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U.S. Hands Off Grenada!

Grenadians, Cubans Resist Attack on Revolution



Marines in Puerto Rico during 1981 practice invasion of Grenada.

Grenada Features

- Workers and Farmers Government **Devastated by Executions**
- Cuba: 'No Crime Must be Committed in the Name of Revolution'

United States

Unions Face **Ruling Class Assault**

U.S. out of Grenada!

By Cindy Jaquith

In the first such airborne invasion since Vietnam, nearly 2,000 U.S. Marines and Army Rangers stormed the tiny island of Grenada October 25. This naked and unprovoked aggression reveals the hatred of the U.S. ruling class for the example Grenada set in 1979, when it became the first Black country in the world to carry out a socialist revolution.

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

In the United States, thousands took to the streets to demand that U.S. troops be withdrawn from Grenada immediately. Thousands more will do so November 12, when a demonstration is scheduled for Washington, D.C., to protest U.S. wars in Central America and the Caribbean.

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

Example of revolution

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

the legacy of poverty, hunger, and illiteracy left by centuries of colonial and capitalist rule.

In the short time since 1979, the Grenadian government slashed unemployment from 49 percent to less than 14 percent.

Thousands of acres of idle land were made available to small farmers, who also received free equipment, fertilizer, and seed.

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

Democratic councils were established all over the island. They, together with mass organizations of women, workers, farmers, and youth, discussed all new measures proposed by the government.

The Grenadian government also advanced the world struggle of working people, declaring its solidarity in action with the struggles of workers and peasants in the Caribbean, Central America, South Africa, and the United States.

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

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

Resistance to invasion

In the first two days of the invasion, Washington reported it had taken both airports, the power station, and the radio station. Many Grenadians died defending their homeland. Dozens of Cuban construction workers — in Grenada to help build a new airport — also fell in the combat, fighting side-by-side with their Grenadian comrades. Six U.S. marines were

reported killed. Hundreds of Cubans, some 30 Soviet officials and technicians, and an unknown number of Grenadians were taken prisoner.

Despite boasts of the "complete success" of the operation, Washington was clearly taken aback by the willingness of the Grenadian and Cuban workers to fight to the death against this imperialist aggression. In the front lines of this heroic resistance were the Cubans. A CBS television news report October 26 said the marines were "stopped cold" when they ran into armed Cubans near the new airport site. It took 1,000 marines — fighting for over a day and backed by aircraft and heavy artillery — to defeat fewer than 700 Cubans.

The Cuban government announced midday October 26 that the Cuban resistance had ended. Earlier, the government explained its decisions on how it would respond to the invasion. Radio Havana reported that on October 25, President Fidel Castro announced that Grenadian authorities had asked Cuba to send fighters to help repel the impending invasion. According to Radio Havana the Cuban government responded "that it was impossible to accede to this request, for political and military reasons that were absolutely unfavorable to the organizing of a prolonged resistance."

Do not surrender

At the same time, the radio station reported Castro said that those Cubans in Grenada "should remain at their posts of work and should defend themselves if attacked by invading forces, despite the chilling of relations between Cuba and Grenada."

Radio Havana announced later that day, as the invasion was under way, that the U.S. invaders had taken Cubans hostages and demanded that all other Cubans surrender. The chief of the Cuban personnel indicated they would not surrender under any circumstances and that they awaited instructions from the Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro.

The Cuban government wired back immediately: "We congratulate your heroic resistance. The Cuban people are proud of you. Do not surrender under any circumstances. If the enemy sends a spokesperson, listen to him and immediately transmit his point of view."

The Cubans in Grenada responded: "Commander-in-Chief, we will carry out your orders and we will not surrender. ¡Patria o muerte! [Homeland or death]"

The following morning, at a predawn news conference, Castro declared: "The valiant Cuban construction workers have written a beautiful page in history and waged a battle for the small countries of the world against imperialist military aggression. They have also fought for the Americas and for their own homeland, as if there in Grenada they were defending the first trenches of the liberty and sovereignty of Cuba."

Castro also reported that the Cuban government had taken emergency steps prior to the U.S. invasion to prevent it. It had appealed directly to U.S. diplomatic personnel and of-

Special issue of IP

This issue of *Intercontinental Press* is a departure from our normal fortnightly schedule, appearing one week after our previous issue.

We felt the dramatic turn of events in Grenada — the killings of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and his comrades, followed by the U.S. invasion of that country — was of such importance to the future of the world revolution, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean, that a special effort on our part was called for. We wanted to get the available facts, documentation, and political analysis of these events

to our readers in as timely a manner as possible.

For our subscribers, this issue will be in addition to their regular subscription.

Our next issue will be published in one week, resuming our regular schedule. In addition to more coverage of Grenada, it will include the first of three parts of an interview with Commander Jaime Wheelock, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), on the current stage of the Nicaraguan revolution.

fered to cooperate in any way possible to safely evacuate North Americans and other non-Grenadians so as to avoid violence and intervention.

Washington spurned this proposal for peace and never even reported it to the American people — because the U.S. rulers had already decided on their criminal aggression, regardless of the loss of life suffered by U.S. citizens, Grenadians, or Cubans.

The staggering military force sent against the 110,000 people of Grenada includes 1,900 U.S. Marines and Army Rangers backed up by AC-130 airplane gunships and a dozen warships, including the aircraft carrier *Independence*, with some 70 combat planes aboard. In addition, 300 troops have been sent in by the island nations of Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Christopher–Nevis.

Grenada has an army of only 1,200, and a few thousand militia members.

U.S. 'law and order'

The invasion was kept secret from the American people until it was four hours under way. President Reagan then held a news conference, defending the aggression by claiming that "American lives are at stake" (referring to U.S. students at St. George's University School of Medicine in Grenada), that several East Caribbean nations had called on Washington to act, and that the United States had to assist "in a joint effort to restore order and democracy on the island of Grenada."

The idea that this murderous assault had anything to do with protecting the U.S. students was immediately denounced by the chancellor of the medical school himself, Dr. Charles Modica. He reported that prior arrangements had been made with the U.S. State Department and Canadian authorities to peacefully remove the students. The invasion plans were kept secret from him. If anyone were hurt in the assault, he declared, Reagan "should be held accountable." (Modica withdrew his statement a day later after the State Department called him in for a meeting.)

The participation of a few dozen troops from each of the Caribbean islands offered only the thinnest cover for what is a war made in the U.S.A. The Caribbean troops were not even brought into Grenada until U.S. Marines had secured certain sites. More important, since Grenada became the first Caribbean nation to carry out a socialist revolution, Washington has been arranging joint military treaties, organizing combat exercises, and conducting other operations with the governments of these nations to facilitiate exactly such an invasion. It was recently exposed, for example, that the CIA has been training Barbadian troops in Washington, D.C.

The "order and democracy" U.S. Marines are bringing the Grenadian people — "law and order" said Secretary of State George Shultz — reminds one of the "order" brought to Black communities in the United States in the rebellions against racist oppression during the

1960s and 1970s. "Law and order" at the point of a bayonet, or inflicted by club-swinging, trigger-happy cops.

The fact is, Reagan, in total violation of Grenada's sovereign right to self-determination, has invaded the island nation to wipe out the working-class law and order conquered over the past four and a half years by the Grenadian people, under the leadership of the New Jewel Movement. The kind of law and order where the needs and interests of the toiling masses come first, where their rights are enforced against the tiny minority that owns the banks, businesses, and landed estates.

When a sharp dispute split the New Jewel Movement leadership several weeks ago, culminating in the overthrow of the Bishop-led government and the assassination of central leaders of the revolution, Washington seized on this giant blow to maximize the damage it could do to the revolution in Grenada and worldwide.

Disinformation campaign

An international disinformation campaign was swiftly organized to confuse, disarm, and disrupt the workers movement on a world scale in the face of these tragic events. "News stories" flourished about Bishop being ousted by "hardliners" and "Marxists" because he was allegedly not moving "fast enough" in the construction of a socialist society. The Cuban and Soviet governments were charged — without a shred of proof — with organizing the anti-Bishop campaign, his murder, and the overthrow of his government.

When a new military council declared it was replacing the Bishop-led government, the im-

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perialists tried to portray it as Marxist. The goal was to poison the minds of working people as to what genuine Marxism stands for, to paint it as violent, dictatorial, and against the interests of world humanity.

The government and Communist Party of Cuba issued a major statement October 20 answering these lies, setting straight Cuba's role in the Grenada events, and clarifying for the world what genuine Marxism, communism, stands for. (See page 634.)

Explaining that on principle they had not intervened at all in the Grenada events, the statement declared that "Bishop was among the political leaders who most enjoyed sympathy and respect among our people.... No doctrine, no principle, or position held up as revolutionary, and no internal division justifies atrocious proceedings like the physical elimination of Bishop and the outstanding group of honest and worthy leaders killed...."

The Cubans warned: "Imperialism will now try to make use of this tragedy and the grave errors committed by the Grenadian revolutionaries in order to sweep away the revolutionary process in Grenada and subject it once again to neocolonial and imperial domination.... Only a miracle ... can still salvage the process."

Nicaraguans march

The government of Nicaragua — like Cuba — denounced the invasion of Grenada and pointed to the danger of a regionwide war and imperialist intervention in their own territory. In Washington, one high Defense Department official admitted that the attack on Grenada was also aimed at Nicaraguans, saying he hoped they would "get the message."

But the people of Nicaragua had their own message for Washington — they will not back down one iota from their solidarity with their comrades in Grenada, El Salvador, and around the world, nor will they retreat one inch from defending their country and revolution. Thirty thousand Nicaraguans marched in the capital city of Managua October 25, pouring out of factories and office buildings to protest the assault on Grenada. "Here, or there, the Yankees are going to die!" they chanted.

Nicaraguan government coordinator Daniel Ortega told the crowd that the attack on Grenada confirmed that Washington plans a wider war. The Nicaraguan government "is aware of plans by the CIA to provoke military attacks and bombings against economic objectives in both Honduras and Costa Rica," he reported. "These plans are set to be carried out in the short term, and their aim is to provide a pretext for unleashing greater aggression against Nicaragua."

Sharing the platform with Ortega was Dessima Williams, who has been Grenada's ambassador to the Organization of American States. Condemning the aggression against her homeland, she pointed out that imperialism hated Maurice Bishop and the Grenadian revolution, and she expressed her solidarity with the revolution in Nicaragua.

The imperialist invasion of Grenada and the danger of it spreading throughout Central America and the Caribbean poses a major challenge to the U.S. labor movement. How should it respond?

A criminal example of what not to do was given by the officialdom of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. trade-union federation. On October 20, in the wake of the assassination of Bishop, the AFL-CIO released a statement aimed at providing labor cover for Reagan's impending invasion.

Shedding crocodile tears for the slain Bishop, the statement then falsely charged his government with "denial of human and trade union rights." It called his overthrow by military figures a "communist purge." It continued, "The AFL-CIO calls upon the democratic governments and private institutions of the civilized world to take every possible action to castigate and condemn the lawless military regime."

Labor protests needed

Everyone in the labor movement opposed to U.S. intervention should repudiate this treacherous statement, made not in the interests of U.S. workers, but U.S. big business and its government. The best way to do so is to join immediately in the protests demanding that U.S. troops be withdrawn immediately from Grenada. Labor should also mobilize its members for the November 12 antiwar demonstration in Washington, and help build the broadest possible coalition of labor, Black and

Cuban women: Defend Our Grenadian sisters!

[The following cable was sent by the Federation of Cuban Women to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in New York City on October 25.]

A U.S. force of heavy infantry, artillery, airpianes, and helicopters threatens the right of the [Grenadian] people to solve their own internal problems, although the people heroically resist occupation by the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

On behalf of the Grenadian mothers, on behalf of the Cuban mothers, on behalf of the North American mothers, we demand the immediate retreat of the Yankee troops who unashamedly have invaded the small island of Grenada. We call upon all women of the world to express their solidarity with their Grenadian sisters, to denounce this criminal act of the U.S. government, and to demand the immediate retreat of the Yankee troops of intervention.

No more bloody adventures! No more Yankee intervention! U.S. hands off Grenada! Latino groups, women's organizations, and other antiwar forces for that protest.

To answer the anticommunist, antilabor lies spread by the AFL-CIO officials, the unions should get out the truth about the Grenadian revolution — especially the big advances it made for workers and for trade union rights on that island.

This points to the second task of unionists and all opponents of the invasion: drawing the lessons of the Grenadian revolution in order to strengthen the working-class struggle for power in the United States and around the world.

Reagan's marines and bombers cannot drown in blood the gigantic impact that revolution has had within the United States, especially among Blacks, and on a world scale. Nor can the imperialists erase the enormous contribution the fallen Grenadian leaders made to the process of forging an international Marxist leadership capable of leading the proletariat to power.

Getting out the truth about what the workers and farmers government in Grenada has meant, its gains, the challenges it faced and the defeats it suffered, is vital to advancing the struggle of workers along the path charted by our sisters and brothers in Grenada.

Particular confidence in the ability of the U.S. working class to challenge and one day overturn the U.S. capitalist class was a hallmark of the Grenadian New Jewel leadership. As Bishop stated in a 1980 interview with *Intercontinental Press*, the world struggle against imperialism is "one struggle, indivisible.... We feel a particular affinity to American Blacks and other oppressed minorities, to the working-class movement in America, and toward progressive forces in America.

"We certainly place a great deal of importance on the activity, the potential, and the possibilities for the American working-class movement . . . in terms of doing mortal damage to the international capitalist and imperialist system from within the belly of the main imperialist power on earth."

Advancing that fight, for the socialist revolution in the United States, the fight already begun by the comrades of Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba, is the highest tribute that can be paid to the martyred New Jewel leaders, Grenadian workers and farmers, and the Cuban construction workers who have fallen in combat for that goal.

Long live the Grenadian revolution!

U.S. out of Grenada — bring the troops home now!

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U.S. aims deathblow at revolution

Seeks to bury example of workers and farmers government

By Steve Clark

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

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

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

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

Execution of leaders

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

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

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

The widow of one of the slain leaders has reported that Bishop and five other NJM leaders surrendered peacefully to the military au-



MAURICE BISHOP

thorities following a mass demonstration of supporters October 19. According to her account and those of others on the scene, the six leaders were then taken inside a building and shot. (There are also reports that NJM leaders Kendrick Radix, Don Rojas, and others were subsequently executed.)

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

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

Austin's demagogic attempt to wrap his murderous actions in the mantle of defending the revolution was clearly given no credence by the working people of Grenada. The new regime could not mobilize any popular support during the week leading up to the executions. Armored military vehicles fired into the crowd of Bishop's supporters, killing and wounding many participants. And the first decree of the council was a four-day, round-the-clock curfew, with warnings that violators would be "shot on sight."

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

March 1979 revolution

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

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

During the 1970s, the New Jewel Movement was formed and gained growing mass support through several broad-based struggles for democratic rights, improved conditions for workers and farmers, and freedom from imperialist domination. In the weeks leading up to March 13, 1979, NJM leaders learned of a plot by Gairy to assassinate them while he was out of the country. The revolutionists prevented this massacre by organizing a successful armed takeover of the True Blue army barracks and of the island's sole radio transmitter.

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

Workers and farmers government

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

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

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

ment of a workers state based on nationalized property and economic planning.

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

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

The Grenadian capitalists, and also some U.S. and other imperialist economic interests, retained substantial property holdings in agriculture, industry, and commerce, but they no longer held *political* power. They could no longer dictate that the government and state would act to defend profits over the needs of the workers and farmers.

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

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

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

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

Capitalist disinformation campaign

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

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

These labels bandied about by the capitalist press — "hardline" vs. "softline," "moderate"



Supporters of Bishop demonstrate in capital to demand his release from house arrest, several days before Bishop and other leaders were killed.

vs. "radical," "less Marxist" vs. "rigid Marxist" — are intended to confuse and disorient readers; they are a fake and a fraud.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. rulers fear Grenada

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

Bishop pointed to one reason why the U.S. rulers have been particularly worried about Grenada when he spoke to an audience of 2,500 people in New York City in June 1983. He cited a State Department report that, according to Bishop, "made this point: that the Grenada revolution is in one sense even worse ... than the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolu-

... than the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions because the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada speak English and therefore can communicate directly with the people of the United States."

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

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

Slanders against Cuba

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

The imperialists have kept up this campaign of lies and slanders against Cuba despite an October 20 statement by the Cuban government and party firmly condemning the executions. Three days of national mourning for these revolutionists were declared in Cuba, and by the revolutionary government of Nicaragua as well.

'Harvest of failure'?

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

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

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

Just the opposite. It was the achievements of the Grenadian workers and farmers that made imperialism so desperate to reverse the revolution and eliminate its leaders. Whatever the motives of General Austin and company, their



UNISON WHITEMAN

actions gave a mighty boost to this reactionary cause.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Divisions in leadership

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

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

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

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

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

Moreover, Coard has not been heard from since October 14, when news of Bishop's house arrest first began to be reported. Coard was not mentioned in Austin's subsequent,

Nicaragua blasts 'act of aggression'

[The following is the text of a communiqué issued on October 25 by the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, and submitted to the United Nations Security Council. The translation is by the United Nations.]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua condemns in the most categorical terms the United States invasion of Grenada, a fact which can only be interpreted as a further act of aggression against the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean and a violation of the inalienable right of peoples to determine their own destiny free from foreign intervention.

The United States invasion of Grenada is a manifestation of the imperial arrogance with which the government of the United States consistently acts in contravention of the norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Independently of the regrettable internal events which culminated in the deaths of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other members of his cabinet, the background to which has not been properly clarified, there is nothing to justify the intervention of United States troops in Grenada or the immoral arguments advanced by the United States government to justify the aggression.

This invasion deserves to be condemned in the clearest and most categorical terms by the Latin American and Caribbean countries and by the international community as a whole.

We appeal to the international community to demand the immediate withdrawal of the United States invading troops from the sovereign territory of Grenada, and to the Movement of Nonaligned Countries to mobilize all their political and moral resources in defense of the sovereignty of a fraternal people.

November 7, 1983

October 19, radio address announcing the military council, and he was not named as one of the council's 16 members.

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

Escalante affair

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

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

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

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

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

Algerian revolution

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

it will be driven back, allowing the reestablishment of capitalist class rule.

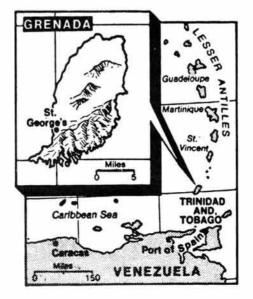
In Russia in 1917–18 and Cuba in 1959–60, workers and farmers governments went forward to the consolidation of workers states under revolutionary Marxist leaderships. Following World War II, workers states were consolidated in China, Yugoslavia, and other Eastern European countries despite Stalinist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

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

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

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

The workers and farmers government in Algeria had become quite rotted out by the time of the 1965 coup, and the takeover did not necessitate the bloody liquidation of the former leadership; Ben Bella was jailed but not executed. The new regime was not a rightist government à la Chile, but sought to dampen popular opposition by claiming to defend cer-



tain previous gains and retaining an anti-imperialist posture in foreign policy.

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

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

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

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

Remains one of the three giants

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

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

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

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

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Four years of U.S. aggression

Threats, terrorist attacks, economic sabotage

By Ernest Harsch

From its very first days, the Grenadian revolution has been the target of unremitting U.S. threats, blackmail, provocations, and attacks. Washington's aim from the beginning has been to overturn the gains achieved by the Grenadian workers and farmers and to warn other peoples in the region not to try to follow the same revolutionary course.

Within a few weeks of the March 13, 1979, overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy, the State Department sent U.S. Ambassador Frank Ortiz to Grenada to warn Maurice Bishop, the new prime minister of the People's Revolutionary Government, against establishing closer ties with Cuba.

Bishop immediately went on the radio and denounced Washington's attempt to dictate Grenada's foreign policy. "We are not in anybody's backyard," Bishop declared.

That same night, a Cuban ship docked at the harbor of St. George's and began unloading supplies. The next day Grenada announced it had established diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Naval blockade considered

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

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

In 1979, the first proposals were also raised for the establishment of a joint military force composed of troops from various Caribbean islands near Grenada. This eventually led to a reorganization of the armed forces of Dominica, CIA training for Barbadian troops, an increased U.S. military and CIA presence in Antigua, and preparations for U.S. military aid to the regime in St. Lucia.

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

Practice invasion

In 1981, U.S. plans to topple the Bishop government moved into high gear.

Thousands of U.S. troops participated in a series of military maneuvers that included a mock invasion of a Caribbean island nation codenamed Amber and the Amberdines (clearly referring to Grenada and its sister islands in the Grenadines, Carriacou and Petit Martinique).

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

- "Amber" was influenced by "Country Red," an obvious reference to Cuba;
- It was unfriendly to Washington and close to important trade and shipping routes;
- Its government had not called elections, so U.S. troops were going in to make sure elections were held;
- U.S. hostages had been seized and needed to be rescued;
- "Amber" was exporting "subversion" to the rest of the region.

At the time, the U.S. authorities denied the exercise was directed against Grenada, or that there were plans to overthrow the revolutionary government. But later, in February 1983, the Washington Post revealed that the CIA had, in fact, developed plans in 1981 to destabilize the Grenadian revolution.

Smears and economic pressures

These destabilization efforts were not confined to military threats and preparations. They included a concerted propaganda campaign in the United States and throughout the Caribbean aimed at portraying the Grenadian government as repressive and subservient to Cuba and the Soviet Union. It was claimed that the international airport under construction at Point Salines, on the southern tip of Grenada, could pose a military threat to other countries in the region. (The Grenadians explained that

it was vital to Grenada's tourist industry.)

Washington also employed economic sabotage, from the beginning of the revolution, in an effort to undermine the gains the Grenadian toilers had won and to help destabilize the revolutionary government. U.S. pressure blocked some international financial agencies from making much-needed loans to Grenada. Efforts were made to disrupt Grenada's tourist industry. Other Caribbean countries were urged by Washington to take steps to isolate Grenada within the region.

The Grenadian revolutionaries refused to bend to this pressure and blackmail. They responded by mobilizing and arming the Grenadian workers and farmers. As a result, in early 1983, Washington's threats against Grenada became more explicit, and the preparations for a military invasion were stepped up.

In two speeches in March, President Reagan singled out Grenada as a supposed threat to U.S. "national security." In one speech, he appeared on television with spy satellite photographs of the international airport to create the impression that it was a secret military installation that could be used by Soviet or Cuban forces.

At a press conference at the United Nations in late March, Grenadian Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman reported "an upsurge in the activities of mercenaries and counterrevolutionaries" being trained in Miami for an attack against Grenada.

In Grenada, the Free West Indian, the country's national newspaper, warned its readers that the threats against Grenada were as real as those against revolutionary Nicaragua. Following the counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua, an editorial stated, U.S. imperialism "has singled out Grenada as its next target."

As Grenada's New Jewel Movement has warned for the last four years, Washington has been trying to crush the Grenadian revolution from the beginning. When the tragic events culminating in the assassination of top New Jewel leaders occurred, the U.S. invasion force was ready to step in.

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Cuba condemns killing of Grenada leaders

'No step must be taken that would aid imperialism'

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On Saturday, October 15, Comrade Fidel sent a message to the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement expressing with full clarity Cuba's position, which is guided by the principle of absolutely abstaining from involvement in the internal affairs of a party or country. He expressed at the same time his

deep concern that the division that had arisen could do considerable damage to the image of the revolutionary process in Grenada, both inside the country and abroad. In Cuba itself, where Bishop was highly esteemed, it would not be easy to explain the facts. Hope was held out that the difficulties could be overcome with the greatest of wisdom, serenity, loyalty to principles, and generosity.

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

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

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



Flax Hermes/I

Cubans march in 1982 May Day parade in St. George's, Grenada.

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ously with our principles of respect for the internal affairs of fraternal parties and countries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

No step must be taken that would aid imperialism in its plans. In Grenada many Cuban doctors, teachers, technicians of various kinds, and hundreds of construction workers are collaborating in providing essential services to the people and in the development of projects that are vital to the economy. Though profoundly embittered by the events, we will take no precipitate step with regard to technical and

economic collaboration that could affect essential services or economic interests vital to the people of Grenada, for whom we have sincere and deep feelings of admiration and affection.

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

Fidel Castro Ruz President of the Council of State

10-point letter of Fidel Castro

Cubans in Grenada resist U.S. invasion

[The following is the text of a letter from Cuban President Fidel Castro to the government of the United States, delivered to a representative of the U.S. interests section in Havana at 8:30 p.m., October 25. It was in response to a U.S. note earlier that day on the invasion of Grenada. The text of this Cuban response was read by Castro during a press conference in Havana. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

We did what was possible to prevent the intervention. In our Saturday note we

explained that according to our reports no U.S. or other foreign citizen was in danger. At the same time, we expressed our readiness to cooperate in order that the problems might be resolved without violence or intervention.

The intervention is absolutely unjustifiable. We had refrained from interfering in the slightest way in the internal affairs of the country, despite our friendship and sympathy for Bishop.

- 3. The reply to our constructive note of 9:00 p.m. Saturday, the 22nd, arrived on Tuesday, the 25th, at 8:30 a.m., an hour and a half after our personnel and installations at the airport were under attack by U.S. troops.
- 4. We do not have soldiers, but rather actual construction workers and civilian aid personnel in Grenada, with the exception of a few dozen military advisers who were working with the army and the security forces before the death of Bishop. Our personnel had instructions to fight only if they were attacked; they were not the first to shoot. Moreover, they had been given instructions not to obstruct any

action in the vicinity of the airstrip next to the U.S. university aimed at evacuating U.S. citizens. It was evident that, if it was a question of occupying the Cuban installations, there would be a clash with our personnel.

- Our personnel have suffered an undetermined number of dead and wounded in today's fighting.
- The attack by U.S. troops was a surprise attack, without any kind of prior warning.
- 7. While the Cuban personnel who can still resist are at an absolute numerical, technical, and military disadvantage, their morale remains high and they are firmly determined to go on defending themselves if the attacks continue.
- 8. If the aim is really to avoid further bloodshed, the attacks against the Cuban and Grenadian personnel who are still resisting must cease, and a worthy way must be sought to put an end to a battle that in no way does honor to the United States. It is a battle against small forces that while they cannot militarily resist the overwhelming superiority of the U.S. forces and are losing the battle and even sacrificing themselves are nonetheless in a position to inflict a costly moral defeat on the United States, the most powerful country in the world, entangled in a war against one of the smallest states on the planet.
- The top Cuban official on Grenada has instructions to receive any emissary who might make an approach, to listen to his opinions, and to transmit them to Cuba.
- 10. The fact that some Grenadian units are also fighting must be taken into account. The treatment given the Cubans must not differ from the treatment given those units. □

Grenada invasion protested

New danger to Nicaraguan revolution

By Michael Baumann

MANAGUA — More than 30,000 people, marching out of factories and offices, hit the streets in protest here October 25, just hours after the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

"Here or there, the Yankees are going to die!" — by far the most popular chant of the day — caught the sense in the air that Nicaragua would soon face a similar test.

Government coordinator Daniel Ortega, addressing the crowd, stressed that the invasion "confirms in a clear manner the U.S. government's desire for war."

"The revolutionary government," he said, "is aware of plans by the CIA to provoke military attacks and bombings against economic objectives in both Honduras and Costa Rica.

"These plans are set to be carried out in the short term, and their aim is to provide a pretext for unleashing greater aggression against Nicaragua."

Ortega told the demonstration that the government and the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had held an emergency meeting that day to discuss the grave new situation.

The invasion of Grenada, he said, came on the heels of a recent meeting of top military leaders of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. The aim of the meeting was to "reach agreement on concrete plans of aggression against Nicaragua, within the framework of the sadly celebrated CONDECA."

CONDECA, the Central American Defense Council, is a U.S.-inspired military alliance of the region's dictators that is similar to the Caribbean military alliance the U.S. used for cover in its invasion of Grenada.

Sharing the platform with Ortega was Dessima Williams, who has been Grenada's ambassador to the Organization of American States

Citing the example set by slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Williams called on Grenadians everywhere to organize to resist the invasion by U.S. troops. "We have not fought for our independence and our freedom only to be invaded by forces hostile to our progress," she

She paid particular tribute to the Cuban construction workers, who, she said, "are today writing one of the greatest chapters of proletarian internationalism, fighting side-by-side and dying side-by-side with our Grenadians."

Several days before the invasion of Grenada, upon learning of the death of Maurice Bishop and his comrades, the Nicaraguan government and the FSLN declared three days of national mourning.

The October 21 Barricada, the Sandinista daily, summarized the statement on Bishop's

killing issued by the Cuban Communist Party.

An official statement by the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction that same day expressed its "profound dismay over the tragic events" in Grenada that culminated in the deaths of Bishop and the others.

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

It also asked for "full and complete clarification" of the circumstances of the Grenadian leaders' deaths.



DESSIMA WILLIAMS

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Imperialist hands off Grenada!

[The following statement was adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on October 23.]

Army troops led by Gen. Hudson Austin have overthrown the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada and executed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and at least five other leading members of the New Jewel Movement, including three ministers and two major leaders of the trade unions and of other mass organizations. The very fact that important sectors of the Grenadian people have demonstrated in the streets of St. George's against the overthrow of Bishop and that the army has responded by imposing a curfew proves that the new rulers have in no way acted in defense of the interests and aspirations of the toiling masses. Furthermore, the communiqué by the Cuban government indicates that, contrary to the disinformation ploy of Washington and the world capitalist press, the Cuban leadership has condemned the actions of Austin and company.

The Fourth International categorically denounces these actions and states that those responsible for such crimes should be brought to justice by the Grenadian people.

The People's Revolutionary Government, under the leadership of Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement since the very beginning, had carried out wide-ranging social, political, and economic changes that benefited the working masses. Its overthrow represents a devastating blow to the Grenadian revolution and will have a negative impact on the strug-

gles of oppressed peoples, first of all in the Caribbean and Central America.

Since the victory of the revolution, Grenada became the target of imperialist attack, of economic and political pressures and blackmail, and threats of direct aggression. In the context of the present crisis, imperialism will try by every means to finish off the revolution. A 10-ship U.S. task force carrying 1,900 marines was immediately sent toward the coast of Grenada under the guise of protecting U.S. citizens there.

The Fourth International denounces all the imperialist maneuvers, which are aimed not only at Grenada, but also at the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, all the revolutions in Central America, and the Cuban workers state. It appeals to the revolutionary organizations and the working class movement to continue and intensify the worldwide campaign in support of the revolutionary regimes and movements in the Caribbean and Central America

Working people and all supporters of the Grenadian revolution should stand guard and fight:

For the immediate lifting of the curfew and all the repressive measures and for reestablishment of all democratic rights of the masses.

Against all the imperialist maneuvers in the region and for the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist armed forces from all the countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

For the defense of the revolutionary achievements of the workers and farmers of Grenada.

Imperialist hands off Grenada!

Biggest protests in 10 years

100,000 take to streets against military rule

By Fred Murphy

The biggest mass protests in ten years of dictatorship took place in Uruguay between September 12 and 25.

The actions included a strike by university and high-school students, a 10-minute general work stoppage by half a million workers, a march by nearly 100,000 persons down the main avenue of the capital, and an evening of pot-banging protests there and in other major cities

Together, the two weeks of protests marked a qualitative step forward in the movement to end military rule and win back democratic rights in Uruguay. Earlier high points in the current upsurge include a May Day rally of between 100,000 and 200,000 workers and the first national day of protest, in which tens of thousands participated, on August 25.

The September actions began on the 12th of the month with a student strike demanding the restoration of university autonomy and the reinstatement of professors and students ousted for their political views. Nearly 65 percent of the student body at the University of the Republic took part. Many high-school students struck as well, defying the regime's threats to hold strikers back a year in their studies. The strike was organized clandestinely by the University Students Federation (FEUU), which was outlawed in 1973. An FEUU representative termed the strike "a great success" and said it was "unmistakable proof" that the regime has been unable to finish off the student organization.

A still greater success was registered September 16 with a general work stoppage organized by the Inter-Union Workers Plenary (PIT), which unites some 80 labor organizations. The PIT called on all workers to halt work and remain silent for ten minutes, at 10 a.m. on the first shift or at 4 p.m. on the second shift. International news agencies put the number of workers participating at 500,000.

The weekly *Liberación*, published by Uruguayan exiles in Sweden, reported on the labor protest in the September 26 issue as follows:

"At the premises of the National Breweries, for example, the protest mobilized 100 percent of the workers. When 10 a.m. arrived they halted work, remaining silent for five minutes. At 10:05 the workers began to applaud and beat on various objects, producing a deafening din....

"The biggest surprise occurred in the very center of the capital. When 10 a.m. came the lights in the majority of stores located in the luxurious shopping galleries were put out, the doors were closed, and silence reigned in the many stores whose prices are prohibitive for



the majority of the population. . . .

"There were also protests in public buildings. At the Montevideo city hall and other government offices, the employees responded to the PIT's call by halting work between 10 a.m. and 10:10. During that time, they tapped their pencils on their desks."

The PIT's platform of demands in the work stoppage was summed up in the slogan, "freedom, jobs, higher wages, amnesty."

Uruguay's political parties — including the three legal bourgeois parties as well as the banned Communist and Socialist parties — joined in calling for a second national day of protest on September 25. The plan was to duplicate the successful action of the previous month, when tens of thousands of residents doused their lights in the early evening and banged pots and pans in a sign of repudiation of the dictatorship.

The evening protests went on as scheduled, with news reports indicating that they were even noisier and more extensive than the ones in August. A UPI dispatch reported that more than 70 percent of the country's population took part.

But an unexpected feature of the day of protest was the transformation of a legally authorized student procession into a mass march against the regime.

The government had granted several legal student organizations permission to march in the capital to end a week of lectures and seminars on education sponsored by the United Nations and several foreign embassies. But, as the October 3 Liberación reported, the march "went beyond the framework of the strictly student slogans and became a massive show of

popular repudiation of the dictatorship." The report continued:

"The students, together with thousands of persons who came out of their houses or got off buses to join the protest, marched down the Avenida 18 de Julio, the main street of the capital

"All along the way, the more than 100,000 demonstrators chanted slogans that have not been heard in Uruguay for a long time. 'Free, free those imprisoned for struggling,' was undoubtedly the predominant slogan. But also chanted was 'Workers and students, forward together,' a slogan that appeared on the placard signed by the PIT which headed the workers column."

The PIT contingent that joined the march numbered some 10,000 workers. Also marching was a group of mothers of "disappeared" prisoners, dressed in black, and carrying a banner demanding their children be accounted for.

Bystanders applauded the march or stood on the balconies of apartments beating pots and pans in anticipation of the evening's protest.

While the regime generally refrained during the September actions from utilizing widespread repression, it sought to tighten the screws in other ways. Two weekly newsmagazines, Aquí and Opinar, were suspended for four weeks after violating the regime's ban on publishing news of the September 16 general strike. A top leader of the bourgeois National Party, Eladio Fernández, was detained, charged with distributing leaflets for the September 25 protest, and banned from political activity for two years. This was the first case of such banning since 200 bourgeois political figures were released from similar prohibitions in July 1981. A total of 11,706 Uruguayans have been so proscribed during the 10 years since the dictatorship was established.

The regime continues to promise it will hold general elections in November of next year and transfer power to civilians in 1985. But the general ban on political activity it reimposed in August remains in effect. The legal parties have rejected the military's calls for a "dialogue" until real steps toward democratization are taken.

All the parties — both legal and illegal — have scheduled a third national day of protest for October 23.

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Unions face ruling class assault

Ranks searching for ways to fight back

By Malik Miah

There is a deepening offensive by the employers and their government against working people in the United States. The employing class seeks to fundamentally alter the relationship of forces between themselves and the working class as they restructure many industries — such as steel, auto, railroads, trucking, and airlines — to raise productivity and the rate of profits. Their main targets are the industrial workers and their unions.

This offensive is shaking the organized labor movement, which is slightly more than 20 percent of the working class. Although there is still no class-struggle left-wing leadership in the trade unions, there are stirrings beginning to take place that are of some importance and indicate potentially greater changes down the road.

This article will review some aspects of the state of the U.S. labor movement by taking a look at the aims of the employers, the policies of the top trade union officials, and changes going on among rank-and-file workers. These changes include a new combativity and a growing gap in political consciousness between the ranks and the top layers of the union officialdom.

Policies of the bureaucracy

In early October the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO — the 13.8-million-member national trade union federation including the large majority of U.S. unions) held its biennial convention in Hollywood, Florida. Its deliberations and decisions reflect the views of the top layers of the trade union bureaucracy.

Not surprisingly, the convention adopted a course that failed to advance the interests of U.S. workers. There were three major decisions

First, it endorsed the 1984 Democratic Party presidential bid of former vice-president Walter Mondale. It is unusual for the AFL-CIO to officially back a presidential candidate before the Democratic and Republican Party conventions, normally held in July or August before the November elections. This decision was neither formally discussed, nor will it be voted upon, in the ranks of the labor movement. Up to \$20 million in union resources will now be spent on Mondale's campaign.

Second, the top officials reaffirmed their support to U.S. imperialist foreign policy, cloaking it in familiar pro-State Department, anticommunist language. The adopted resolution, "Labor, National Security, and the World," called for strengthening NATO to deal with the "threat" of "Soviet expan-

sionism" as well as supporting U.S. and Israeli government objectives in the Middle East.

At the same time, reflecting antiwar sentiments of rank-and-file workers, the convention reaffirmed the labor federation's criticism of U.S. policy in El Salvador first advanced by the AFL-CIO executive council last January. While supporting Washington's overall goals in Central America and in El Salvador, the resolution called for restrictions on military aid to the Salvadoran junta until progress is made in securing democratic rights for workers and peasants.

Lastly, the convention adopted what it called a new industrial policy, intended to strengthen the United States' international economic position in relation to its imperialist competitors. The federation proposed the government establish a National Development Bank that would grant low-interest loans and tax incentives to companies having difficulty raising capital to modernize their facilities. Labor officials claim this policy will create new jobs.

Trying to patch up capitalism, especially when the system is in deep structural crisis, is not a new profession for the trade union officials — the bureaucratic caste that sits atop the unions. Most top officials have not worked a job in years and are, at best, workers only in origin. They receive salaries sometimes as much as ten times higher than the wages of even the best-paid workers they represent. Their living standard and conditions of life are far, far above most workers, especially the lower paid, unskilled and semiskilled, Black, Latino, women, and young workers.

These "labor statesmen" place the profit needs of the employers ahead of the interests of working people. It is no wonder they try to emulate the bosses' lifestyles.

That is why the top officialdom is conservative. Its material interests lie with stability, represented by close political and economic collaboration with the employers. They are literally of the same family.

But as the blows of the capitalist offensive hit the working class, the bureaucracy, which maintains its position and existence on its base in the unions, is forced to respond. Moreover, the depth of the crisis is causing divisions to appear within the bureaucracy.

These are evident on both domestic and foreign policy issues.

Divisions on Central America

Of particular importance are emerging differences on U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Central America.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO,

is presently serving on President Reagan's Commission on Central America, headed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Kirkland supports the State Department's goals, and the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) — traditionally used as a cover for CIA activities — is active in El Salvador.

The AFL-CIO's current position, which opposes U.S. military intervention in El Salvador until certain conditions are met, is still made within a framework of support to imperialism's overall counterrevolutionary goals. Kirkland is dead opposed to the labor movement adopting an independent foreign policy. For this reason, he opposes any genuine debate and discussion on international issues in the ranks of the union movement.

Despite this longstanding approach, a layer of top officials of AFL-CIO unions are now openly and publicly speaking out against Washington's military moves in El Salvador. The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, formed by these officials, calls for a complete end to military intervention and favors a dialogue — without conditions — between the revolutionary forces and the Salvadoran regime.

In mid-1983 a leadership delegation from the Labor Committee went on a fact-finding trip to El Salvador. Upon their return they published a report entitled, "El Salvador: Labor, Terror, and Peace." The report explained that the "current rationale behind our [the U.S. government's] military policy in El Salvador cannot but lead us into another Vietnam."

Significantly, at the October AFL-CIO convention, Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, a member of the fact-finding delegation, and co-chair of the Labor Committee, took the floor to discuss the trip. He spoke for several minutes and was warmly received by a number of delegates — all of whom were top labor officials or full-time union functionaries.

Early this year, a number of state and local union officials stood up to Kirkland's attempt to red-bait Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara and prevent him from speaking before union bodies. Molina Lara, who was on tour as a representative of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and the Fishing Industry Union, received a positive response from most unionists he addressed. These included miners, steelworkers, garment workers, teachers, and others.



Canadian auto workers strike against Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca's takeback contract in October 1982.

The changing views of U.S. workers on foreign policy questions is also evident in attitudes expressed on events in the Middle East and the downing of the South Korean plane by the Soviet Union.

While most workers are confused about the role Israel plays as a reactionary bulwark in the Middle East, oppressing Palestinian and Arab peoples, many question the use of U.S. and other imperialist troops in Lebanon. Many workers fear it could lead to another Vietnam, which they oppose.

The attempt by Reagan to whip up anti-Soviet and prowar feelings over the Korean Air Line incident has not gotten very far either. Despite anti-Soviet prejudices that do exist among U.S. workers, many doubted the story presented by the State Department and the White House from the beginning. As the truth began to come out, the credibility of the U.S. government dropped further.

The deep antiwar sentiment among workers is a factor the employers must take into account in implementing their domestic and foreign policies. The possibility that the commitment of U.S. combat forces in other countries will lead to massive antiwar protests at home raises the stakes for Washington in defending imperialist interests around the world. The new offensive against workers in the U.S. itself and the lessons many workers have drawn from the experience of the Vietnam war mean the U.S. rulers cannot count on the ability of the top labor officials to line up support for a war. In fact, any new, mass antiwar movement will be based in the working class and led by it.

It is this understanding that is pressuring a layer of union officials to speak out against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. It is particularly significant in view of the fact that Washington has not yet committed large numbers of ground troops to back the right-wing regime there.

The fact that many workers are questioning U.S. foreign policy reflects a deeper thinking-out process unfolding in the working class and among its major potential allies — Blacks, Latinos, women, and family farmers.

This process is a result of the imperialist war drive and the impact of over 15 years of capitalist economic crisis, which is disrupting the lives of working people.

Impact of economic crisis

More and more working people view their lives and future with uncertainty. Workers with 20–30 years seniority are losing their jobs permanently when the employers shut down or relocate plants. Family farmers are losing their land through bank foreclosures. As a result, confidence in the economy, government, and other political institutions is eroding.

That is what is beginning to take place across the United States. It deepens a process begun in the late 1960s with the end of the post-World War II economic expansion of U.S. and world capitalism.

In the period after World War II and prior to the 1970s, the employers were able to obtain relative labor peace (with exceptions at particular times in particular industries) by agreeing to hand out some crumbs to sections of the working class in the form of higher wages and benefits. This was based on the preeminent position of U.S. capitalism and the enormous superprofits it enjoyed as a result.

Top union officials accepted this deal and followed policies that divided the working class further. In exchange for these crumbs, the union bureaucrats agreed to make little or no effort to win important social benefits for the class as a whole. An example is that the United States is the only advanced capitalist country without socialized medical care.

Another aspect of the deal, and a sign of the bureaucrats' subordination to the Democratic Party, was their refusal to lead a serious campaign to unionize unorganized workers in the South. Another example was the officials' refusal to lead a fight against racist and sexist practices in industry or in society as a whole.

The "labor statesmen" also accepted, with no serious fight, antilabor legislation that weakens the unions and allows the government to intervene more openly and directly in the internal affairs of the labor movement.

The Taft-Hartley Act, for example, allows states to adopt what are called "right to work" laws that are in fact aimed at preventing unionization. These laws make it easier for scabs and strikebreakers to be protected by the government and employers.

States also added their own antilabor laws. Many passed laws making it "illegal" for public workers to strike. In New York, city and state workers face the loss of two days' pay for every day they "illegally" strike.

Although these laws were used selectively in the past, they are now being used more and more by all levels of government to break strikes and defeat unions.

This offensive by the employers and government is also undermining the old buddy-buddy relationship between the top union officials and the capitalists. "Independent" labor analysts complain of the end of good "labor-management" relations since the employers have shifted to hard-ball tactics.

An example of this shift occurred during the 1974–75 recession when the city of New York faced bankruptcy. The employers, banks, and government forced onerous concessions from the workers. Contracts were torn up, social services slashed, and the conditions of life made much worse. The hardest hit were the Black and Latino workers who were already at the bottom of the economic ladder.

The top union officials complained the attacks were unfair. But instead of launching a political fight against the government, they sought to come up with their own "takeback" concessions to "save" the city. Of course, the workers lost out.

That defeat for public employees was taken by the employers as a green light to demand even more concessions from these and other workers. The bosses correctly perceived that the national labor movement would do little to aid workers under attack.

This experience was a prelude to the fullfledged assault on the bastions of the labor movement — the industrial unions — that we have witnessed over the past few years.

During the 25 years following World War II, the trade union bureaucracy was consolidated as a conservative, class collaborationist layer. These labor officials, as voices for the bosses in the unions, were essential in pushing

back the influence of class-struggle militants and Black rights fighters.

For example, during the anticommunist witch-hunt of the 1950s, the AFL and CIO unions raided other unions that they had labelled "red." And in the late 1960s, the bureaucracy fought the formation of Black caucuses that were established to fight the racism of the bosses and the union officialdom.

These policies of the bureaucratic caste in the labor movement helped to alter the relationship of forces between labor and the employers to the latter's advantage. More and more, the labor leadership represented only the most privileged layers of the working class, at the expense of the big majority of workers who were not even in unions. For instance, when the AFL and CIO merged in 1955, 35 percent of U.S. workers were organized into unions. By the early 1970s it was down to less than 25 percent.

1980-82 recession

When Reagan took office in 1981 he stepped up the government-employer drive against working people. The heart of this accelerated offensive was to cut social services and lower labor costs as part of the restructuring of the economy to make it more competitive with other imperialist powers. The restructuring included cutting taxes for big business to make it easier for them to introduce more advanced technology in order to raise productivity and the rate of profits.

This bipartisan attack on the working class — which was carried out with the support of the Democrats in Congress — coincided with the deepest downturn in the capitalist economy since World War II. Massive layoffs in auto, steel, and other basic industries contributed to a national unemployment rate of almost 11 percent — the highest rate seen in the United States for more than 30 years. Workers of the oppressed nationalities — Blacks, Latinos, and others — experienced joblessness at twice that rate or more.

At the same time, Reagan demonstrated the employing class's willingness to take other decisive steps against organized labor by smashing the 1981 air traffic controllers strike, again with complete support from the Democratic Party. The Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) — the controllers' union — was effectively destroyed. Some 12,000 workers were fired and blacklisted from the jobs for which they were trained.

For their part the top labor officials offered no effective solidarity with the strikers. They took no action to mobilize the ranks of the labor movement to defeat Reagan's strikebreaking.

Meanwhile the employers were winning concession contracts from workers in such basic industries as auto, steel, and rail. They threatened workers with concessions to "save" the company, or the loss of jobs. But jobs were lost anyway, as in the case of the Chrysler workers, who made the greatest concessions at the time.

Again the trade union bureaucracy mounted no effective fightback. As a leader of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) remarked, if the company's money tree is shaken too often, there won't be any left. That false iogic was used to pressure basic steel workers to accept an unprecedented 9 percent wage cut and other concessions in March 1983.

This has been true in other industries as well. So much so that the big business daily New York Times wrote, "So deeply have concession demands cut that the average first-year wage rise in contracts negotiated in 1983's first half nose-dived to below one percent, down from 10 percent two years ago. What's more, one-quarter of the new contracts contain pay cuts and one-fifth, wage freezes."

Restructuring far fewer jobs

While the current upturn in the capitalist business cycle is leading to a drop in unemployment — down from almost 11 percent to 9 percent — the main beneficiaries have been the employers, who continue to use all their tools — government, courts, bankruptcies, mergers, international corporate deals, and when necessary strikebreakers — to raise their profits.

Recently, for example, the Republic and LTV Steel Corporations, the nation's third and fourth largest steel producers, announced plans to merge. The new company will become the second largest steel producer after U.S. Steel. According to the big business publication, the Wall Street Journal, "if LTV succeeds in ac-

quiring Republic Steel, a lot of pieces of both companies are almost sure to be cast off. Trying to revitalize themselves, the two ailing steelmakers will cull their least efficient facilities and fire thousands of no-longerneeded employees."

U.S. Steel and British Steel have discussed plans for U.S. Steel to import steel slabs from Britain to its finishing mill outside Philadelphia. The venture would increase each company's profits, while leading to the loss of thousands more jobs in both countries.

Both moves are aspects of the continuing restructuring of the U.S. steel industry in the face of increased interimperialist competition from Japan and Western Europe. While the upturn in the U.S. business cycle has not led to a big increase in steel production and most steel companies continue to register losses — a sign of the weakness of the capitalist "recovery" — some capital spending on modernization is taking place. The steel barons' overall objective is a smaller, more efficient, more productive, more profitable industry with reduced labor costs.

Another deal is unfolding between the world's first and third largest auto manufacturers — General Motors and Japan's Toyota. They plan to jointly produce a small car at GM's Fremont, California, plant beginning in 1985. Part of the deal, however, is that the venture will be called a "new" company that will not recognize the right of laid-off Fremont employees to be called back first. The "new" company also intends to hire workers with



Rich Stuart/Militan

Arizona copper miners confront state police, National Guard, and government strike-breaking efforts during struggle against Phelps Dodge Corp.

wages and benefits below the typical union contract, while still formally recognizing the union.

Chrysler workers say 'Enough'

The auto industry provides one of the clearest examples of the objectives of the employers, the policies of the trade union bureaucracy, and the response of the rank and file.

The 1979–1982 recession hit the profits of the Big Three auto makers — General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler — hard. They lost close to \$7 billion, and Chrysler nearly went bankrupt.

In the worst of the recession, over 250,000 auto workers were laid off. Most will never be called back to work. For example, in 1979 Chrysler had 130,000 employees; today its U.S. and Canadian plants employ only 65,000 workers.

Between 1979–82, 20 auto plants were shut down. Although some are reopening with the upturn in the economy, many will not.

At the same time the auto bosses are investing billions of dollars for modernization. Budgeted outlays for 1980–84 are \$80 billion.

But much of the returned profitability in the industry is the result of a smaller workforce, lower wages and benefits, and worse working conditions. Job combination and speed-up alone will save the companies millions of dollars.

In 1979–80 Chrysler won a concession contract with the aid of the federal government and United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership. Seeing no alternative leadership and perspective, the ranks voted three times for such contracts. This resulted in a total loss of \$1 billion in wages and benefits.

But jobs were not saved. More plants were shut down and thousands of workers were laid off permanently. The workers still on the job suffered from speed-up and much worse working conditions.

The ranks became more angry and even hostile to sections of the union leadership, including Douglas Fraser, then president of the UAW, who joined the Chrysler Board of Directors to "represent" the workers.

The anger and dissent nearly came to a head in 1981. A new concession contract pushed by the employers and the top union leadership was narrowly approved by 52 to 48 percent of the members voting.

Then in October 1982, the workers voted overwhelmingly to reject a fourth concession contract after Chrysler reported a modest profit.

The Canadian UAW members working under a similar contract went a step further. They not only rejected the proposed contract, they also voted to go on strike. They stayed out for five weeks and won a significant pay raise for themselves and U.S. workers despite Chrysler's threats that any wage increase would send the company into bankruptcy. Chrysler made record profits in the first half of 1983.

Many workers learned from that experience.

By fighting back — against the advice of the top union misleaders — gains were made.

In 1983, based on these gains, Chrysler workers took another step forward. They made it clear to the company that another big wage gain was in order in light of Chrysler's record profits. They threatened to strike in January 1984. That threat pressured Chrysler to give a big wage increase — an immediate \$1-perhour and an additional \$1.42 over the next two years.

This important victory against Chrysler—
the symbol of concession contracts for most
workers—came in the context of huge profits
in the auto industry. Yet the Chrysler workers'
success has not been typical for most of the
working class. The situation has been one of
setbacks and defeats in the main because of the
class-collaborationist "concession bargaining"
strategy of the union bureaucracy.

The experience at Chrysler shows that as the capitalist economy picks up and workers see signs of new corporate profits, their level of confidence and combativity rises and new gains can be won. Connected to this, we are also witnessing some signs of increasing militancy in defensive struggles as well.

Meat packers and copper miners

In June 1983, meat-packing workers struck the Wilson Foods Company, the largest fresh pork processor in the United States. The strike came in response to a new union-busting tactic of the employers — Wilson declared bankruptcy. However, the company openly admitted it did not plan to go out of business. Rather it was using the bankruptcy laws to tear up its union contracts. Its competitors, it said, had lower wages and weaker or no unions, and Wilson wanted equity.

The rise of nonunion plants is a result of restructuring in the meat processing industry. For a number of years union-organized plants have been relocating to new cities and states to remove or weaken the unions.

After the shock of the bankruptcy maneuver, the workers pressured their national leadership to call a strike. Three weeks later the workers forced Wilson to back down somewhat from their initial takeback demands. Workers accepted an approximately \$2-per-hour wage cut instead of the over \$4-per-hour one that Wilson first imposed. Considering the lack of national labor solidarity, the strike was a modest success.

In mid-year three other important defensive strikes were imposed on the workers.

On July 1, 13 unions representing copper miners in Arizona — who are majority Chicano, *mexicano*, and Native American — were forced out on strike by the Phelps Dodge Corp., the second largest copper producer in the United States.

The strike is more than a struggle between labor and management. It is a combined fight for the rights of oppressed nationalities and for stronger unions. And this is how many of the workers see it.

The strike is instructive on two levels. It

shows how the various arms of the state power—the courts, National Guard, police, scabs—have been and continue to be used against the strikers and their families to defeat the strike and bust the unions. And it reflects the growing militancy of the rank and file and their allies, who are drawing some valuable lessons about the class struggle, particularly the role of the government.

For example, the government is helping the company herd scabs into the mines. In August, over 800 National Guardsmen were mobilized for that purpose. The news media refer to the strikers as "mobs." The company threatens to evict striking workers from company-owned homes and denies them medical care at the company-owned hospitals. The courts issue injunctions limiting the number of pickets at each mine.

The workers have responded by organizing militant pickets. They have filed lawsuits against both the company and government for their strike-breaking activities and harassment. Women and children have established independent auxiliaries to back the strike.

At the same time, the top layers of the national union officialdom — particularly the AFL-CIO — have refused to actively mobilize the millions of union members around the country to give the copper miners enough aid to win.

This lack of effective national solidarity is one reason the strike has not been won. It indicates a fundamental weakness of the labor movement today as the employers deepen their offensive. It is harder and harder for workers in one plant or industry to make gains by themselves.

The trade union bureaucracy's refusal to organize active solidarity is a factor in why most defensive strikes are losing or barely holding their own. Despite worker militancy, advances have been few.

Telephone workers strike

Another recent example involved the more than 675,000 unionized telephone workers at the huge American Telephone and Telegraph company. Last year AT&T reaped \$7.2 billion in profits. The workers expected a decent wage increase — at least to keep up with inflation — and some improvements in benefits in their new contracts.

But AT&T had something else in mind. It demanded takebacks from the unions. It said the government's decision to restructure the telephone industry by breaking AT&T into 22 smaller companies — but still owned by the same capitalists — meant its profits would begin to decline.

The three unions involved were forced to call a strike. The unions demanded job security for all currently employed workers. Specifically they sought a job retraining program to minimize the impact of the introduction of new technology. They also demanded a decent wage increase and other improvements.

The company refused to negotiate seriously until it became clear that the workers were

ready and willing to strike indefinitely to win a decent contract. AT&T finally retracted its major takeback demands and gave the workers a modest wage increase after a 22-day strike.

The arrogance of AT&T, a company making superprofits, is a reflection of a common attitude among the employers: it is possible to take and take because the unions lack a leadership willing to fight back.

AT&T's problem was that it ran into the militant rank and file who believed — like the Chrysler workers — that the company had money to meet their demands.

Continental walkout

The employers' determination to cut labor costs is also evident in the confrontation between the major domestic airlines and their workers.

The airline employers have also used bankruptcy laws to bust the airline unions. Continental Airlines, for example, simply announced one day that it was filing for bankruptcy and terminated 12,000 workers. Three days later it reopened as the "New Continental Airlines." The "new" company rehired only 4, 800 workers and cut wages in half. Qualitatively worse working conditions were also imposed.

The workers were told to live by this "yellow dog contract" or be out of a job. That is what happened to Continental mechanics, who went on strike in August after the airline made its last offer — they were immediately fired. This was before the bankruptcy ploy was used.

Once Continental declared bankruptcy, the pilots and flight attendants had no choice — fight back or capitulate.

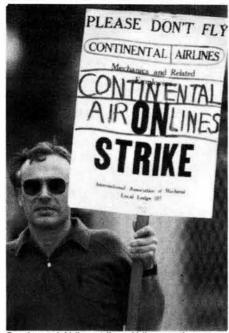
The decision of the airline pilots in particular to walk the picket lines is quite significant. These are some of the highest-paid workers, and they have generally displayed little solidarity when other airline workers have struck. They refused, for instance, to respect the mechanics' pickets in August, and in 1981 they crossed the picket lines of the striking air traffic controllers.

These employer attacks and the workers' response are fueling the working class radicalization. Growing numbers of workers continue to question where the country is heading and to consider alternative ideas for defending themselves. This is true for most working people, but especially for workers in basic industries that are in the process of major capitalist restructuring such as auto, steel, rail, trucking, and airlines.

Radicalization and polarization

The radicalization of workers is developing alongside a growing class polarization in U.S. society. Under the employers' offensive, the capitalist economic stagnation, and the beginnings of working-class resistance, there is a tendency for opposing class interests to be reflected in political life more and more openly, much more so than in a period of capitalist expansion and social stability.

This process of polarization does not mean



Continental Airline striker. Airline employees respond to management's attempts to bust their unions through use of bankruptcy laws.

that all U.S. workers are moving to the left. Many workers — especially those who are still relatively privileged — still identify with the interests of "their country," "their boss," and "their industry."

Such views are pushed by the trade union bureaucracy. Thus many workers have voted for concession contracts, believing it will "save" their plant and job. There is not yet a clear understanding that capitalism itself is why plants shut down, "run away" to nonunion areas or abroad, or declare bankruptcy.

Some older workers with a degree of job security accept two-tier wage scales in which new hires start at half pay. Older workers, those with long seniority, believe this may save their jobs. It is only when they themselves are under attack that they begin to jettison such ideas. This is happening to many older workers in auto and steel.

Another feature of this class polarization is the growing battle over ideas taking place inside the working class.

In this discussion of ideas, the labor bureaucracy serves as the mouthpiece of the employers in the labor movement. A good example is the campaign for protectionism being led by top officials of the garment, steel, and auto unions.

While different views exist within the ruling class on import restrictions, tariffs, etc., all of the employers benefit when U.S. workers are encouraged to blame workers in other countries for the crisis caused by capitalism. This lets the bosses off the hook and impedes workers from coming to a correct understanding of how best to fight for jobs.

Moreover, the anti-imports stance is undermining labor solidarity among U.S. workers and between U.S. and other workers. This type of worker "competition" is an aid to the employers and can ultimately lead workers to accept the employers' view that "defense" of the company's profits means fighting their wars to "defend" the country.

The fact that the government is central to the employers' attacks on working people is making clear to more and more workers the need to develop a strategy that challenges the government directly.

Where does the labor movement stand in developing such a perspective?

No motion toward independent politics

Although there is no organized expression of working people developing a political perspective independent of the employers and their parties, the Democrats and Republicans, over the last several months there have been signs of working people trying to go in that direction. This is most pronounced in the Black community where discussions about forging broader political alliances to push for more political representation and influence are most developed. The result of the employers' offensive in general is leading more working people to think about and discuss politics.

The crucial challenge — and need — is to forge a class-struggle leadership to prevent further setbacks and defeats and eventually take on the political monopoly of the capitalist class.

It means the unions forming a mass labor party — something that does not exist in the United States because of the officialdom's complete subordination to the capitalist parties.

Although motion in the labor movement or among labor's stratgic allies — Blacks, Latinos, women, and family farmers — toward breaking with the capitalist parties is not expressed in an organized form there is a serious discussion developing around the 1984 presidential election on the need to build new alliances of the oppressed and exploited to achieve more political clout.

This is especially true among the oppressed Black nationality. Jesse Jackson, a prominent Black civil rights leader, has announced publicly that he is considering entering the race for the Democratic Party presidential nomination. This idea, of a Black running for president, has generated a wide-ranging discussion among Blacks, Latinos, farmers, and all workers. This discussion centers on how the oppressed can best fight for more political power.

Jackson makes clear that he is not talking about independent working-class political action. He argues that the oppressed must remain within the Democratic Party. Nevertheless the discussion he has helped initiate poses the broader question of how working people can achieve political power. It reflects growing dissatisfaction with the capitalist political parties and helps open the door to a discussion of genuinely independent working-class political action.

In this situation of political ferment, the top layers of the trade union bureaucracy have reaffirmed their strong support to the two-party capitalist system and their traditional support to the Democratic Party. That is why the AFL-CIO voted to endorse Walter Mondale. The bureaucracy is procapitalist and opposes any motion toward a labor party.

How will a new leadership arise?

Workers will overcome this class-collaborationist leadership through struggles against the employers' offensive at home and abroad. It is through struggles that workers are learning lessons and will bring forth new leaders to defend their interests. While there is no motion now toward a labor party, the defensive strikes, the antiwar sentiments, and the fact that tens of thousands of unionists marched in Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom on August 27 along with a half million other working people are all part of the process that is deepening the political consciousness of many workers.

Furthermore, there is no way to know in advance which unions will move forward first and over what issues.

For instance, in the late 1960s and early 1970s a rank-and-file movement rose up in the oldest industrial union in the United States—the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). That movement became so powerful that it overthrew the entrenched bureaucracy and established important elements of rank-and-file control over the coal-miners' union.

How did it begin? Mine workers built a movement around health and safety. In response to the deadly illness, "Black Lung," miners demanded federal health and safety legislation. The top union leadership reluctantly supported the movement but refused to lead the fight against the coal operators necessary to win these demands.

During this movement, new leaders who favored democracy in the UMWA began to come forward. Although the bureaucracy used force and violence to attempt to beat back the movement, eventually the bureaucratic caste was thrown out — not just at the top, but throughout the UMWA. Democratic forms of functioning — many of which existed on paper but had been abused by the bureaucracy — were given life blood and new ones instituted for the first time since the union was founded in the late 1800s.

This revolution in a major industrial union was an unprecedented development, something not seen since the rise of industrial unionism in the 1930s.

The democratic forms established by the mine workers — which will not necessarily be the same in other unions when their bureaucratic castes are overthrown — have continuously been utilized by the miners to defend their interests. Many a local, regional, and national leadership has been removed by the ranks when they felt these leaderships were not effectively fighting the coal operators.

The miners' experience places them in a stronger position than most workers to forge a class-struggle leadership to fight the bosses' continuing takeback demands.

At the same time, like other unions, the UMWA is facing the combined power of the employers, courts, and government. A united front of all unions and other working people is needed to respond to this reactionary capitalist alliance. That is why a militant national labor movement, beginning in the political arena and extending to the shop floor, is needed to effectively defend working people's interests today.

What the last year has shown is that the fight for jobs, better health care, and education and against U.S. wars abroad — means a political fight against the employers and their gov-

The last year has also shown that workingclass radicalization is uneven, based on the depth of the employers' offensive in any particular industry and its connection to the national and international objectives of U.S. capitalism. While there have been more setbacks and defeats for workers in this recent period of class struggle, these experiences are clarifying class politics to more and more workers. Growing resistance as well is convincing many workers that fundamental change is needed to end the crisis.

Bolivia

Trotskyist groups merge

Establish POR-Unificado

[The following is taken from the October 3 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly journal published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The footnote is from the original.]

On July 2 and 3, 1983, a unification congress of the POR-Combate (Revolutionary Workers Party — Bolivian section of the Fourth International) and Vanguardia Comunista del POR (Communist Vanguard of the POR) took place. The new organization has taken the name of POR-Unificado. The first issue, in July, of the newspaper of the new organization, called *Bandera Socialista*, was entirely given over to the analysis of the congress. The unification has come after four years of discussion and joint activity between the two organizations.

The congress took place in the headquarters of *Radio Nueva América*, which broadcast the first hour of the proceedings. There were 150 delegates present: miners, workers, peasants, teachers, and students, coming from La Paz, Huanuni, Siglo XX, Potosí, Oruro, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, Escoma, and San José.

Fraternal greetings were given by a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican section of the Fourth International. Representatives of Bolivian organizations, the PRIN (Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left) and the Revolutionary Front of the Left (FRI), and a leader of the Bolivian Workers Confederation (COB) also addressed the conference.

In his address, the representative of the PRIN, who brought the greetings of Juan Lechín to the congress, stated that "our presence is neither casual nor just for form....We are realistic and modest, but the PRIN undertakes to take an active part in the programmatic unity of the left."

The FRI delegate declared that "cogovernment* requires a powerful instrument that the left forces must create....The working class needs a driving force, and a first step towards this has been taken here." Comrade Karina spoke to the conference on behalf of the revolutionary women of the POR-Combate to highlight the important role of organized women in the revolutionary process.

After the opening contribution by Victor Sosa, leader of the former VC del POR, the longtime Bolivian Trotskyist leader Hugo González Moscoso, member of the former POR-Combate, opened the debate of the unification congress. At the end of this contribution he stated that it is necessary to pose the question of power for the popular masses through "their own organizations, through the Bolivian Workers Confederation, a people's assembly, a workers and peasants parliament."

A presidium of six union leaders including Felipe Vázquez and Augusto León, miners' leaders from Huanuni and Siglo XX, organized the discussion, which concluded by adopting the general line of the program, the statutes, and the political resolution for POR-Unificado. It was also decided to maintain the new organization as the Bolivian section of the Fourth International. A central committee of 17 full members and two alternates was elected.

The political resolution, extracts of which are published in *Bandera Socialista* No. 1, outlines the way in which the austerity policy carried out by the Democratic People's Union (UDP) government and the pressure of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) sharpen the antiworker measures being taken and underlines the weakness of the UDP governmental

^{*}The COB has recently proposed to the UDP government a cogovernment formula, along the lines of the workers majority comanagement in the mines.

coalition, shaken by numerous internal crises.

The document looks finally at the most recent workers' actions, the occupation of COMIBOL by the miners, and the appeal by the second congress of the Single Confederation of Rural Workers in favor of a cogovernment between the COB, the CSUTCB, and the UDP. These events allow the comrades to affirm that "the workers are not defeated."

The POR-Unificado proposes to launch a national campaign against the austerity policy of the UDP government on the following lines: "Against the economic measures that the IMF wishes to impose. For the rejection of the foreign debt. Against unemployment and for the

right to work. For the minimum living wage and sliding scale of wages. For the workers, through the COB, to revise and determine the price rises of necessary articles. For the workers to decide the rate of production. For workers majority comanagement in state enterprises and for workers control and their right of veto in private enterprises."

The other axis of the political work of the POR-Unificado will be the fight for "the constitution of a united front of the workers parties and people's organizations around the COB, concentrated on the need to deepen the present democratic process and prevent a fascist coup d'etat."

Campamento Guamachuco. They have come from different places simply because they had nowhere else to go. Most are relatives of families already established here and are living in their houses. They have tried every legal means of obtaining housing, even writing letters to the government, but without success. The government has told them they must leave Santiago.

"Some of the long-established families here are also threatened with eviction. They have been told they must move to another part of Santiago. But the houses they are supposed to occupy are too small to accommodate all their relatives, and there is no land on which to grow vegetables.

"They would also have to pay rent. Since most of the residents of the campamentos are unemployed or receive only the minimum wage from the government's public works projects, they cannot afford to move. We think the government wants the land to build a concentration camp."

In response to this situation, the 51 families formed their own organization. They held two meetings in a park nearby to explain their situation and advertised them by leafleting the campamento. At the second meeting, nearly all the residents from the two closest campamentos were in attendance.

"The 51 families presented a list of what they would need to organize a land seizure if they should be evicted, and each of the community organizations present took responsibility for a different aspect," the residents explained.

"For instance, the committee on public works will look after food collection and distribution, while the housing committee will be responsible for food preparation and cooking. The youth organization is taking care of security and self-defense in case of confrontations with the police.

"Health and sanitation is the responsibility of several groups in the community, including the women's health group and the health committee of the church." (While the church is not directly involved in the organization of the campamento, it is supporting the land seizure.)

"The sports committee will take care of the children of the 51 families while the seizure is under way. Depending on how severe the repression is, the seizure can last a long time before the settlement is firmly established.

"Before these 51 families came together here, most of them had no previous experience in organizing. But they have declared they are ready to do anything to stay where they are. It is their own decision, and they mean it. And we are going to support them."

Chile

Homeless organize land seizures

Resistance to regime in Santiago's shantytowns

By Jeff Hollander

SANTIAGO — One way in which the mounting opposition to the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile is being expressed is through land seizures by homeless families. The housing shortage is a chronic problem for working people here. It is estimated that in Santiago alone, out of a total population of about 4 million people, at least 800,000 are without adequate housing.

On the outskirts of the city huge shantytowns, or *campamentos*, have sprung up. The homeless have simply taken over areas of land and built crude houses. These settlements are illegal, and however inadequate the housing they provide, the residents must still defend themselves against eviction.

I visited the campamentos known as Guamachuco I and II, on the outskirts of Santiago. A new land seizure is being prepared there, and I spoke to some of the residents involved in the community organizations.

Guamachuco was established in a land seizure in February 1973. Such actions were common under the People's Unity (UP) government of Salvador Allende, and many of the campamentos in the vicinity were set up at the same time. The last land seizure in this area took place in May 1973, and is called Campamento 1 de Mayo.

The UP government began a building program aimed at placing all the residents of the campamentos in satisfactory housing. Some of the results can still be seen in the line of apartment buildings that adjoins the campamentos. But the program was abruptly cut short after the September 1973 military coup. The partly constructed buildings were not completed until several years later. Those apartments that had not already been occupied by the time of the coup were sold off at prices the campamento residents could not afford.

In Campamento Guamachuco there are 480



Anti-Pinochet protest in Santiago in early October.

families, most of whom have been living here for several years. The housing is clearly below normal health standards — everywhere there are crudely constructed one-room houses with dirt floors.

Still, the scene in the campamentos is not one of degradation or demoralization. For example, the campamentos are free of the piles of refuse in the streets that are characteristic of most urban slums.

The only defense these communities have against the bulldozer is organization, and in each campamento there are strong community groups that take up the different aspects of public life. These communities saw some of the fiercest fighting in the recent protests.

The residents explained the background to the land seizure they were planning:

"There are 51 newly arrived families in

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