats 30 to 35 people a day for free. Many are strikers who offer barter (whatever they have) in payment.

O'Leary spoke to a meeting of 50 people here at the University of Arizona College of Medicine on November 28. O'Leary's talk included slides of the houses and trailers of strikers that were severely damaged by terrible floods in early October. While the copper mine bosses live on the town's high ground, explained O'Leary, many workers live in the San Francisco river bed area that was devastated by the floods.

Greenlee County received emergency federal and state aid, but Phelps Dodge determined how the flood relief was administered in the company town. So, said O'Leary, state troopers and the National Guard were used to open the road leading to the mine so that scabs could get to work. They cleared the railroad tracks so that ore cars could roll in and out, while neglecting to provide clean drinking water for striking flood victims.

Fillmore Tellez, a former Phelps Dodge salaried employee who quit early in the strike, spoke with Dr. O'Leary. He said he was concerned that Phelps Dodge "has suspend[ed] civil liberties." He denounced Gov. Bruce Babbitt's complicity with this, which included calling out the National Guard against the strikers. Tellez commended O'Leary for putting his Hippocratic oath above corporate loyalty.

One concession Phelps Dodge is demanding from the striking unions is a reduction in medical benefits from 100 percent company-paid coverage to 80 percent coverage. Phelps Dodge claims it can no longer afford to pay for full coverage. At a press conference here, Dr. O'Leary commented on these phony poverty pleas. He pointed out the company's president makes \$500,000 a year plus expenses and each member of the board of directors makes \$250,000.

A union contract would also help insure safer working conditions, said O'Leary. With scab labor being used in the mines to bust the strike, working conditions are now "at their lowest point," he charged.

O'Leary was asked what stake a doctor had in preserving the copper unions. He answered that his father came from Mexico and that unions have helped Mexicans, Chicanos, Native Americans, and Blacks in the fight for equal rights, better jobs, and decent pay.

## Spirits high among strikers in El Paso

BY PAUL MAILHOT

EL PASO, Tex. — For more than five months copper miners in Arizona have been battling the Phelps Dodge Corp. to maintain their union rights and win a decent contract. Another part of that important strike is taking place here.

Since July more than 300 workers at the Phelps Dodge copper refinery here have also been on the picket lines. Nearly all of them are members of United Steelworkers of America Local 501.

Like their brothers and sisters on strike in Arizona, the refinery workers are fighting to maintain gains they have won over the past two decades. One Local 501 member told the *Militant*, "For the past 20 years we've been out on strike every three years — sometimes for as long as nine months. What Phelps Dodge is trying to do is wipe out every gain we've made. They want to take us all the way back." The company's demands include sweeping wage and benefit concessions.

Unlike some previous strikes, Phelps Dodge has continued to try to keep its operations open. As the company has hired scabs to replace the strikers, the racial composition of the work force at the refinery has changed dramatically. Local 501's membership is almost entirely Chicano and Mexican. The scab work force is nearly 30 percent white.

"New hires came into the plant making \$3 an hour less than we were getting under the union contract," Local 501 Pres. Federico Esparza explained. "We've heard that they've been forced to take another pay cut since then," said Esparza.

Safety has also gone downhill in the plant as untrained scabs have been brought in. "The accident rate has gone up 300 to 400 percent. Our pickets are always seeing injured workers being taken out of the plant," Esparza commented.

Despite the difficulties of a long strike, including constant pressure from Phelps Dodge, workers here remain determined. Only about 35, or less than 10 percent, of Local 501's members have crossed the picket lines and returned to work. Most were older workers, some nearing retirement, who were threatened by the company with the loss of pensions they had worked years to earn. Of the remaining members, nearly all participate in picket duty and insist they won't go back without a contract.

Union drivers have refused to deliver goods to the refinery, and strikers have also received solidarity in the form of financial support from unionists across the country. Local 501 members have begun to receive requests to speak at solidarity meetings organized by unionists elsewhere in Texas, including in San Antonio and Amarillo.

The strikers here believe they have an important message for other workers. "Our strike is part of what started with the auto workers, and has been going on down the line with PATCO [Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization] and other takeback contracts and union-busting," says Esparza. "We're going to hold firm here. Someone has to, and we know the eyes of the nation are on us."

### Steelworkers Under Attack

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

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

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



# Palestine solidarity in union movement

The following is an interview with Nizar Dulawer, the chairperson of the Canada Palestine Solidarity Committee in Hamilton, Ontario. Dulawer is a shop steward in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1005, representing workers at the giant Stelco steel mill in Hamilton.

He began his involvement in defense of Palestinian rights at an early age. As a high school student in his native Damascus, Syria, he distributed anti-Zionist leaflets during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. He continued his political activity as a university student in Yugoslavia and during the three years he served as an officer in the Syrian Army. Dulawer emigrated to Canada 16 years ago.

The interview was obtained in August by Steve Wattenmaker.

**Question.** How is Palestinian solidarity work organized in Canada?

**Answer.** For many years we just had local clubs and associations. Now we have formed the Canadian Arab Federation. This federation has 24 Palestinian and Arab organizations affiliated to it.

During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, we helped to start the Canada Palestine Solidarity Committee. The object was to establish a committee in every city in Canada. We did this because we thought there was a need for an organization made up primarily of non-Arab Canadians to inform the public about what was behind the invasion of Lebanon, the denial of Palestinian rights, what Zionism really is, etc.

**Q.** What are some examples of the Palestine Solidarity Committee's activities?

**A.** Well, for example, the Toronto committee brought the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative in Lebanon to Toronto.

Since the invasion we have been carrying out solidarity work not only in the unions, where I think we have had the greatest success, but in the universities, in professional organizations. We are now getting many invitations to high schools.

**Q.** The Israeli invasion had a big effect on people's attitudes?

**A.** Now everything has changed. People no longer think that the PLO is an organization that has to be destroyed because it is "terrorist." Now people recognize that the PLO represents a people in exile and Palestinians in what we call the prison — Israel. They see that the PLO is who you have to talk to if you are going to have peace in the Middle East.

I'll give you an interesting example of this change. At a demonstration of several hundred people to protest the invasion, a Hamilton alderman spoke. This was an individual who used to be a member of parliament and chairman of the New Democratic Party's parliamentary caucus. [The NDP is the Canadian labor party.]

He said, "I confess, I used to be a Zionist. Now I am a friend of Palestine." And since that time he has worked with us

hand-in-hand in everything.

During the visit of [former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel] Sharon to Canada in June 1983, we sponsored a news conference in Hamilton. I invited this alderman and the head of the political action committee of Local 1005 USWA.

There was a wonderful turnout — radio, television, the newspapers — and the headline in the Hamilton newspaper was "Sharon Labeled War Criminal by Alderman and Union Leaders."

**Q.** Could you describe some of the work the Palestine Solidarity Committee has carried out in the trade union movement?

**A.** I can tell you that every committee has representatives of labor — not only rank-and-file, but labor leadership. The committees depend on labor more than anything else.

In the Hamilton committee we have five members and all of us are trade unionists. That's what we try to do — use the Palestine Solidarity Committee in the unions.

When we were preparing to take a resolution in defense of Palestinian rights to the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) convention in November 1982, the committees were very helpful, because most of our members are active in their unions — leaders, executive members of their local unions.

They worked very hard on a local level. They put resolutions before their locals. They got support for recognizing the PLO, recognizing Palestinian self-determination. Five or six of these local resolutions were submitted to the OFL convention: locals 1005 and 6500 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the United Electrical Workers, the Postal Workers, the United Auto Workers.

My local, USWA 1005, is the largest local, and we sent 35 delegates to the OFL convention. In the resolution we submitted to the convention, we asked the Canadian government to cut off all aid to Israel, to cut diplomatic relations with Israel.

It was a very emotional discussion. We didn't have anyone talk against it in our local meeting. At least 15 people were lined up behind the microphones to support it. After everyone saw Israel killing in Lebanon, nobody stood up to say that Israel had a right to do it. The resolution was passed unanimously in my local.

In another case, the USWA local in Toronto had a very heated debate on the same resolution. It passed, but only by about 60 percent. In other areas, especially because it was right after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, most local resolutions passed.

I think if these resolutions had been introduced before the invasion they wouldn't have gotten the support they did. But the attitude toward Israel has changed, particularly among workers.

What happened was that the resolutions committee of the OFL convention boiled down the different resolutions to one that called for recognizing the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and for Israel to get out of the occupied territories. But it was a compromise because it also called for recognizing Israel as de-



Sept. 11, 1982, demonstration in Washington, D.C., protesting Israeli invasion of Lebanon. There is growing opposition among North American workers to U.S.-Israeli policies in Middle East.

finied by its pre-1967 borders.

Only 2 of the 9 members of the OFL executive board were supporting us. So we organized a caucus that met the night before the convention to organize the effort to pass it.

District 6 director of the United Steelworkers, Dave Patterson, spoke on the resolution for about 20 minutes. The head of USWA Local 1005 talked about it. One Zionist tried to talk against it, but all he could manage to do was to propose postponing it.

It was a very heated discussion. We finally won the vote by about a two-thirds majority. It was a major victory because it was the first time in North America that a labor federation passed a resolution like this.

I think Cliff Bilky, head of the OFL, was surprised we passed the resolution. After the vote he stood up and asked, "Who is attending this convention for the first time?" And more than 50 percent raised their hands. So he got the message that the new delegates are militant people and they had weight in the convention. In the past the delegates were usually staff members of the unions, people with appointed posts.

Now the ranks have come in prepared to talk about Palestine and every other issue. It was a different convention than ever before. As far as I know, a resolution supporting Palestinian rights never even made it to the floor of an OFL convention before.

But we worked very hard for this victory. Before the conference we built up a lot of public support. The Toronto and Hamilton city councils supported us. We sat down with all the leaders of the local unions and explained the issues to them. The PLO representative in Canada stayed up all night before the convention talking to them. Everyone got a booklet that we prepared describing the situation of the Palestinians from 1948 through the invasion of Lebanon.

When we went back to our local they were very excited. They couldn't believe that we had won.

**Q.** Will the fact that the OFL passed the resolution make it easier to get similar resolutions passed in other provinces or in the NDP?

**A.** Well, in fact, similar resolutions have already been passed by the labor federations in British Columbia, Alberta, and Prince Edward Island. So yes, the fact that it was passed in the Ontario Federation of Labor — which represents 800,000 workers — means that it is moving in other provinces, too.

We can also do Palestine solidarity work not only in the auto and steel unions now, but in the Food and Allied Workers, among office workers, everywhere. I believe that it's time now to do work in the unions. Because union members before believed what the press told them, they never discussed it. Now we are able to go to the rank and file and explain to them what is going on so that when they go to their local meetings and a resolution comes up, they can discuss it because they know something about it.

If we have a public meeting that unionists come to they will pick up literature and read about Palestine and sometimes I'll even see them later wearing a button. It

didn't used to be like that. Some members even wear T-shirts with PLO on it — even walk on the street with a PLO shirt. I never saw that before.

As for the NDP, although the top leadership opposes us, some NDP ridings [electoral districts] passed pro-Palestinian resolutions. That has been especially true in ridings where the majority of NDP members are workers.

In the NDP as a whole, Palestinian rights was a big debate at the last Ontario NDP convention. We didn't get what we wanted as far as a resolution, but to put it into the NDP and talk about it is a very major accomplishment for us.

At the federal NDP convention in July 1983, the same thing went on. Each riding talked about it, debated it, put resolutions forward about it. We lost at the convention, but we got 35 or 40 percent of the vote and that is very good for us. We never got that degree of support before. And most of those who took part in the debate were union members.

**Q.** Has the Canada Palestine Solidarity Committee been able to carry defense of Palestinian rights into the unions in any other ways?

**A.** A few months ago we arranged a tour for Abdul Ghani, secretary of the General Union of Palestinian Workers. The idea was for him to talk specifically to union members, to explain the conditions faced by Palestinian unionists.

This is particularly important because people think that there is just one union federation in Israel, the Histadrut, representing both Jewish and Palestinian workers. They don't know that the General Union of Palestinian Workers exists on the West Bank.

For example, we took Abdul Ghani to meet with OFL President Bilky, who usually supports the Zionists. Bilky acknowledged that he didn't know anything about unions on the West Bank. He explained that he had always supported the Histadrut because they invite him to go to Israel every year.

Abdul Ghani explained to Bilky that Palestinian workers on the West Bank suffer discrimination in wages and benefits in comparison to Israeli workers. And there are laws set up to make it extremely difficult to organize. To even have a union meeting you have to tell the authorities three days in advance.

Another factor is that if you have ever been arrested, you can't be elected a leader in the union. Since most Palestinians have been arrested at one time or another by the Israeli authorities for striking or demonstrating, it is a way of separating the leadership from the ranks of the union.

Israeli union members in the occupied territories aren't subjected to the same restrictions.

We also took Abdul Ghani to visit leaders of the United Steelworkers in Canada, who were very friendly and offered their help. After meeting with other unionists in Toronto he traveled to Quebec and met with union leaders there. I think the tour gave him a good idea of the work Canadian union members are doing in defense of Palestinian rights.

From Intercontinental Press

## From Pathfinder

### Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

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

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





# Messages back Marroquin asylum fight

The following are messages sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund rally in New York City in support of Héctor Marroquin's right to political asylum in the United States.

## Robert White

United Auto Workers director for Canada

Although I will be unable to attend the rally in support of Héctor Marroquin, please convey to the meeting my continued support for his struggle with the U.S. government.

The United States was founded by people who left their homelands to escape political repression and seek free speech. In establishing their own nation, they enshrined in their constitution the rights they had so eloquently argued for.

Today, the strength and foundation of democratic governments rests on their willingness to accept free public expression of all opinions, even if some of those ideas conflict with the main political current.

Together we must fight to uphold those principles, for surely if we permit the deportation of people on the basis of their political beliefs, we will have turned our backs on the founders of democracy in North America. We will have denied for others those same rights we have fought valiantly to protect for ourselves.

Héctor Marroquin must be allowed to remain in the United States, and he must be allowed to continue to speak out on behalf of working people.

## Mary Hatwood Futrell

president, National Education Association

For over five years, the National Education Association has supported Héctor Marroquin in his struggle for political asylum in the United States.

Héctor, a former teacher accused of terrorist activities by Mexican authorities, eloquently addressed the NEA Representa-

tive Assembly — NEA's primary governing body — in 1978 and again in 1983. He told of his attempts to remain in the United States and of his difficulties with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), whose policies militate against the granting of asylum to a political dissident from a nation that is friendly to the United States.

In 1978 the NEA, recognizing that Héctor would be vulnerable to harassment and even persecution if he was deported to Mexico, endorsed his right to seek haven in the United States.

Since that time, the Association has articulated its position to the INS, the Justice Department, and high-level officials of the U.S. government.

This nation has a strong tradition of providing refuge for those who seek it regardless of their national origin or political persuasion. This tradition must not be diminished in any way. Congress has under active consideration a review of immigration policies to accommodate the right of political refugees to enter and remain in the United States. Perhaps Héctor's struggle will lead to more enlightened national policies.

On behalf of the NEA members throughout the United States, I commend Héctor for his efforts and his patience. May his long ordeal soon come to a successful conclusion.

## Esteban Torres

congressman, California

Although I am unable to be present at the national rally in support of Héctor Marroquin, I want to express my support for its goals and mission.

We have worked very hard to force the Immigration and Naturalization Service to treat Héctor with respect. We in Congress have worked hard to stop the Simpson-Mazzoli bill which would completely deny rights to persons like Héctor Marroquin. Now, we must work hard to stop the deportation of Héctor Marroquin. This nation must not ignore a belief in free speech because of political paranoia. And this nation

must not persecute the refugees of Central America just as they were persecuted at home.

We are all supporting the political and human rights of Héctor Marroquin and many others like him. It is a struggle that must succeed.

## David Dyson

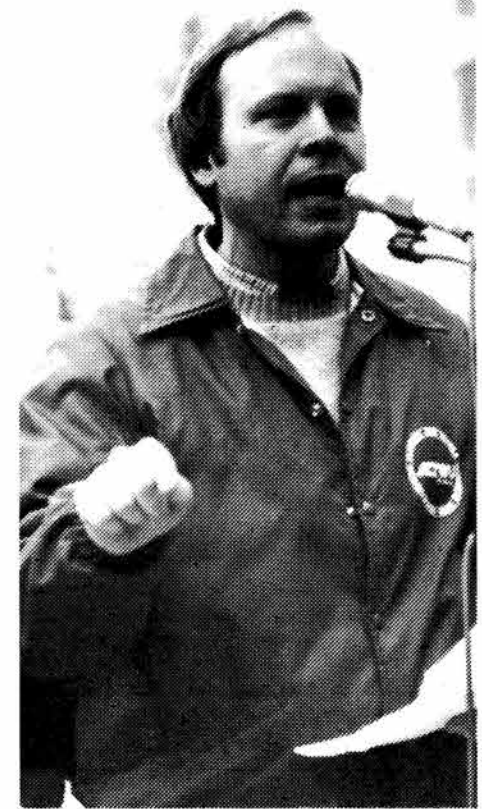
national executive director of the Labor Committee In Support of Democracy and Human Rights In El Salvador

The State Department has significantly increased its efforts to prevent a meaningful dialogue between the peoples of the United States and Central and Latin America, as evidenced by the recent refusal to grant visas to Rubén Zamora of the Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador and Interior Minister Tomás Borge of Nicaragua.

But working people *must* have this dialogue and exchange of information if we are to learn the truth. Our tour of trade-union leaders to El Salvador earlier this year saw first-hand the massive violations of human rights being done in our name in Central America.

I'm sure the State Department and White House are sorry Héctor got into the country and are even sorrier he has been able to tell his story. We in the labor movement must

defend Héctor's right to asylum, not only to protect other refugees, but also to defend the right of working people throughout the Americas to hear and learn the truth.



Militant/Lou Howort

David Dyson

## N.Y. antideportation meeting

Continued from back page

attempting to utilize the office of mayor, to which he had been elected, to improve the plight of Black people there. He had intended to participate in the rally, but last minute parole restrictions prevented this.

"We join in solidarity with Héctor Marroquin," Vann declared, "because we know discrimination and injustice."

Etienne, a leader in the struggle of Haitian refugees, pointed to Washington's hypocrisy in trying to declare the thousands fleeing the Duvalier dictatorship "economic refugees" and, on that basis, deny them political asylum.

They do so, Etienne declared, because granting political asylum would be an indictment of the Haitian dictatorial regime which it maintains in power.

And, he added, Haiti is no isolated case since Washington is supporting similar repressive regimes in Central America and elsewhere. Victory in Marroquin's fight for asylum, he declared, would be an important victory for the many Haitians and others seeking the same right.

The audience extended an especially warm welcome to James Stryffeler, until recently a marine sergeant. Because he openly opposed the U.S. war drive in Central America and Lebanon, and publicly scored the invasion of Grenada, Marine officials tried to victimize him, moving toward a court-martial. But protest was so strong that Stryffeler was granted an honorable discharge instead.

Stryffeler, who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance, said the attempts of the Marine brass "to shut me up" were similar to the attempt to deport Marroquin. Both are part of the drive toward war. Declaring, "I won't be silent as long as injustice exists," the youthful fighter urged "a broad campaign to stop all deportations."

Marshall Perlin has lent his legal skills to the fight to reopen the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. He told the meeting that the forces trying to deport Marroquin are the same ones that dragged us into Vietnam, that invaded Grenada and threaten Nicaragua. It is the same forces, he continued, that jailed an Eddie Carthan and executed the Rosenbergs.

The United States, Perlin declared, "is the most oppressive country in the world today," and "all progressive forces must unite" to oppose its reactionary course.

Margie O'Rourke described the victimization of her husband Michael, a member of the Irish Republican Army who was a political prisoner in Ireland but escaped here. Jailed in New York in 1979 he has been held for four years in a city jail on

charges of overstaying his visa, a civil offense. Margie O'Rourke said that both her husband and Marroquin were being victimized because, "they stood up for what they believed in."

Union leader Henning pointed to the hypocritical double standard employed by Washington in immigration policy. Right-wingers, he noted, have no problem coming here, but "for Héctor Marroquin, there's no room."

The attempt to deport Marroquin, he said, "is a warning to all immigrants" who act in their own interests.

Scoring U.S. support for repressive regimes and its hostility to progressive ones, Henning declared that U.S. immigration policy is "an extension of its foreign policy."

## France: 50,000 in antiracist march

More than 50,000 demonstrated in Paris on December 3 joining the last part of a 750-mile march to protest racist violence and discrimination against North Africans in France.

The march began almost two months ago when about two dozen young people, most of them descended from North African immigrants, marched out of Marseilles for Paris.

There have been more than 200 immigrants, mostly from Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, murdered in France in the last two years.

Led by the ultraright and racist National Front party, this increased violence against immigrants has made them scapegoats for the capitalist economic crisis.

The ultrarightist party drew a million votes in nationwide municipal elections in March with the slogan, "Two million unemployed French is two million immigrants too many."

There are about 1.4 million North Africans in France. Many came during the 1960s, brought by French companies to fill menial, low-paying jobs.

At least three North African children were shot and killed by whites for making noise in public housing projects this summer.

The December 3 march was supported by French workers' organizations, including political parties and trade unions, and by religious organizations and individuals.

As it neared its end, the French government warned to the march. Three cabinet ministers joined it, and eight of the original marchers were received by President François Mitterrand at the Elysée Palace.

## 'Comparable-pay' ruling won

BY HARRY RING

Women workers and the entire labor movement gained a significant victory when a federal judge upheld the principle of comparable pay for work of comparable value. The judge ruled that the state of Washington must pay an estimated \$838 million to women workers in salary increases and back pay.

The suit was brought on behalf of some 15,000 women workers by the Washington Federation of State Employees, a unit of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The union demanded a 31 percent pay increase for the workers and back pay to September 1979.

Declaring that the December 1 ruling would be appealed to higher courts, a state

assistant attorney general said that if permitted to stand, the "comparable worth" principle would "jeopardize the pay scheme of every employer in the country."

It would and should.

If upheld, the decision would deal a hammer blow to the employer practice of simply paying less for jobs traditionally relegated to women. Breaking that barrier would in turn help crack the one that denies nontraditional skills to women. And it would help close the gap between the 59 to 62 cents an hour paid women for every dollar paid men. That would be a gain for male workers as well, since low wages depress the entire wage level.

Federal District Judge Jack Tanner based his ruling on a study made by the state itself, which established that women in predominantly female state jobs were paid 20 to 30 percent less than men in jobs of equal value.

To arrive at a "comparable worth" formula, the study assigned points to jobs requiring similar knowledge and skills.

The union proposes that the pay increases and back pay go to workers in job categories where 70 percent or more of the jobs are held by women.

These include such lower paying classifications as secretary, typist, phone operator, librarian, and data entry operator.

Judge Tanner said he intended to put his decision in writing, but stated to the union attorneys, "You win."

The first big win for equal pay for work of comparable value was won by nurses in San Jose, California, in 1981. Also members of AFSCME, they went on strike over the issue and demanded an across the board hike as well. They won both.

Now, with the victory by Washington state employees, it can be expected that more women workers will be pressing for this entirely reasonable demand. They should have the support of the entire union movement on this.

## Women prefer low pay?

"Women seek a different sort of job," piously assured Cotton Mather Lindsay, a southern professor. He was quoted in the November 1 *New York Times* as explaining that women prefer "clean indoor jobs with flexible hours that do not require long training periods. . . ."

In a letter to the paper November 10, Joyce Miller, national president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, responded that, "those who claim that women choose lower paying jobs do not know their history."

"Clerical work, now a female, low paying job ghetto, was not open to women until the civil war, when women were hired by the Treasury to replace men called to battle."

"The Treasury decreed that women be paid half the \$1,800 annual salary paid to the men."

"Neither the job description nor the work changed, just the gender of the workers."

"Women do not choose to work for less; employers choose to pay us less. . . . This is a discrimination that must end."



**The pope's a real worrier** — We were quite concerned on learning from the Vatican's new sex



Harry Ring

education guide that extramarital sex relations are "a grave disorder," homosexuality, "a disorder" and "social maladaptation," and masturbation "a grave moral disorder." But then we realized there's no great cause for concern since so

few people in the world engage in any of these practices.

**Hallowed be thy name** — Government officials in the Philippines accused critics of trying to put a curse on dictator Marcos by predicting he would not live out his term. One official said such predictions contained "the virus of an un-Christian prayer."

**Sounds better than a Motel 6** — The Homestead, in Hot Springs, Va., we're told, is where the old rich gathers for Xmas. Amenities include good eating — crab meat, fresh trout, Virginia hams, homemade breads, cakes and ice cream, etc. The room ser-

vice menu for dogs includes turkey, roast beef, and burger. Served, nach, on silver platters.

**And stop beefing?** — "In Brazil, a public nutritionist said Sunday that the country's food shortage wouldn't be so bad if only the starving millions would start eating rats." —USA Today.

**The bright side** — As millions mourned the successful London heist of \$40 million in gold, the value of the loot increased by \$1.5 million. This was the result of a price rise on the London bullion market. Speculators calculated the company would have to replace

the missing gold bars.

**Shucks** — A spokesperson denied that the London firm which lost the gold was a subsidiary of American Express.

**High octane bash** — Friends gathered to celebrate oil billionaire Gordon Getty's fiftieth birthday. Forty were flown in from the Coast and had a choice of three top New York hotels to crash in. They joined 160 other Getty fans for dining and dancing in a rented area of the Metropolitan Museum and, the next night, attended a concert where a singer rendered songs composed by the birthday boy. Estimated total tab, \$118,000.

**Poetic touch** — Federal Express's Memphis office is located at 1765 Profit Drive.

**They may paint too** — An ad for a five-story town house in Manhattan's "fashionable East 60s," offers five bedrooms, a big kitchen and dining room, marble bathrooms, and a backyard garden lush with trees, flowers, and birds. \$2.25 million.

**For boring guests?** — Down the street from that town house, there's an 8-room duplex available for but \$2.2 million. It's "very bright and sunny" and features a "walk-in" fireplace.

## UAW members resist company-foreman libel suit

BY KATHY OWENS

MILWAUKEE — A victory for workers rights to freedom of speech and the press was won in Racine November 22 when a jury disregarded instructions from a judge to award substantial financial damages to two

### UNION TALK

American Motors Corp. (AMC) foremen for alleged libel. Three workers who publish *Fighting Times*, an in-plant newsletter, were targets of the libel suit.

The suit by the foremen was financed by AMC, which has long sought to silence the three workers — chief stewards Jon Melrod and Tod Ohnstad and steward Jon Drew — all members of United Auto Workers Local 72.

Melrod was fired in 1973 and 1976 for public comments critical of AMC. In both cases he was ordered reinstated by the National Labor Relations Board.

In 1980 AMC challenged the right of the three unionists to publish their newspaper. Again, the NLRB upheld them against the company.

AMC tried a new angle. Foremen who had been criticized in *Fighting Times* for violations of workers rights sued for libel.

The company financed this suit, but Judge Dennis Flynn, the Circuit Court judge hearing the case, ordered defense attorneys not to mention this because of its "pre-

judicial impact" on the jury!

And, since *Fighting Times* is not an official union publication, Flynn ruled that its editors did not have NLRB protection, even though the NLRB itself had decided otherwise in April.

Flynn ruled the workers guilty of libel on such grounds as statements that the son of an AMC executive, hired ahead of other workers with more seniority and proved job skills, had "absolutely no qualifications" for the job.

The judge's finding of guilt, despite the jury's refusal to award damages, is a dangerous precedent for the labor movement. It goes back to a 1978 case in Phoenix in which a restaurant owner sued for libel over leaflets handed out by a fired waitress.

That case went to the Supreme Court, which ruled that, NLRB protection or not, bosses have a "right of access to the courts" for libel, despite pious protestations from several justices who noted that libel can be "a powerful instrument of coercion or retaliation" for employers.

Which it is in the case of *Fighting Times*. Aside from the large amount of time the three workers had to devote to this serious attack on their democratic rights, legal expenses totaled \$50,000 and they were forced to miss three weeks of work without pay.

Throughout the three-week trial, testimony documented numerous abuses by the foremen against AMC workers: sexual harassment, racist treatment of Black workers, health and safety violations, and favoritism.

One of the foremen who originally brought the suit dropped out of it after the jury heard testimony from his former fiancée that he held a shotgun to her head and killed her puppy.

Another foreman dropped out earlier rather than face questioning about his use and sale of drugs in the plant.

The other foremen, testimony revealed, were worse than *Fighting Times* had charged.

One foreman, Donald Panzlau, objected to the paper's characterizing him as "production crazy." He denied a nurse's pass to a worker who complained of chest pains and later collapsed in a pit below the assembly line. Panzlau refused to stop the line, although the worker was on the floor, writhing in pain.

Before the trial, UAW Local 72 demanded that AMC halt its legal and financial support to the suit. The local's president, Gene Sylvester, told *Racine Labor* the union was suspicious that funds for the suit might have been used from the Employee Investment Program, under which AMC workers have given extensive financial concessions to the company.

A *Racine Labor* editorial, applauding the jury's disregard of the procompany judge's instructions, noted that "AMC's eagerness to use its massive financial resources against these individuals will probably cause widespread suspicion and hostility among the work force, which it is trying to court through calls for 'cooperation' and 'team-work.'"

No doubt.

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**The 1984 Elections: How We Can Avoid the Two-party Trap.** Speaker: Mac Warren, member of Socialist Workers Party Political Committee. Sat., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Birmingham Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**Cuba's Foreign Policy: What is the Real Record?** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 17, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### ARIZONA

#### Tucson

**The Working-Class Road to Peace.** Speaker: Dan Fein, member of Socialist Workers Party and Sheetmetal Workers International Association Local 548. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m. El Rio Neighborhood Center, 1390 W Speedway. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

### 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.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**What Did the Boston Mayoral Elections Mean to Blacks and Other Working People?**

Speakers: Michael Rezendes, reporter for Boston *Phoenix*; John Berg, coordinator of Boston Bureau of the *Guardian*; Rich Cahalane, coordinator of socialist election campaign of Eloise Linger. Sun., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### 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.

**Antiwar Marine Speaks Out.** Speaker: Jim Stryffeler, ex-marine. Mon., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

**Defend Greyhound Strikers.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 17, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 867-7755.

### MISSOURI

#### St. Louis

**Behind the Cotton Curtain. Report on Racism and Workers Rights in Mississippi.** Speakers: Tony Dutrow and Rohima Miah, members of a socialist reporting team just returned from Mississippi. Sun., Dec. 11, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, Rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

**Antiwar Marine Speaks Out.** Speakers: Jim Stryffeler, ex-marine and member of Young Socialist Alliance; Joe Allor, Socialist Workers Party; Anne Kiske, High School Students in Solidarity With Latin America; Sam Diener, draft resister. Sun., Dec. 18, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, Rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**An Evening in Solidarity With the Nicara-**

**guan People.** Protest U.S. denial of visa to Tomás Borge, Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior. Thur., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. Hunter College Auditorium, 68th St. and Lex. Ave. (IRT train No. 6). Ausp: Casa Nicaragua, Black and Puerto Rican Studies, Day Session Student Government of Hunter College, Central America Committee of Hunter College; and the Ad Hoc Committee to Protest Visa Denial. For more information call (212) 243-2678 or 242-1040.

**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

**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.

### TEXAS

#### Dallas

**The Employers' Offensive Against Labor: What Can Be Done to Fight Back.** Speakers: Bernie Nauta, president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1313; Grant Morgan, business agent, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2444; Jim Kendrick, auto worker and member Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Public Meeting to Discuss the Imminent Invasion of Nicaragua by U.S.-backed Troops.** Slide presentation on accomplishments of Sandinista revolution by Tidewater Nicaraguan Project. Speaker: Suzanne Weiss, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sun., Dec. 11, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.



# 'Heart of steel': a real look at workers problems

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

It is unusual when some of the real problems, and real thinking among U.S. workers, crowds its way onto the television screen. It is most unusual in a dramatic presentation on network TV at prime time such as "Heart of Steel," an ABC film aired on December 4.

The movie tells the story of Emory, a steelworker in a small Ohio milltown, who is laid off and then learns that the entire plant will shut down for good. The film follows

## TELEVISION REVIEW

Emory, his family, and his friends, as they try to adjust to the kick in the gut they've received from U.S. capitalism.

Any worker who's been through the experience of a long-term or permanent layoff, the frustration of searching for a job that's not out there and filing forms for unemployment compensation, or the worry of losing a car or house and not being able to make ends meet, saw much that was familiar.

Shortly after the layoff begins, Emory visits with his father, a retired steelworker dying from a lung disease he got in the mill. Emory asks how many times the mill has been closed before. In the 35 years he worked there, his father replies, maybe 12 or 14 times, but it always opened back up.

It soon becomes clear that this is not the periodic layoff thousands of steelworkers are forced to become accustomed to. The mill's owners have decided it cannot be run at a profit and are shutting it permanently.

A packed union meeting discusses what the workers can do. The union leaders have brought in a San Francisco consultant to do a feasibility study on the workers buying the plant. There is much skepticism. One worker explains he has barely enough money to pay his bills, much less put a down payment on a steel mill. The consultant responds it doesn't work that way — the banks loan the money. "How much?" asks one worker.

"Sixty-six million dollars, it's not a lot of money," replies the banker, his voice striving to rise above the loud, derisive hoots from the unionists.

The workers respond in similar fashion to a plant manager who is also at the meeting when he lectures them that they lost their jobs because they refused to make concessions to the company.

During most of the film Emory displays a deep commitment to the union. "If you ain't got a union, you ain't got nothing," he explains.

But at a later union meeting, the local president reports the results of the study. The plan to buy the mill won't work. The problem, he explains, is the company's "short sighted profit-taking since World War II." The fight to solve the problem "will take a long time, maybe until your kids are ready to go to work."

He urges the workers to remember that "the union never quit," but he clearly has no answer about what to do.

In the darkened union hall Emory tells his father, "I knew this was coming. I didn't want to, but I knew it."

His father insists this is just another attempt to bust the union. The mill will reopen, he says unconvincingly. The government can help, he says, it can "stop those shipments from overseas."

But Emory answers, "Pop, there is no mill anymore. There is no place to go back to work."

His voice cracking, Emory cries, "They tell you work hard, stick with the union, love your country. I did that — so what! I ain't got my job. I lost my truck. I'm gonna lose my house. I'm going on lousy welfare! What the hell did I do wrong?"

The film's first hour and a half conveys a powerful sense of desperation among the workers. But it also shows their individual determination to resist the attack on their sense of dignity and human worth that is so much a part of being thrown out of work. Emory refuses to take the \$3 an hour temporary work a cockroach employer tells him he should be happy to get. A friend sleeps in his truck with a gun to ward off any attempt to repossess it.

But at the same time, the movie shows Emory's world, as he's known it, crumbling. He hits his kids and his wife and she throws him out of the house. When he says he's ready to come back, the wife, herself a strong character, replies, "It's not up to you."

The film reaches a powerful moment when Emory's friend Dutton appears at the gate of the shut mill, lunch-

pail in hand. He tells the guard, "I've got to work — it's real important to me." But of course the mill is closed and there is no work. As Dutton walks away he stops, stares at the mill, pulls out a gun and blows his head off.

Dutton's tragic death galvanizes the laid-off workers into action — but it also sets the stage for an ending that departs from the realism and serious nature of the rest of the film.

The workers cut through the fence around the mill, fire up the furnaces (accomplishing in a matter of minutes a job that takes hours or days) and prove that they can fill up the loading dock with pipe from wall to wall — a challenge the plant manager had insisted they could never meet.

Along the way Emory exhorts his fellow workers to keep producing despite their exhaustion by unfurling a giant American flag from the top of his overhead crane and moving it up and down the length of the mill.

Following all this and another confrontation with the plant manager, the workers emerge from the mill to the cheers of the town. Emory and two friends get in their truck and head off to another state to look for work.

Behind even this contrived ending with its ineffective, forced use of patriotism, there is a powerful idea that many workers identify with: workers don't need foremen, plant managers, or other bosses — their own labor power is what makes the mill run.

This movie, like any other on U.S. television, has many weaknesses, politically and dramatically. But unlike most others, it also has a powerful message about the prospects for the U.S. working class under capitalism. "Nothing's ever gonna be like it was, Ray, you know that?" Emory tells his friend one night. We got on a dead-end road and never knew it."

Emory's ultimate frustration with his union is also understandable. It has no answers to today's crisis. That the film itself offers no effective answers either is of course true. That it even posed part of the problem made it worth watching.

*Geoff Mirelowitz was a member of the United Steelworkers of America until Bethlehem Steel permanently shut down the pipe mill at its Sparrows Point plant earlier this year.*

## Brink's case defendants win new site for trial

BY STEVE CRAINE

Lawyers for Kathy Boudin won a ruling from a New York appeals court December 2 to relocate her trial from rural Orange County, New York, to White Plains, in the New York metropolitan area. Boudin faces 13 counts of robbery and murder stemming from the 1981 Brink's armored car holdup.

The change of trial site is important to protecting her constitutional right to a fair trial because the state had created a prejudicial atmosphere in Orange County. During the summer, three other defendants in the same case — David Gilbert, Judith Clark, and Kuwesi Balagoon — were tried there amid an exaggerated show of security measures. The defendants were bound hand and foot in the courtroom and taken to and from the building by a convoy of police cars with sirens blasting. Police snipers watched from the courthouse roof.

The sentence imposed on the first three defendants was designed to reinforce this government-created image that they were extremely dangerous criminals. They received the maximum possible sentences — three consecutive terms of 25 years to life. They will not even be eligible for parole for 75 years.

After twice rejecting motions by Boudin's lawyers to change the location of her trial, the appellate court had to admit that an impartial jury could not be found in Orange County. The court there had disqualified over half of the 2,115 prospective jurors interviewed in the preliminary screening process.

This victory for democratic rights comes in the context of the government's attempt to set new precedents that further strip away the constitutional rights of all defendants and prisoners, especially those who

are political activists. Immediately after the robbery and shoot-out, for instance, police and the FBI went on a countryside smear campaign against radicals and Black activists. The cops, with the help of the news media, attempted to link other radical groups to the individuals arrested for the robbery. Those covered by this smear included the Black Liberation Army, Republic of New Africa, Black Panther Party, Irish Republican Army, Puerto Rican FALN, Socialist Workers Party, and the Cuban government.

Boudin herself has been denied bail while spending over two years in prison without having been convicted of anything. Until October, she had been denied contact with other inmates, except for one of her codefendants, and her visitors, including her three-year-old son, have been harassed.

The court is also violating her rights by refusing to separate her trial from that of Sam Brown, who has already turned informer and testified against other defendants in the case. Boudin's lawyers are still attempting to have their trials separated.

### Barricada Internacional

*Barricada Internacional*, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

Send check or money order to:  
Barricada Internacional  
Apdo. No. 576  
Managua, Nicaragua.

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**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369. Tucson: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4094.

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**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.

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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.

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80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

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**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

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**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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**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.



# Bring the U.S. troops home now

U.S. troops should get out of Lebanon now. Two hundred fifty-seven GIs have died since U.S. troops landed in Beirut over a year ago. More will die unless the U.S. government is forced to pull them out.

Washington's war against Syria threatens to broaden and involve large numbers of U.S. ground troops in the confrontation — a conflict that could result in an armed clash with the Soviet Union.

Working people all over the world, and especially in the United States, should speak out against the escalating imperialist war in Lebanon.

The White House claims that the U.S. Marines are on a "peacekeeping" mission, along with the French, Italian, and British troops that make up the 5,400-man multinational combat force. Ships from the U.S. Navy's Sixth Fleet are stationed off Lebanon to "protect" and "defend" the U.S. "peacekeepers," says Reagan.

But this lie is unraveling. The imperialist troops in Lebanon aren't keeping peace, but making war. They're there to defend big-business interests in the entire region — especially the interests of the big oil companies, which reap superprofits through their domination of the Middle East. All four imperialist governments have reaffirmed their commitments to the combat force. Meanwhile, 15,000 Israeli troops still occupy southern Lebanon.

The actual reason the United States and Israel — and their West European allies — are intervening in Lebanon is to bolster the proimperialist government of Amin Gemayel. This regime was imposed on the Lebanese people by the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion in the summer of 1982, and is rejected by the majority of Lebanese workers and peasants. Opposition to the rightist regime comes especially from the Druse and Moslem population — who are the majority of Lebanese — because they are discriminated against by the country's current political setup.

Gemayel's rule is tenuous at best. Trying to extend and stabilize his regime has been a major aim of the U.S. government.

The Bekaa Valley in eastern Lebanon and much of northern Lebanon is controlled by the Syrian government, which has 40,000 troops in the country. This is a major obstacle to imperialism consolidating its hold on Lebanon. Therefore, forcing Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to withdraw his troops has been a major goal of Gemayel and his imperialist backers.

In addition, Washington and its allies have sought to

crush the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which is the organized expression of the Palestinian struggle for national self-determination and is in the vanguard of the Arab revolution as a whole.

So far the imperialists have failed to achieve these goals.

What will it take to stabilize the rightist Gemayel regime? Large-scale war. This prospect has caused hesitation on the part of some U.S. ruling-class spokespeople.

The editors of the *New York Daily News*, for example, wrote on December 6 that "We have to get out of Lebanon, now." They went on to warn that driving the Syrian troops out of Lebanon won't be easy. "Bombing doesn't work. We tried it in Vietnam. *We need a few hundred thousand troops on the ground*, and that is the road Reagan has set his feet on." (Emphasis added.)

In a December 7 editorial entitled "Out by New Year's," the *New York Times* said "It's time to pull them out while their losses can be reckoned in hundreds."

Despite such hesitations the Reagan administration is barreling ahead on its war course. The U.S. rulers have no choice but to do so. They are determined to establish a stable puppet regime in Beirut capable of defending U.S. interests, which will require a qualitative escalation in U.S. involvement there.

Working people learned from Washington's invasion of Grenada that the U.S. ruling class *will* use its troops to try to crush workers and farmers who rise up against imperialist rule.

Workers have no interest in supporting Washington's wars — neither in the Middle East nor in Central America. That's why antiwar sentiment in the United States is deepest among workers, especially Black workers.

But sentiment isn't enough. It must be organized and mobilized to be effective. It will take the power of an independent and fighting labor movement to stop Washington's wars.

Trade unionists — particularly Black, Latino, and Arab workers — should demand that their unions and the AFL-CIO speak out against the U.S. war in Lebanon and mobilize labor's might against Washington's policies. Through active participation in discussions on the U.S. war — by leafletting, petitioning, organizing speaking tours, and presenting resolutions in union locals (as did the Palestine solidarity activist in Canada interviewed on page 14) — working people can be mobilized in support of the Arab peoples' struggle against imperialist domination and demand: U.S. troops out of Lebanon now!

# More doubletalk on El Salvador

It is not yet 1984 but the U.S. government has again turned to Orwellian doublespeak in an attempt to justify its Central American war policies.

First President Reagan vetoed legislation that required him to certify to Congress that "human rights progress" is being made in El Salvador, as a qualification for sending further aid to that country's brutal, U.S.-client regime.

Then Reagan explained to a group of students that he took this step out of his deep concern for human rights! The problem is one "I've never said aloud before," said Reagan confidentially on cable television. He voiced his "suspicions" that the right-wing death squad violence that has led to the murder of tens of thousands of Salvadorans might actually be committed by "guerrilla forces . . . trying to bring down the government." The leftists, said Reagan, could be murdering people themselves because they know "the right wing will be blamed for it."

This "theory" is utterly false. The death squads are an extra-legal arm of the Salvadoran government and its U.S. backers. Roberto D'Aubuisson, president of El Sal-

vador's Constituent Assembly, is widely acknowledged to be responsible for directing much of their murderous activity.

The latest Reagan action, however, is no sharp shift in U.S. policy. The human rights "certification" was never anything but a sham. Despite escalating governmental violence against Salvadoran workers and peasants, the Reagan administration continued to certify to Congress that "progress" was being made and Democrats and Republicans alike continued to approve military aid.

Whatever "debate" occurred in Congress, like the phony debate about whether or not to provide aid to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries carrying out terrorist acts against the population of that country, was simply meant to obscure the fact that the U.S. war in Central America is growing. After the "debate" is over, the aid is inevitably sent.

Reagan's latest justifications may sound foolish, but he is no fool and neither are his Congressional cohorts who back this war. The need for effective action to stop it is more pressing than ever.

# The execution of Robert Sullivan

When they finally got to it, the members of the Supreme Court acted with indecent haste in expediting the electrocution in Florida of Robert Austin Sullivan.

Sullivan died in the chair November 30 after 10 years of incarceration. He was on death row longer than any other victim.

The order to kill Sullivan had been by the 12-member 11th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Less than 24 hours later on November 30, the Supreme Court voted 7-2 to deny Sullivan a stay of execution that would have permitted him the opportunity for further review.

The governor of Florida and the courts even brushed aside a last-minute plea by the pope to spare Sullivan.

In registering his concurrence with the killing of Sullivan, Supreme Court Justice Warren Burger made a vicious attack on the condemned man's lawyers.

Burger brazenly declared that "The arguments so often advanced . . . that capital punishment is cruel and unusual is dwarfed by the cruelty of 10 years on death row," which was, assertedly, the responsibility of the lawyers who tried to save Sullivan from the chair.

Burger was apparently riled that Sullivan, unlike most

death row inmates, was fortunate enough to have lawyers willing and able to fight for him.

Burger's defamation of lawyers for doing their job is particularly ugly in that Sullivan, from start to finish, insisted he was innocent.

He was convicted after a codefendant testified against him in exchange for a lighter sentence.

Sullivan was one of 1,230 people currently condemned to death in this country. He was the ninth to die since the Supreme Court in 1976 lifted its ban of several years' standing on capital punishment.

The death penalty has never prevented violent crime and is not intended to.

The wealthy capitalists who run these United States are determined to meet any and all challenges to their rule, by any means necessary. They use executions, and the publicity surrounding them, to terrorize and intimidate working people, particularly members of oppressed nationalities.

Capital punishment is used by the ruling rich to help protect a social system that fosters mass unemployment, poverty, inequality, racism, war, and brutality.

The death penalty should be abolished.

# Maurice Bishop speaks: must respond to U.S. offensive

The following is an excerpt of a speech by Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop who was murdered October 19. It is from the opening address to the meeting of the Socialist International's Latin American and Caribbean Committee, held in Grenada July 23-24, 1981.

A collection of over 20 speeches by and interviews with Bishop is scheduled for publication by Pathfinder Press later this month.

We believe that this meeting at this historical juncture is significant because it is being held at a time when there

# OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

are determined popular uprisings in Latin America and the Caribbean. The fundamental character of these upheavals is that they are the people's cry; the people's fight for democracy; for democratic participation and decision-making; for world peace and genuine development; for justice and for the overthrow of bankrupt, decadent, colonial, neocolonial, and imperialist domination.

This meeting comes at a time when not only our region, but the world in general is facing a tremendously difficult period. The present United States administration, as all of us know only too well, is set at this point on trying once again to rule the world; on trying once again to dominate the region totally; on trying once again to reintroduce an atmosphere and a position of cold war in this region and in the world. The desperate attempts we have seen recently to launch a mini-Marshall Plan, together with the numerous special trips to this region by U.S. government officials instigating Caribbean disunity and trying to bring about the isolation of the Grenada government and people; the increases in military, paramilitary, and so-called security aid in the form of credits and otherwise; the near-panic rush to give unlimited license to the private sector in the region; the numerous spy flights, certainly over countries like Grenada; the increase in military intelligence and other covert action; the open and active wooing of select Caribbean leaders; the increased CIA support for industrial, political, and counterrevolutionary action in some capitals — all of these, I think, can help to underline the present massive offensive which is being made against the Caribbean region at this time.

Apart from the usual problems that we face — problems associated with unseasonal weather, hurricanes, the outbreak of disease — over and above all of that, certainly the major problem in the region today, on the economic as on the political front, is the question of United States imperialism and the exploitation that imperialism continues to impose on the people of this region. The blatant, the vulgar, the crude attempts to try to stop the peaceful and progressive development of the region can certainly be laid firmly and squarely at the door of imperialism.

This has taken several different forms. One aspect of it is propaganda destabilization, and there has been a really massive campaign going on for the past six months in particular. This is also true on the economic front.

Not only has the American government moved to block assistance to our government, but even to the banana farmers in our country — banana farmers who belong to a Caribbean association called the Windward Islands Banana Association made up of Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada. Through this association, a request for hurricane rehabilitation assistance was made and that assistance was given only on the condition that Grenada was excluded!

We have seen this also through successful attempts by them to get the World Bank not to approve capital programs for our country, programs that are undoubtedly very sound technically. We have seen it also in U.S. attempts to stop the International Monetary Fund from giving an extended fund facility to our country.

Attempts are now being made by the United States to block whatever sources of funds or possibilities of technical assistance we can obtain from different regional and international agencies or organizations. Truly what we are now experiencing is an all-out economic aggression plan, a plan of total economic warfare directed against our country.

We must believe very strongly that the time has now come when we must move to elevate the question of propaganda destabilization, of economic aggression, of mercenary invasion or the threat of mercenary invasion, to the same level that world public opinion has already elevated the question of the direct landing of marines. The time has now come, in our view, when international public opinion must be so mobilized that not only when marines land in somebody else's territory, but also when there is evidence of a systematic and concerted plan of propaganda destabilization, of economic aggression, or of political and industrial destabilization, or of mercenary threat, there must also be a great outcry.



# Murders in Puerto Rico spawned by U.S. rule

The following article appeared in the "Nuestro América" column of the Dec. 12, 1983, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

More than five years ago two young *independentistas* were murdered in what the police and government of Puerto Rico alleged was an armed confrontation with the police. The cops claimed the two Puerto Rican activists, Carlos Soto Arrivi and Arnaldo Darío Rosado, were try-

see article in October 21 *Militant*.)

On November 22, after a long investigation by the Puerto Rican Senate, the same Gov. Romero Barceló, trying to save his own neck, revealed that in a closed session of the hearings two cops described how Soto Arrivi and Darío Rosado were riddled with bullets after surrendering and kneeling on the ground with their hands in the air.

The responsibility of the Puerto Rican and U.S. governments is unquestionable. A coverup of such magnitude, lasting for five years and throughout numerous official investigations can't be only the work of a handful of police. The Senate brought to light too many contradictions and "errors" in previous investigations. They cannot be explained with a mere "they deceived us," as Romero Barceló and his supporters in the New Progressive Party (PNP) now claim.

Heads will roll, possibly the governor's, as some call for resignations and others demand the initiation of impeachment proceedings.

But the problem goes far beyond a bunch of functionaries and police. At bottom it is the colonial reality of the island. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. All of its governmental institutions are merely appendages of the U.S. government. They serve one end: to preserve the colony by repressing the workers and independence movements. The main opposition party to Romero Barceló's government, the Popular Democratic

Party (PPD) — which now boasts of being an opposition just because of the role it played in the Senate investigations — didn't hesitate to unleash the entire repressive apparatus to defend colonial rule over the island when it occupied the governor's residence.

The police apparatus of Puerto Rico can't be "purified" by the much-deserved head-rolling that will result from the Maravilla case. Its function, like that of every police force in a capitalist state (and in this case a colonized one as well), is that of repressing working people. The murders on Cerro Maravilla come from the same people who brought us the imprisonment of independence activists through the use of the federal grand juries; the same people who maintain under direct military occupation 13 percent of Puerto Rican territory, including the island of Vieques, utilizing it as a base for the aggression in Central America and the Caribbean.

It is the same people who order the repression of strikes in the United States and the arrest of unionists on false charges of "terrorism," who protect the cops that murder the defenseless Black and Latino people in our cities.

However guilty Romero Barceló and his subordinates are — and of their guilt there can be no doubt — we should remember that in the final analysis the Puerto Rican officials are nothing more than employees of the main murderer, the common enemy of working people in Puerto Rico and the United States, U.S. imperialism.

## AS I SEE IT

ing to sabotage a television tower on Cerro Maravilla, a hill near the city of Ponce, at the time of the killings.

In 1978 the governor of Puerto Rico, Carlos Romero Barceló, rushed to congratulate the police for their "heroism." Investigations carried out by the Puerto Rican and U.S. governments absolved the cops involved of all guilt.

But there remained too many questions. Nor were the Puerto Rican people convinced by the police account of what happened. Contradictions arose between the police version and other eyewitness accounts. (For more details

## LETTERS

### Mislabeled photo

The *Militant* has enjoyed a reputation for accurate reporting of events, both current and historical, and for accurate captions accompanying illustrations. Hence, I was surprised to see a photo in the *Militant* of November 25 (accompanying the excellent article by Farrell Dobbs) wrongly captioned as to time, place, and identification of individuals in the photo.

The caption on page 11 states, "At right, bosses' deputized goons arrive to attack Teamsters pickets in 1934 battle to make Minneapolis a union town." The only correct thing in this caption is that it is a strike scene.

The facts: The photo is of the Ornamental Iron Co. strike of 1935. The pickets are ironworkers. Those depicted as "deputized goons" actually are Teamsters Local 574 members arriving to beef up the picket line. They include Kelly Postal, George Frosig, George Vines (seen clobbering a scab), Happy Holstein, Elmer Hansen, and Jack Maloney (*Teamster Power*, Dobbs, pp 89-97).

When Ray Dunne stayed with us in 1967 he marked up our copy of *American City* by Charles Walker (from which this photo is taken) with the names of the participants. He was very proud of the role his union had played in winning the ironworkers strike, which lasted 74 days and cost the lives of two pickets.

For the *Militant* to mistakenly label these worker militants, many of whom were Trotskyists, as "deputized goons" is an error that merits a speedy correction.

Also, in the *Militant* of October 28, a review of the film *Labor's Turning Point* mentions Happy Holstein as a veteran of the 1934 Minneapolis strike. That he was. But I would like to add that he turned fink in 1941 and testified for the government against Dobbs, Dunne, Cannon, and others in the famous Minneapolis "Sedition" Trial. (Source: "The Industrial Organizer," Nov. 15, 1941, newspaper of the Minneapolis Teamsters Union.)

Furthermore, Rich Stuart, the reviewer, is overlooking the historic fact that Trotskyists led the 1934 Minneapolis strike. Stuart calls Farrell Dobbs a "revolutionary communist" strike leader. That Dobbs certainly was. But, of the American Trotskyist variety, a special breed.

Asher Harer  
San Francisco, California

### Coverage one-sided

Curiously, your staff covered the U.S. invasion of Grenada in intense editorial detail. Naturally, yours is an editorial publication, designed primarily to sway a segment of the U.S. population to rally around the socialist cause. While this is an admirable and constitutional venture, I find the *Militant* curious because it does not give the readership a full accounting of similar missteps undertaken by a number of other countries. Although, granted, I have only seen one issue of the *Militant*, I found no mention of the Soviet adventure continuing in Afghanistan against workers and peasants, nor the Vietnamese plunder of Kampuchea and their violations of the Thai border, to name just two examples.

Nevertheless, kudos are due the *Militant* and staff for the report on the threats to Black colleges in Mississippi. A sound constitution and a strong free press are the power behind important moves like the ones undertaken by the NAACP, et al. against the Mississippi College Board.

I am not taking sides here, rather noting how your organization can be a force for positive change.

Erik Derfler  
Red Lion, Pa.

### Cuba visit

Going to Cuba was a dream come true for me. The Cuban people possess an interesting combination of qualities. They have managed to instill in themselves a tremendous amount of pride without acquiring any of the negativities of ethnocentrism. Despite their many hardships they still have a great sense of humor, which is the greatest test of character and stamina.

I was proud to work side by side with such courageous people. In sharing other aspects of their lives with them, I was briefly interwoven into the social fiber of the country. Even though my knowledge of Spanish and international politics is limited, I never felt alienated among them.

Talking to people on the beaches and on the streets of Havana was like talking to members of a huge family, their concern for others was so sincere. When they spoke of people of struggling nations such as El Salvador, Angola, and Palestine, it was as though they were talking about their own cousins. I felt such a strong sense of inter-

nationalism. Their fellowship to others and their solidarity with struggling countries is quickly becoming their hallmark.

As a sociologist it was quite an educational experience for me to observe abstract words and theories come to life. Observing a system that recognizes rather than ignores the rights of people was like examining a society with an anthropologist's fascination for a lost city.

It sounded strange to hear Cubans refer to their country as "underdeveloped." I was so intrigued with the social progress that I almost forgot that I was in a Third World country that is still developing economically and lacks material goods (thanks to the U.S. blockade).

The enthusiasm of a million marchers on May Day and the enchantment of the Sierra Maestra range left deep impressions on me. I relish the thought of revisiting this island.

Anita Quintanilla  
San Francisco, Calif.

### New Calendar

"The 1984 Calendar: An American History" is a very powerful and relevant document of the erosion of each individual's control over her/his life. The calendar has received much praise from the American Civil Liberties Union, Congress of Racial Equality, and Bernard Crick (George Orwell's biographer). In *These Times* has termed it "The political calendar" for 1984.

The powers that be in this land of the free have also taken an interest in this document — the authors' mail has been tampered with throughout the past year. Publishing houses large enough to handle the calendar wouldn't touch it. In response to this, Point Blank Press was formed so that Tim Keefe and Howard Levine's work could be disseminated to the public.

We hope you will help us alert people as to the calendar's availability so that they may examine for themselves how close our society is to an Orwellian 1984.

Liz Nemeth  
Point Blank Press  
P.O. Box 30123  
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(517) 351-6256

### Boston Boycott

On September 16, 150 members of United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) Local 592 at Columbia



By Jim Borgman for the Cincinnati Enquirer

Meatpacking Co. were locked out.

A decade ago, Local 592 had 1,500 members. Ten years of recession coupled with attacks on the meatcutters by the bosses and their government whittled the local down to 300 people by last February. At that time, Columbia filed for bankruptcy. One hundred fifty workers were fired and the remainder were forced to accept a cut in wages and benefits.

It was in this framework that the sale of Columbia to the Agar Corp., an antiunion outfit, was announced. Alan Bressler, president of Agar, told the *Boston Globe* that when he bought Columbia he bought only the physical assets — the building, brand names, and machines. The employees of Columbia are not the employees of Agar; Columbia ceased to exist on September 16.

On September 18, jobs were advertised in the *Globe* at half the old rate of pay. Applicants were asked if they were willing to cross a picket line. If they were not, their applications were torn up. No member of the UFCW was hired by Agar.

Since then, UFCW Local 592 has maintained a daily picket line of 50. Their demands are for

reinstatement with seniority rights (many had worked for Columbia for over 20 years) and union recognition.

Peter Glace  
Boston, Mass.

### Corrections

In some copies of the December 9 *Militant* a page 20 headline erroneously indicated that a Monterey, California, union activist, Ken Collins, had been fired by the Hyatt Del Monte Hotel. The hotel had suspended him for two weeks and charges of arson brought against him were dismissed for insufficient evidence.

In the November 25 issue, a page 11 caption misidentified a photograph from a Minneapolis Teamsters strike. The letter from Asher Harer above provides the correct information regarding the photograph.

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.



## N.Y. rally: Stop Marroquin deportation!

Noted figures demand asylum for victimized socialist

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Unity and solidarity in opposition to Washington's reactionary policies at home and abroad. These were the themes of a rally here in defense of Héctor Marroquín, who faces deportation to Mexico because of his socialist views.

An undocumented immigrant, Marroquín fled political persecution in his native Mexico. His plea for political asylum was denied by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and his appeal is currently pending before the Supreme Court.

The court is holding his case in abeyance while considering another it sees as similar. It heard arguments December 6 in the Stevic case. Stevic is a Yugoslav national seeking asylum here with the argument he would face persecution if returned.

Marroquín's case has broad implications for the hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans and other refugees from right-wing regimes supported by Washington. The Reagan administration, and the Democrats, are opposed to granting asylum to these many refugees because doing so would constitute an indictment of their support to these dictatorial regimes.

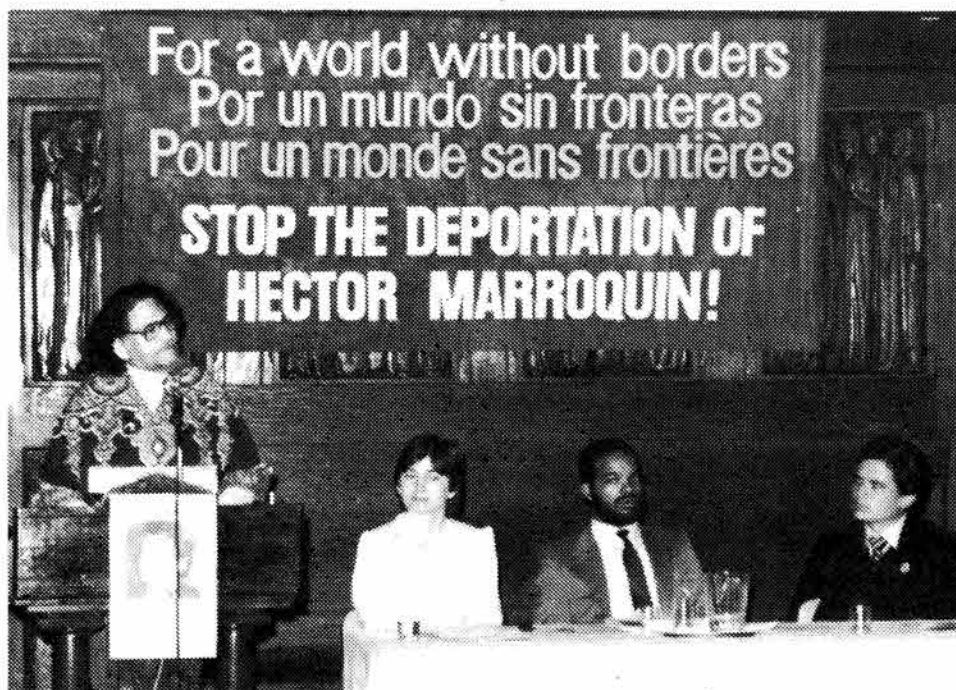
Marroquín has been on a nationwide speaking tour which has won substantial support for his fight. The tour is slated to wind up with a major rally in Washington, D.C., February 5.

The rally here featured an unusually broad array of speakers united around a key issue of democratic rights.

These included Kathy Andrade, educational director, Local 23-25, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Iván Escobar, a founding member of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador; Dennis Brutus, the Black South African apartheid foe; and General Vann, representing the former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, Eddie Carthan.

Joining them were Joseph Etienne of the Haitian Center Council of New York; anti-war ex-marine James Stryffeler; Marshall Perlin, attorney for Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; and Margie O'Rourke, whose husband Michael, an Irish freedom fighter, is jailed here; and William Henning, an official of Communications Workers Local 1180.

The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, the National Immigration Project of the National



Militant/Lou Howort  
South African apartheid foe Dennis Brutus addresses New York rally. Seated are Priscilla Schenk and Harold Massey, who cochaired meeting, and (right) Héctor Marroquín.

Lawyers Guild, and the Center for Immigration Rights.

The rally was cochaired by Harold Massey of the United Methodist Church, and Marroquín's wife, Priscilla Schenk.

In a powerful speech, Marroquín branded U.S. immigration policy as "racist, reactionary, and antilabor."

He explained, "It is a tool for anticommunist propaganda designed to cover up the brutal misery and oppression that a great part of humanity suffers under imperialist domination."

Citing the mounting number of undemocratic denials of asylum claims, coupled with the refusal of visas to those who might express dissident views here, Marroquín linked these attacks on democratic rights to the U.S. war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

"The Reagan administration," he angrily declared, "says it is trying to prevent the proliferation of 'Cuban model' states in the hemisphere. But the fact is that our people in the hemisphere, and around the world, are tired of 'Washington model' states, the 'Pinochet model,' the 'Guatemala model,' 'El Salvador model,' 'Haiti model.'"

It is these Washington-supported models, he charged, "which are responsible for the existing misery and terrible oppression which forces our people to flee our homelands."

Expressing his appreciation for the significant labor support extended to his anti-deportation fight, Marroquín urged that labor extend the hand of solidarity to workers beyond the U.S. borders in the fight against deportations and against the U.S. war drive.

Iván Escobar told the rally of his own fight against U.S. moves to deport him back to El Salvador where he faces almost certain death. Of the five people who were founding members of the Human Rights Commission in El Salvador, only he and one other survive. The other three fell victim to El Salvador's right-wing death squads.

In his country, Escobar said, "poverty, hunger, tyranny, repression, and violence," prevail. He now faces deportation, he continued, because he has insisted on telling the truth about the repression there and because "I am saying that the United States is deeply involved in the denial of

human rights" in his country.

"Peace, freedom, and justice," he declared, are essential not only in El Salvador, but in this country as well. And, he added, it will not be achieved because we ask for it. In both countries, it must be fought for.

Kathy Andrade, a leader of the largest single local in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and also of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, made a strong plea for support for Marroquín. His case, she declared, is "the most important" of its kind now pending in the courts. "It is a test and a challenge. We must fight for Héctor" because he represents the future of Haitians, Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and Chileans who are also demanding refuge here.

For that reason, she declared, she was present to reaffirm the stand of her union in support of Marroquín.

The meeting heard a stirring fightback call from Dennis Brutus. Poet and professor, he was driven from South Africa by the apartheid regime that had earlier jailed him.

In this country, he continued to speak out against the racist regime in Pretoria and the criminal support to it by Washington. For that, moves were initiated to deport him on a flimsy technicality. For two years he fought for his right to political asylum here and won such broad support that a federal judge ruled last September that if deported he would indeed be "a prime target" of the South African government and ordered he be granted asylum.

Urging support for Marroquín, Brutus declared that the fight against deportations was part of the fight for democratic rights within the United States. And, pointing to the victory achieved in his own case, he firmly declared, "If there is mobilization, if there is organization, if there is understanding of the nature of the attack and, most important, a conviction that we can fight and win" then victory for those upholding peace and justice can be achieved.

Solidarity with Marroquín's case by embattled Mississippi rights fighters was brought to the rally by General Vann of Tchula. A leading figure in the movement there, Vann spoke for Eddie Carthan who had recently been released from prison after strong local and national protest.

Carthan had been railroaded to jail after

Continued on Page 15

## Racist officials try to block St. Louis busing

BY HELEN SAVIO

ST. LOUIS — Officials of the state, county, and city governments — in addition to the U.S. Justice Department — are trying to block implementation of a school desegregation plan here. The plan calls for a voluntary busing program to achieve racial balance in schools throughout St. Louis County.

In 1972 a Black parents' group, Concerned Parents of North St. Louis, filed suit in federal court against city and state officials, demanding an end to school segregation. Racist forces in the city opposed the suit.

In 1979 the federal court ruled against the Black parents, but that decision was overturned by an appeals court in 1980. In that decision the court suggested that the St. Louis schools could be desegregated through a "voluntary" plan.

While the plan has drawbacks, racist opposition to it threatens Black educational gains.

In his opening speech to the special session of the Missouri state legislature on October 20, Gov. Christopher Bond said he

was forced by U.S. District Court Judge William Hungate to ask for a \$150 million tax increase. The federal judge assessed the state and city governments to pay for the St. Louis school desegregation plan he is overseeing.

Bond claims the judge has no authority to assess the state since there has not been a "true finding of liability against us."

Judge Hungate is expected to bill the state \$61.5 million for the current fiscal year and \$82.4 million for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1984. That this amount of money is needed to implement the desegregation plan and to modestly improve education in the remaining all-Black schools shows the magnitude of the state's neglect.

This landmark decision was handed down by Judge Hungate on July 5, 1983. It was a milestone in the history of the struggle to desegregate the St. Louis public schools. On this date Judge Hungate accepted a plan for voluntary, interdistrict desegregation of the St. Louis and 23 county school districts.

The points in this plan, which is supposed to go into effect during the current school year, are that: 1. a minimum of

15,000 Black city students would transfer to county schools within five years; 2. another 20,000 students, 40-60 percent Blacks, are to participate in magnet schools in the city and county; and, 3. county school districts that meet their quota after five years would be freed from court supervision after two more years and would not be subject to further litigation.

Soon after Judge Hungate's July ruling, the state and St. Louis county governments filed motions to delay the start of the city-county desegregation plan. Missouri Attorney General John Ashcroft wants to get a higher court ruling on the plan's financial aspects. Judge Hungate denied these motions, but St. Louis County has already appealed his ruling and the state government followed with its own appeal.

The city government also asked the judge to delay implementation of the plan. Judge Hungate has prohibited the rollback in school property taxes, which was passed in the November elections. The city's request was also denied by Hungate.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Justice Department, which was, at one point, a plaintiff in the desegregation suit, has intervened to

try to scuttle the plan. On October 19 the department issued a brief asking the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to order Judge Hungate to hold a hearing on whether the desegregation plan has been "properly tailored to eliminate" segregation in the city's schools. The brief says the judge's order "appears to exceed the measures needed."

The city and state governments here had asked the appeals court to issue an immediate "stay" order to halt the entire plan until the court can consider whether the plan's financing is legal. This was denied on September 30. However, the court ruling did freeze the number of city transferees to St. Louis county schools, leaving about 1,900 applicants on waiting lists and impairing the plan.

Arguments regarding the legality of Judge Hungate's ruling on financing the desegregation plan were heard on November 28. A decision is expected in January. If a ruling is made that does not favor the state, Attorney General Ashcroft has already made it clear the state will appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.