

4 November 1983

Dougherty/Camera 5

Rape of Grenada





Big Stick invasion of Grenada (left) can't hide Reagan's Beirut bombing disaster, which killed more than 230 (right).

Bloody Mess in Lebanon

NOVEMBER 1—Finally they thought they found a country small enough for Reagan's supercommandos to cream. Ronald Reagan had to divert attention quickly from the Beirut bombing that wiped out Marine headquarters in Lebanon, killing more than 230 U.S. troops. "We need a win," kept insisting election-minded White House advisers. Invading tiny Grenada, only twice the area of Washington, D.C. with a population no larger than a couple of Harlem housing projects, appealed to the Pentagon because it was "do-able." But five days after the leathernecks stormed the white sand beaches of this Caribbean island, the "can do" generals and admirals still couldn't seem to do it. With 1,900 Marines, several units of Rangers, more than 5,000 paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne and a war fleet of 20 ships, they managed to seize two airports and the town of St. George's. They said it could take weeks to clean out Cubans holed up in the hills. The Yankee shark will succeed in swallowing the Caribbean sardine, of course. But after all the flag waving has died down, not even the unprecedented press censorship can turn the Grenada invasion into a great U.S. victory in its anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan is in big trouble over Lebanon-big enough to be the undoing of his administration. Those body bags being flown into Dover Air Force Base should be stacked up in the White House. Things got so bad last week that



We reprint below a communiqué by the Cuban government broadcast over Radio Havana at 4 p.m., Wednesday, October 26.

"The people were informed that at approximately 0700 hours communications between the Cuban embassy in Grenada and the Cuban defensive positions were cut off.

"It was not possible to receive any more information on the course of the latest fighting and the individual fate of each one of the comrades defending their positions. "We can only tell you that at 0955 hours the Cuban embassy in Grenada reported that the latest enemy attack on our positions was carried out using all available means: fighter aircraft, helicopters, heavy and medium culibre artillery and mortars. But of the end, a group of six contrades, clutching our flag, continued fighting.

"At 1117 hours our ambassador communicated that there is no further Cuban resistance. The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for the homeland." Even conservative hawks like Georgia senator Sam Nunn were for a phased withdrawal from "Mission Impossible." And Marines interviewed in Beirut wanted out, now, alive. We can support that.

In this particular deal America has been manipulated into becoming lsrael's cat's paw. Pointing to Israel's withdrawal, Sam Nunn argued:

> "Lebanon is surely no more vital to our interests than to those of Israel, yet Israel has recognized that its soldiers' lives should not be risked further in the cauldron of Lebanon's factional strife."

Given the comparative populations, if the 230-plus dead in the October 23 blast had been Israelis, it would be the equivalent of 23 thousand American soldiers killed. And with the Zionist "master race" psychology which equates one dead Israeli with 100 Arabs, the country would have exploded. So Israel's terrorist generals and terrorist cabinet ministers are openly laughing themselves silly. They did it smart: swearing they wouldn't leave Lebanon, dragging in the Americans to cover them when they got trapped in Beirut and then precipitously withdrawing, leaving the U.S. holding the bag. (And at least the Israelis do know how to protect a military compound ... or how to blow one up-witness the Zionists' 1946 attack on British HQ in Jerusalem's King David Hotel.)

they stopped announcing the number of dead and began announcing the survivors. It was the largest number of U.S. troops killed on a single day since the height of the Tet offensive in Vietnam. And the immediate reaction of Marine families was to see their sons as victims rather than heroes: "It almost seems like Vietnam again.... Those poor boys dying, and I'm sure they don't know what they're dying for."

"Go in or get out" was a cry heard particularly from the military, which has been more than a little gun-shy over Central America—wary of another unwinnable war without public support.

As the shock hit America last Sunday, continued on page 10



Don't Extradite Chris Taylor! Alabama Out to Lynch Taylor Family

The case of five members of the Taylor family who defended themselves from a Klan-style marauder attack by Alabama cops goes to trial in mid-November. Already evidence from recently concluded pre-trial hearings has revealed the monstrous police lies and cover-ups being strung together into a Southern lynch law noose. The Taylors face up to life imprisonment in the racist hellholes of Alabama prisons. They are battling for their lives. In particular, Chris Taylor is now fighting extradition from Michigan. Workers, blacks, all decent people must come to their defense!

On February 27 the Taylor family, including five members of the United Auto Workers from Pontiac, Michigan were gathered in Montgomery to mourn the death of Annie Bell Taylor. Shortly before midnight two unidentified white men screaming racial epithets broke down the door and burst in with guns drawn. Twenty-one-year-old Chris Taylor was shot. The Taylors, thinking they were under KKK attack, disarmed the racist thugs and called the cops. But the racist thugs were the cops. Eleven members of the Taylor family spent ten

days in the Montgomery city jail, where they were subjected to beatings, torture and South Africa-style forced confession. Now they're on trial for their lives for the "crime" of defending themselves against racist terror.

The cover-ups, lies and destruction of vital evidence revealed by the pre-trial hearing are grotesque. Simply verifying that the Taylors themselves called for police assistance would in itself establish their innocence, so naturally the cops are claiming that the automatic tape recording of the call was "inadvertently" erased. A police clerk has been forced to quit because she testified that two policemen came back the night the Taylors were assaulted and listened to the supposedly nonexistent tapes. A black city councilman, Donald Watkins, did his own investigation. His sources told him that the official police version of the tapes was a lie, and indicated strongly that the cop wounded at the Taylor home was shot by a fellow policeman. The cops were covering up the beating of the black family: Watkins was told the Taylors were "bouncing off the walls" of the police station, "You could hear them screaming all the way

down to Ed (Maj. E.B.) Alford's office" (Detroit Free Press, 7 October).

Watkins didn't want to divulge his contacts until they testified publicly but when he was cited for contempt and fined \$2,000, he named Captain T.J. McLain, head of the Montgomery cops' internal affairs division. McLain suddenly requested early medical retirement while denying that he had given information to Watkins. But he was contradicted by another cop, retired police captain Robert Lynch, who testified that he had warned McLain to change his earlier testimony and admit that he had knowledge of the Taylors' station house beating! Two other cops have refused to testify at all, and four cops, including McLain, who are involved in the case have been put out to pasture since the hearings began-each on paid administrative leave by order of notoriously racist mayor Emory "Führer" Folmar.

Despite the blatant lies and coverups, not a single one of 27 motions by the Taylors' attorneys to dismiss indictments was granted! The courts also refused their lawyers the right to examine the recorder and police tapes. In Montgomery, where the Confederate stars and bars still waves over George "Segregation Forever" Wallace's capitol, it is clear that the Taylors will receive no justice. When they come to trial, it will be presided over by H. Randall Thomas, known as a "hanging judge." And in Alabama a jail term for blacks sent up for shooting white cops can easily become a death sentence. Small wonder that Chris Taylor is fighting extradition!

The Taylors can be saved not by relying on "justice" from the racist Southern courts, but by a mass outpouring of labor and blacks. When the Taylors were first arrested, their defense won immediate support from workers in Warren, Ohio, in Pontiac and Detroit. If the Taylors are convicted, any black who journeys down South for a vacation, or to mourn a relative in dignity, is taking his life in his hands. The defense of the Taylors must become a focus for mass labor-centered demonstrations, North and South. Nothing less can win the fight.

No extradition of Chris Taylor! Drop the charges against the Taylors! Jail the racist cops! A million dollars compensation to the Taylors!

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Success

Congratulations to all the comrades on the successful completion of the 1983 Workers Vanguard subscription drive. The six-week drive reached 126 percent of the national quota, bringing WV subs (in the U.S. and overseas) to nearly 3,100. We also sold 855 Young Spartacus and 461 Women and Revolution subs. This year's individual winner was comrade Paula of SF with 1071/2 points; runners-up were Debbie H. of New York with 96 and Gordy of Detroit/Ann Arbor with 91. Honorable mention to Xandra (SF), Peter A. (Oakland), Kathie S. (Boston) and Tom D. (Boston), with more than 60 points apiece.

This year's drive started off early with the sale of 400 sub points at the M.L. King Day marches in Washington and San Francisco and 293 more at Labor Day marches nationwide, mainly to black and Latino workers who rejected the Democratic Party vote-hustling theme of these events and were intrigued by WV's headline, "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution-Labor, Blacks: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!"

Key to winning new readers among blacks and other working people has been the success of the Spartacist League's strategy of labor/black mass

mobilization against KKK/Nazi racist terrorism and cop brutality. The SLinitiated mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the Klan from marching on the streets of Washington on 27 November 1982 has gained us a hearing among blacks and other anti-racist militants, particularly in the South. We note with pride the sub drive success of our two new Southern branches-Washington and Atlanta-which grew directly out of the November 27 victory. The Atlanta comrades sold 31 introductory subs at Atlanta's first Labor Day march in more than 30 years.

Sub drive work on campus, always important in introducing the Spartacus Youth League to students at the beginning of the school year, brought mixed results this year. As we have observed before, under the impact of Reagan reaction and anti-Soviet war drive, the petty-bourgeois radicalization of the late 1960s has mainly evaporated, with American social relations reverting to the historically more normal pattern where the workers are more class-



| FINAL IVIALS | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|------------|-----|
| Local | Quota (in points) | Total) | % |
| Atlanta | 120 | 140 | 117 |
| Berkeley/Oaklan | d 450 | 498 | 111 |
| Boston | 350 | 424 | 121 |
| Chicago | 300 | 395 | 132 |
| Cleveland | 170 | 234 | 138 |
| Detroit | 300 | 351 | 117 |
| Los Angeles | 280 | 322 | 115 |
| . | | | |

conscious than the students are radical. In Boston, a branch that does mainly student work, comrades estimated it took twice as many hours' work as in past years to sell a roughly equal number of campus subs. This year we targeted colleges with large concentrations of minority and working-class students. Atlanta sold 65 points at the Atlanta University complex of colleges while Washington sold 35 points at Howard University-two historically important centers of black student radicalism and Southern black cultural/intellectual life. The Washington comrades also sold 11 points at Morgan State in Baltimore.

Though campus sales still accounted for a lot of points, most locals spent a good proportion of their time in black and integrated working-class neighborhoods where WV is regularly sold at street sales and where door-to-door work has been done in the past. Boston sold 60 points door-to-door in Cambridgeport, Mattapan and Dorchester; Washington sold 22 points on regional trips to the Tidewater, Virginia area; L.A. neighborhoods yielded 30 points. But the most systematic efforts were made by the comrades in Chicago. Last year the Chicago local sold an impressive 178 points door-to-door to follow up the success of the SL-organized labor/black protest of 3,000 that confronted a Nazi provocation against gay rights marchers in Chicago on 27 June 1982. This year the Chicago comrades revisited these readers in their homes to talk about WV and urge them to resubscribe-nearly half did (84 points). The Chicago comrades also sold 102 points in new subs door-to-door on the South and West Sides and in the industrial cities of Gary and Hammond, Indiana, and Milwaukee. The Bay Area locals' Northern sub tour to Oregon/Washington State netted 194 points, while New York comrades sold 93 points in Philadelphia in two trips. Also important were Cleveland's trips to Warren, Ohio, a depressed auto town and home of one branch of the victimized Taylor family. We welcome our new readers. And we hope that many of them will become our active supporters in the struggles of the working people and oppressed for freedom and socialism. Let us hear from you with comments and criticisms about our articles and views. And we urge you to help introduce WV to new readers by bringing our paper to the attention of coworkers and friends.

Yankee Big Stick Hits Grenada

"Eternal glory to the Cubans who have fallen and to those who have fought and are still fighting to defend their honor, their principles, their internationalist work, their homeland, and their own personal lives threatened by the unjustified, treacherous and criminal imperialist attack."

-Statement of the Communist Party and Government of Cuba, Havana, 26 October 1983

Armed only with light infantry weapons, facing Cobra helicopter gunships, jet fighters and heavy artillery, 700 Cuban construction workers in Grenada heroically resisted the onslaught by thousands of U.S. Marines, Rangers and paratroopers. Though they could not win, they defended their positions until they ran out of ammunition. When Cuban foreign minister Ricardo Alarcón denied on ABC-TV's "Nightline" (27 October) that Cuba had soldiers in Grenada, interviewer Ted Koppel responded:

Koppel: "Well, I must compliment you because apparently your laborers make an extraordinary army. I shudder to think what the Cuban army is like if your laborers fight that well."

Alarcón: "I can tell you that our people as a whole is prepared and has the political will, the consciousness and also the preparation to fight and to defend themselves. If such an invasion like the one in Grenada occurred in Cuba, for sure the world will see a bigger demonstration of how our people—workers, students, intellectuals, normal persons, not professional soldiers—know how to fight...."

In contrast, according to all accounts, the Grenadian "People's Revolutionary Army" more or less dissolved. The PRA was good at shooting down unarmed civilian demonstrators and executing cabinet ministers. Two weeks ago when Grenada's radical nationalist prime minister Maurice Bishop was freed from house arrest by a crowd of supporters, troops in an armored car fired on the population. Bishop and a half dozen other Grenadian leaders were murdered in cold blood. Then the "Revolutionary Military Council" imposed a 24-hour, shoot-to-kill curfew to consolidate its hold. But when the Yankee imperialists took advantage of this bloodbath to launch an invasion, the PRA just melted away. This is attested to not only by the capitalist media but also by supporters of Bishop's New Jewel Movement (NJM). Amina Hassan, a reporter for Pacifica News who spent the last year in Grenada, said in an October 28 radio interview:

"There was a lot of support for Bishop and then when the coup came there was a lot of division now. But the PRA, the





It took 6,000 U.S. troops to subdue tiny Grenada, and they're still "mopping up."

M. Norcia

army...had given up fighting. They were just taking off the uniforms and asking people for regular clothes just to sort of fade back into the background."

The Cubans were allied with the NJM and many on the left equated Castro's Cuba with Bishop's Grenada. For the Reaganites they were all "Communist terrorists." Why, then, such a striking difference between the internationalist Cubans who stood their ground and fought, and Grenadian "revolutionaries" who wouldn't even defend their own revolution?

Palace Coup

One of the most macabre aspects of the U.S. invasion of Grenada was Reagan's new-found concern for the assassinated Bishop, now described as "a Marxist-Leninist, but one which his Caribbean neighbors could live with." This is garbage. Maurice Bishop and his populist-nationalist New Jewel Movement have been targeted by the U.S. as a "Soviet/Cuban proxy" ever since the NJM came to power in 1979. As soon as Bishop established relations with Castro, Washington rehabilitated his predecessor Sir Eric Gairy, a neocolonial dictator fascinated by UFOs and whose infamous "Mongoose Gang" of thugs terrorized the island's black population, as a "constitutional" government.

When the new regime refused to knuckle under to State Department warnings, the Pentagon began planning its overthrow. Two years ago it staged operation "Ocean Venture 81," a mock invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques which is remarkably similar to Grenada. Last week TV showed film clips of Bishop declaring: "They [the Americans] are right now, right now this very minute, sitting down and planning the final stages of their armed attack against our revolution." At the time these charges were dismissed as "paranoia" and "Communist propaganda." But last month they just dusted off their Cuban embassy to leave the country even *prior* to Bishop's murder. This suggests that the country was going the way of Suriname, where in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the local military strongman, a Colonel Bouterse, broke with his erstwhile Cuban allies and expelled the embassy, thus transforming himself into one more "free world" dictator.

Even though Cuba sharply condemned the execution of Bishop and a whole section of the NJM leadership, it warned that "imperialism will now try to use this tragedy and the grave errors committed by the Grenadian revolutionaries to sweep away Grenada's revolutionary process." When on October 23, faced with the imminent U.S. powerful Comandante Castro, Cuban workers have resolutely defended it arms in hand, from the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion to the present day. In contrast, Grenada has experienced only a series of palace coups, not revolutions, in which the core of the government apparatus was preserved. It is inconceivable that one of Batista's mercenary killers could have become a leader of the Cuban CP. But Grenada's short-lived strongman, General Hudson Austin did just that—rising from prison guard and corporal in Gairy's army to become the NJM leader who overthrew Bishop.

SWP's Fantasy Island

For the anti-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Grenadian



attack, Grenada's junta requested Cuban troops to defend it, Castro replied forthrightly:

"...the unfortunate developments in Grenada render the useless sacrifice entailed by the dispatching of such reinforcements in a struggle against the

coup must have come as quite a shock. Bishop's NJM, which is affiliated with the social-democratic Second International of Mitterrand and Schmidt, had been one of the shining stars in the SWP's firmament of "revolutionary proletarian leaderships." The SWP's Mary-Alice Waters incredibly claimed of these petty-bourgeois nationalists in power: "Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba-the three giants rising up on the doorstep of imperialism'-have altered the course of world history in the last eighteen months. 'Their literacy drives give the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions a qualitative advantage over the Russian-even if, like the Bolsheviks, they suffer from the lack of cadre to fulfill all the tasks." SWP International Internal Information Bulletin, September 1980 Grenada was hailed as having a "workers and farmers government"-the catchword for the Barnesites' discovery of embryo Cubas throughout the Third World. For Barnes' predecessors 20 years ago, it was Ben Bella's nationalist regime in Algeria that was so honored continued on page 11

3

VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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4 NOVEMBER 1983

plans and staged "Ocean Venture 83."

The U.S. has tried to pin the blame for Bishop's ouster on Cuba. But while many of the particulars are murky, one thing is clear: Castro was horrified by the brutal murder of Bishop. A press release by the Cuban mission to the UN issued on October 20 stated:

"In fact, in our view, more than a conflict of substance, there was a conflict of personalities and in the conception of ruling methods, where subjective factors were not absent....

"No doctrine, principle or proclaimed revolutionary position nor any internal division can justify procedures as atrocious as Bishop's physical elimination and the death of the group of outstanding, honest and honourable leaders who were killed yesterday.

"The death of Bishop and his comrades must be clarified. Should they have been executed in cold blood, those guilty must be exemplarily sanctioned."

The Pacifica Radio reporter noted that Grenada's new rulers had asked the

United States morally impossible before our people and the world.

"That, as a matter of our country's honor, morality and dignity we will keep the Cuban personnel there at a time when powerful Yankee naval forces are approaching Grenada.

"That, if Grenada is invaded by the United States, the Cuban personnel will defend their positions in their camps and working areas with all their energy and courage."

And they did. The Grenadian PRA, in contrast, dissolved, and the people could not fight because the army had *disarmed the militias* after October 12.

The difference between the regimes in Cuba and Grenada was a fundamental class difference. The Cubans had something to fight for: a social revolution which had sent the Cuban bourgeoisie swimming to Miami. Even though that revolution was bureaucratically deformed from the outset, with political power solely in the hands of the all-

Vote Kartsen, Brewer and Smith in NYC Transit For a Fighting TWU!

The newly formed Committee for a Fighting TWU is running in the current elections in Transport Workers Union Local 100 as the sole opposition to the incumbent John Lawe leadership. With the collapse of the out-bureaucratic lash-up around "dissident" Arnold Cherry, the Committee offers a clear choice to New York transit workers who want to struggle against the Transit Authority bosses and racist, strikebreaking mayor Koch.

Local 100's enormous fighting capacity has been shackled by leaderships that have surrendered to the dictates of the bankers' Big MAC austerity program and the Democratic Party city bosses. The real wages and benefits of transit workers have been halved over the past decade; an elaborate system of management spies, or Beakies, operates to harass and victimize workers; the union's "no contract, no work" provision has been discontinued in favor of binding arbitration. Transit workers are literally being murdered both on the job and off the job. Two years ago a black motorman, Jesse Cole, bled to death in his cab while TA president John Simpson organized a press conference to scapegoat him for a faulty signal system. And black union brother Willie Turks was bludgeoned to death by a racist lynch mob only a few hundred feet from his shop in Gravesend, Brooklyn.

The candidates of the Committee for a Fighting TWU are Ed Kartsen, for Local 100 president; David Brewer, for exec board of car maintenance; and Jim Smith, for exec board of the motormen's division. Kartsen, Brewer and Smith are militants who have actively fought to mobilize Local 100 against the TA, Koch and the race-terrorists. As a leaflet announcing their candidacy explained:

"The TWU needs a class struggle leadership to stop the attacks against the unions, minorities and foreign workers. When the T.A. let Jesse Cole bleed to death, Kartsen, Brewer and Smith fought to close down the whole subway system for his funeral. We fought for labor solidarity with PATCO by demanding the shutting down of the train to the plane! We fought to mobilize union forces in flatbed trucks to establish safety and order against lynch mob killers in Gravesend. We helped organize and lead the only union protest of the acquittal of the murderers of Brother Turks. We helped organize the November 27th Labor/Black victory in Washington against the planned KKK march. If you want to turn this union around, vote Kartsen, Brewer and Smith!'

More recently, Ed Kartsen spoke at an ikland, California rally in defense of fired phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, and the Committee has mobilized transit workers to support these victims of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Meanwhile, Arnold Cherry's reformist opposition has completely disintegrated. Cherry announced he would refuse to oppose Lawe, then launched an attack on Kartsen's candidacythereby giving Lawe implicit support. Cherry engaged in gross red-baiting to underscore his loyalty to the capitalist system and ingratiate himself with Lawe. In his "Where I Stand" leaflet, Cherry attacks Kartsen and his fellow militants: "Transit workers must denounce this group of ultra-left elitists, and all 'outside' political groups, whether on the left or far right. For attempting to use transit workers for their political or ideological causes. A rank and file movement for union democracy, better

4





Ed Kartsen

working conditions and wages, must be a movement without interference from all outside groups.

Pretty foul stuff coming from a man who in the past has run on a common slate with supporters of the reformist Communist Party (CP).

"Rather Be Called a Red by a Rat Than a Rat by a Red"

The Commitee answered Cherry in a leaflet, "Cherry: Where He Falls":

"Arnold Cherry has decided not to run against Lawe in the elections and now he's put out a leaflet which says vote for Lawe or vote for nobody! Cherry has left the field open to Lawe and now says nobody else has the right to oppose Lawe! Cherry has become the spoiler for Lawe in this election. He criticizes some of Lawe's sellout policies but the proof is in the pudding. Is Cherry voting for Lawe or for nobody?

"It's no secret that Kartsen and Brewer sought to make a no-contest agreement with Cherry: without hiding our differences, we offered not to run for president if Cherry ran against Lawe. Cherry was given every opportunity to respond to our offer. He indicated, however, that he would not run against Lawe! It would be a defeat for all transit workers if Lawe were to run unopposed....

"Were we as insignificant as Cherry claims we are, we doubt he would spend so much time bad-mouthing us. In fact, many supporters and ex-supporters of Cherry have worked with us to build labor solidarity against union busting, to close down he system deathtrap job conditions and to stop racist lynch mob terror. And we know many workers who've backed Cherry in the past can't stomach the kind of redbaiting you'd expect from an Albert Shanker or Lane Kirkland. If Cherry calls us 'ultra-left' for fighting to unite our union across race lines and stop the lynch mob killers who seek to divide us, all we can do is quote Mike Quill: 'I'd rather be called a red by a rat than a rat by a red.' Maybe Cherry thinks if he does enough red-baiting he can ingratiate himself with John Lawe. "It's no accident that Cherry doesn't mention the need for strike action or say anything about fighting racism. He believes in relying on the racist government, its courts and cops. Cherry, like Lawe, hustles votes for the Democratic Party-the party of racist Koch and liberals like Cuomo who appoint unionbusting CIA spymasters to run N.Y. transit.

David Brewer

past decade or so, our wages and benefits have been virtually cut in half in real terms. It doesn't have to be so. By restoring the tradition of labor solidarity with LIRR and PATH unions and extending solidarity to the big city unions like sanitation workers and by drawing in blacks and Hispanics in our fight for jobs and safe, clean, rapid and free subways, we can turn the tide and win big against the city and T.A. czars and the big bankers! This means a political fight by labor and the op-pressed against the Democrats and Republicans....

"We need a class struggle leadership to win. We do not pretend that such a leadership will be built by elections and paper ballots. Leadership is built in the course of waging strikes and struggles against our oppressors. We are running in this election because we have a program that can show the way to victory in these much needed battles. If you want to fight the T.A., smash racist terror and build a workers party to fight for a workers government run in our interest—then join us."

Committee members told WV that there was widespread disgust among transit workers at Cherry's cowardly and shameful action. This exoppositionist blames the membership for failing to pay dues when it was the TWU tops' capitulation which allowed the courts and the TA to take away the dues check-off. Cherry accuses the ranks of demoralization, but last sumJim Smith

mer when the motormen pulled a slowdown against the slanderous "cowboy" smear of the unionmanagement's attempt to blame transit workers for the dangerous state of NYC subways-as usual he was nowhere to be seen. In Cars and Shops, where Cherry works, the Committee for a Fighting TWU obtained more signatures than this do-nothing "dissident" who is running only for a "safe" E-Board slot. Meanwhile, Cherry's former bloc partners haven't uttered a word of public condemnation against his redbaiting. Mike Scott, chairman of the motormen's division and prominently quoted in the CP's Daily World, reportedly refused to sign the nomination petition for Kartsen, thereby asserting that there should be no opposition to Lawe!

Cherry is part of a now vanishing breed of union "dissidents" that arose in the middle and late '70s in an attempt to exploit widespread anger at the sharp decline in living standards and worsening job conditions in the TA. Their stock in trade was unprincipled maneuvers like suing the TWU leadership and bringing the capitalist courts into union affairs. But their bluff was called during the 1980 transit strike. Although the

continued on page 11

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

'We believe and fight for the independent mobilization of labor and blacks to fight for our needs. The labor movement can and must be rebuilt! Over the

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Ex-Dashiki Democrat No Answer to Born-Again Bigot Populism and Racism in Boston Elections

BOSTON—For the first time in Boston's 350-year history a black candidate has made it to the run-off election for mayor and stands a chance to win this city's top post. Mel King, a black liberal and former dashiki-wearing state representative will be pitted against Boston city council member Ray Flynn from the racist enclave of South Boston. In this city-known as the Birmingham of the North, where racist mobs rampaged through the streets in the 1970s attacking blacks and busing and where only a year ago the Ku Klux Klan tried to stage a racist provocation by marching through City Hall Plaza-many blacks see King's election as a symbol of black power and a "dream come true." But like Chicago's Harold Washington and all the other black elected officials from the two capitalist parties upon whom blacks have placed their hopes, if elected Mel King will betray those aspirations. As head of a capitalist city government he will have the job of administering the same racist austerity, union-busting and cop terror that has always been inflicted on the black, poor and working people of Boston.

In the 1970s King put himself forward as one of the foremost proponents of busing while Flynn was one of its most active opponents. In the present elections both candidates are hiding issues of race and class as King runs for mayor on a campaign platform that is virtually indistinguishable from Flynn. They are both running as representatives of the alienated "neighborhoods" against the gentrification and downtown office tower development of 16-year incumbent mayor Kevin White. Even though the purported big business candidate, David Finnegan, lost, the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce hailed the election outcome as "an extremely healthy one" because "all that racial divisiveness is over and done with."

Not hardly. Mel King's primary victory, like that of other black elected officials, represents the spoils of defeated black struggle, which in Boston centered on busing. Segregated education, like the rest of black oppression, is a legacy of slavery, when it was a "seditious" capital offense to teach blacks reading and writing. The Spartacist League (SL) supports busing as a partial step towards school integration and therefore part of the struggle for genuine racial equality. But the courtenforced plans, especially in Boston, restricted to the impoverished inner city, by hauling black and white students to each other's run-down schools generated resentment and racist backlash out of which racist demagogues like Flynn and Louise Day Hicks of ROAR made their



Black liberal Mel King debates Ray Flynn.

code words for Jim Crow and racist terror. While defending the existing plans against racist attack, the SL insisted that busing had to be extended to the more affluent suburbs to be meaningful. The Boston busing struggles of the mid-'70s were of decisive importance for blacks not only in that city but throughout the nation. The Spartacist League was the only organization to agitate for a united front of Boston's trade unions, black and socialist organizations to defend black schoolchildren against racist terror.

Mel King along with other liberals and the reformist left demanded federal troops to defend black schoolchildren from the racist mobs of the 1970s. But federal troops no less than the National Guard and cops are all armed defenders of the racist imperialist status quo. Instead the SL demanded integrated defense guards recruited from organized labor and black organizations. The Mel King and NAACP legalist strategy of reliance on the bourgeois state allowed busing to be defeated on the streets by Flynn and his allies in ROAR and the racist vigilante South Boston Marshals.

The Klan smelled fertile ground in those streets, and eight years later when the KKK sought to "go North" in the present climate of Reagan reaction they chose Boston as a testing ground, calling a race-hate rally at City Hall Plaza in October 1982. When 1,000 angry demonstrators ran the KKK out of town, King and the rest of the city's black establishment were nowhere to be seen, boycotting the only solid anti-racist stand seen in Boston in years. And that victory over race-terror in which the SL and its youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) played an important part, paved the road for the bigger victory of the SL/SYL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which

stopped the Klan in Washington the following month.

By running a campaign of "neighborhood" populism, King has allowed Flynn and the bourgeois media to dress up this arch-conservative bigot and racist demagogue as a "genuine liberal," "born-again populist" and "Boston's own Lech Walesa" (the one characterization he richly deserves). Flynn has received endorsements of tenant organizations and most trade unions, including the Boston Teachers Union and Boston Central Labor Council. His campaign manager was an activist in the Revolutionary Student Union and SDS. But Flynn has maintained his base in Irish Catholic South Boston by catering to the most backward sentiments of his constituency: he is a notorious opponent of integrated education through busing, and as a state representative in 1975 even filed legislation to end compulsory education so that Southie parents could pull their children out of integrated schools. He opposed abortion (the Flynn/Doyle amendment denying women on Medicaid the right to abortion), opposed nofault divorce, opposed an anti-sexdiscrimination law for the state civil service, opposed repeal of Boston anticommunist laws, opposed birth control for minors, and is for the mandatory death penalty.

King and Flynn run mirror image campaigns exploiting "neighborhood power" and "community control" rhetoric, one in the service of black nationalism and the other in the service of Jim Crow racism. King's latest gimmick is Jesse Jackson's "rainbow coalition." His strategy of "community control" through tax-the-rich schemes is utopian at best, but his "Boston Jobs for Boston People" affirmative action program is downright dangerous, invit-

ing the labor-hating capitalist government to rip up contracts, demolish hardwon seniority and union hiring hall rights and bust unions in the name of "racial equality." In his book Chain of Change (South End Press, 1981), King opposes "existing white unions," equating the entire union movement with the job-trusting labor aristocracy. King's answer is to form "a parallel institution designed to meet the specific needs of Black workers." He has applied this strategy in creating the United Community Construction Workers-a scab labor contracting outfit which serves to reinforce racial divisions and the racist policies of the labor bureaucracy, as demonstrated by its support for Flynn. As against these governmentsponsored union-busting "affirmative action" schemes, an integrated classstruggle union movement can only be forged by conducting aggressive campaigns of preferential recruitment and training through their own union hiring halls.

A key component of both candidates' campaign has been the call for bringing more police into the "community." Flynn even advocates "sensitivity training" for the cops! These are the same cops who last year, after protecting the KKK, turned around and launched an obviously planned attack on the anti-Klan protesters, injuring scores and sending 12 demonstrators to the hospital. These are the same cops who have killed over a dozen people in the past three years, including black teenagers Levi Hart and Braxton Mitchell, and 27-year-old Gary Lee, who was gunned down because the cops said he "looked suspicious" as he sat on his own front porch.

The choice between King and Flynn has posed a dilemma for the city's liberals and "progressives," as well as for the fake-leftist organizations. Workers World Party, the Communist Party (CP) and the Communist Workers Party have all, of course, gone wholehog for King-after all, he's a black "independent." But he is an independent largely because the Democratic Party in Massachusetts has never seen any need to woo black politicians into its fold. Unlike cities in the Midwest, there was no mass migration from the South to Boston, and major industry was restricted to outlying areas. Consequently, power brokers for the Italians and Irish who made up the majority of the city's population were brought into the machine, but blacks were usually seen as insignificant. Former senator Edward Brooke and liberal state representative Bill Owens both switched from the Democrats to the Republican Party

political careers. Anti-busing slogans like "neighborhood schools" became



1974 Boston busing crisis: white racists attack Haitian passer-by (left); Spartacist contingent in pro-busing demonstration.

after realizing they weren't being brought into the power structure. Owens' decision to switch parties in 1981 was influenced by the remark by the house speaker to the Black Caucus that "I don't need you guys" (Boston Globe, 20 February 1981). So King's "breaking" with the Democratic Party in 1981 has nothing to do with a repudiation of the twin parties of capital; he just couldn't reap the spoils of electoral politics within the Democratic Party.

The King/Flynn contest hasn't been so easy for the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the starsand-stripes "socialists" of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). The DSA in particular has been thrown into a tizzy over its endorsement of Flynn. DSA national vice chairman Manning Marable publicly disagreed with the continued on page 11

4 NOVEMBER 1983

5



Demonstrators march through downtown Oakland to Alameda County Courthouse to defend phone workers Mozee and Palmiero, who face prison sentences for defending the picket line (left). Black workers and youth respond to call to defend framed-up phone workers (right).

"Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!"

(continued from page 12)

learned from our experiences and we've been taught that we must unite in order to survive. That is why I say I'm glad that you have cast aside your prejudices against one another and stand united against this overt act of suppression directed towards poor, working people and minorities. We will not tolerate this damnable act to deny us our right to defend ourselves on the picket line."

The demonstators greeted with cheers the announcement by Ray Palmiero that the phone company, under pressure, had distanced itself from the racist scab Hansen. Ray also told the protesters: "I want you to know that your efforts have already paid off to some degree. Now the fight isn't over, but yesterday at our court appearance the District Attorney with a very sad expression on his face made a motion to drop one of the charges." Defense motions for discovery and for dismissal of charges are scheduled to be heard December 1.

Another rally speaker was Tom Sullivan, president of striking USWA Local 1304 in Emeryville. Members of that Steelworkers local have been out for five months, fighting a concerted union-busting campaign by Grove Valve. One black member is currently facing charges for picket duty; he served as a leader of the monitors at Saturday's demonstration. These unionists know that the attack on Ray and Lauren is an attack on the right to have real picket lines. And if you've got no picket lines, you've got no union. The building trades too are being hit by a union-busting campaign. And AFT Local 771 was just evicted from its headquarters in the Piedmont township—traditional home of the local bourgeoisie—and told that unions were not tolerated there. On the day of the rally, the local was moving its office, but was able to send a spokesman.

Many of those who came out to defend Lauren and Ray had strong personal political reasons. One of the interracial couples that participated told us of their firsthand experience with the racist cops in nearby Richmond: the husband, a black man and member of Local 1, public employees, was the victim of the notorious "choke hold"; he still has the marks on his neck. A black student told WV, "My mother's a nurse and goes out on strike... that could have been my mother out there." Just about everyone had a story to tell about living under Reagan reaction. As one young man put it, "Young, gifted and black-1 don't stand a chance." Many protesters were veteran unionists and former civil rights activists; for others, the protest was their first political act. A young CWA member told us that the recent strike was his first and the October 29 demonstration the first he'd ever attended.

A victory for Ray and Lauren can punch a hole in the racist, anti-labor offensive of the Oakland bosses and their cops. The October 29 march and rally points the way forward to fight back against Reagan reaction and racist attack: integrated, labor-centered mobilizations in the streets to fight for our rights.

Determined and disciplined, the

demonstrators were not cowed by the Oakland cops' attempts to harass and provoke them. As the march proceeded down 14th Street to the courthouse, motorcycle cops deliberately grazed three marchers with their bike mirrors. Midway through the march another protester was hit in the back by a cop's handlebar. Upon arriving at the Fallon Street entrance to the courthouse, some six motorcycle cops zoomed through



Motorcycle cops barrel through demonstration, breaking earlier agreement granting this rally site.

crowds of demonstrators on the street. This attempt to "clear" the street contravened a prior agreement between the march organizers and police department officials.

Whatever the Oakland cops'

USWA Local 1304; Ann Fagan Ginger, President, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute; Father William O'Donnell; John George, Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors; Wilson C. Riles, Jr., Oakland City Councilmember; Ed Kartsen, Transport Workers Union Local 100, New York. Endorsers of the march included S. Deacon Alexander and Angela Davis of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and the Communist Party's People's World publicized the rally. Other endorsers included the Freedom Socialist Party and Nelson Johnson of the Communist Workers Party.

That most of the petty-bourgeois "left" milieu neither endorsed nor participated in the October 29 march and rally is a measure of their demoralization and disinterest in militant proletarian struggle. Groups like the Socialist Workers Party and Workers World Party instead chose to turn up in San Francisco to protest in liberal fashion the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Supervisor John George in his speech termed the scab assault on Lauren Mozee "an insult to all black women." That some black Democratic politicians felt compelled to speak out in support of the militant phone workers reflects the outrageous character of the racist attack and the broad labor backing mobilized to defend Lauren and Ray.

Most warmly received by the demonstrators was the speech by Diana Coleman of the Spartacist League.



Funds Urgently Needed

The hard work of defending Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist vendetta of the phone company and the Alameda District Attorney costs money! Ma Bell and the D.A. have millions at their disposal—Lauren and Ray have you: the workers movement, black community and student organizations, concerned individuals who want to see justice done.

The racist anti-labor frame-up of Ray and Lauren has cost them their jobs. The two phone workers have been denied unemployment and must somehow support three children

6

until final victory of our defense campaign wins their reinstatement, back pay and gets the charges dropped. It costs thousands of dollars to fight in the courts and on the streets.

Over a hundred thousand leaflets and some 2,000 posters were distributed to get the word out about the October 29 march and rally to defend Lauren and Ray—all this takes bucks. And the fight is far from over.

The defense effort desperately needs your contribution now. The next time someone is framed for defending a picket line, for defending themselves against racist attack—it could be you. Please make checks payable and send to: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623. motivation for their harassment of the demonstration, we must assume that they view in particular the memory of Charles Briscoe with a mixture of hatred and fear. After a series of racist cop killings, the murder of IAM member Briscoe represented something of a turning point. Hundreds of angry Machinists crowded into the Oakland City Council demanding justice and forcing certain public exposures of the murderous cop rampage against black Oakland.

Despite the efforts at provocation by the police, the protesters maintained their discipline and the rally proceeded without incident. Music was provided by Houston Person's excellent jazz band. Speakers included Tim Ligosky, Exec Board, IAM Local 284; Victor Pamiroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6; Tom Sullivan, President,

Diana's remarks drew applause and cheers at several points as she sketched the class-struggle strategy of the SL:

> "Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions.... You cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter "Mundane" Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction?..

> We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party.... The working people produced everything in this country and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it.... And right now Reagan-with a little shadowboxing in Congress from the Democrats—is trying to lead us into a thermonuclear war which will blow up the whole earth.... Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had, but I will tell you he is not their worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home.

October 29 was an important beginning in the fight to stop the racist, antilabor frame-up of Ray and Lauren. Following the rally, demonstrators gathered for a social where seven new members of the Labor Black League for Social Defense were signed up on the spot; another 30 signed up to find out more about the Labor Black League; 29 subscriptions to WV were sold and some \$480 in donations collected for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee.

Ma Bell and the D.A. may have thought the black and white working people of Oakland would quietly "stay in their place" while two left-wing activists in the union were picked off. But they are dead wrong. It is because the victimized militants are determined to fight the racist vendetta not just in court but through labor/black protest

Labor contingents rally to defend the picket line (right). Houston Person's jazz band plays for rally (below right).



action that the D.A. has begun backing away from one of the phony charges. Ray and Lauren's fight is the fight of every worker-black, white, Asian, Hispanic. As phone workers observed, had the CWA mobilized its ranks and the rest of labor to shut Ma Bell down, had those picket lines been massive, militant displays of workers power, racists like Michelle "Scab" Hansen would not be crossing those lines let alone attacking the workers on them.

Nothing is fair or democratic about

this sick, decaying system: that's why Anthony Sperl and Robert Fredericks and hundreds of other killer cops walk the streets and a five-year-old black child lies in the grave. That's why Hansen has her job today while Ray and Lauren, with three children to support, have virtually no income and are being dragged through the bosses' courts, forced to wage a staggeringly costly legal defense campaign to stay out of jail. The October 29 demonstration is an example in action of the Spartacist

BRING REAGAN DOWN

THROUGH LABOR ACTION!

Down with

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League perspective of forging a multiracial vanguard party to lead the working class not only in effective struggle to defend the rights of labor and the oppressed but to fight for what we really need-a workers government to put the bosses and their state apparatus of repression and racism out of business once and for all. Or, as Victor Pamiroyan of ILWU Local 6 said at the rally, "Maybe one day as workers we'll put companies on trial, and we'll be the jury and the judge!"

Stop THE RACIS WIT-LARON NP. AL-17

OF MATTIN PALMIERO!

CHA LOCAL 9410

STOP THE RACIST ANTI-LABUK

LAUREN MOZEE & RAY PALMIERO MUST NOT GO TO JAIL!

PHONE STRIKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Endorsers of October 29 March and Rally to Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

Partial List of Endorsers

AFSCME Local 444. Oakland, CA

AFSCME Local 2620

AFSCME Local 3235, Los Angeles, CA Carolyn Dukes Alexander. President, Laney Chapter, Council of Black American Affairs' Oaklend, CA

- S. Deacon Alexander, Director, NAARPR, Los Angeles Chapter Robert L. Allen, Director of Ethnic Studies, Mills College, Former Editor Black Scholar

- Robert L. Allen, Director of Ethnic Studies, Mills Čollege, Former Editor, Black Scholar'
 N. Amare: Afro-American Studies Department, * UC Berkeley
 American Postal Workers Union, Oakland, CA
 Barbara E. Andrews. Legislative Chair, CWA Local 9410 and Chair, Finance Committee, Congressman Ronald V. Dellums, San Francisco, CA
 Dr. M.H. Anwar, Author, Memories of Afghanistan
 Bettina Aptheker. AFT UCSC Local' and Lecturer, UC Santa Cruz
 Dr. Cecilla Arrington, Ethnic Studies Chairperson, Merritt College, Oakland, CA
 Association of Graduate Student Employees, UC Berkeley
 Beverly Axelrod, Civil Rights Lawyer, San Francisco, CA
 Reuben Barr, Veteran. Abraham Lincoln Brigade,* San Francisco. CA
 Bay Area Enforcers Van Club, Richmond, CA
 Tom Beardsley, General Fresident, APWU, Oakland Local
 Jefferi Beaulord, Afro-American Studies Department,* UC Berkeley
 Willie Lee Bell, Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM Local 739, Oakland, CA
 Fred Beaulord, Afro-American Studies Department,* UC Berkeley
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 Frederick Blum, Chapter Executive Committee, University Professional of Illinois AFT Local 4100,* Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
 Domenic Bozzotto, President, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 26,* Boston, MA
 Richerd Badley, Spartacist Candidate for San Francisco Board of

- Richard Bradley, Spartacist Candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 1982
- Supervisors, 1982 Allan Brill, Director, San Francisco Interns and Residents Association.* San Francisco, CA
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Saundra Graham, Massachusetts State Representative and Cambridge City

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 Jane Jackson, Human Rights Activist, Gray Panthers,* Oakland, CA
 Philippa Jackson, Cultural Activist, Washington, D.C.
 Randy Johnese, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
 Al Johnson, President, Black Employees Association,* Los Angeles, CA
 Geraldine Johnson, President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* San Francisco, CA

National Conference of Black Lawyers, Bay Area Chapter National Lawyers Guild, Bay Area Chapter J.B. Neilands, Past President, AFT Local 1474,* UC Berkeley Gene Nelsen. Member. Revolutionary Socialist League.* San Francisco, CA Judd Newman, Steward. CWA Local 4309,* Cleveland, OH Eugene "Gus" Newport, Mayor of Berkeley Ann Noel, Regional Vice President, National Lawyers Guild* Richard Oba, Recording Secretary-Treasurer, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA Father William O'Donnell, Pastor, St. Joseph the Workman Church,* Berkeley, CA Mike Olszanski, Trustee, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago. IN Martin Ornelas. Senator, Associated Students,* UC Berkeley Lauro Pacheco, Senator, Associated Students,* UC Berkeley Partisan Defense Committee Joe Patrick, Instructor, Economics, Diablo Valley College

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Organization listed for identification purposes only

4 NOVEMBER 1983

7

Excerpts From Speeches at October 29 Rally "No South Africa-Style Justice in Oakland!"



Lauren Mozee

Fired telephone worker facing years in prison for defending her union picket line and herself from racist management/scab attack

As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant-I said militant-trade unionist. [Voice from the crowd: "Right on, sister!" Applause.] A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer-I said firm believer-in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now, for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines by defending myself against this racist attack, and for defending my picket line and our jobs against those who want to break the unions and take our jobs, I've been victimized.

Ray and I aren't the only ones who face this kind of situation. On Wednesday, October 26th, in Oklahoma City (I have a brother-in-law and a sister that were deported there from General Motors Fremont), the Klan marched into the plant in full dress-hood, robes and all-and worked on the assembly lines! Until my brother-in-law, my brother and my sister stopped the line. [Applause. Chants from the crowd: 'Stop the Klan! Stop the Klan!"] So these people are all over. They're all over, I mean they follow them all the way to Oklahoma. This is their second encounter with the Klan in only five months that they've been there. I mean,

Ed Kartsen

NYC transit worker, candidate for president of TWU Local 100

The first thing I'd like to say, I'd like to read a telegram which was signed by over 156 transit workers, a telegram to the president of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company:

"We, the undersigned members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union in New York City, demand that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero not go to jail. Drop all charges! Stop the racist antilabor frame-up! Down with South African-style justice! Freedom, jobs back for Mozee and Palmiero! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

I'd also like to say we have collected over \$100 so far in collecting money in helping in this defense.

The bottom line is the picket line. The picket line must be respected, it must be backed up by the force necessary to galvanize the thousands of trade-union militants that can ensure that when Reagan mobilizes the kind of force that he used against PATCO or the type of force he used against Grenada, that he can be repulsed effectively. We cannot let Ray and Lauren go to jail! Labor solidarity, militancy and the picket line mean nothing if these people go to jail.

What we need to do is build a classstruggle workers party to beat back the political offensive by management, by the bosses, against every right the workers have won. And let nobody forget that anti-communism is a dirty word! Anti-communism means that union militants who stand up and fight against the politics of the rich man's class and the rich man's government go to jail. Anti-communism means blacklisting.



Anti-communism means frame-ups. Anti-communism means witchhunts.

And picket lines mean you better not cross! The phone company's trying to erode that tradition. They're trying to say that management can dance across picket lines because they're management. Well, let it be known that a management scab is no different from any other kind of scab. And let it be known that a management scab is just as fragile as any other kind of scab. [Voice in the crowd: "Scabs must go!"] Now more than ever we must maintain vigorous and dedicated leadership to guarantee a secure and prosperous future for our membership and the peoples of the world. We have learned from our experiences and we've been taught that we must unite in order to survive. That is why I say I'm glad that you have cast aside your prejudices against one another and stand united against this overt act of suppression



directed toward poor, working people and minorities. We will not tolerate this damnable act to deny us our right to defend ourselves on the picket line. And I say we must see and stop the racist anti-labor frame-up against Ray and against Lauren!

John George

Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors

You know, I heard that we had a labor dispute on the picket line and, my friend, they called her a "black bitch." Now that's fighting words. The telephone company ought to apologize. The District Attorney has got to know that there is community support and if this community support continues on a dayto-day basis, this is the way that we win the freedom of our friends Mozee and Palmiero. We need to tell the doggone telephone company to dismiss this case and withdraw.

This is a labor dispute because all workers are being threatened, health benefits are being eroded, plant closures are taking place. We've got a corporate community which includes the telephone company that will not talk about affirmative action—because affirmative action is not losing any jobs. This case is a manifestation of this war on the workers of America. I am joining with the people, Ray and Mozee, until we can win this case.

Ben Visnick

United Teachers of Oakland Local 771 I'm here today representing United Teachers of Oakland. The teachers strike of 1983 showed that Oakland is still a labor town. The integrated teaching force in Oakland was able to obtain the support of thousands of Oakland working and middle-class families who did not send their children to scab-run schools. They knew from the last strike in 1977 that scabs are immoral mercenaries who need an education themselves and are not fit to teach the students of this fine city.

It's obvious that union-busting has arrived in both the private sector, Pacific Telephone, and the public sector, public schools. Our response must be strong and militant unionism and labor solidarity between unions to take the offensive to win strikes and to organize the unorganized. We can't accomplish this if our best militants are rotting in Reagan's and Deukmejian's jails. Therefore we repeat again: "Free Lauren and Ray—Give them back pay! Stop Reagan from San Leandro to Grenada!"

Tom Sullivan

President, United Steelworkers Local 1304

I want you to know that the Steelworkers are with you, Lauren and Ray. United Steelworkers have been on strike where I work for five months, that's 150 days. The Steelworkers have been on



two hours after my brother-in-law was in the city they tried to arrest him for armed robbery.

I am a member of the Militant Action Caucus, which is a real, living part of our union. As with Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the National Convention of CWA in 1979: she was dragged off the convention floor bodily by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service men. Later, in 1980, they sent her a letter of apology and a \$3,500 check which she signed over to the CWA Defense Fund.

So as you see, we can win with this kind of support. We need to win not only for ourselves, believe me. That's a real important point, important in the long run for all blacks and working people. An injury to one is an injury to all. It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney.

I thank all of you.

SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO!

And this was a racist scab at that. So picket lines mean don't cross. We will not let these people go to jail. Labor must continue to fight from here. Freedom and jobs for Mozee and Palmiero! Smash the South Africanstyle justice! Smash this anti-labor frame-up!

Willie Lee Bell

Chairman, Civil Rights Committee of IAM Local 739

Brothers and Sisters, it was told to us that the '80s would undoubtedly be a decade of serious challenges to our determination for continued progress.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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strike down in Arizona for four months, since the 1st of July. They're fighting Phelps Dodge-the copper barons. The Steelworkers are on strike at Judson Steel, they've been on strike here in Emeryville for two months. They all send you their greetings, Lauren and Ray, and we're going to stand behind you.

Diana Coleman

Former Spartacist Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors

We came out here today to say that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero must not go to jail. Not for one hour, and not for one minute! The government and the phone company, in their usual alliance, are trying to turn the victims into the criminals. But our campaign has already had some successes, and Ray outlined that. The phone company is backing away from Michelle "Scab" Hansen, and the District Attorney is taking a step backwards from all his charges which he cannot prove, which he knows are lies.

So the frame-up of Lauren and Ray is one more in a long, long list of racist atrocities and union-busting. And that's right, there's a broader picture to this. Reagan and his millionnaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions. But I will tell you, you cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter "Mundane" Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction? [Cries from the crowd: "No!"] Walter Mondale, the weepy, warmongering clone protegé of professional anticommunist Hubert Humphrey. I'll tell you, brothers and sisters, you gotta be kidding. There has to be a better alternative in this country for us. [From the crowd: "There is. A workers party!"]

We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party, a multiracial working-class party that can lead the workers and the oppressed, and take power. We're not talking about cutting up a piece of the pie. The working people produced everything in this country, and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it.

When the Klan endorsed Reagan, let me tell you something, they knew what they were doing. They knew! And right now Reagan-with a little shadowboxing in Congress from the Democrats (he's backed up by the Democrats)—is trying to lead us into a thermonuclear war which will blow up the whole earth. Let me tell you something, brothers and sisters: Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had, but I will tell you he is not the worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home. [Applause.]

So Ronald Reagan was willing to sacrifice a lot of people in that 007 flight, and he was willing to sacrifice a lot of Marines in Lebanon for an imperialist adventure. And now, to cover it up, he is willing to go into tiny black Grenada with 6,000 troops. We say this is an outrage! And we say this is an attempt to cover up the disaster in Lebanon. Believe me, in Grenada our sympathies are with the Cubans who are there fighting. These are our brothers and sisters out there. So the same reactionary forces that are trying to railroad Lauren and Ray are pursuing armed aggression around the world. And I will tell you something: U.S. imperialism's difficulties are our opportunities, and we welcome them and we will take advantage of them. In El Salvador we say, "Military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador! No negotiated sellout!" In Nicaragua we say, "Kill the invaders!" The capitalist fifth column must be smashed and the workers mobilized against the CIA's



Los Angeles NAARPR **Backs Lauren and Ray**

Statement by Rose Chernin and S. Deacon Alexander

The entire executive board of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, L.A. Branch, is in full support of the Phone Strikers in general and specifically Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. We demand that all charges be dropped and Ray and Lauren are returned to work with full back pay as labor is our first line of defense and the racist attack on this fine couple is but a part of a pattern to break the back of organized labor.

We congratulate the Defense Committee, the union and all involved for their heroic effort in this matter. Our endorsement will mean that a fundraiser is just around the corner. We are sorry that we could not be here today. Our spirit of fight back is with you.

Freedom is a constant struggle. Unity is the key.

We can fight back and will.

How Much Insult Can Be Endured?

Statement by Flo Kennedy, Co-Founder, Black Women United for Political Action

the phone company's outrageous attempt to frame up Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

It is taken for granted that "we" strike out in Lebanon, in Central America, anywhere anybody does anything to displease the Great White Father. It is taken for granted that "we" send cops into black neighborhoods to murder children and barbecue people in Los Angeles.

But anybody trying to strike back, to organize against the phone company, oh no! How much insult can be endured before black women are entitled to strike back in rage and anger? How many times do we have to be verbally and physically abused before we fight back?

When we do fight back, they try to frame us up and put us in jail or worse. And they pay the cops bounty money for murdering innocent children like Patrick Mason!

Beat the phone company! Ray and Lauren must not go to jail!

ILWU Local 10: Injury to One Is Injury to All

Statement by William Bancroft, Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10, on behalf of Local 10

Warehousemen's Union, Local 10 stand in solidarity with fellow trade unionists Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero in their struggle against the racists and anti-union actions of Pacific Telephone Company.

The struggle against racism and for equality, the struggle against antiunionism and for workers solidarity are not new to us in the ILWU. Threats of violence and judicial lynchings have been part of the arsenal used against us. These weapons did not deter us then... they shall not deter us now. The attack on Lauren Mozee by Michelle Rose Hansen, a scab/manager of Ma Bell, and the subsequent bringing of criminal charges against her and Ray Palmiero should come as no surprise to most of us. The San Leandro police department and the Alameda County D.A.'s office are tools for the racist, anti-union, antilife policies of the Reagan administration. The same forces that now seek to jail Mozee and Palmiero, are also responsible for the invasion of Grenada and the attempt to curtail progressive people's movements throughout this world. The ILWU says yes to Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. No to racist, anti-union Reaganite frame-ups. We the members of the ILWU Local 10 stand with Mozee and Palmiero in their fight for justice. An injury to one is an injury to all.

4 NOVEMBER 1983

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I support this demonstration against

The officers and membership of the International Longshoremen's and

war. And we call for defense of the Soviet Union, the first workers state, against imperialism. We have our criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy, but one of them is that they don't send guns to El Salvador and MIGs to Nicaragua. Why are our brothers and sisters in Central America fighting with battered rifles and old machetes? They need modern jet aircraft, and as far as I'm concerned the Soviet Union ought to be providing it. [Cheers. Applause.]

Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! And defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero begins right here with labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, be it at the hands of the racists dressed in the white

robes of the KKK, the blue uniforms of the cops or the black robes of the bosses' courts. And, as black people in this country know, a goodly number of those who wear the white hoods at night are wearing blue uniforms during the day. [Applause. Shouts: "Yeah!" "Right."]

Over the years there have been far too many victims. We have the pictures up here of Patrick Mason, Charles Briscoe. There have been so many, so many, going back to Bobby Hutton. So many victims. But this time we have a chance to defend these two before they go to jail, before they get sent away by this government. [Voice in the crowd: "No more victims!"] Lauren and Ray are fighters. They went up to Richmond with the Labor Black League for Social Defense to fight against police brutality. They went over to San Francisco to demonstrate against South Africa's murder of the ANC black militants. And they've fought for militant, classstruggle policies in the union. These are the kind of fighters we need more of! And you have to fight for them now, brothers and sisters, because they fought for all of us.

So we say: "No way! Smash the racist anti-labor frame-up! No South Africastyle justice in Oakland! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray! And for a workers government that will avenge all our martyrs!"■

9

Grenada/ Lebanon

(continued from page 1)

many commented: if Israel is so hot to conquer the Middle East, then let their blood flow. The U.S. should get out and let the dominos fall where they may. Reagan, however, was itching to retaliate by blowing up anything too puny to defend itself. And thus the empire struck back at its "target of opportunity," tiny Grenada.

Reagan's Grenada Diversion

Grenada turned out to be the all-time walkover that wasn't. Acutely embarrassed by their slow progress, the military blamed "faulty intelligence," even though U.S. spy planes regularly overfly the island. Each day the operation dragged on they would discover more Cubans, at one point claiming another 1,000 mythical guerrillas lurking in the Grenadian "jungle." But after Havana gave a detailed list of every Cuban man, woman and child in Grenada, totaling 784, the U.S. backed down and "didn't challenge" the Cuban figures. Similarly on Reagan's accusation that Grenada was "a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy." The admirals could only come up with "secret arsenals" with enough weapons to arm "8,000 guerrillas," and by the time you got down to the corporal on the scene, this turned out to be a couple of quonset huts with an assortment of AK-47s, World War II British Bren guns and some 1870 U.S. carbines, the latter "guns we used to fight Indians with, but they can still kill you," said the corporal.

All the talk of Cuban troops was also a lie: the U.S. just couldn't accept that older Cuban volunteer militarilytrained construction workers would fight like hell. As Fidel Castro pointed out in a press conference in the early morning hours of October 26, "Proof of the fact that they are construction workers is the excellent airport they built in such a short time, where dozens of U.S. planes landed, even though it is not finished yet." Told by their leaders to defend their camps with energy and courage if fired upon, they did so. A communiqué read over Radio Havana later that day reported: "The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for the homeland." Today the U.S. announced that it had killed 50-60 Cubans and wounded another 40. But in the process the Americans lost six to eight helicopters (Aviation Week, 31 October). Now the reported 638 Cubans being held by the U.S. forces are hostages, to be subjected to who-knows-what kind of "interrogation" by the CIA. We demand that all Cuban prisoners in Grenada be returned at once!

The actual timing of the Grenada invasion had more to do with the Lebanon debacle-it certainly made better press for Reagan to see "rescued" medical students kissing U.S. soil than the woeful spectacle of mangled Marines in Beirut. But above all it was political, an assertion of the "Reagan Doctrine" of the anti-Soviet war drive, which Grenadian UN representative Ian Jacobs described as "might is right" and New York Times columnist Tad Szulc called "making the world safe for hypocrisy." An administration spokesman explained the Yankees' use of the Big Stick: "What good are maneuvers and shows of force if you never use it?" Or as the Times summarized: "No More 'Paper Tiger'." As for the "democracy" being exported by the U.S., the commander of the occupation forces ominously announced that "hard-core" Grenadians would be hunted down, identified and "neutralized." This could turn Grenada into "terror island" for real, although it may take a little while to organize Latin American-style death squads.

In response, the liberals, Stalinists and Third World nationalists turned to the hot air chamber of the United Nations. Cuba eloquently compared the Caribbean countries who joined Reagan's phony "multinational" invasion as thieving jackals leaping onto the prey of the tiger. Grenada's representative noted that his was among the smallest of countries while the U.S. was one of the largest; but other countries should take heed that "though bigger than Grenada, [they] are much smaller than the United

terrorists worry about overextension.

Reagan fighting four wars across the globe. Pentagon international

Mass rally in support of Maurice **Bishop a few** days before he was murdered in a palace coup.

visible sign of a new U.S.-Israeli protectorate in Lebanon. The Israeli army and its local allies, the Phalange gangsters, were supposed to provide the killing power on the ground while the U.S. forces played the "soft cops." Thus Washington hypocritically condemned the massacre of defenseless Palestinian families in the Sabra and Shatila camps after having set it up by disarming and deporting the PLO commandos.

Today the Americans' puppet president of Lebanon, Gemayel, is not even mayor of Beirut. The Israelis, caught in the crossfire between the fascistic Christian Maronite Phalangists and Druze communal militias, unilaterally withdrew from the Shuf Mountains



By Auth for The Philadelphia Inquirer

States." In the end, the UN Security Council "deplored" the American action by an 11-1 vote (vetoed by the U.S.). To what effect? Even the "desertion" by Reagan's European allies will change little.

In his October 26 press conference, Castro described the U.S. invasion of Grenada as "a Pyrrhic victory and a disastrous moral defeat." Certainly Reagan's pirate adventure has heightened worldwide fears of unrestrained American militarism. Third World governments can easily see themselves suffering Grenada's fate. But this most powerful and deadly imperialist power in history will not be stopped or even restrained by moral protest and UN resolutions. As the great German chancellor Otto von Bismarck said a century ago, "The great questions of our time will not be settled by resolutions and majority votes...but by blood and iron." Reagan's invasion of Grenada

outside Beirut in order to consolidate a buffer zone in southern Lebanon. This left the U.S. alone to prop up the Gemayel "government," exposed to attack by any of the two dozen armies floating through Lebanon. Reagan is now acting as if the Marines in Beirut were innocent tourists wantonly attacked by terrorists. But just last month terrorist American warships bombarded the Shuf, wantonly killing Muslim villagers. The U.S. Congress backed up the president by applying the War Powers Resolution, authorizing American troops to stay up to 18 months. They have Lebanese blood on their hands. And now they are paying the price.

As in Grenada and everywhere else, the Reagan administration sees Lebanon through the prism of its global war on Communism. But the American claim that Walid Jumblatt's Druze militia, or the Shi'ites, or the Sunnis, are Soviet "surrogates" is absurd. If they were anywhere near Afghanistan they would be making lampshades out of Soviet soldiers instead of shooting Yankees. Touted as a "leftist" (he is a vice president of the Second International), Jumblatt looks to French imperialism, Lebanon's former colonial master, as his would-be patron, and opposes withdrawal of the Foreign Legion. So the Russians want to dump a lot of military hardware on the Syrians? Moscow can no more control the Near East through Syria than Washington can through Israel. Besides it's not "the Syrians," just 10 percent of them-the Alawites-or rather Ba'athist dictator Assad and his security chief brother, lording it over the remaining 90 percent. Last year, in response to an uprising instigated by the Muslim Brotherhood, the Damascus regime leveled Syria's



fourth largest city, Hama. Assad first intervened in Lebanon, during the 1975-76 civil war, on behalf of the Christian Maronite forces and with the encouragement of the U.S. Even now, Republican right-wingers like Utah senator Orrin Hatch have contested the view that Syria is an "intransigent Soviet puppet." They well remember how Sadat ditched Egypt's Soviet alliance a decade ago. And for all its verbal rejection of peace with Israel, Ba'athist Syria has been reluctant to attack the Zionists. With the Arafat leadership of the PLO pushed to the sidelines, Reagan could even play the Syria card.

At bottom the present fighting in Lebanon is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. A victory of the "other side" (whoever that is at any given moment) against the U.S. and the Phalange would simply lead to new conflicts and deals among the myriad feudalist warlords of Lebanon, restoring conditions more or less as they existed before the Israeli invasion of June 1982.

"Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive!" evokes the widespread antigovernment outrage felt by the American masses at Reagan's squandering of life in the Lebanon "quagmire," reviving memories of Vietnam. We recognize a fundamental difference between American intervention in Lebanon and in Vietnam. In Vietnam, U.S. imperialism intervened to suppress a social revolution. In that war, the *defeat* of the U.S. expeditionary force and the Saigon puppet army was key to victorv of the social revolution. The slogan of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" was deeply social-patriotic and antirevolutionary. In the Vietnam War "our boys" were the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese soldiers. Not so in Lebanon. When the PLO fought the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion in the summer of 1982, we gave Palestinian commandos unconditional military support. But now no side is fighting imperialism. On the contrary, from the PLO and Jumblatt to Gemayel, all sides are jockeying for sponsorship from one imperialist power or another. However, if U.S. military intervention escalates to a war with Syria drawing in the Soviet Union, then for all class-conscious proletarians, the

SL/SYL Forum

Grenada Invasion Can't Hide Reagan's Lebanon Disaster!

- U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon. Now. Alive!
- U.S. Out of Grenada!
- Defend Cuba and the USSR!
- Smash Anti-Soviet War Drive **Through Workers Revolution!**

Speaker: George Crawford, SL Central Committee

Guest Speaker: Charles DuBois, Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600

Sunday, November 6, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Activities Center 18100 Meyers (at Curtis) For more information: (313) 961-1680 DETROIT

only underscores the fundamental truth of that statement.

Anti-Soviet War Drive Caught in Lebanon Quagmire

In chess there is a gambit known as the "poisoned pawn." Take it and you will land in trouble. For the U.S., Lebanon is a poisoned pawn. In the summer of 1982, while the Israeli blitzkrieg spread terror aross the country, Zionist leaders claimed they were conquering Lebanon for the "free world." A senior Jerusalem official bragged, "We've given the West the gift of Lebanon on a silver platter. We've created a vacuum, and all we ask is for them to step into it" (New York Times, 16 June 1982). Sure enough, the Reaganites grasped the "historic opportunity," took the silver platter and stepped into the Lebanese vacuum. The Marines were sent into Beirut to be the duty of unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism would be posed.

Smash Imperialist War Drive!

It has been clearly established that Reagan's rush to invade Grenada was designed to divert attention from his disaster in Lebanon. To a degree even protests centered on Grenada served this purpose. It is striking that the American "left" went along with this ploy, for various reasons. First, there is the fact that many of them, including the SWP and Workers World Party, supported the introduction of imperialist troops into Lebanon last fall in the guise of "peacekeepers." Secondly, the radlibs and reformists want to harp on Reagan's violations of "international law" and democratic rights. But the new Cold Warriors in power in Washington

make no bones about the fact that for them the class interests of American imperialism are paramount. Reagan glories in upholding "covert" action, such as the U.S.' undeclared war on Sandinista Nicaragua, so long as it is successful. These anti-Communist ideologues understand well that the basis for bourgeois defeatism and mass pacifist sentiment in the U.S. during recent years, the so-called "Vietnam syndrome," is the fact that the U.S. lost. For them the key aspect of the Grenada invasion is that they can win somewhere, anywhere, to restore the U.S.' role as global imperialist policeman. According to Reagan's criteria anyone can do anything to the U.S., as long as they can get away with it.

True, the odds are rather uneven. If it has taken 6,000 American troops to "secure" this tiny island, what will it take to conquer a really big place like Nicaragua, the size of Michigan, which is 450 times larger than Grenada? In Fidel Castro's October 26 press conference, he claimed that, as in Grenada, Cuba lacked the naval and air means to send direct assistance to Nicaragua in the case of a full-scale U.S. invasion. While he was right to emphasize the importance of an armed people which has already fought to achieve a revolution, he was wrong about Cuba's own duty. Today the Sandinista radical-nationalist regime desperately needs effective weapons, particularly antiaircraft missiles, which can be supplied by the Soviet bloc. And to be successful, the answer to the CIA and the contras is to wage a revolutionary war-for workers revolution throughout Central America and extending north to Mexico with its several millions of proletarians. And meanwhile there must be sharp class struggle in the United States to bring Reagan down. This is the program of the Trotskyists, of permanent revolution requiring the construction of authentic Leninist-Bolshevik internationalist parties.

Following its humiliation in Vietnam, under Ford and Carter U.S. imperialism was committed to a "1-1/2 wars" posture, maintaining sufficient military power to fight a major war in Europe and one "brushfire" war somewhere in the Third World. Under Reagan, the U.S. is currently engaged in at least four wars (El Salvador, Nicaragua, Lebanon and Grenada) and threatening a fifth at the Straits of Hormuz, and bogged down in all of them. The Pentagon is stretched so thin that they're trying to use the same forces in two places: the Marines who "took" Grenada are now supposed to be on their way to Lebanon. Now is the time for the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas to strike, for the Nicaraguans to land a powerful blow against the contra mercenaries. And we should rub Reagan's nose in the bloody Lebanon mess. While the liberals fearrightly or wrongly-"another Vietnam" in the Near East and Central America, for revolutionaries, "Vietnam was a victory-Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!"

In the Transitional Program written in 1938, the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote that, "it is necessary to differentiate strictly between the pacifism of the diplomat, professor, journalist, and the pacifism of the carpenter, agricultural worker, the charwoman. In one case, pacifism is a screen for imperialism; in the other, it is the confused expression of distrust in imperialism." Thus, he concluded, "the Fourth International supports every, even if insufficient demand, if it can draw the masses to a certain extent into active politics, awaken their criticism and strengthen their control over the machinations of the bourgeoisie." The American masses do not want to die in Beirut. We say: U.S. Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive! U.S. out of Grenada! Defend Cuba/USSR against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive! Otherwise Reagan is liable to blow us all up. 🔳

Big Stick Hits Grenada...

(continued from page 3)

(until it was overthrown by a palace coup led by army commander Houri Boumediene). The Algerian FLN, however, came to power through a long and incredibly bloody war of national liberation against French colonialism. The elevation of Grenada's New Jewel Movement to the status of "workers and farmers government" is Barnesite wishful thinking, *reductio ad absurdum*.

After the Austin coup, a special issue of the SWP's Intercontinental Press (7 November) declared that the NJM had "mobilized the toiling masses for four and a half years"-and with "democratic councils," no less. If this is true, then how could Bishop be so easily displaced? And where were those "democratic councils" mobilizing the masses when Grenada was attacked by the U.S. Marines? The SWP acts surprised and shocked at the anti-Bishop coup: "Devastating blow to Grenada revolution," headlined the Militant (28 October). But bloody palace coups are the usual method of governmental debate in such petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes which Castro looks to as allies. For example, in 1977 a meeting of the Ethiopian Derg to discuss policy differences ended with eight of its members dead, while Lt. Colonel Mengistu stepped over the corpses to become unchallenged head of this nationalist regime. A closer parallel to the murder of Bishop is the assassination in 1979 of Noor Mohammed Taraki in Afghanistan. Taraki, a venerable figure of the Afghan left, was killed in a palace coup by the ruthless upstart Hafizullah Amin, who postured as a "hard-line revolutionary." Later ties between Amin and the CIA came to light.

The fact is that the Grenadian working people were never mobilized in their class interests. For example, 60 percent of the economy remained in private hands, and not by oversight. As radical journalist Fred Halliday noted, the NJM leaders "have sought an alliance with local merchants, and three non-party representatives of business sit in the cabinet" (In These Times, 27 July). Bishop's 1979 coup never overthrew bourgeois rule, even to the extent of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, where a radical petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership, as yet not definitively committed to bourgeois or proletarian property forms, militarily destroyed Somoza's state apparatus. And Grenada is a far cry from the deformed workers state which has existed in Cuba since the midlate 1960 expropriation of both imperialist and native capitalists.

The legacy of the Caribbean "black power" upsurge over a decade ago was a series of nationalist movements like the NJM, all preaching "self-reliance" in ever smaller pieces of real estate. Despite left verbiage, they offered no solution to the ruinous impoverishment and despair of the West Indian masses. In fact, by focusing on race rather than class, black nationalism served to obstruct the formation of a revolutionary working-class movement that could unite the mixture of races in the Caribbean. In Guyana, "black power' rhetoric was even picked up by the counterrevolution when the CIA installed Forbes Burnham as a means to divide the workers along ethnic lines. Within the confines of tiny islands like Grenada it is absurd to envision an isolated proletarian revolution-they barely possess a fragment of a proletariat and lack the economic basis to coalesce even the rudiments of a viable national economy. Moreover, given their minuscule size and exposed position in the "American lake," the struggle for a soviet federation of the Caribbean must be waged in intimate connection with the fight for socialist revolution in the United States.

"Socialism on one tropical island," even if it is the Pearl of the Antilles, is a Stalinist illusion. Cuba today is almost as isolated as it was 20 years ago. When the Sandinistas and NJM took power in 1979, Castro hopefully proclaimed: "Now we are three." Today right-wing imperialist ideologues gleefully proclaim, "now they are two," and talk of "inverse falling dominos." Not nationalist "New Jewels" but revolutionary communist, Trotskyist parties armed with the program of permanent revolution are needed to liberate the Caribbean masses from their hideous oppression. U.S. troops out of Grenada-Independence for Puerto Rico-Defend Cuba! For a soviet federation of the Caribbean in a Socialist United States of Latin America!

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 4)

"dissidents" initially had a slight majority on Local 100's executive board, they did nothing to stop John Lawe's disastrous sellout. Since that time, these trade-union hustlers have either made their peace with Lawe, dropped out of sight, or else parroted Lawe's defeatist line that strikes and other militant actions can't win. Cherry has mainly occupied himself with attempts to sabotage the fighting policies proposed by class-struggle militants like Kartsen, Brewer and Smith. Thus, Cherry opposed their call to organize union defense squads to send to Gravesend, issuing a leaflet entitled "Turks Killing Not Just a Racial Issue," which equated racist lynchings with everyday muggings!

For a Fighting TWU!

Conservative business unionists like Lawe and their reformist tails like Cherry subordinate the needs of workers to what the bosses can "afford" and pit one section of the working class against another. With American capitalism on a sharp decline, that means pay cuts and givebacks and unions nicked off one at a time like PATCO What distinguishes the Committee for a Fighting TWU is its anti-capitalist program, pointing to the need for a workers government to put an end to wage slavery once and for all. The Committee calls for linking up transit workers with the rest of New York City labor to fight for the interests of workers and all the oppressed. As Kartsen, Brewer and Smith outlined their program in the statement announcing their candidacy: "FOR A LABOR OFFENSIVE TO **REVERSE THE GIVEBACKS! Just** to turn this deathtrap into a safe, clean, efficient transit system requires billions of dollars and thousands more workers. The money is there to rebuild transit, our schools and hospitals. But it's going to the banks that have run this city into the ground and to the bosses' war drive that pours trillions into a fanatical campaign to wage nuclear war against the Soviet Union. We need TWU leaders with an anti-capitalist program who will mobilize black and white in this city to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts. Tear out the token machines—for free, safe, rapid transit for the people of New York! Cancel the debt expropriate the banks! Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay!

"FOR LABOR ACTION TO BRING DOWN REAGAN/KOCH! Reagan is after everybody-the Russians, the blacks, the poor, the old and the unions. He's trying to provoke World War III, from Él Salvador to Poland to the Middle East to Korea. But you can't fight Reagan with the Democrats. 'Ethnic Purity' Carter paved the way for Reagan, while Koch does his racist dirty work in N.Y.C. The liberal Democrats are no better: Cuomo appointed a CIA strikebreaker to run the T.A.; District Attorney Holtzman ran the trial that gave Willie Turks' killers a slap on the wrist. Democrats or Republicans-no difference! Same game! We need a workers party to fight for a workers government!"

Boston Elections...

(continued from page 5)

decision and has been campaigning for King. Letters protesting the Flynn endorsement have poured into *In These Times*, and the CP's *Daily World* (13 October) reports that "several" black DSAers quit the organization in protest.

The SWP ran its own candidate, Eloise Linger, in the primary and focused on its absurd—and patently segregationist—call for "a Black Party and for a Workers Party." Even with considerable media coverage, Linger only received a measly 200 votes (less than newly appointed New York City transit czar Robert Kiley, who withdrew from the race, and less even than the right-wing crazy of Lyndon LaRouche's U.S. Labor Party). The SWP has gone out of its way to point to its similarities with King, especially over unionbusting affirmative action.

Neither King, Flynn, nor any of their reformist tails have anything to offer the working class and poor of Boston but more defeats. Relying on the racist bosses and their government, cops and courts is not going to result in jobs, education and decent housing for all and is not going to end cop killings of blacks and other racist attacks. As we summarized in our supplement to *Workers Vanguard* (22 October 1982) after the Klan was run out of Boston:

'daishiki Democrats' and 'While reformist hustlers lead the black masses down to defeat with illusions of 'com-munity control,' the Spartacist League fights for a program of revolutionary integrationism and a multi-racial vanguard socialist party. We seek to harness the power of labor in the struggle for black equality, fighting within the unions against the poisonous racism which cripples united class struggle, and for a class-conscious leadership to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats. This is a road of long, hard struggle, to mobilize the workers movement as the vanguard of all the oppressed. But it is the only one which can liberate us all."■

4 NOVEMBER 1983



Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE -

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WORKERS VANGUARD

400 March in Oakland Against Racist, Anti-Union Frame-Up **"Freedom and Jobs Back** for Lauren and Ray!"

OAKLAND—"Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands Off Lauren and Ray!" A determined and militant protest of some 400 put the Alameda County District Attorney and Pacific Telephone on notice Saturday: Stop the racist, antilabor frame-up of phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero! The demonstrators assembled at Oakland City Hall and marched to the Alameda County Courthouse, chanting with raised fists: "Picket lines mean don't cross!" and "Eight years, no way-Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!" Union contingents formed the front of the march with banners from Communications Workers of America Locals 9410 and 9415, American Federation of Teachers Local 771 and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1011. Drizzling rain held down the turnout but did not dampen the angry spirit of the mainly black protesters who came out to say no to the D.A.'s Alabama-style "justice."

Lauren and Ray were facing up to seven and a half years in state prison, having been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits, for doing picket line duty during the recent national phone strike. While on the picket line in Klan-infested San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and hit in the face by a racist scab/manager, one Michelle Rose Hansen. Because Lauren defended here the mgainst this violent company and to her assistance, the two are facing multiple felony assault charges. LAUREN MOZEE & MUST C NUST C N

Oakland, October 29—From left: Rally chairman Don Andrews, Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee lead chants: "Hey, D.A.! Workers say: Hands Off Lauren and Ray!"

Pacific Telephone, the cops and the D.A. are using this gross frame-up to send a message to the population: black people don't have the right to defend themselves against racist attack, workers don't have the right to defend their picket lines.

The vicious frame-up of Lauren and Ray is a blatant act of politicized racism and union-busting, and was recognized as such by many thousands of working people in the unions and black neighborhoods where volunteers went to get out the word on the case. Saturday's demonstration was endorsed by 12 unions, 49 union officials and 24 black student and civil rights organizations. Some 50 phone workers turned out for

The demonstration brought out a serious hard core of black, Latin and white union activists who know who the real criminals in this country are. Prominently displayed from the podium in front of the courthouse were large portraits and flowers to honor the memory of two black victims of racist killer cops: Patrick Mason, the five-year-old shot to death by an Orange County cop last March, and Charles Briscoe, the 37-year-old Machinists union official brutally gunned down in 1979 by Oakland cops. Patrick Mason's killer, cop Anthony Sperl, was recently awarded \$35,000 in bounty by the California Worker's Comp Board for "psychological stress." Oakland cop Robert Fredericks pumped 10 rounds of ammunition into Charles Briscoe: this was the same cop involved in the killing of 16-year-old Panther Bobby Hutton and in no less than four other shootings of blacks, two of them fatal. That Sperl and Fredericks walk the streets as free men today is an unspeakable crime that says it all about racist "justice" in America. Among those who addressed the crowd was IAM Local 739 spokesman Willie Lee Bell, a close personal friend of Briscoe's:



Marchers carry photos of black victims of police terror, five-year-old Patrick Mason and Machinist Charles Briscoe. the march; unionists from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the International Association of Machinists, Teamsters and United Steelworkers provided monitors to help ensure an orderly march and rally.

From the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse, Lauren Mozee explained:

"As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant-I said militant-trade unionist. A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer-I said firm believer-in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for units of the working class against the bosses. Now for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines...I've been victimized.... It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney."

"Alone. we are powerless, and alone each one of you is powerless. We have continued on page 6

4 NOVEMBER 1983