



Syrian regime tightens squeeze on Palestinians

Attacks on PLO weaken Arab fight against imperialism



PLO chairman Yassir Arafat (center). Syrian government's attempt to split PLO encourages U.S., Israeli war drive against Palestinians, Syrians.

BY DAVID FRANKEL

On July 2 the White House suddenly announced that Secretary of State George Shultz would go to the Middle East. Wasting no time, Shultz arrived in Saudi Arabia on July 4 and traveled to Lebanon and Syria the following day.

Big events in the Middle East have led to the unscheduled visit by Shultz. Washington has been closely following the mutiny in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the drive by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to win control of the PLO, and Assad's expulsion of PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat from Syria.

Both the U.S. and Israeli rulers hope to profit from Assad's confrontation with the PLO, which has come about as a result of the pressures exerted by the imperialists over the past year.

Last summer the PLO survived nearly three months of brutal siege by Israeli forces ringing West Beirut. The Israeli military campaign in Lebanon was followed by a U.S. diplomatic offensive — the so-called Reagan plan — designed to further squeeze the PLO.

Imperialist pressure on Syria was also maintained. Syrian troops are facing the Israeli army in a long line extending through the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights and

Continued on Page 6

Teachers vow to fight racist layoffs

On July 5, the National Education Association (NEA) convention set an example for the entire labor movement by reaffirming its position that the seniority system should be modified to protect affirmative action gains of women, Blacks, and Latinos during layoffs.

The NEA has also urged local affiliates

EDITORIAL

of the union to bargain for such affirmative action clauses in their contracts.

The NEA's position was contained in the statement approved by the delegates:

"Where there has been a judicial finding that the under-representation of minorities or women in the work force is attributable to unlawful discrimination by the particular employer, a court should have the power to impose racial or sexual preferences in hiring, promotion and layoff to the extent necessary to eliminate the effects of the unlawful discrimination, even if such preferences are contrary to a bona fide seniority system."

In other words, where women and oppressed nationalities have been discriminated against, the NEA supports affirmative action measures in hiring, promotion, and layoffs to begin to rectify that discrimination.

Instead of the last hired being the first laid off, the union is demanding that layoffs not be allowed to target Blacks, Latinos, and women — those oppressed groups who tend to have the least seniority because the employers wouldn't hire them to begin with.

The NEA has acted on this position in the recent past. It was the only national union that came to the defense of the Black firefighters in Boston. The firefighters had won a layoff plan that classified employees according to race, which was being challenged in the courts.

Why did they need a color-conscious layoff plan?

Because if layoffs had been done according to strict seniority, half of the very few

Continued on Page 18

Sandinistas uncover CIA plot to provoke war with Honduras

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

ACHUAPA, Nicaragua — Towns like this one along Nicaragua's northern border have been at war with counterrevolutionary raiders based in Honduras for more than a year. Now, the attacks are also involving regular troops from the Honduran army more and more, to the point where war between Nicaragua and Honduras is drawing near.

Speaking at a news conference in Managua, 140 miles to the south, Commander

Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior, reported on the latest ominous developments June 30.

Leaders of the Honduran Army, counterrevolutionary mercenaries — supporters of the former Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua — and representatives of the CIA met recently in Honduras to discuss how to provoke a full-scale war, Borge reported. Washington has been pushing for such a war as a vehicle for the introduction of U.S. combat troops into Central America.

Unable to incite the Sandinista Army into attacking Honduran territory, despite months of escalating provocations, the CIA is now discussing various ways of faking such an attack, Borge said.

The latest plan is similar to the famous Gulf of Tonkin incident which Washington stage-managed in 1964 as a pretext for introducing large numbers of U.S. troops into Vietnam.

At the high-level meeting in Honduras, Borge said, "they came up with the justification of using unmarked aircraft to attack Nicaraguan population centers, followed by an immediate ground attack on a Honduran town to create the impression this was Nicaragua's answer to the bombing."

The attack on Honduras was to be carried out by ex-Somoza National Guardsmen who, dressed up as Sandinista soldiers, would carry out a genuine massacre of civilians. This was then to be a signal for units of the Honduran Army to attack Nicaragua. Ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora was to coordinate an attack from the south.

"The Honduran Army and the forces of the Somozaist National Guard in the north, and the counterrevolutionaries under the command of the traitor Pastora in Costa Rica, are prepared to move rapidly and decisively," Borge said. "The aim is to take a piece of Nicaraguan territory and establish a provisional government that would then be aided by the United States."

The military base recently opened by 120 U.S. Green Berets in Puerto Castilla, Honduras, supposedly restricted to training Salvadoran troops, was actually an important part of the operation, Borge said.

Because of the extensive publicity Nica-

Continued on Page 7

Ban on Cuba travel restored

BY SANDI SHERMAN

The Supreme Court reimposed the Reagan administration's ban on travel by U.S. citizens to Cuba July 6. The ban, which had been overturned by the First Circuit Court of Appeals on May 15, was initially imposed by the Reagan administration last year as part of its accelerating war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

The Supreme Court justices decided to grant the Reagan administration's request for a stay of the Court of Appeals ruling. The stay will remain in effect until they decide whether to hear the government's appeal of that ruling. Since the Supreme Court has now adjourned, this won't happen until October at the earliest, when the court's new term begins.

Lawyers challenging the travel ban expect that next fall the court will schedule the case for a full hearing and let the travel ban continue in effect until a final decision has been reached, a process that would take at least several more months.

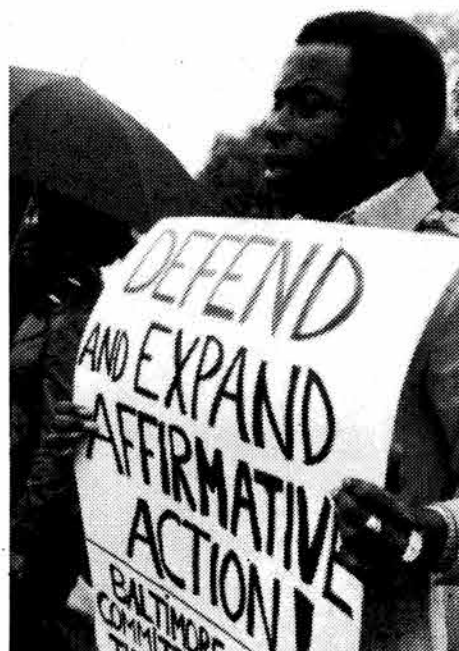
The ban on travel to Cuba came in the

midst of an anti-Cuba campaign that is escalating today. In an attempt to justify its war in El Salvador and its efforts to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, the U.S. government has constantly pointed to "Cuban subversion" as the source of the revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean.

It is the example that Cuba has set by establishing a government that puts human needs before profits that U.S. imperialism fears. The U.S. rulers don't want the American people to see the truth about the Cuban revolution with their own eyes, because that truth would be a powerful weapon in the fight against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

When the travel ban was overturned, Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., announced plans to sponsor tours to Cuba. The Supreme Court action now prevents these tours from taking place.

All those who oppose the Reagan administration's intervention in Central America and the Caribbean should protest this new attack on democratic rights.



Militant/David Nudel

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN FRANCISCO — Pat Wright, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Francisco, is a maintenance worker at the Hunters Point power plant owned by the Pacific Gas and Electric Co.

Wright campaign supporters had been selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to workers driving in and out of the plant for several weeks. On June 15 for the first time we brought Wright's campaign literature with us.

"She's running for mayor? All right!" said a young Filipino worker as he bought the *Militant* for the third week in a row. He said he had been reading the paper and liked it, and he asked to be told about upcoming campaign events.

A woman operator who already knew about the campaign stopped and talked to us for a while about the expulsions of Nicaraguan diplomats from the United States the day before. She was glad to hear that Wright's statement protesting the expulsions had been taped by several radio stations.

One of the members of our sales

team worked at the plant, so people in most cars stopped to say hello and take a leaflet, even if they didn't want to buy the paper.

"We've already got the *Militant*, what other literature do you have today?" asked one operator who was a subscriber. She had been reading the news about Central America — "It seems like the U.S. is doing to Nicaragua just what it did to Cuba."

Another young worker didn't want the paper, but he wanted to read about the campaign people in the shop were talking about. "I'm not into politics," he told us. "But I'm going to vote for Pat."

An older white worker seemed surprised at first. "She's running for mayor of what?" But when I asked him what he thought of someone who worked at the plant running for mayor of San Francisco, he said, "Well, she'd probably do as good a job as anybody."

"You must mean her husband is running for mayor," was the initial response of one worker. Then he said he would read what the Wright campaign stood for and consider it, but he seemed skeptical.

By the time the 3:30 shift



Pat Wright, socialist candidate for San Francisco mayor.

change was over, we had sold four papers and gotten a campaign leaflet to the majority of workers who had entered or left. But we waited around until 4:30 when the maintenance workers got off.

Our mayoral candidate was one

of the first out the gate and quick to join us.

"Hi, did I tell you I'm running for mayor?" she said as she gave the person in the first car a leaflet.

"This is my newspaper," she told another worker. "It has more

on this Nicaragua stuff we were talking about."

One Black worker in a rush grabbed a paper from Pat. "Good luck," he shouted. "I'll give you a buck for this tomorrow." One reason for his hurry may have been that his foreman was in the car stopped behind him, obviously impatient.

Another Black worker slowed down to explain to Pat that the only reason he didn't stop to talk was that he had to take his wife to the doctor.

"You helped pay for this," Wright said as she gave the leaflet to a coworker who had contributed \$50 at the campaign kickoff rally a month before.

By 4:45 it was all over. We had sold a total of seven papers and passed out most of our leaflets.

Wright and the other socialists at the plant report that our campaigning had an impact inside. One worker told Wright he had read the leaflet carefully. "That's what it's all about," he said. Another was impressed with how international her paper was. And several of her coworkers have started calling her "mayor."

FBI raids Puerto Rican center, arrests four

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

Four Puerto Rican activists were arrested in Chicago June 29, accused of being members of the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). A day later, federal, state, and local cops, armed to the teeth, raided a Puerto Rican cultural center and school, and two alleged "safe-houses" for the FALN.

Along with the stepped-up militarization of Puerto Rico as part of the U.S. war drive against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, Washington has been intensifying its repressive measures against the Puerto Rican independence movement through the use of frame-ups and grand jury investigations.

An ominous aspect of this latest act of repression is the charge of "seditious conspiracy" leveled against the four arrested activists according to initial press reports. This charge has been used in the past against other Puerto Rican independence fighters, union militants, draft resisters, and working-class political activists. A person convicted for seditious conspiracy can get up to 20 years in jail and a \$20,000 fine although no illegal act has been carried out.

In leveling this charge against the Puerto Rican activists, the government is attempting to brand the idea of independence for Puerto Rico as "seditious" — that is, treasonous — in the hopes of intimidating the many other supporters of self-determination for the U.S. colony.

The four activists arrested are: Alberto

Rodríguez, a student counselor at Northeastern Illinois University; José Luis Rodríguez, a student at the University of Illinois-Chicago; Edwin Cortés, a clerk in the Illinois Department of Unemployment Compensation; and Alejandrina Torres, a secretary at the University of Illinois hospital. Torres is the wife of Rev. Carlos Alberto Torres, whose son, also named Carlos Alberto, is currently serving a prison sentence after being convicted of membership in the FALN.

The four are community activists concerned with improving the conditions faced by the Puerto Rican community in Chicago, mainly in the area of bilingual education. They are members of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. This is an open, legal organization devoted to defending Puerto Rican independence activists in jail.

The Rafael Cancel Miranda High School, and the Borinquen Cultural Center where it is located, were raided June 30 by a force of more than fifty agents, Illinois State Police, and Chicago cops, all heavily armed and wearing bullet-proof vests. At the same time other police units raided two Chicago apartments where they claim to have found weapons and explosives.

According to the police the apartments were "safe houses" for the FALN, which — they say — planned to carry out terrorist acts during the July 4 weekend.

No weapons or explosives were found at the school and cultural center, according to the July 1 *El Diario/La Prensa*, but the

cops did find and confiscate such "subversive" materials as rolls of photographic film, printing supplies, literature on Puerto Rican independence, and computer files. Also included, according to FBI spokesman Anthony DiLorenzo, were "fragments" of a FALN press release on the alleged terrorist actions.

José López, director of the school, rejected the FBI charge that the school and cultural center were fronts for the FALN. He told *El Diario/La Prensa* that the police action "sought only to intimidate and persecute the leadership of the Puerto Rican independence movement."

"All this is part of the plan initiated by the FBI in the 1950s with the notorious 'Operation Cointelpro'," he added, "whose aim was to destroy the Puerto Rican movement for independence. The school is a public place and no one would think of using it as a front."

Cointelpro, short for Counter Intelligence Program, is the FBI program to disrupt and sabotage organizations such as women's and civil rights groups and political parties opposed to U.S. government policy.

Also, the operation that resulted in the arrest of the four activists was the first of its kind where the Secret Service was involved. According to the June 30 *El Diario/La Prensa*, the FBI spokesman indicated that the Secret Service's involvement in this type of operation is due to the danger "terrorist" groups could pose for the

president, although the FBI itself said there was no indication that the FALN was about to make an attempt on Reagan's life.

This most recent attack against the Puerto Rican independence movement follows by only a few weeks the June 7 conviction in New York City of five supporters of Puerto Rican independence for the "crime" of refusing to collaborate with a grand jury supposedly investigating the FALN. The five were sentenced to three years in prison. Other supporters of Puerto Rican independence have spent — or are currently spending — time in jail for the same "crime."

Socialist candidate denounces raid

CHICAGO — Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Chicago's 1st Congressional District, denounced raids on the Borinquen Cultural Center and the arrest of four Puerto Rican independence activists.

"This attack on the Puerto Rican movement — aimed at portraying the independence struggle as terrorist — must be roundly condemned. The four activists should be freed immediately."

"The real criminals and terrorists are the U.S. rulers who hold the entire Puerto Rican nation hostage, who are behind the terrorist attacks against Nicaragua, and who finance and back the murderous government in El Salvador," said Warren.



Read the truth — every week

Subscribe to the Militant

That way you'll get facts about Washington's bipartisan wars against working people at home and abroad: from El Salvador to Lebanon; from unemployment to racism. Read our proposals for how to stop U.S. intervention in Central America and how to fight back against the employers here and how to replace their system of exploitation and oppression with a system that's in the interests of working people.

At the plant gate, unemployment lines, and picket lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news and participating in the struggle. Subscribe today.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$3 for 12 weeks
- ☐ Enclosed is \$15 for 6 months
- ☐ Enclosed is \$24 for 1 year
- ☐ Enclosed is a contribution

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

The Militant

Closing news date: July 6, 1983

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Frank Lovell, Malik Miah, Geoff Mirelowitz, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Mary-Alice Waters.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Women miners fight for jobs, dignity

UMWA's Trumka: 'You have made union stronger, more democratic'

BY MARGARET JAYKO

DAWSON, Pa. — The Fifth National Conference of Women Miners, held here June 24-26, marked an important step forward for women miners, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), and for all women fighting for their rights.

The 250 conference participants spent the weekend discussing the special problems women miners face including: battles with the coal companies to force them to hire women; not getting trained to operate machinery; sexual harassment on the job; and layoffs, which are hitting women miners disproportionately hard.

A highlight of the conference was the keynote speech by UMWA president Richard Trumka, where he put the union firmly behind the struggle of women miners against discrimination.

The conference occurred in the context of stepped-up attacks by the coal operators and the government against the UMWA. The more than 140 coal miners who were there — 113 of whom were women — were among those union activists who are in the forefront of trying to figure out how to get the UMWA into fighting trim to repel efforts to weaken the union.

In fact, a central theme of the conference was that mobilizing the UMWA's power on behalf of its women members is key to strengthening the entire union, as well as the only way to begin to solve some of the problems women miners face.

The conference also affirmed the necessity of women miners organizing among themselves to tackle the issues confronting them.

'Milestone'

The conference was cochaired by two women miners from Pennsylvania: Margi Mayernik and Georgene Sacchini.

Mayernik opened the plenary session on Saturday morning by explaining why this conference was "a milestone in many ways."

It was the fifth such conference of women miners organized by the Coal Employment Project (CEP). The CEP was founded in 1977 to help women get and keep jobs in the coal mines. In addition, the UMWA hosted a national conference for women miners in 1979.

While this year's conference grew out of the experiences and momentum of previous gatherings, it also represented something new.

For one thing, it was the largest so far, despite the big layoffs of women miners. There were about 113 women miners — a big jump from the previous high of 75. And there were about 30 male miners.

Almost all the miners were members of the UMWA. There were a handful of women from nonunion mines, and one laid-off iron ore miner from the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota.

Black miners

About 10 percent of the conference participants were Black miners — male and female. Many women miners see the strug-

gle of Blacks for their civil rights as an example to be emulated. There was a workshop on the "double jeopardy" that faces miners who are Black and female. At that workshop, a miner who is an American Indian raised the problems she had with Ku Klux Klan harassment in her mine.

Three Black women were elected as state representatives to the 11-member CEP coordinating committee to organize next year's conference.

There were miners present from almost every coal mining state: Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, and West Virginia.

The conference was held at the United Steelworkers of America's (USWA) education center — Linden Hall. It was attended by some USWA members, as well as members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); Service Employees International Union (SEIU); United Food and Commercial Workers; American Postal Workers; and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW).

The Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Post Office Women for Equal Rights were among several organizations that had booths at the conference.

UMWA endorsement

This was the first CEP-sponsored women miners conference endorsed by the UMWA. Women miners make up about 2 percent of the UMWA's membership, and the backing of the union expanded the ability of these women to build the conference in the coal fields. About half of the UMWA members present were official representatives from their locals.

The conference opened on Saturday morning with a moment of silence for the seven miners who had been killed in a mine explosion in Virginia three days before. (See last week's *Militant* for full story.)

Then greetings were heard from a number of speakers.

Marsha Zakowski from the USWA civil rights department welcomed everyone to Linden Hall and announced the USWA's support for the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom called by major civil rights organizations and endorsed by the AFL-CIO. On Sunday, the conference voted to support and build the march.

"Our presence here today exemplifies the natural bonds that exist between two of the most significant social movements in our country's history: namely the labor movement and the women's movement," said Dale Newman, chair of the Pennsylvania National Organization for Women (NOW) labor task force. Newman urged the women miners to join NOW.

Also bringing greetings were: the Pittsburgh NAACP; James Kelly, UMWA District 4 president; and Donald Redman, UMWA District 5 president.

CEP founder Betty Jean Hall ran down a long and impressive list of the CEP and women miners activities in the last year, including favorable settlements of a number of lawsuits against coal companies for discrimination and harassment.

Defending our rights in hard times

Hall reminded people that in 1982, only 2,000 new miners were hired nationally, an indication of the "hard times" we are facing. Of that 2,000, 8.6 percent were women.

Hall said, "We are facing hard times in many respects. There are many rights that people would like to take away from us." But, said Hall, "we've got to keep our eye on the percentages. We've got to make sure that women and minorities get their fair percentage," so that their gains are not wiped out.

One of the two keynote speakers was Karen Nussbaum, head of two organizations of clerical workers: District 925 of the SEIU; and 9 to 5, National Association of Working Women.

Nussbaum asked how many people had been clerical workers previously — almost every hand in the room shot up. For many



Militant/Susan Ellis

Pennsylvania state caucus meeting at women miners conference. These women played important role in actively involving UMWA in conference.

women, coal mining was the first decent-paying job they'd ever had.

Nussbaum described the struggle of women clerical workers for dignity and against discrimination — a struggle they have in common with women miners.

'Divide and conquer'

The featured speaker was UMWA president Richard Trumka. Trumka was elected last November by an aroused rank-and-file who were sick of the collaboration of his predecessor — Sam Church — with the coal bosses at miners' expense.

Trumka's talk reflected the impact that women miners and their struggles have had on the union in the past 10 years.

Trumka discussed how the coal operators manipulate the divisions among working people:

"The age-old game of divide-and-conquer has always been a basic strategy of coal operators. They seek to pit native-born against immigrant. Strong against weak. Old against young. Black against white. Union against nonunion. East against

West. Unemployed against employed. And man against woman.

"By stoking the fires of conflict, they've tried to deflect from themselves our justified anger."

Trumka pointed out that it is the union movement, not the employers, that supports relief for the unemployed and equal rights for women, including the Equal Rights Amendment.

Special problems of women

"As women miners, you face special problems in the workplace," said Trumka. "Women's health and safety problems. Sexual harassment. Job discrimination. Nonetheless, the basic interests of coal miners — male miners and female miners alike — are the same."

When women are victimized, said Trumka, all union members suffer. "As we put a stop to sex-based discrimination in the mines, we make it much harder for coal operators to discriminate against anyone, for any reason. And that must ultimately be our goal."

Continued on Page 4

Miners welcome Salvador unionist

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

DAWSON, Pa. — On the invitation of the Pennsylvania Women Miners Support Team, Salvadoran trade unionist Alejandro Molina Lara attended the Fifth National Conference of Women Miners on June 24-26.

Some members of the support team had heard Molina Lara when he spoke before several local meetings of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in November and December of last year. These women were especially enthusiastic about his presence at their conference. They brought other conference participants to the reception that had been organized for Molina Lara as part of the weekend's activities.

About 50 people attended the reception, at times nodding recognition as Molina Lara outlined the history of struggle between Salvadoran workers and peasants and U.S.-backed repressive regimes. He referred to the Salvadoran work force as a "goldmine" for U.S. and other foreign corporations.

"Our bosses are your bosses but they only pay us \$2.50 a day," he said. He explained that the world economic crisis had made conditions in El Salvador intolerable. "But the people in charge don't want to sacrifice any of their profits."

He added, "But I don't have to convince you. You feel here in the United States what they are trying to do to all working people."

Molina Lara is the organizational secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers Unions (FENASTRAS).

"Ours is a struggle of the whole people and they will never defeat us," said Molina

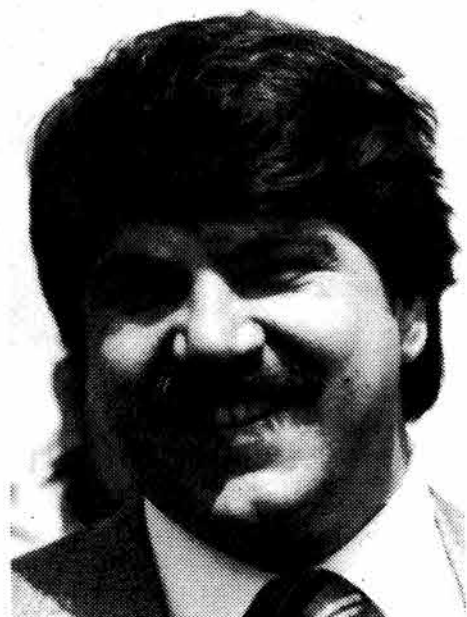
Lara. "So many tax dollars are destined to go to El Salvador. That is why I wanted to come here and talk to you. If there is a war, the results will be even more catastrophic than they were in Vietnam." He received a standing ovation when he ended his talk saying, "Brothers and sisters, there should be no barriers among workers."

Molina Lara then presented Joyce Dukes, of the sponsoring Coal Employment Project (CEP), with a FENASTRAS solidarity flag. She said it would be placed in the CEP office in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Also speaking at the reception was Sister Rose Della Tazze, daughter of a Pennsylvania coal miner, who had just returned from a Salvadoran refugee camp in Honduras. She reported on the inhuman conditions there and called for an end to all U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran regime.

On the last day of the conference, Molina Lara addressed the state caucus of Pennsylvania miners. He thanked the women miners for their initiative and promised to "take back to women workers in El Salvador the news that women miners in the U.S. support the Salvadoran people and that women miners are struggling here, too." He suggested they invite Salvadoran women trade unionists from FENASTRAS to address their local meetings and conferences.

Molina Lara reported that he had been able to meet with UMWA President Richard Trumka at the conference. Finally, Molina Lara told the women miners that their warmth and solidarity had strengthened the unity between Salvadoran and U.S. workers and that he hoped to continue this process by attending their national union convention.



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

UMWA President Richard Trumka

Women miners fight for jobs, dignity

Continued from Page 3

Trumka said that there had been big progress in fighting discrimination since women first re-entered the mines 10 years ago, a fact which many women testified to at the conference.

But, Trumka acknowledged, it's "not enough. We still have a long, long way to go. Those first women who came into the mines; they confronted generations of ingrained prejudice and superstition.

"Think of the odds they faced. Think of the courage that they demonstrated to stay on the job. Male miners believed that for a woman miner to come in the mine would be bad luck."

But that myth, Trumka said, "because of your labors, has been destroyed. I think most men in the mines would agree that it's been our good luck, rather than bad luck, to have you join our ranks."

'Union is your best protection'

After enumerating other myths about women working in the mines, Trumka said, "Courageously and ably, you have confronted and destroyed myth after myth, and we applaud you for your efforts.

"As you entered the mines, many of you found that your union is your best protection against harassment, discrimination, and hazardous working conditions. If some union brothers were resentful, and I might add, abusive, toward you, many others were supportive and offered a helping hand.

"If local officers in some cases were unresponsive to your problems, others made the effort to help you.

"It's an education process that we all have to undertake.

"Corporate America has become obsessed with the bottom line and that obsession renders us as individuals powerless. The United Mine Workers has a bottom line, too. But ours is not measured in dollars and cents. Rather ours is measured in health and welfare and equality of life and equality of human beings.

"But it is only when we work together that we can achieve that end. As many of you entered the mines, you became active in your local unions. We, the male people in your union, have been the beneficiaries of your efforts because you've made our union stronger."

Trumka said that women miners had forced the union "to look at discrimination in a new light. And hopefully we can rekindle the fires in every member of the United Mine Workers that existed at the turn of the century that was dedicated to stamping out discrimination of all sorts."

Trumka affirmed that the women have "made the coal mines a better place to work. You made the United Mine Workers stronger. You made it more effective, and I believe you've made it a more democratic organization.

"And you have proven to the coal industry and to everybody else, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that you belong in the coal mines if you want to be there."

When he finished he was given a standing ovation.

Discriminatory layoffs

A total of 100 people attended the "Keeping What We've Worked For: Surviving Layoffs" workshop, which was run twice. Given that nearly one-third of the UMWA's membership is laid-off, the interest in this workshop was not surprising.

This is especially important for women miners. Though there are no exact figures, an informal survey conducted by the CEP showed that 40 percent of women miners are on layoff. Many women at the conference were laid-off and described how, in mine after mine, all or almost all the women got the axe when layoffs came.

Given the fact that women's low seniority means they are being laid off disproportionately to their numbers in the work force, Betty Jean Hall's warning about "keeping your eye on the percentages" took on a real urgency.

The question of how to keep women in the mines, how to preserve the gains made by women and the union now that times are hard — including modifying the seniority system to accomplish this — was at the heart of many discussions at the conference, in the workshops and informally.

At the layoffs workshop, there was some discussion of a current class-action suit against U.S. Steel for its foot-dragging and refusal to hire women in the mines it owns. This was just one example of how women still have to fight their way into mining jobs.

Many women pointed out that once they are hired, they are confined to the least-skilled, lowest paid, dirtiest jobs, like shoveling coal onto the conveyor belt. Their lack of seniority and lack of training on equipment combine to make women as a group more vulnerable to layoffs than men.

Miners 'Journal' takes on new look

BY BILL BOYD
AND LINDA MAY O'BRIEN

The *United Mine Workers Journal* has taken on a new look since the inauguration of the current UMWA leadership, headed by President Richard Trumka, last December.

The union membership, in their large majority, ousted former president Sam Church, rejecting his policy of collaboration with the coal companies at miners' expense.

The new *Journal* reflects the ferment in the UMWA ranks and the desire to use the union to push forward the fight for miners' interests.

The theme of the *Journal* is: "We can fight back if you get involved." "The Rank and File Speaks" section has returned to the *Journal*. (This section used to be in the *Journal* following the victory of the Miners For Democracy slate in the early 1970s.)

The editors point out: "This column is one way to make sure that UMWA members can express their views in their own magazine."

"The Rank and File Speaks" in the January-February issue included a comment from Emma Bryant, a Black woman miner from Local 1802 in Corydon, Kentucky. "We'll not ask what Mr. Trumka and his slate can do for us, but what we can do to make the union as strong as it once was. . . . He will only be as strong as the rank and file makes him," she says.

Letters to the *Journal* are also actively solicited, with each issue having two pages of letters. In addition, there is a section titled: "Rights on The Job," which explains how to enforce the contract in everyday situations; for example, how to refuse unsafe work, why we should stop bosses from doing union jobs, grievance procedures, etc.

This new and more widely read *Journal* comes at a time when over one-third of our membership is laid off, and the companies are driving hard to cut into our contract gains, work rules, and safety procedures.

Coal miners are becoming increasingly aware of the big battles that must be fought to turn this situation around. That's why a discussion among union members over ideas and strategies is critical to a successful fightback.

The *Journal* is helping that discussion to happen.

One of the first things that strikes you about the new *Journal* is the broad picture of our union's membership. (Earl Dotter's excellent photography has returned to the *Journal* too.)

There are interviews with and photographs of women miners, Black miners, Latino miners, and Navajo miners. This is a signal to these miners — the most oppressed — that the union is for them, too. It promotes solidarity among union members.

In addition, Canadian miners, retired miners, and other sectors of the union all find some place in the *Journal*.

For example, the *Journal* reported a close call faced by the UMWA with its Nova Scotia members in Canada. Another union was attempting to raid the UMWA there and win a decertification vote. Major efforts were taken by the new leadership to meet with the Canadian miners and try to correct the years of neglect that had added to the possibility of losing them. The resulting vote was a victory for the UMWA. But, as the *Journal* honestly presented it, "If we don't rebuild our union, we could lose it entirely."

Both the NAACP speakers and the workshop coordinator, Kipp Dawson, a miner from Pennsylvania, raised the idea of the union modifying the seniority system in such a way that it would prevent layoffs from reducing the percentage of women and minorities employed in the mines.

According to strict seniority, workers are laid off in reverse order of hiring. Women, who are among the most recently hired, are among the first let go.

At the second session of the workshop, another miner from Pennsylvania pointed out that the seniority system was fought for

by the union in order to prevent the company from picking off the more militant workers and weakening the union.

Pointing to Trumka's comments about the role women have played in strengthening the UMWA, she said that the union today is also facing a question of how to prevent the bosses from laying off militant union sisters.

Disproportionate layoffs of women only serve to deepen the divisions between male and female miners and hurt the union.

She proposed utilizing the seniority sys-

Continued on Page 5

This is one side of the *Journal's* call for organizing the unorganized, with an emphasis on rank-and-file involvement.

Other important articles in the *Journal* include one on the Fifth National Conference of Women Miners (see article on this page) and one titled: "UMWA Here to Stay in Navajo Country."

"Exposing the MSHA Cover-Up" reported an important investigation by the UMWA of the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA). It revealed how this agency is being systematically weakened under the Reagan administration.

MSHA inspectors have been told to take it easy on the companies and are themselves threatened with layoffs; punitive transfers; and constantly being overruled by their supervisors, who collaborate with the coal companies.

A theme of the April issue was the crisis in the economy and unemployment in the mines. It took up district and local relief programs, the program of the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC) for jobs, and a "Rank and File Speaks" section on "Why We're Out of Work, And What We Can Do About It."

A page on "Will the Corporations Rebuild America?" pointed out that higher profits from tax breaks and takeback contracts are not used to provide more jobs, but instead to get even higher profits.

The *Journal* quotes one miner who says: "My belief is that the economy is being used as a political thing from the top to break the back of unions like the United Mine Workers. That's one of the reasons we have so much unemployment. These companies have never accepted the union. I've been in it since 1946 and my father was in it since 1910. I've seen it happen before and they're attempting the same thing now — to break the union's back.

"That goes right up to President Reagan.

They started with the Air Traffic Controllers, and they'll keep right on going until we stop them."

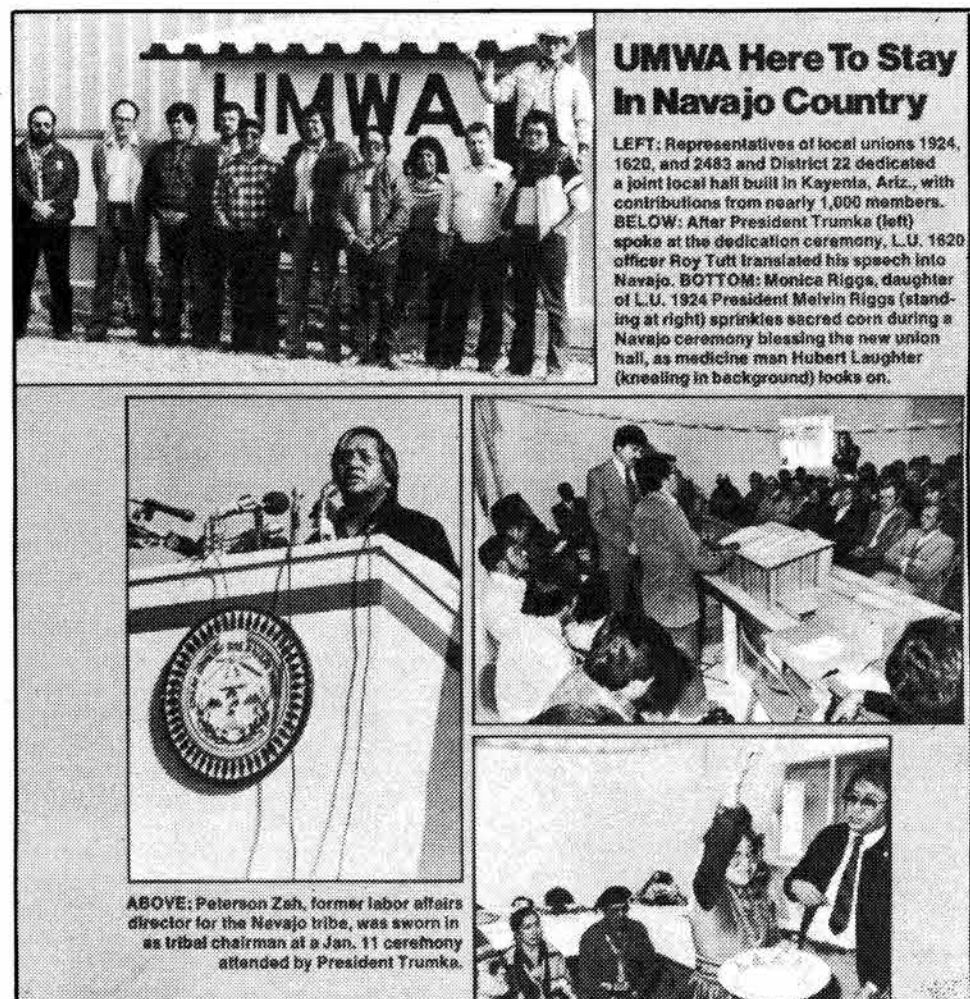
Rank-and-file political action has also been actively pushed by the *Journal*, with an emphasis on COMPAC and getting involved in it. It's clear from the letters and articles that coal miners, like other workers and farmers, see that they're battling the government as well as the employers.

The idea that more miners should run for political office is raised. But the two major themes on political action pushed by the *Journal* are finding and electing "friends of labor" within the Democratic and Republican parties, and lobbying legislatures around issues affecting coal miners. The March issue included an interview with Sen. Edward Kennedy.

One central issue missing from the *Journal* so far is that of war and war spending. While mention is made of COMPAC's opposition to increases in the military budget as social services are being cut, there has been no discussion yet in the *Journal* about what stance the UMWA should take toward the U.S. government's escalating war in Central America.

The May issue of the *Journal* contains the call for the upcoming UMWA constitutional convention, which will take place in Pittsburgh in December. It reviews some of the key questions facing the union that the convention will have to take up and how the membership can get involved in preparing themselves and the union for these discussions. It also pledges that "In the coming months, the *Journal* will be publishing rank-and-file opinions and articles about the issues facing our union."

Bill Boyd is a coal miner in Philippi, West Virginia, and a member of UMWA Local 2095. Linda May O'Brien used to be a member of UMWA Local 1702 in northern West Virginia.



Page from January-February issue of *United Mine Workers Journal*

Thousands rally in D.C. against U.S. war in Central America

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Chanting "No draft! No war! U.S. out of El Salvador!" and "USA, CIA out of Nicaragua!" some 8,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Washington, D.C., July 2.

The youthful crowd listened to speakers at a rally just a few hundred yards from the national Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and then marched to another rally at Lafayette Park, in front of the White House.

Latino contingents

Many of the marchers clearly felt a strong sense of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, the Salvadoran freedom fighters, and other revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean. Among these were many Latinos, who made up a significant portion of the demonstration. An organized Latino contingent, which included hundreds of Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, and Chileans, was one of the most spirited on the march. A group of about 100 Haitians also marched together.

The most well-received speakers were those from revolutionary Nicaragua and the representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

Ivón Siu, director of international relations for the Luisa Amanda Espinoza — Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE), has been touring throughout the United States for the past several weeks. Siu made the extra effort to address the rally in English because, as she told the crowd, "it is so important to communicate directly with our North American brothers and sisters."

"Nicaragua wants peace!" Siu told the demonstrators. She explained that the economic and social crisis that is facing all of Central America is being aggravated by the interventionist policies of the Reagan administration.

The counterrevolutionary bands that have invaded Nicaragua, she said, "have been organized, directed, trained, and financed by the CIA."

She pointed to the boycott Nicaragua is suffering "at the hands of the international financial institutions," which is "preventing us from rebuilding our country." A major loan from the Inter-American Development Bank, has just been blocked

through the intervention of the U.S. government.

She also called attention to the human toll of the U.S.-financed war against Nicaragua. "Five hundred Nicaraguans have been assassinated in the last five months," said Siu. "This is equivalent to 50,000 people in the United States being killed."

The consequences of continued U.S. military intervention in the region could lead to a war of "unknown dimensions," she warned. It is "to the benefit of the people of the United States and Nicaragua to stop this time bomb. The time has come to stop the Reagan administration and the people of the United States are the only ones who can do it," she said as the crowd cheered.

Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark pointed to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government's charge that there is "an enormous military build-up" in Nicaragua, as Reagan recently claimed. To see the real military buildup, said Clark, "look at the Pentagon." What Nicaragua spends on arms "couldn't be one half of one percent of the U.S. arms budget."

'Roman Empire'

Arnaldo Ramos, the FDR speaker, pointed to "the absurdity of UN ambassador [Jeane] Kirkpatrick saying the United States is fighting the 'Roman Empire' in Central America," referring to the Soviet Union. This claim is only intended to cover up the deepening Americanization of the Salvadoran civil war, he said. Ramos explained that the eight U.S. army lieutenant colonels now in El Salvador increasingly control every move made by the Salvadoran government.

Although the people of El Salvador do not want another Vietnam, he said, they will "fight like the people of Vietnam" against U.S. intervention.

Another well-received speaker was Ron Weisen, president of the United Steelworkers of America Local 1397 in Homestead, Pennsylvania. "I want to talk about unions," he told the rally as he described the violence and repression directed against trade unionists in El Salvador.

"It is not surprising that the antiunion Reagan administration does not protest this," Weisen explained. While he "professes to support unions in Poland and El Salvador," Reagan and the government attack



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Part of Latino contingent at July 2 demonstration

the rights of unions in the United States. "The only difference," said Weisen, "is the method." As an example he pointed to the government's union-busting against the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO).

"Solidarity is not just a slogan," said Weisen as he called on unionists to defend workers under attack in El Salvador and the United States.

Emphasizing that there are 4,000 steelworkers laid-off at the United States Steel mill in Homestead, Weisen said that Reagan's program to provide 300,000 jobs "won't make much of a dent." Nevertheless, he observed, the Democrats in Congress "embraced it."

Many other speakers addressed the rallies at the assembly point and in Lafayette Park. These included representatives from the African National Congress, the Palestine Congress of North America, other international organizations, and Black rights and antiwar groups in the United States.

August 27 march

Donna Brazile, one of the organizers of the upcoming August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom, spoke on behalf of Dr. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Brazile encouraged the demonstrators to return to Washington for the August action, which will commemorate the massive 1963 civil rights march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Women miners fight for jobs, dignity

Continued from Page 4

tem to strengthen the union by modifying it so that the proportion of women and oppressed nationalities employed are not decreased during layoffs.

A woman from Illinois proposed that the CEP conduct a study to determine the impact of the layoffs on women, Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities.

Not everyone agreed with these ideas. Some miners — male and female — opposed them. Most, however, wanted to discuss them more.

Cynthia, from the Martinka mine in Fairmont, West Virginia, said her local — 1949 — had discussed the idea of modifying seniority and rejected it.

She argued that seniority is the basis of the union and that raising any modification of it created divisions within the union. She said that she didn't think it was possible to be fair and to uphold the system of seniority as the basic tenet of the union.

In reporting back on this discussion at the Sunday morning plenary, Dawson explained that different points of view had been expressed, nothing had been settled, and that this was just the beginning of a very important discussion.

The Sunday morning plenary included reports on several of the workshops.

Kathy Mickells, a Pennsylvania miner, outlined the discussions at the women in other unions workshop. She reported that the recent convention of the ILGWU had reaffirmed the union's long-standing support for the right of women to choose safe, legal abortion.

Some of the women from other unions suggested that women miners should encourage the UMW to form some kind of women's department or committee that could help the union deal with the special problems faced by its female members.

The July 2 demonstration was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee for July 2 Emergency Mobilization, which was initiated by the All People's Congress. Demonstrators came from cities on the East Coast and from the Midwest, as well as a few from further away.

Many showed a great deal of interest in socialist literature that was distributed at the demonstration. The Young Socialist Alliance table filled with books and pamphlets had a crowd of people around it for most of the day. The *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, also got a good response.

In the weeks leading up to the demonstration, somewhat of a stir was made by the press about the "sanctity" of the veterans memorial and the "inappropriateness" of an antiwar action near it. Several right-wing groups organized a counterdemonstration to "defend" the memorial.

The right-wing counterdemonstration turned out to be a small and sorry sight. About 150 dispirited counterrevolutionary Vietnamese, Cubans, and other right-wing forces, including members of the reactionary religious cult of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, turned out for a rally. Among the speakers was Eldridge Cleaver, the former Black Panther turned anticommunist evangelist. Cleaver told the small gathering it is time to "draw the line" against communism and "wipe it off the face of the earth."

Pittsburgh Steelworkers to hold July 22 'Jobs not war' rally

At the July 2 march and rally in Washington, the *Militant* spoke with Ron Weisen, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1397 in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Local 1397 is holding a "Jobs not war" rally at the local union hall July 22.

When asked what led the local to call the rally, Weisen introduced Molly Rush who works with the Thomas Merton Center in Pittsburgh. Rush will be cochairing the July 22 event with Weisen. "I have four children," said Weisen. "Molly has six. We don't want to see another war."

Weisen went on to explain that the attitudes of many steelworkers, including older workers who predominate at Homestead today due to the layoff of some 4,000 younger workers, are changing. "No one wants to see another war," said Weisen. He expects a good turnout for the event.

The program will include a number of other speakers from the union movement. Mike Bonn, president of USWA Local 2227 at U.S. Steel's Irvin Works, is already confirmed. Weisen says he expects Joe Samargia, a longtime leader of the USWA on Minnesota's iron ore range, to participate as well.

Another important speaker will be Dave Dyson, executive director of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. Dyson has just returned from El Salvador



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Ron Weisen, president, United Steelworkers of America Local 1397, speaking at July 2 rally. Weisen's local is hosting July 22 antiwar action in Pittsburgh.

where he participated in a visit by a broad delegation of union leaders organized by the national labor committee.

The rally will take place at 7:30 p.m. at 615 McClure St. in Homestead. Those interested in more information can call (412) 462-2522.

Syrian regime's squeeze on PLO

Continued from front page

much of Lebanon. Over the past few months the Israeli rulers have made it quite clear that if the Syrians fail to bow to their demands in Lebanon, they are prepared to unleash another Mideast war.

Syrian military moves against the PLO come in this context. They are the latest installment in the political price that is being exacted for the military defeat inflicted on the PLO by Israel last year.

Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, unable to contain his enthusiasm, crowed during a recent television interview, "Anything that divides the Arab world is good for Israel."

Although Shultz has not been so blunt about it, he replied to questions from reporters June 29 by saying, "The greater the Syrian control the likelier that if Syria withdraws [from Lebanon] the PLO will too."

'Tight leash' for Palestinians

Approval for Assad's course also came from the editors of the *Washington Post* June 26. As the *Post* smugly put it, "there need be no excessive mourning about Syria's humiliation of Yasser Arafat."

Assad's regime, the editorial noted, "has a record of keeping 'its' Palestinians on a tight leash — preventing them from doing anything not subordinate to its interests."

The editorial continued: "In its troop-disengagement accord with Israel in 1974, Syria said: 'This agreement . . . is a step toward a just and durable peace.' President Assad faithfully put into effect all the specific obligations he undertook in that agreement. There is no reason to conclude prematurely that he has changed his mind about the larger commitment."

"It is a time to start pondering what new possibilities — peaceful ones as well as dangerous ones — may open up as President Assad tightens his grip on the fighting core of the PLO."

Shultz has gone to the Middle East precisely to explore these "new possibilities."

Syrians move in on PLO

Assad's move against the PLO began in May, with a mutiny by a number of leaders in Fatah, the guerrilla organization originally founded by Arafat and the largest of those in the PLO. Whatever the motives of different individuals who have taken part in the rebellion, and whatever Assad's role in getting that rebellion off the ground, there is certainly no doubt about the use the Syrian regime has made of it since then.

For the first three weeks of their rebellion, the mutineers were based at a single camp, Ait el Fukha, in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Then, on May 28, they took control of six PLO supply centers near the Syrian capital of Damascus. These PLO depots were supposed to be protected by Syrian military police.

When no further progress was made by the mutineers on their own, Assad ordered his army into action. On June 21, Syrian tanks spearheaded a rebel offensive in the Bekaa. The following day Syrian troops and tanks encircled PLO positions in eastern Lebanon, blockading them. And on June 23 an ambush on Syrian territory killed or wounded 13 Arafat supporters who were on their way to Tripoli, in northern Lebanon, where the PLO has established a base that is not under Syrian military control.

Although rebel leaders have frequently issued statements about their desire for dialogue and democratic decision-making within the PLO and Fatah, they have failed to condemn the Syrian intervention. Moreover, the June 21 attack was timed to coincide with a meeting of Fatah's Revolutionary Council that had been called to discuss the demands of the mutineers and to take up proposals that would meet objections that they had raised.

"First they said they wanted a meeting of the Fatah Central Committee, so we had that and they did not come," Arafat pointed out on June 23. "Then they said they wanted a meeting of the Revolutionary Council. We had that and they did not

come. Now they say they want a meeting of the Fatah Congress."

Explaining what was at stake in the fight, Arafat declared, "The Syrians want to decide for the Palestinians. That decision I will not give to anyone." Referring to the conclusion of his historic speech before the United Nations in November 1974, Arafat added, "I am still holding the olive branch in one hand and the gun in the other."

Assad responded to Arafat's refusal to bow to his dictates by abruptly booting the PLO chairman out of Syria on June 24. By deporting Arafat to Tunisia, Assad was hoping to cut him off from contact with PLO forces in Lebanon.

While rebel leaders have denied their dependence on the Syrian regime, the truth of Arafat's charges was confirmed again on June 28, when Syrian tanks once more pounded PLO positions in the Bekaa. *New York Times* reporter Thomas Friedman, describing the scene in a June 29 article, said "gunfire could be heard all over the area as Syrian troops supporting the rebels poured out of transport trucks near the central Bekaa town [of Shtaura]."

Fifteen PLO fighters were killed and 20 wounded by the Syrian-backed forces as they took new positions. Meanwhile, outside Tripoli, the Syrians deployed 20 new tanks near the Nahr al Bared and Baddawi refugee camps, where the PLO is still able to operate freely.

Massive support for Arafat

Among the Palestinian people as a whole, all indications are that support for the PLO and its leadership remains overwhelming. "The support for Mr. Arafat on the West Bank is startling in its unanimity," Trudy Rubin reported in the July 1 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Elected mayors, student groups, professionals, and trade union leaders have all placed prominent ads in the Arabic press opposing Syrian pressure on the PLO and supporting Mr. Arafat as its leader."

"Even West Bankers sympathetic to the PLO dissidents' grievances believe they should have settled them inside the organization rather than starting a civil war on the ground. 'They opened the way for Libya and Syria to intervene and to try to control the PLO by fragmenting it,' complained a bearded Bir Zeit student leader."

Washington Post correspondent Herbert Denton reported from Lebanon June 25, following Arafat's expulsion from Syria. "At the Baddawi camp, where Arafat had established part of a provisional headquarters in recent weeks, women, children and armed guerrillas paraded through narrow, dusty streets this morning waving posters of Arafat and chanting slogans condemning Assad and the PLO mutineers."

There was even a protest by Palestinians in the Syrian capital of Damascus, according to a report in the June 26 *New York Times*.

Another indication of the sentiment among the Palestinian people has been the stance of the two most important groups in the PLO after Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

While endorsing some of the specific demands raised by the rebels, the PFLP and DFLP have refused to join with the mutineers. On the contrary, they have backed Arafat's role as head of the PLO, stressed the importance of unity and independent decision-making within the PLO, and attended PLO meetings that have been boycotted by the pro-Syrian As Saiqa and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.

A spokesman for the PFLP called Assad's expulsion of Arafat from Syria "an insult to the entire PLO." And a few days later, a June 28 statement by rebel leader Nimr Saleh lumped DFLP chief Nayef Hawatmeh together with Arafat. Saleh threatened to "purge the ranks and take everyone to account, no matter how senior they may be. Our people will topple the deviationist course led by Arafat, Hawatmeh



Palestinian youth demonstrating on West Bank. West Bank Palestinians express overwhelming support for Yasser Arafat and his resistance to Syrian regime's attempt to divide PLO.

and Khalil al-Wazir," the PLO's top military officer.

What Assad wants

What do the Syrian rulers hope to gain by damaging the PLO? And why have they picked this particular time to make their move?

Assad himself denies that there is any Syrian operation under way against the PLO and Arafat. But the Syrian regime, which stood aside during the siege of West Beirut and left the Palestinians to fight on their own, has been claiming ever since that Arafat is out to make a deal with Washington. It offered as proof of this charge the fact that Arafat met with Jordan's King Hussein to discuss the PLO's position on the Reagan plan.

Leaders of the mutiny in Fatah have picked up on the Syrian charges, claiming that their action was necessary because Arafat was giving up the perspective of armed struggle against the Israeli state. Yet these same rebel leaders have formed a bloc with the Assad regime, which has never allowed PLO forces to undertake military actions against Israel from Syrian territory, and which has sought to limit such PLO action within Lebanon as well.

The reason Assad opposed the PLO's talks with Hussein is not that he feared Arafat was about to make a deal with Washington. Rather, Assad opposed Arafat's attempts to maintain diplomatic relations with the various Arab regimes, independent of Syrian policies. The charges against Arafat are part of a smoke screen raised by Assad as he tries to break down the PLO's independence.

The reason Assad is moving now is the same one that has always sparked the big attacks on the PLO by various Arab regimes. Assad is trying to do precisely what he charges Arafat with — he is trying to clear the way for a deal with the imperialists.

Part of the maneuvering for such a deal is the hard propaganda line Assad is taking right now on the issue of a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. Assad would like to use his position in Lebanon to bargain for the return of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights to Syria.

Syria has a right to negotiate for the return of the Golan, which was stolen by Israel in its June 1967 war of aggression. But

Israeli aggression against Syria cannot successfully be opposed by betraying the Palestinians.

Because of its intransigent struggle for the rights of the Palestinian people, the PLO has always come under fire when the capitalist rulers in the Arab countries have sought to close a deal with imperialism. Collaboration with imperialism in the Middle East means above all acceptance of the Israeli colonial settler-state — something that the PLO and Arafat have never agreed to.

History of attacks on PLO

Thus, the negotiating proposals put forward by U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers in December 1969, and the attempt of the Jordanian regime to follow through on negotiations around the Rogers plan, led King Hussein to carry out his massacre of the Palestinians in September 1970. Similarly, Assad's hopes for a deal with Washington following the 1974 Syrian-Israeli troop disengagement accord mentioned by the editorial in the *Washington Post*, combined with his fear of revolution in Lebanon, led him to use thousands of troops against the PLO and leftist forces there in April 1976.

But there is another side to this history that should also be borne in mind. After Hussein smashed the PLO in Jordan, he was left in the lurch by Washington. The Israeli annexation of the West Bank is still proceeding apace. And after Assad pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for the imperialists in Lebanon, Washington went ahead and engineered the Camp David treaty between Israel and Egypt, leaving Syria out in the cold.

Assad's latest attempt to court Washington will not end any differently. Shultz will take whatever he can get, and the Israelis will refuse to budge an inch. By turning his guns against the PLO, Assad is weakening Syria's defense against Israeli aggression. And that aggression is sure to confront Syria once again in the not-so-distant future.

**Subscribe to
the Militant**

Gov't threatens new draft prosecutions

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

As U.S. intervention in Central America deepens, the Selective Service System is threatening to prosecute 70,000 young men who have failed to sign up for the draft.

The list of 70,000 is the largest batch of names the Selective Service System has yet sent to the Justice Department. In the spring the Justice Department was handed another 5,154 names for possible indictment.

Since President Carter reinstituted draft registration in 1980, hundreds of thousands have refused to sign up as required by law. Actually drafting the registrants — a step Washington has yet to take — would require an act of Congress.

According to the Selective Service System's own conservative estimates, 263,000 men born between 1960-64 have failed to register as they reached their 18th birthday. Another 146,000 born in 1965 have also failed to sign up. This year, the service reported, only 80 percent of those required to register had done so.

The Selective Service announcement June 29 was in harmony with other government moves aimed at preparing the way for a bigger military intervention in Central America. In particular, a string of Pentagon and administration officials have begun suggesting publicly that U.S. com-

bat troops may be needed soon to save Central America from a "Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan axis."

This latest move by the Selective Service is designed to coerce more young people — the majority of whom oppose Reagan's war policies — to sign up for the draft. Officials said the 70,000 would be sent a letter warning of possible indictment and giving them "a last chance" to register.

To date the Justice Department has indicted 15 nonregistrants and won convictions in 7 cases. Two of the 7 are currently serving jail terms.

With Washington determined to use U.S. Army troops in El Salvador or Nicaragua, the Reagan administration will continue to press forward on registration.

The sign-up got another boost June 29 when the Supreme Court voted to require male college students applying for federal financial aid to disclose whether they have registered for the draft. A "no" answer means the aid request will be automatically denied.

The Supreme Court action reversed a decision by a federal judge who ruled that forcing students to disclose their draft status would be a violation of their constitutional protection against self-incrimination.

Sandinistas uncover CIA plot to provoke war

Continued from front page

ragua is giving these plans, Borge concluded, this particular operation "may not be carried out."

But, he added, "terrible days are approaching." In an interview with UPI a few days later, Borge said he saw no possibility of avoiding a wider war for "there is not a single indication, not a single possibility, that the United States wants to."

The great problem the U.S. government has in its current offensive against Nicaragua is that the forces at its disposal — some 7,000 counterrevolutionaries in the north and perhaps another 1,000 in the south — are simply no match for the highly motivated all-volunteer Sandinista Army, reserve battalions, and militia units.

Heavy fighting in the last few months has taken a toll on the *contra* forces, as they are called here — at least 1,000 dead according to Sandinista government estimates. Sandinista casualties have been less than one fifth of that number, despite the fact that most of the fighting is being done by initially inexperienced reserve battalions.

Honduran forces have been playing an increasingly heavy role in the fighting.

- On June 24 the Sandinista army broke up a counterrevolutionary camp near the northern village of Ocotal. Twenty Honduran troops were caught by surprise in the camp, fought briefly, and fled across the border.

- Beginning June 25, units of the Honduran army's Special Tactical Group repeatedly entered Nicaraguan territory near the besieged village of Teotecacinte. Their mission was to disarm defensive land mines Nicaraguan forces had placed along their own side of the border in an effort to reduce the level of conflict there.

- On June 26 in Nicaragua's province of Chinandega, an invading force of 70 *contras* was stopped and driven back across the border. During the two-hour battle, the *contras* were backed by Honduran mortar fire.

- On July 2 Honduran army units opened mortar fire on the Nicaraguan border post at Teotecacinte, firing rounds for more than three hours. This was only the latest of several mortar attacks on the town, most of whose 2,000 residents have had to be evacuated.

Provocations such as these, along with the continuing U.S. military build-up in Honduras, are the background to the meeting described by Borge.

There has already been one major effort to provide Honduras with a pretext to go to war against Nicaragua and thus open the way for the introduction of U.S. combat forces. It fell apart at the end of June.

Two U.S. journalists, Dial Torgerson of the *Los Angeles Times* and Richard Cross, a photographer, were killed June 21 in Honduran territory, about two miles from the Nicaraguan border.

Honduran officials and the U.S. State Department immediately claimed that Torgerson and Cross had been killed by a rocket-propelled grenade fired by Nicaraguan troops. Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto denied the charge, pointing out that Sandinista forces had been pulled back from the border precisely to avoid such a staged provocation.

D'Escoto suggested instead that the two reporters had been set up and killed by Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries or Honduran Army troops. Two Dutch journalists, Jan Thielsen and Harry Van der Aart, traveling in the same region several days earlier confirmed that the area was full of armed, uniformed *contras*, mingling freely with Honduran troops.

They themselves were fired on by these forces and narrowly escaped with their lives. Honduran officials were "astounded" when they returned unscathed. Thielsen told a Managua news conference.

U.S. blocks Nicaragua loan

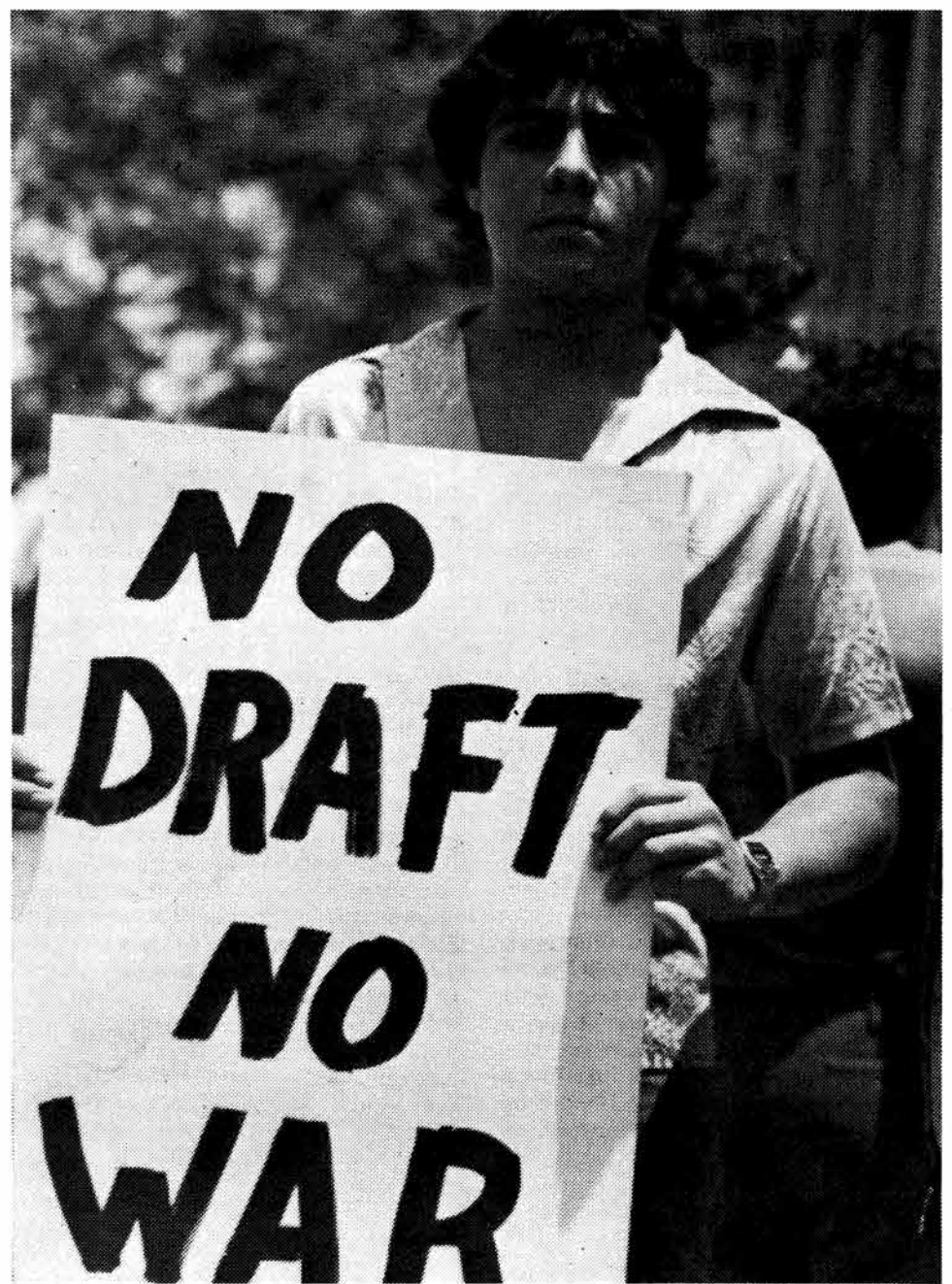
MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Reagan administration is increasingly using an economic blockade as a "club" against the Nicaraguan economy, Commander Daniel Ortega announced July 1.

On June 29 the U.S. government vetoed a \$2.2 million loan the Inter-American Development Bank was scheduled to provide Nicaragua to aid a road-building project.

Forty-two other governments associated with the bank approved the loan, but the United States controls 36 percent of the funds. Its negative vote alone was enough to stop the loan.

Other recent loans blocked by the United States include the following, Ortega reported:

- \$500,000 for small and medium-sized farmers in central Chompales province.
- \$18 million for projects in Managua and other cities.
- \$34 million for hydroelectric projects.



Militant/Della Rossa

"They kept checking our car looking for bullet holes."

Attacks against Nicaragua have also been continuing in the south. On June 28 some 150 followers of Edén Pastora invaded Nicaragua by boat and attempted to take the southern port city of San Juan del Norte. Although heavily armed, the invasion force was broken up by Sandinista troops.

Earlier, on June 23, Pastora had issued a much-publicized complaint that he didn't have enough money and guns to fight the "Nicaraguan communists" effectively and that he was therefore suspending operations. Perhaps his bid for more CIA aid had the desired effect.

Sides being taken

Although the Costa Rican government professes neutrality in the conflict between the CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries and Nicaragua, it is hardly unaware of Pastora's activities there. As it becomes clearer that the counterrevolutionary offensive cannot destabilize, let alone overthrow, the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, the tempo of the war is speeding up. Internationally, sides are being taken more clearly.

This is not only the case in Costa Rica. Further to the south, Panamanian National Guard Commander Rubén Darío Paredes

launched a vicious attack on Cuba and Nicaragua July 1. He threatened to break diplomatic relations with both countries if they didn't stop "exporting death and subversion."

Turning the real situation on its head, the Panamanian leader said: "Panama will come to the aid of Costa Rica if it is attacked. We are on the side of Costa Rica against Nicaragua."

Panama is a member of the four-government Contadora Group, which has called for peace and dialogue in Central America. But the Contadora governments are facing big pressures from Washington, and they are terrified by the impact that the Nicaraguan revolution is having on the workers and peasants in their own countries.

Another member of the group, Venezuela, was reported by ABC-TV July 2 to be collaborating with the CIA's plots to overthrow the Sandinista government. Citing "U.S. intelligence sources," ABC reported that the Venezuelan government has for two years been providing *contras* with training funds.

In Nicaragua itself, as the revolution nears its fourth anniversary, July 19, the pace of events is speeding up as well. More land is being given to small farmers, more militia units and reserve battalions are being tested in battle, more control over the distribution of basic goods is being exercised by the mass organizations.

Here in Achuapa, the entire town and surrounding countryside turned out June 30 to greet returning Reserve Battalion 10-11, dedicate the first high school ever built in the region, and receive title to more than 20,000 acres of land distributed at no charge by the revolutionary government.

The 500 reservists had just returned from three months on the front lines. Dusty, tired, and proud, their faces showed how happy they were to get back to their families and their farms.

But their stay may be short. All indications are that they will soon be needed in the front lines once again.

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.
Send check or money order to:
Barricada Internacional
Apdo. No. 576
Managua, Nicaragua.

Garment workers union demands justice for Vincent Chin

BY LESLIE DORK

NEW YORK — Leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), including its national secretary-treasurer, added their voices to a June 23 meeting here to demand justice for Vincent Chin.

Chin, a Chinese-American, was beaten in Detroit on June 19, 1982, by two white men with baseball bats. He died four days later.

His assailants were Ronald Ebens, a laid-off Chrysler foreman, and Ebens' stepson, Michael Nitz. The two attacked Chin and blamed him for unemployment in the auto industry, displaying the racist logic of the employers' anti-Japanese, anti-imports campaign.

The killers were allowed to plead guilty to manslaughter, and on March 16 Judge Charles Kaufman sentenced them to three years probation and a \$3,780 fine. Judge Kaufman stated, "You don't make the punishment fit the crime, you make the punishment fit the criminal."

The meeting here was held in Chinatown and marked the first anniversary of Chin's death. One hundred fifty people, mostly Chinese, attended. Speeches were given in English and Chinese. The meeting was sponsored by the New York East Wind Local Committee, a group organized around a new Asian-American magazine of the same name. Endorsers of the event included numerous Asian-American groups and prominent individuals; ILGWU Local 23-25; Councilwoman Miriam Friedlander; and Amiri Baraka, editor of *Black Nation*.

Jay Mazur, newly elected secretary-treasurer of the ILGWU and outgoing general manager of Local 23-25, spoke "representing the entire ILGWU," which, he said, "joins you in protest of this tragic case of racism."

"We are outraged at the court's decision and that his murderers aren't punished," Mazur told the crowd. "This murder is a tragedy and a concern of all Americans. When one of us is attacked, we are all attacked."

"This has been a struggle of the labor movement from its inception. Our unity has been our strength."

Mazur explained that the ILGWU is a union of immigrants that has always fought those who try to take away people's rights. He also drew attention to the fact that the next day would mark one year since the struggle by Local 23-25 members for their contract against the Chinatown garment bosses. This struggle, led by Chinese workers, set an example for the union as a whole.

Edgar Romney, incoming general manager for Local 23-25, also denounced the

court's racist decision, stating that "our union has always taken an active role in speaking in defense of democratic rights for Chinese-Americans and for all people."

He pledged "our financial support and continued efforts for justice for Vincent Chin." Local 23-25 has already donated 1,000 buttons to help raise money to publicize this case.

The meeting was chaired by a member of Local 23-25. The program included a slide show featuring an interview with Chin's mother and reviewing events leading to the attack.

Support statements were given by Coun-

cilwoman Friedlander; a South Bronx community group; the Chinese Progressive Association; and the East Coast Asian Student Union, Mid-Atlantic region.

The meeting was built as a commemoration in words and music. The anger expressed through the poetry and songs presented was reflected in the faces of the crowd. The Chinese Chorus of Local 23-25 also participated. They sang "Solidarity Forever" and "Which Side Are You On?" in Chinese.

Leslie Dork is a member of Local 23-25 of the ILGWU.



AFL-CIO News

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Secretary-Treasurer Mazur said union is outraged at court decision in Chin case.

Machinists local fights political firing in Ariz.



Militant Nelson Blackstock
Dan Fein, member of International Association of Machinists fired by Hughes Aircraft.

BY EDUARDO QUINTANA

TUCSON — Local Lodge 933 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) has filed a grievance against the firing of Dan Fein. Fein was fired on June 17 by Hughes Aircraft Co. here because of his union and political activity.

Hughes employs over 5,000 workers in its Tucson plant, half of whom are production workers eligible for union membership. Since Arizona is a "right-to-work" state, the union must constantly fight against company harassment to maintain over 50 percent of the work force signed up in the local.

Over the past five years the union has fought a continual battle against company efforts to force through concessions. In 1978 the union was forced on strike for three months when the company refused to add cost-of-living pay increases into the base wage. The strike was lost. In 1981 Hughes imposed a dual pay scale — new hires received 50% lower wages. The starting rate at Hughes — the eighth largest war contractor in the country — is now \$3.63 an hour.

After his probation ended in November 1982, Fein became active in the union, signing up over 25 of his coworkers in the Maverick Missile area of the plant. Union membership was only 51 percent at the time and the company was counting on local membership to drop below 50% so that a decertification election could be held to rid the company of the union.

In addition to helping keep union membership over 50 percent, Fein became involved in other local lodge activities. He helped arrange for Alejandro Molina Lara, a leader of the trade union movement in El Salvador and opponent of U.S. intervention, to speak at a local meeting.

Fein has also spread the word and distributed brochures on break periods about the upcoming August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace and freedom, endorsed by both the IAM and the national AFL-CIO Executive Board.

In June, local supporters of Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican unionist and socialist seeking political asylum in the United States, decided to circulate petitions at Hughes urging the Immigration and Naturalization Service to drop deportation proceedings against Marroquín.

The rights of foreign-born workers are an important issue under discussion in the labor movement as a whole, and especially in border states such as Arizona.

In less than one week, Fein collected 28

signatures from union members during his break time at Hughes.

On June 16, Fein was called into his supervisor's office and given a formal warning for "distributing literature on company property." The union shop steward who was present at the meeting said afterwards, "they just don't like the content of your brochures, Dan."

Fein and the union steward decided to file a grievance against the company for violating the union contract clause against "discrimination, coercion, interference, or restraint by the employer against any employee because of activity on behalf of the union." The National Labor Relations Board, backed by the federal courts, has consistently upheld the right of workers to distribute union-related literature in non-work areas on break time. The next day, before the chief steward could file the grievance, Fein was fired.

Fein was taken into the labor relations office at 3:55 p.m. where two armed security guards were waiting along with a number of top management people. Fein was terminated for "disruption of the work force" and "falsification of employment application." The company said they could not verify a job reference that Fein had put on his application.

Four p.m. quitting time came, and Fein announced that he was leaving the meeting. On his way to the door, he was grabbed by the shirt and ordered to sit down. The labor relations person told Fein that he would not be allowed to leave until he had signed an "employee separation notice," which read, "I hereby certify that I have fulfilled my obligation to Hughes Aircraft Co., acknowledge receipt of my pay and affirm the reason indicated for my separation." Fein refused to sign, indicating he disagreed with the reasons given for his firing. The company said he couldn't leave until he signed. After 15 more minutes, Fein crossed out the entire statement, signed the paper, and was allowed to leave.

The union grievance demanding Fein's job back was set for hearing on July 6. "The stakes are big for Lodge 933, as well as for me," Fein told the *Militant*. "Company attempts to fire workers because of union-building activities they carry on during their breaks must be fought, especially in 'right-to-work' Arizona, where our local is constantly struggling against Hughes' efforts to drive the union out. A victory in my case will help stay Hughes' hand against the local as a whole."

Eduardo Quintana is an electro-mechanical assembler at Hughes and a member of IAM Lodge 933.

North Dakota farmers win victory over FmHA

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N.D. — Hundreds of North Dakota farmers faced with imminent foreclosure have won a historic victory. On May 5 U.S. federal Judge Bruce Van Sickle of Bismarck issued a temporary injunction restraining the Farm Home Administration (FmHA) from continuing its vulture-like loan, interest, and foreclosure practices, which deprive North Dakota farmers of property or income needed to continue farming.

The lawsuit began over a year ago when a few North Dakota farmers became aware that FmHA has intentionally and repeatedly violated a 1978 loan deferral and foreclosure moratorium passed by Congress. That law authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture "to grant deferrals and moratoria when, due to circumstances beyond a farmer's control, he or she cannot make all payments due to FmHA without unduly impairing his or her living standard."

One such farm family, Donald and Diane McCabe of Dickey, North Dakota, was instrumental in organizing the Family Farm Foreclosure Legal Assistance Project. After a series of fund-raising meetings across North Dakota, nine small farmers joined together as plaintiffs and filed a class-action lawsuit against FmHA.

The lawsuit charged that the FmHA had not given them due process or foreclosure hearings as required by the 1978 act. "Many farmers were not aware of their right to appeal and to have a hearing," Diane McCabe told the *Militant*.

Not only did the federal judge concede the allegations of the nine plaintiffs, he granted class-action status in his order. This means the nine farmers who brought the suit now represent 8,400 North Dakota farmers who have FmHA mortgages.

In deciding to grant class-action status, Van Sickle said the FmHA "will not change its statewide policies if this action is limited [to nine plaintiffs] as demonstrated by its conduct in other states. If FmHA does not do so, then many who hold FmHA loans may be denied the benefit of notice and opportunity for hearing without knowing they have these rights . . ." the judge said.

As to whether a hearing is required prior to FmHA termination of a loan program, Van Sickle said he found the present procedure "is woefully inadequate if not nonexistent: it is entirely unilateral."

To implement the hearing, the FmHA must let the borrower know he can request such action, Van Sickle said. Also, the FmHA must inform borrowers of the availability of loan deferrals, he said.

"The lucky farmer whom the county agent told about the loan deferral could make a request, but the other farmers not so lucky would be left in the dark."

"We cannot expect the ordinary farmer to spend his extra hours in a federal depository, probably at least 100 miles away from his farm, reading the United States Code and the Federal Register."

Van Sickle's order is also an important victory for all FmHA borrowers across the nation, said Sarah Vogel, Grand Forks, North Dakota, attorney for the plaintiffs. "To my knowledge, there has been no decision [referring to earlier similar court actions in Kansas, Georgia, and Missouri] that has ever said farmers are entitled to hearings before FmHA takes away their means to an income," she said.

All nine plaintiffs were deprived of farm income by FmHA before they had hearings to answer FmHA charges that resulted in a loss of agency support, Vogel said.

"It is a common issue of fact that the FmHA has denied the existence of these rights prior to this lawsuit. . . ." Van Sickle said in the 33-page order. Most often, the FmHA says they "don't care why a farmer is delinquent," Vogel said. "Now, if he can show his loan is delinquent because of circumstances beyond his control, he is eligible for deferral."

Marxism and the Working Farmer

An Education for Socialists bulletin. Includes "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer," by Doug Jenness; documents and speeches by Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Fidel Castro. 62 pp., \$2.50.

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

Chicago socialist in campaign debate

Urges break with Democratic, Republican parties

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

CHICAGO — Ed Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the 1st District of Illinois, participated in his first public debate June 28.

Warren, who has a spot on the August 23 ballot as an independent, was invited along with several Democratic party candidates who are running in the July 26 primary to speak at the South Lawn United Methodist Church. Although there are four Republicans running, none were invited.

Debates such as this one, and public meetings, were held frequently during the spring mayoral election. However, Warren, who ran for mayor on the socialist ticket, was rarely included on the platform.

The special congressional election was called to fill the seat vacated by Harold Washington, now mayor of Chicago. The 1st Congressional District is the poorest district in Illinois and is predominantly Black. It also has the highest percentage of registered voters of any congressional district in the country.

Since Washington's election as mayor on April 12, a discussion is continuing among these voters on how Blacks in particular can move forward politically. Many people are discussing, for example, the importance of forging an alliance between Blacks and the labor movement as the way to fight against racism and sexism, for jobs and desegregation, and against war. Some people believe this process of unity began with Harold Washington's successful election campaign.

Warren agrees that Blacks, Latinos, and the labor movement need to forge an alliance to advance their interests against the employers and government. But he disagrees that this can be done inside or in support of the Democratic Party. Instead, Warren urges that working people break with the Democratic and Republican parties and that independent political parties of Blacks, and labor based on the trade unions, be formed today to fight for their interests.

This view was presented to the debate and discussion, as it was during the mayoral campaign, by Warren and his campaign supporters.

Fifteen candidates are running in the Democratic Party primary. Eight attended or sent representatives to the debate. Although Washington has endorsed Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and a national leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, there's a strong feeling among many Washington backers that a "successor" should not be appointed by the mayor. Many feel that Washington's election meant an end to the city political machine and patronage system that handed out jobs and posts to its friends. They point to the community meetings in 1982 that discussed political

action and helped influence Washington to run for mayor.

Hayes was unable to attend the debate. His representative explained that he was in the state capitol pushing for a tax increase to ease the budget crisis facing the Chicago city schools. Charles Chew, another candidate, was unable to attend for the same reason.

Warren has spoken against a regressive tax hike as a solution to the school crisis. That evening he explained that the money for schools and other crucial human needs should come from the war budget not the pockets of working people.

The clear favorite at the debate was Lu Palmer, a radio announcer and community activist. Palmer was one of the leading forces organizing the community discussions and opinion polls that led to Washington's candidacy. As a result of his role in the Washington campaign, Palmer's radio show, "Lu's notebook," was canceled by its sponsor, Illinois Bell. Palmer received a standing ovation, and his five-minute speech was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

Palmer argued for "keeping the move-

ment going" that had been built up during the Washington campaign. "Our problems must be solved by us," he explained. Palmer called himself an independent because he "has no ties to any political party or any special interest group like labor."

During the question period someone asked Palmer why he had stopped voting for eight years, a fact he made public on his radio program. "I quit voting because I didn't like having to always choose a lesser evil," he answered. "But when Harold Washington ran for mayor, I changed my opinion and registered to vote."

When Warren made his presentation he noted that many of the candidates had expressed similar views in support of Black rights, against military spending, etc. But none of the Democrats, he added, oppose the capitalist system, which is responsible for unemployment, war, and racism. "You're never going to cure the disease by treating the symptoms. Working people produce the wealth of the land and should therefore run the country, not the few super rich businessmen who control it now," Warren stated.

Continued on Page 17



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Ed Warren, Socialist Workers candidate in 1st Congressional District.

Jackson on Blacks and '84 elections

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS
AND DAVID PAPARELLO

ATLANTA — Rev. Jesse Jackson participated in a videotaped forum advocating a Black presidential candidacy for the 1984 elections. The forum was sponsored by the Atlanta Association of Black Journalists on June 12. The 90-minute panel discussion was aired the following night.

Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, a civil rights group based in Chicago, has been traveling across the country urging Blacks, Latinos, women, farmers, and labor to "renegotiate" their relationship in-

side the Democratic Party. He and other Black civil rights leaders in particular have been holding discussions about the feasibility of fielding a Black candidate in the Democratic Party primaries.

The panel discussion here revealed many of Jackson's views on this important discussion on how Blacks and other working people can begin to acquire more political influence as the employers and their government intensify their bipartisan policies of conducting war in Central America and racist attacks and austerity at home.

Renee Jackson, a CBS News correspondent, asked Jackson, "Are you seriously considering running in the 1984 presidential election?"

Jackson replied, "I am seriously exploring the option . . . if we can form an adequate coalition across racial and regional lines. . . . I am not as sold at this point on my own candidacy as I am convinced that never again should we allow someone like an Andrew Young, or Maynard Jackson, Richard Hatcher, Walter Fauntroy, Shirley Chisholm . . . to be dismissed categorically without discussion, because of their race or their sex."

He went on to say that he would announce his decision in "late August or early September."

Throughout his presentation and answers to questions, Jackson cited four major policy questions: reducing the war budget, dealing with racism "as it exists in the 80s," a program to create jobs, and a program to meet the needs of the small farmers. He accused the current contenders of the Democratic and Republican parties of failing to address these issues.

Jackson was asked, "Realistically there's very little chance of you winning the Democratic Party nomination, so won't you find yourself again in the position of relying on promises?"

Jackson answered: "Only those who don't run will lose everything." He pointed to the experience of the Chicago mayoral election as well as political developments occurring across the country. Jackson argued that a Black presidential campaign strategy should focus on the grassroots — registering voters and electing state officials and members of Congress. According to Jackson, the April Chicago election, where Harold Washington became that city's first Black Democratic Party mayor, is an example of how an "independent grassroots movement" can put more Blacks in public office.

One reporter questioned whether a Black candidate in the Democratic primaries would take votes from a white liberal candidate. Jackson responded by saying that Black people cannot afford to depend on the promises of white liberals. "When Sen. Ted Kennedy and Walter Mondale, liberal number one and liberal number two came

to Chicago to defeat Harold Washington [in the primary], they did not even take the time to meet with Black leaders in Chicago. This action pushed our backs to the wall."

Responding to the question of whether a white would vote for a Black presidential candidate, Jackson replied, "The quest of Blacks is not out of line with the rest of the country. The Black drive for health care, jobs . . . appeals more to the needs of whites. A Black perspective on politics encompasses more than a white perspective."

Following questions by the journalists, the panel fielded some from the audience. Maceo Dixon, a member of the National Black Independent Political Party, took the floor to remind Jackson that at a 1972 National Black Political Convention, in Gary, Indiana, he had stated that in 7 to 10 years the time would be ripe for an independent Black political party. Dixon continued, "It's now 11 years later. Why should we continue to stay in the Democratic Party — the party that originally organized the Ku Klux Klan and the party that has taken this country into war time and time again, as they are preparing to do now in Central America? Shouldn't we try to build an independent Black political party?"

Jackson maintained that he was sympathetic to the idea, but that "the masses of people do not find appeal in an independent political party. There is not enough support to finance or vote for such a party. We must take into account the dynamics of the day."

Jackson stated several times that he would not run as an independent candidate because "I think to run as an independent will sell the election to Reagan."

Prof. Mack Jones of Atlanta University appeared on the panel with Jackson. He advocated a Black presidential candidate too. Jones stated, "In my view once a nomination is made, any promises made are not binding. Running a Black promises to change that reality. I support the idea. . . . We must realize that racism is a logical outcome of the capitalist system and that we will not begin to deal with racism until we have replaced this system with some form of socialism."

Jones was asked if that meant that electing Jesse Jackson as president would change nothing for Black people. Jones responded by arguing that all politicians, no matter how radical they were in the beginning, always accommodate themselves to the system, the status quo. He pointed to the list of major cities that had elected Black mayors and city councils in which "nothing has fundamentally changed for Black people."

Jackson then added, "If a candidate does not begin by challenging the foundations, the war budget, the stealing of jobs, then it doesn't matter what color the person elected to office is."



Jesse Jackson

Warren campaign wins support

BY KEITH MANN

CHICAGO — Socialists here have found that the political discussion among Blacks, Latinos, and unionists on how to gain more political influence did not end with the April election of Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago. The socialists have been able to continue their participation in this discussion through Ed Warren's Socialist Workers Party campaign for Congress in the 1st District.

For example, two Warren campaign supporters who are also members of the Young Socialist Alliance met Rick Adams, a young Black worker, as they sold the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers and leafleted for a campaign event one Saturday. After talking to the YSAers for several minutes, Adams decided to spend the rest of the day helping them campaign and later attended a socialist forum. He said he agreed with the things the campaign stood for.

A young woman who bought a recent issue of the *Young Socialist* said she was attracted by the picture of Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada. She said she

had seen Bishop on TV and thought working people should follow the example of the Grenadians.

Another woman wanted to know what Ed Warren would do about the Chicago schools that may be closed down this fall for lack of funds. After being shown the July 1 issue of the *Militant* with Warren's statement on that subject, she bought a paper. She returned a few minutes later and told the salesperson, "He's right, we should pay for our schools with the money from the war budget."

While most of those attracted to the campaign have been young Blacks, several older people, including a few retirees, have dropped by the headquarters.

One man stopped by and bought several books. The next week he and his wife attended a forum featuring Ed Warren. Asked afterwards what they thought of the talk, they said they came because they "wanted to hear about socialist ideas" and had liked what they heard. They must have, because they donated \$25 to the campaign and bought a subscription to the *Militant*.

Grenada's Prime Minister Bishop

Part I of N.Y. rally address: social achievements of the Grenada revolution



Maurice Bishop (left) greeting crowd at June 5 rally

Militant/Lou Howort

Introduction

This week we print the first of three parts of the June 5 speech by Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, given at Hunter College in New York City.

Bishop's 10-day tour of the United States last month allowed the revolutionary leader to reach many thousands of Americans with the truth about his country and to win new support for its achievements.

In 1979, the Grenadian people overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Eric Gairy and established a government of workers and farmers on the predominantly Black, English-speaking Caribbean island.

This example is feared by the U.S. government which has responded with slanders and threats against the young revolution.

The June 5 meeting was attended by 2,500 people at Hunter College, with hundreds more turned away at the door. The audience was overwhelmingly Black and repeatedly interrupted Bishop during his two-hour speech with applause, chants, and standing ovations.

One indication of the impact of this powerful speech is that WBLS, the most listened to Black radio station in New York City, later broadcast Bishop's speech in segments.

In the first part of his speech printed below, Bishop begins with the many objectives of his trip to the United States. He then turns to the economic obstacles placed in the way of developing countries by world imperialism. Bishop explains the economic progress that Grenada has made since its revolution, along with the benefits for its people in health, education, housing, and employment.

In the coming two issues, we will print the next and final sections of his speech. In Part II, Bishop answers frequent charges against the government of Grenada: that it has scheduled no elections, violates human rights, and allows no freedom of speech. He details the process now under way of writing a new constitution for the island. This will institutionalize the Grenadian system of popular democracy, including the role of the mass organizations of women, youth, farmers, and workers.

Part III of the speech takes on those who question Grenada's links with Cuba. Bishop discusses three reasons for Grenada's warm, fraternal relations with Cuba: that Cuba is part of the Caribbean family of nations, that Grenada is a

nonaligned country and chooses its own friends, and that the Grenadian people admire and respect the internationalism and achievements of the Cuban people. Bishop points to the attacks against Nicaragua as a sign of the desperation of imperialism. He concludes his speech with a story about U.S. claims that Grenada's airport, now under construction to boost tourism, is really a military base. He invites everyone to be on one of the many inaugural flights next March that will mark the completion of the airport along with the 5th anniversary of the revolution.

The speech has been slightly abridged. Transcription and editorial preparation were done by the *Militant*.

Maurice Bishop

Thank you very much for that very warm welcome sisters and brothers, comrades all.

May I start out by bringing to you warm fraternal greetings from the free people of revolutionary Grenada. May I also right in the very beginning say how very, very pleasant it is to be back in New York among you, to be in this great hall, where there are so many hundreds of our sisters and brothers. That is going to bring a great deal of pleasure to our free people, and I will certainly report your warmth, your enthusiasm, and your revolutionary support for our process when I return.

I would also like to place on the record our deep appreciation for the people responsible in Hunter College for lending us this facility this evening.

We are here among friends. But looking around, there are two people here who are right now representing their countries at the United Nations — people who are involved in liberation struggles, who are struggling for freedom for their peoples.

It's very important right at the beginning, sisters and brothers, that we acknowledge the presence of Dr. Zehdi Terzi, the representative to the United Nations of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the PLO. [Chants of PLO!, PLO!, PLO!]

Dr. Terzi can be assured as always that the people of Palestine and their sole authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, will always have the full support of the fraternal people of Grenada. [Applause]

And there is another liberation move-

ment whose representative is present among us. And this one too has been in the news quite a lot recently. Contrary to what some people have been trying to pretend — that this particular liberation organization is not willing to take the struggle to the highest stage — right in the capital city of the racist apartheid country of South Africa, a bomb went off. [Applause]

Highest stage of struggle

The South African racists who have spent so much time inventing all sorts of ingenious ways of oppressing the people of South Africa, the Black majority, are now discovering that in common with all of the national liberation movements around the world that are forced to move to the highest stage of the struggle, the African National Congress [ANC] is also willing to make that step.

In saluting the deputy permanent representative of the ANC to the United Nations, let us ask him to bring back to his people, to bring back to his organization, to bring back to Oliver Tambo, to Nelson Mandela¹ whose spirit is here with us, to bring back the love, the respect, the concern, the admiration and the fraternal feelings of all of us: Brother David Ndaba. [Chants of ANC!, ANC!, ANC!]

The last time I had the opportunity, sisters and brothers, comrades, of being in New York, and addressing our Grenadian nationals, other people from the Caribbean and Latin America, and of course the people of the United States, was four years ago. Since those four years have passed, a lot has happened in our country. A lot has happened in the world. And one of the reasons that we have come to the United States is to share our experiences of the last four years with the people of the United States.

We were anxious to do this because there has been a major campaign [against Grenada] over the last several weeks and months — starting from last year in November with some remarks by the U.S. vice-president in Miami, continuing with more remarks from the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the deputy secretary of defense, the admiral of the fleet.

[This included] the president himself, as you know, on the 10th of March addressing manufacturers; on the 23rd of March in the famous, or infamous, Star Wars speech; and more recently again to the joint session of Congress on the 27th of April. And in all these, different allegations were made against our country.

And therefore we were particularly happy, comrades, to have the opportunity of an invitation from TransAfrica, the organization based in Washington that has been doing lobbying for Africa and the Caribbean. We were invited to come to address their 6th annual dinner last night, and that was a very successful event. We want to publicly thank TransAfrica, once again, for making this visit possible.

The Congressional Black Caucus, too, was involved as cosponsor of this visit, and we also want to place our appreciation for this on the record. And if anyone has any doubts at all about the growing strength of the Black vote, and of the increasing influence of Afro-Americans in this country, I want to let you know that it was precisely because of the pressures that were brought by our friends in the Black Caucus that a visa was eventually granted for the visit. [Applause]

People-to-people relations

Of course, we set ourselves other objectives for the visit. These included the very important objective of trying to deepen and strengthen the people-to-people relations that have always existed between our two countries, Grenada and the United States. At the level of the people, there has never

been any problem. We have always had excellent relations with the people of the United States.

In fact, in some years more American tourists come to our country than the entire population of our country. And if we go around and take a careful count, we may well discover that there are more Grenadians living in the United States than the whole population of Grenada.

And on top of that, there are several Americans who reside permanently in our country. And there is a medical school in Grenada where over 700 young Americans are earning their right to become doctors.²

So from our point of view, clearly, bad relations do not make sense. From our point of view, the need to ensure that even more American visitors come to our country every year is a critical and burning need. And the opportunity, therefore, to speak directly to the people of the United States is a very important opportunity.

We also set an objective of trying to make contact with as many sectors and sections of American society as we could during this visit. And to this end, there have been several meetings this past week with congressmen and with other influential people in the society. We have attempted over this period, also, to try to talk to as many people from the media as we could reach. That objective has gone quite well.

And another objective that we had was to use the period to deepen our relations with some of our closest friends in the United States, with our Black American sisters and brothers, with our Grenadian nationals, with those progressive forces right across the United States who have given us so much support unstintingly, to those who lead and are hard workers in the friendship societies and the solidarity committees. We were very anxious to speak to the sisters and brothers, to express our appreciation for the hard work that they have done, and to give them some idea as to what we are doing at this time in Grenada. That objective, also, has gone well.

Attempts at dialogue

Another objective was to try yet again to establish some form of official contact, an official dialogue with the government of the United States. We, of course, cannot decide which government is going to be in power in the United States at any given moment in time. That is a matter for the people of the United States. We believe it is extremely important for us to maintain normal relations so that we are able to conduct proper dialogue in a civilized fashion with whomever happens to be in power at a particular time. [Applause]

The question of ideological differences, the question of different paths of socioeconomic and political development, the question of geo-political perspectives and of strategic consensus and what not, is really neither here nor there in the final analysis. The fact of the matter is, if there is no established mechanism for holding dialogue, then there is no basis on which relations can be maintained in an effective way. We believe it is in the interests of both the peoples of the United States and of Grenada to have normal relations between our two governments.

We believe it is important because too much is at stake here. Too many of our nationals live in this country. And too many American citizens and students live in our country. There is a need for some kind of mechanism to be established. And that is why we have been struggling so hard to try to get some of the basic norms reestablished.

Let us exchange ambassadors, we have said. They have rejected that. So we have no ambassador accredited to Washington because they refuse to accept the credentials of the ambassador we have suggested. When they replaced their ambassador after

1. Oliver Tambo is the acting president of the African National Congress. Nelson Mandela is the ANC's president and has been imprisoned by the South African regime since 1962.

2. St. George's University School of Medicine is a private medical school attended mainly by North American students.

p speaks to U.S. workers



Section of largely Black audience that turned out June 5 in support of Bishop and Grenadian revolution

he electoral victory of President Reagan in 1980 and a new ambassador came out in 1981, he was not accredited to Grenada. So we have to talk presumably using loud speakers.

Two letters to Reagan

In 1981 on two occasions I wrote letters to President Reagan — in March and again in August. The first letter, a short letter, made the simple, obvious point: look, you have a new president. We had hoped that as a new president you would take a new look at the situation, that you would be anxious to start off on as good relations as you can with all countries around the world. We had hoped, therefore, that you would want relations normalized. And we went on in that letter to make the point that what we are saying is the true bottom line is dialogue; it is talks. Therefore, let us get these talks going. We are proposing no agenda with any preconditions. Let us look at all questions. Let us put them all on the table. Let us see what you perceive as problems, and we will tell you what we perceive as problems. Let us see if in the course of those discussions we can narrow down differences so at least the new beginning that is made will be on the basis of mutual understanding with less distrust and less suspicion. No reply to that letter.

The second letter was August 1981. And this was a very long letter — about 12 typed pages. And the reason there were 12 typed pages was not because there were 12 typed pages talking about an agenda. There were 12 typed pages because by that time, the hostile, aggressive course of destabilization against our government by the Ronald Reagan administration had been well established.

Destabilization campaigns

So the letter went into the question of the propaganda destabilization against us. It went into the question of the economic destabilization against us. We were able to speak about a discrimination that is exercised against banana farmers in our country. We were able to speak about the attempt to offer money to the Caribbean Development Bank on the sole condition that Grenada be excluded. We were able to raise a number of these issues, including the fact that in April 1981, when we had organized a cofinancing conference to raise funds for our international airport project, the American administration sent their diplomats to European capitals trying to persuade member countries of the EEC [European Economic Community] not to attend that conference.

We raised in that letter the question of military destabilization, which was already beginning. We pointed out that one well-known mercenary in April of 1981 had gone publicly on television in this country admitting that he was training mercenaries in Miami for an invasion of our country. We said, how can you allow this in your country? There are international conventions against this kind of thing. And sending marines directly to somebody's country is no less a sin than allowing mercenaries to be supplied, to be trained, and to have a logistical base on your own territory.

So we raised all these points. Once again, we said we are willing to talk at whatever level is deemed appropriate — let us make a start. Again, no reply.

The fact is, sisters and brothers, we have had this long, long history of trying to see in what ways relations could be normalized, and we have had very little success in this regard. But I really want to say tonight that we do believe it is important for us to continue that struggle, and therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, we deem it advisable to continue to press for a full normalization of relations.

Keep going forward

But, of course, as we press for normalization, we are also going to continue to build our revolution. We are also going to continue to consolidate our process. In the face of all the difficulties, in the face of the economic destabilization, the political, diplomatic, and military threats and pressure, we are going to stand on our feet and keep going forward.

As you know, sisters and brothers, in these times it is becoming more and more difficult for developing Third World countries to go forward. Because, unfortunately, our economies remain by and large dependent on and tied to the capitalist world economies. And therefore, when the capitalist world goes through their cyclical crises one after the other, it has an immediate effect on us. As we say at home, when the capitalist world catches a cold, we catch pneumonia.

In the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries, for example, it is estimated that over 35 million people in the 12-13 countries are out of jobs — 35 million! It is estimated that in the United States there are, perhaps, 12 million people out of work; in Britain, perhaps 4 million people out of work; in all of the developed industrialized countries there is greater and greater unemployment. And as this unemployment goes deeper and deeper into the society, the

people who feel it the most are the poor and working people.

There are massive cuts in social welfare. The cuts are not coming in the arms race. The cuts are not coming out of the arms budget. I understand the talk is to spend \$3 trillion over five years. The mind boggles. Three trillion dollars is not even three billion, which is three thousand million. But it is three thousand *billion*. And if you work out \$3 trillion over five years, you will discover it comes down to a spending of 1.6 billion United States dollars a day.

The arms are swallowing up the money; the people are not benefiting. This crisis in the capitalist world, moreover, has led to a situation where more and more of their countries, especially in 1982, experienced only negative growth.

Debts of developing world

The effect this has had on us, in turn, has been to create a crisis in the developing world. It is now estimated that our debts exceed \$650 billion — that is how much money we owe collectively. And it is not just the amount of money that is owed by one or two well-known cases like Mexico or Argentina where you are talking about staggering debts of over \$80 billion. But perhaps over 35 countries in the developing world now owe about \$1 billion or more in debts in a context where they are still unable to create the necessary surpluses to

repay the debts. Last year \$131 billion was spent by the countries of the Third World in just servicing their debts, in just paying the interest.

Last year, too, the purchasing power of the countries of the Third World fell again and fell very, very dramatically. It is estimated that over the last two years, Third World developing countries lost \$85 billion in purchasing power via the credits we lost, via the real prices for our commodities because the prices keep falling, and via high interest rates.

But on top of that, we are also discovering that it is becoming more and more difficult to engage in trade with the countries of the Western industrialized world. The developing world as a whole in 1955 had 40 percent of total world trade. But by 1969, that figure had dropped to 25 percent. In other words, we lost 15 percent of the world market.

Trade is also increasingly difficult for us because of the high tariff barriers.

The reality is that aid has also decreased quite dramatically for Third World countries. Long ago the United Nations set a target that all the developed industrialized countries should aim to provide as aid 0.7 percent of their gross national product. And so far as I know from the latest figures we have seen, not one single industrialized country has yet attained that target. Collectively they are now giving only 0.45 percent of the GNP as aid.

In the old days, it was possible to supplement some of this through direct investment. In Latin America, about 40 years ago, 43 percent of all direct United States investment went to Latin America. But by the beginning of the 1970s, that 43 percent had dropped to 17 percent.

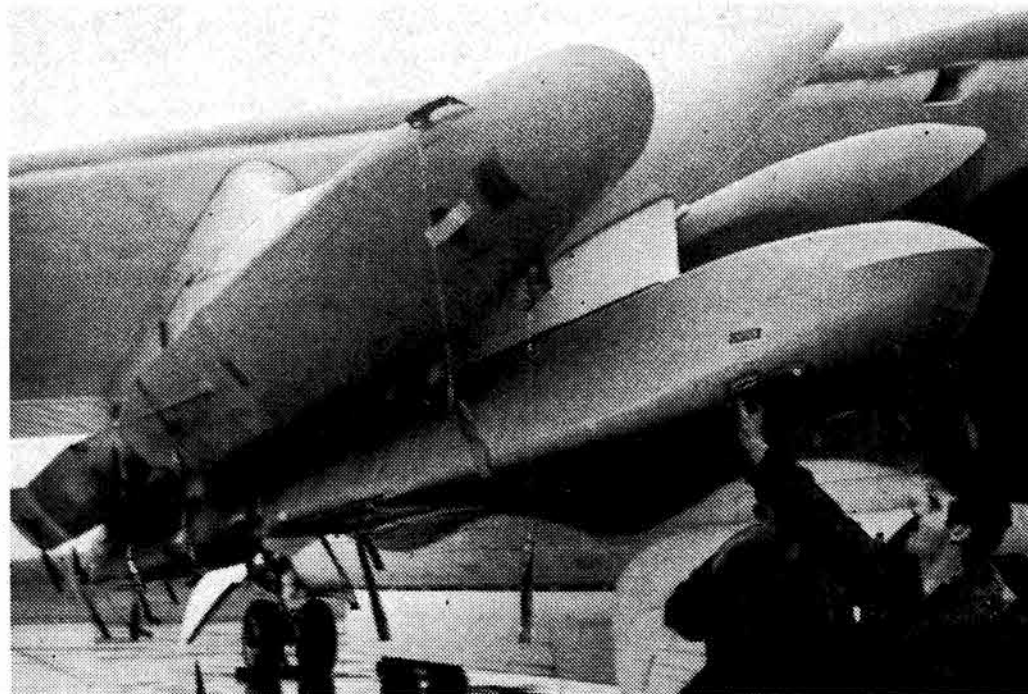
IMF hit list

More and more, because of the influence of one or two countries, and in particular of one country, it is now becoming virtually impossible to get loans from the International Monetary Fund [IMF] or the World Bank. In fact, we know that there is a hit list which has been developed with countries like Grenada, Nicaragua, Angola, and Mozambique on it. Once any of these countries makes an application to the IMF, regardless of how good technically its program is, the instructions are to try to find all possible ways of blocking those sources of funding.

They are forcing more and more Third World countries to go directly to the international capital market, to the big commercial banks, to get loans. First of all, you have to have what they call a credit rating, and to get a credit rating you have to go to the same World Bank and IMF — not everybody can get a credit rating. But even after you get a credit rating, you have to then deal with the question of very short repayment terms and very high interest rates.

And while all of this is going on, sisters and brothers, there are so many people in

Continued on next page



While major capitalist nations pour trillions into such weapons as cruise missile, they further victimize and exploit working people, especially in Third World.

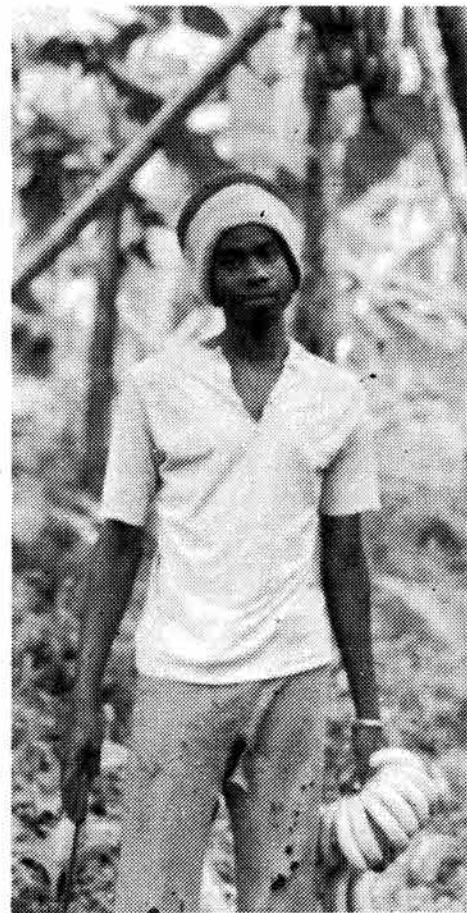
Continued from preceding page

the world who are unemployed, so many people in the world who are going to bed hungry every single night, so many millions in the Third World who are illiterate, and whose governments either do not care or feel they cannot do anything to solve that problem. Unemployment, hunger, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy — these are the crimes and the sins that are committed upon the poor developing countries of the Third World while the industrialized countries continue to exploit our resources and keep the profits. [Applause]

Consider what happens to the sweat of a banana farmer or a banana worker in Grenada. In Grenada, the particular transnational corporation we deal with is one called Geest Industries. Mr. Van Geest was a man who came from Holland originally, went to England and opened a flower shop. And then he discovered there was more money in ships than in flowers. He eventually developed a monopoly of transporting bananas from many, many Caribbean countries to the English market. It works out that for every dollar that is obtained from the sale of bananas, the banana workers and banana farmers share 10 cents and the other 90 cents goes in one form or another to Mr. Van Geest and his type. Ten cents for all of that labor and sweat. That will give as good an indication as possible of the inequities and injustice in the system.

Grenada's economic growth

But yet, sisters and brothers, in the face of all this the Grenada revolution has nonetheless continued to go forward and to make progress. At a time when even the big powerful industrialized nations were growing backwards last year, we grew forward by 5.5 percent. And coming out of the old history of negative development and retrogression under [former dictator Eric] Gairy, when year after year it was backward growth, over the last four years



Militant/Larry Johnson
Grenadian banana worker. Third-World agricultural labor is brutally exploited, with imperialist-owned companies taking 90 cents on every dollar of banana sales. Commodity prices are driven down, forcing developing nations into immense indebtedness.

of the revolution cumulatively we have grown by over 15 percent.

The revolution in Grenada started from a base under Gairy of 49 percent unemployment — one in every two people who wanted to work couldn't get a job. And among women, 70 percent unemployment, 7 out of every 10 could not get a job. Therefore at the dawn of the revolution over 22,000 people who wanted to work could not find work. When we did a census last year, April 1982, the unemployment rate had dropped from 49 percent to 14.2 percent. [Applause]

In the days of Hurricane Gairy — those 29 years of economic, political, social, and spiritual devastation of our country and of our people — there was no such thing as a plan. There was no such thing as a capital



Militant/Flax Hermes
Grenadian Agricultural and General Workers Union members marching on May Day. Revolution slashed unemployment from 49 percent to 14 percent in three years.

investment program, partly because Gairy was a mystic and therefore he didn't have to plan. But also partly because he was so corrupt that nobody was willing in any event to put even 10 cents in his hand unless they send down 10 police to check what's happening to their 10 cents. So in those days we had nothing called a public investment program. And when it got going it was on the basis of very small feeble advances. The last year of Gairy, 1978, the capital investment program was \$8 million. The first year of the revolution that figure was doubled to \$16 million. The second year of the revolution it was more than doubled again to \$39.9 million.

The experts were saying that this is impossible — you don't have the resources, you don't have the management, you don't have enough tractors, you don't have any trucks, you don't have enough engineers, you cannot possibly do it. You are only lucky in 1979 when you doubled Gairy's. And you are only lucky in 1980 again when you doubled your own. And then when we went to 1981 and we doubled it again, they said, we know you have the luck, but something is wrong.

And last year in 1982 it went up to over \$100 million, and then we gave them the secret: we told them that in a revolution things operate differently than in the normal situation. [Applause] We have been able to make these accomplishments because in Grenada, consistent with our three pillars of the revolution — where the first pillar is our people who are always at the center and heart and focus of all our activities — we are able to mobilize and organize people to cut out waste, to cut corruption, to stamp out inefficiency, to move to planning, to look out for production, to check on productivity, to make sure that state enterprises are not set up to be subsidized but that state enterprises, too, must become viable, must make a profit, and therefore the state sector will have the surplus to bring the benefits.

Our people see benefits

Our people have gladly been pulled into the economic process because our people see the benefits which the revolution has brought them. They understand that when 37 cents out of every dollar is spent on health and education that means something.

They look around and they understand that year after year inflation is being held reasonably in check. Last year it ran at 7 percent while wages ran at 10 percent, thus ensuring an overall increase of 3 percent in the standard of living of all our people.

They look around and recognize that year after year production increases. Last year in the state sector, production went up by over 34 percent. And in the private sector, production also rose. Last year, too, there was a tremendous rise in the export of nontraditional products. The increase in the export of fruits and vegetables last year went up by over 314 percent, which is a massive increase in a short period. There are also increases in production in areas like flour and clothing, and there was a slight decrease in the area of furniture.

At the same time there were some increases in the area of our traditional export crops — nutmegs, cocoa, and bananas. Though in the case of nutmegs, there has been a tremendous problem our country has had to face, a great difficulty in obtaining sales for the nutmegs. When you are

producing something like nutmegs, which is really meant primarily as a spicing flavor for foods, and when there is a crisis or a recession or whatever the fancy name we use, then people stop putting the spices in the food and therefore your nutmegs accumulate.

Benefits for Grenadians

But our people in Grenada are not only able to see these economic achievements in the broad terms in which I have described them, but they are able to feel what these benefits mean to them in a concrete and material way. Because today the money that the people of Grenada used to have to spend, for example, when they went to a doctor or a dentist, they no longer have to spend because they now have free health care.

They now understand that the number of doctors in the country has more than doubled, moving from a ratio of one doctor to every 4,000 before the revolution to the present ratio of one doctor for every 2,700 of our population. Moving from a situation

But not just free secondary education, but in effect free university education. Moving from a situation before the revolution where in the last year of Gairy, just three people went abroad on university scholarships and they happened to include Gairy's daughter and another minister's daughter. We moved from that situation to the first six months of the revolution, when 109 students went abroad on free university scholarships.

Education is liberation

Our people are more and more getting to understand what we mean when we say that education to us is liberation, that education is a strategic concern of this government. That is why this year is the year we have named the "Year of Political and Academic Education." We understand the importance of bringing education to our people, of raising their consciousness, of promoting worker education classes in the workplace, at the same time giving them an academic education, providing them with skills training, ensuring that those who are

“
As we struggle on the road towards creating a new man and new woman, living a new life, in what we know will become a new civilization, the old culture, habits, and prejudices are always there struggling against the shoots of the new. . . .
”

before the revolution where there was just one dental clinic for the whole country, today there are seven dental clinics, including one for our off-shore islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

Our people understand the value and the benefits of free secondary education. Because they know now that once their children are able to pass a common entrance exam, and get into secondary schools, they no longer have to worry about finding those fees, which for agricultural workers, for example, was very often impossible.

not able to read and to write are now able to do so.

Following the establishment of the Center for Popular Education [CPE] program in early 1980, within one year the illiteracy figure in Grenada was reduced to two percent of the entire population. And UNESCO, the United Nations body dealing with education, says if you have less than five percent illiteracy, you do not have an illiteracy problem.

The fact is, that while illiteracy has now been removed, there is still a serious prob-



Grenadian Government Information Service
Grenadian youth at an agricultural training school. The training schools contributed to bringing down unemployment and to threefold increase in exports of fruits and vegetables.

lem of functional literacy, and therefore the second phase of the CPE program has started. In this phase of adult education — which our people at home call the night schools — for two nights a week, three hours each, in other words, six hours a week, agricultural workers, farmers in our country, clerical workers, factory workers, unemployed youth who have dropped out of school, more and more of them are now going to one of the 72 centers operating around the country, bringing this night school education to our people.

I really want the sisters and brothers to understand just how difficult this task is. If you can reflect back on the normal daily habits of the average agricultural worker throughout the 50s, 60s, and 70s, and to a great extent still today — if we are to be frank and honest — we understand how difficult it is to run an adult education program. The average agricultural worker goes to work early in the morning, goes home in the afternoon, does a little back gardening, then maybe heads to the rum shop to play some dominoes or sit down to talk with the partner. To ask such an agricultural worker now to come out twice a week to a night school and for three hours to sit down and go through a formal educational course is really asking a lot.

During the very first experience we had with the illiteracy phase in 1980, I remember holding several meetings from time to time with the CPE mobilizers and CPE educators, and over and over again those comrades would say that the problem is you cannot persuade the sisters and brothers to be consistent. Some nights when they're reaching a house and they knock on the door, and they say, "Where is your husband?" She say, "Not here." And when you look under the bed, you see the man hiding.

In other words, it is a very difficult task. But it is a task we are trying to accomplish.

Effects of colonialism

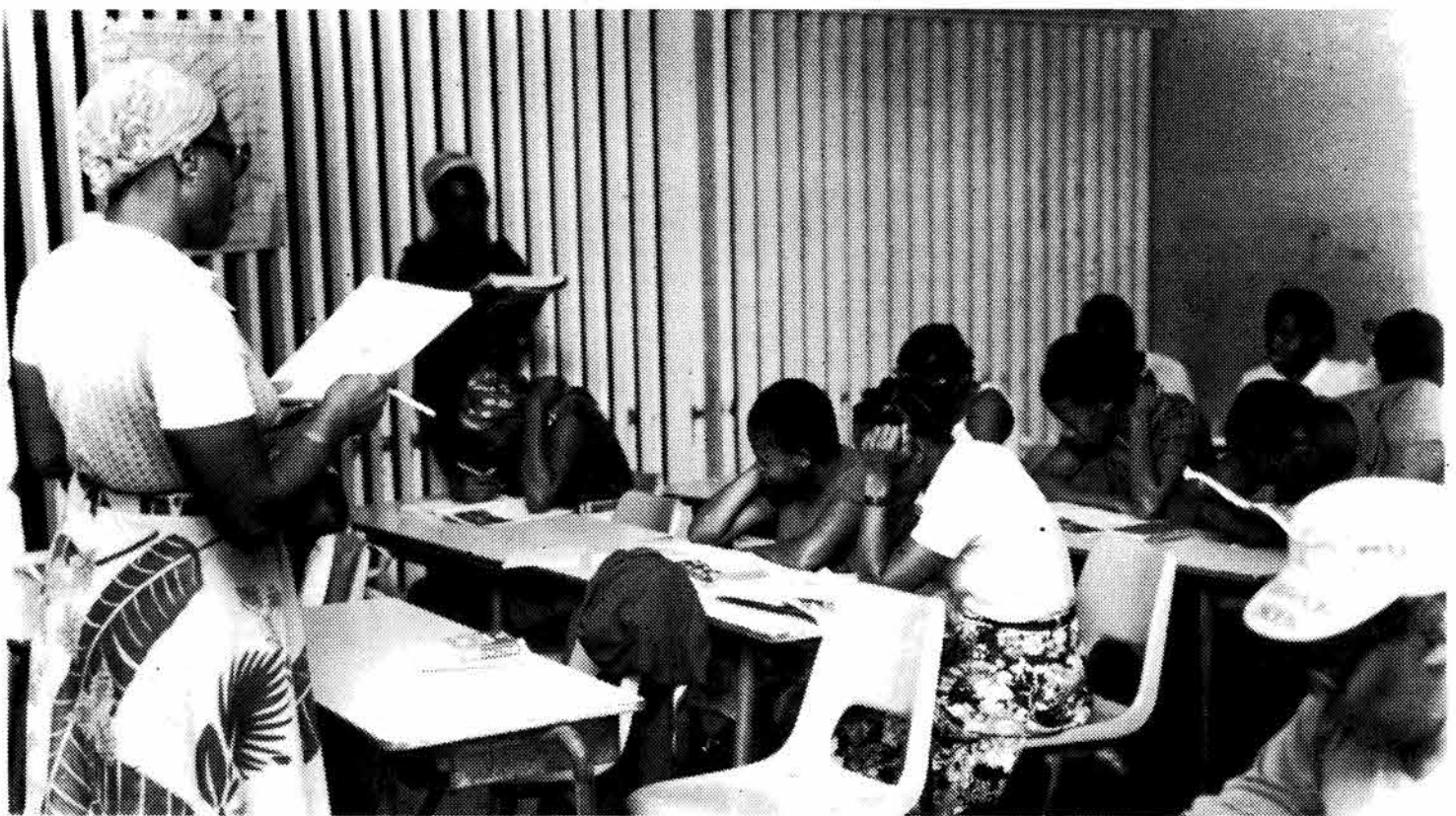
What is the background and tradition we have had? It is a background and tradition that has, generally speaking, worshipped materialism. It is a background and tradition that has meant that because of the ravages of colonialism, our people have always seen themselves as transients. Our people have always had a visa mentality. And the whole point was to catch the next boat or plane to go abroad.

Coming out of the colonial experience and fed daily all of the rubbish that we are fed through the newspapers, the radios, and the televisions, where they are proclaiming the virtues of materialism. Where they are proclaiming the importance of every single person having a video, and having the latest kind of radio that only came out six months ago, not to mention the newest kind of shampoo. That kind of thing feeds consumerism, feeds economism, and helps to hold a society back. In our country, many people have as a sole aspiration the need to have a motor car. The fact that a motor car means foreign exchange earnings have to go out because we don't produce motor cars; that it means that more money has to be spent on gas — these things are not so easily explainable because of the political education that is daily taking place through the imperialist media.

The reason the people of Vietnam are quite content and happy that virtually every citizen can ride around Vietnam on a bicycle is in part because they have not been exposed to the corrupt and decadent values. But if we ask our people to take up a bicycle instead, of course, that is a problem. In Grenada, it's a double problem because Grenada is one big mountain and bicycles really can't work.

But the point I'm making, sisters and brothers, is the nature of the struggle that we have undergone, not only to raise production and productivity, but to instill new values in our people. As we struggle on the road towards creating a new man and a new woman, living a new life, in what we know will become a new civilization, the old culture, the old habits, the old prejudices are always there struggling against the shoots of the new. That is a struggle that we have to resolutely wage every single day of our lives.

But it is much easier for our people to make those sacrifices. It is much easier for them to accept the importance of doing these things which they have not been in the habit of doing, because now they know that for the first time material benefits are coming. Our people now understand that what they put out will come back, whether



Grenadian Government Information Service

"Our people are more and more getting to understand what we mean when we say that education to us is liberation."

through free health care or free education or the number of jobs created.

Free milk distribution

With the free milk distribution program in our country last year, a small island like Grenada, 73,000 pounds of milk were distributed free every single month to over 50,000 people — nearly half of the population.

Last year, too, under the house repair program in our country, over 17,240 individuals benefited. Under this program, the poorest workers in our country are entitled

workers understand what the revolution is about because they have felt the weight of the revolution.

The people understand that in all areas of their basic needs, attempts are being made to solve these problems. Two and a half million gallons more of water, pipe-borne water, are flowing into homes of our Grenadians at this time. Before the revolution, in many homes and in many parts of the country, pipes had actually rusted up because water had not passed there for years. The pipes just stayed there and corroded. The people understand what it means when electrification is brought to their village.

“But it is much easier for our people to make sacrifices. They now understand that what they put out will come back, through free health care or free education or the number of jobs created. . . .”

to a loan to repair their houses, to fix the roofs, to fix the floors to make sure that rain does not fall on a child while he's trying to study. And after the materials are given to the worker, the worker then repays over six years at the rate of five dollars a month out of his wages.

If he had gone to a bank and knocked, let us say, on the door of Mr. Barclays, the first thing Mr. Barclays would ask him is, "Where is your collateral?" And maybe if he understand that big word, he put out his cutlass and say, "Look, no collateral." But even if he got past that word and he was able to find some collateral somehow or the other, there is still another hurdle that he'd have to go over. Because then he discovers that a loan could be only over one year. A \$1,000 loan at 12.5 percent interest over 12 months would mean a monthly repayment of over \$88 a month. That means that just about no agricultural worker would have been able to afford it.

And that is why today the agricultural

The people understand what it means when they know that by the middle of next year we will have doubled the electricity output and capacity in our country, and therefore more people will have the possibility of using electricity.

Taxes and pensions

Thirty percent of the lowest-paid workers in our country no longer pay any income tax at all. These workers take home all their money. Old-age pensioners had their pension increased by 10 percent last year and this year it is going up again by 12.5 percent. Our people know that last year some \$43 million were spent on the international airport project alone, and another \$40 million will be spent on that project this year again.

They know that last year over 49 miles of feeder roads were built — feeder roads being the roads that connect the farmers to the main roads — so now the produce can be brought out safely. They know that

apart from these 49 miles of feeder roads, that 15 miles of farm roads were built, and 14 new miles of main roads were also built, totalling, therefore, something like 78 new miles of roads in our country last year alone.

Our people, therefore, have a greater and deeper understanding of what the revolution means and what it has brought to them. They certainly understand very, very clearly that when some people attack us on the grounds of human rights, when some people attack us on the grounds of constituting a threat to the national security of other countries, our people understand that is foolishness. They know the real reason has to do with the fact of the revolution and the benefits that the revolution is bringing to the people of our country. The real reason for all of this hostility is because some perceive that what is happening in Grenada can lay the basis for a new socioeconomic and political path of development.

(To be continued)

Bishop's speech continues next week

In the next two weeks the *Militant* will print parts II & III of Maurice Bishop's speech.

With the accompanying subscription blank, new readers can be assured that they receive all three parts of the speech as part of an introductory subscription.

The speech is certain to be of interest to the many unionists that the *Militant* is sold to on regular plant-gate sales. It will be welcomed by Central America solidarity and antiwar activists, by Grenadian nationals and other Caribbeans, and by the Black community as a whole.

We can expect that many people will be interested in helping distribute these three issues of the *Militant*. Some bookstores and community centers may want to take consignments as well.

Readers are encouraged to order bundles of the *Militant* by calling (212) 929-3486 or sending in the coupon. Single copies can be picked up at any bookstore listed on page 19.

- ☐ Start my subscription with Part II of the Maurice Bishop speech, or,
- ☐ Start my subscription with Part I
- ☐ \$3 for 12 weeks ☐ \$15 for 6 months

- ☐ Send me a bundle of the 3 issues containing Parts I through III (55 cents each).
- ☐ 5 copies/wk ☐ 20 copies/wk
- ☐ 10 copies/wk ☐ other

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014



LITERATURE ON GRENADA

Forward Ever! Speeches of Maurice Bishop
287 pp., \$6.95

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean
35 pp., \$0.95

The Grenada Revolution at Work
15 pp., \$0.50

Grenada: A Workers' and Farmers' Government
36 pp., \$1.75

Order from **Pathfinder Press**,
410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.
Please include \$0.75 for postage and handling.

Miamians say: halt killer cops

BY TONY THOMAS

MIAMI — The Coalition Against Racist Murders of Black Youth (CARMBY) has developed here in response to the killing of 11 Black men by Miami cops in the last 18 months. The coalition was started by Hattie Crews, whose son Anthony Nelson was slain by Dade County cop Ernesto Uriaga last October.

The recent freeing of killer cops sparked the coalition. Four of the cops were indicted by a grand jury after the December 1982 rebellion in the Overtown section of Miami and a 14,000-strong civil rights march on Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday in January.

Since then the police have held rallies in support of Luis Alvarez, who killed Nevell Johnson in Overtown last December. The Ku Klux Klan, protected by dozens of cops, held a march to support the police.

Cops and right-wing Cuban terrorist groups are spreading "Alvarez for president" bumper stickers around the city.

Two of the four cops indicted have been tried and acquitted, both by all-white juries. Dozens of cops packed the court rooms to cheer the defendants and to intimidate the victims' families. The most recent acquittal was in the case of Ernesto Uriaga, who shot Anthony Nelson in the back with a shot gun while Nelson was spread-eagled on a car.

At the close of Uriaga's trial June 15, Hattie Crews called community activists to a meeting at Liberty City's Caleb Center to discuss how to stop the killings.

The meeting on June 19 was attended by more than 50 people, many of whom were friends, neighbors, and relatives of Anthony Nelson. Speakers included Haitian leader Father Gerard Jean-Juste and Black

radio commentator and professor Marvin Dunn.

Crews urged the group to build a movement that could pack the courtrooms with supporters of Black rights when Luis Alvarez goes on trial. She called for a coalition that would fight for justice for all the victims of cop killings.

The coalition has held two well-publicized protests against government officials.

The first was June 23, when Crews demanded to meet with Dade County Manager Meryl Stirheim, since he is responsible for Dade County police. She and 15 CARMBY supporters threatened to sit in his office until he appeared. Local TV and radio carried the story, showing Crews blaming Stirheim for police actions and demanding that Uriaga be taken off the streets "before he takes another life."

On June 27, Crews and Annie Carter,

sister of Alonzo Singleton, who was killed by cops during the Overtown rebellion, confronted Florida Gov. Robert Graham. Graham was addressing a meeting on education reform at Miami's American High School.

Throughout the meeting CARMBY activists stood with signs denouncing cop killings of Blacks. As Graham tried to leave, Crews, Carter, and coalition activist Jackie Floyd confronted him before the TV cameras. They pointed out that Alonzo Singleton and Anthony Nelson would never be able to benefit from education reform and demanded that Graham take steps to stop the killer cops.

CARMBY has also decided to launch a petition campaign to demand that U.S. Assistant Attorney General Stanley Marcus indict Uriaga for violating Nelson's civil rights. In the first day of the campaign, nearly 1,000 signatures were gathered.



Miami cops have killed 11 Blacks in last 18 months.

Protests hit attack on Militant bookstore

BY ALLEN BRADLEY

MIAMI — The June 13 firebombing of the Militant Labor Bookstore here has met with protest from Black rights figures, farm worker activists, civil libertarians, and the local media.

The attack followed phone and mail threats from individuals identifying themselves as members of the Ku Klux Klan and as right-wing Cuban terrorists.

At a news conference June 18, Miami Socialist Workers Party organizer Harvey McArthur declared, "We will not give up our ideas or efforts. We will continue to function openly in Miami." The SWP offices are located in the Militant Labor Bookstore.

McArthur linked the attack on the bookstore to the U.S. government's escalating war in Central America. He noted that President Reagan's war-mongering speech here May 20 "encouraged the bomb throwers and racist groups in the city."

In addition to the news conference, the socialists organized a major campaign to publicize a June 17 Militant Labor Forum, distributing several thousand leaflets at transit garages, Eastern Airlines maintenance shops, longshore hiring halls, and in Little Haiti.

In solidarity, 50 people turned out for the forum, which was both a protest on the bombing and a program on "Women in the Americas: Their Struggle for Liberation."

One of the featured speakers was Hattie Crews, mother of a young Black man murdered by the Miami police. She spoke about her son's case, and also "to support this bookstore against the firebombing and to support the Nicaraguan people in their struggle."

Socialists working at the Central Garage of the Dade County Metrobus found a lot of support from their coworkers. Many had heard about the attack from the media. One mechanic cut out the article on the bombing from the *Miami Herald* and showed it around the garage. "I want to join your party" was the response of one Black worker. "This is serious."

The regular *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales team at that garage sold six *Militants* and a subscription that week.

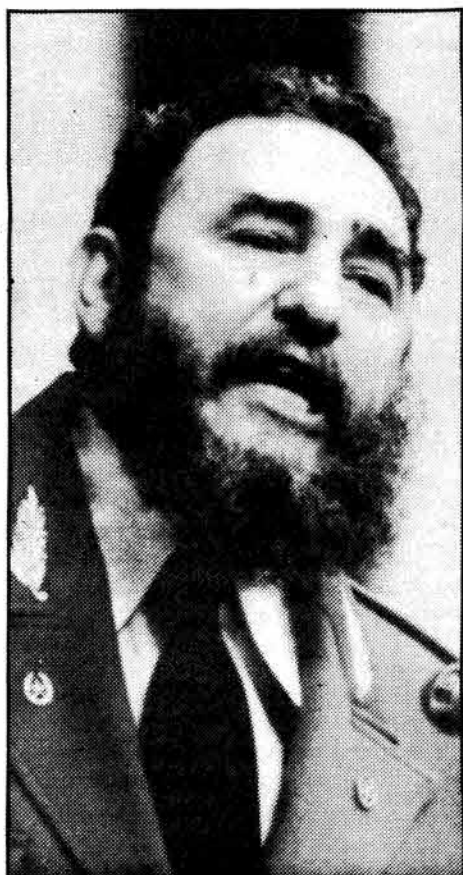
The SWP and YSA received extensive publicity in the media after the attack. Two television stations, at least four radio stations, and the two major daily papers, the *Herald* and the *News*, had articles and editorials opposing the bombing.

The *News* editorial linked the firebombing with a recent bomb attack on the Continental National Bank. The bank was attacked by right-wing Cuban terrorists because its directors have publicly supported normalizing relations with Cuba.

"The firebombings are an attempt to intimidate Americans and to prevent them from exercising their constitutional rights," said the *News*. "The attacks are directed at the rights of everyone, whatever their political persuasion."

The *News* pointed out "how vital it is for community leaders to speak out against such acts rather than encourage them by remaining silent or by unnecessarily fueling rabid anti-Castro fervor."

The SWP also received messages of support from local activists including Fernando Rangel of the Farmworkers Rights Organization; Ira Kurzban, a prominent attorney involved in Haitian refugee cases; George Wilson, student activities director at Florida International University, another place where right-wing Cubans and Nicaraguans have attacked; and reverends Loomis and Elligan, two local pastors who have hosted antiwar and Black rights meetings in their churches.



Fidel Castro Speeches

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Since 1975, Cuba's foreign policy has deeply affected the course of world politics. Few of Castro's speeches are readily accessible in English. What does exist in print generally dates back to the 1960s or even earlier. This book represents a step toward filling that gap.

"Cuba in Angola" by Gabriel García Márquez, a noted Latin American author, is included as an appendix. It is the most complete account yet written of the Cuban role in Angola.

391 pp., \$7.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage.

Vandals attempt arson against N.C. SWP

BY OSBORNE HART

GREENSBORO, N.C. — The recently opened Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters and Militant Labor Bookstore were targets of an arson attempt shortly after midnight July 5.

City police discovered the vandalized SWP office with its windows broken and front door kicked in. Books, campaign literature, posters, banners, and other material were piled in the center of the floor and drenched with gasoline. A small hand-made fuse of matches and lit cigarette lay next to the heap.

The fuse apparently burned out before it could ignite the gasoline-soaked material. Damage was estimated at \$2,000.

The arson attempt came just one week after a successful grand opening rally for the SWP campaign headquarters and the bookstore.

Socialist Workers Party representatives organized an emergency news conference to denounce the attack and galvanize support.

"This political attack was an attempt to intimidate and deprive our party of the democratic right to function," Lisa Potash, SWP spokesperson, told more than a half dozen reporters in front of the damaged bookstore.

"This act represents and is part of a national assault on the rights of North Carolinians and others to express opposition to the U.S. government's war in Central America, to support the right of workers to organize unions, and to defend civil liberties," Potash said.

"The fact that there have been no convictions for the November 3, 1979, murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators and Communist Workers Party members in this city

encourages attacks like this.

"We will not be intimidated," continued Potash. "We demand a full investigation into the vandalism and arson attempt and that those responsible be apprehended and prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

A message to the news conference from John Forbis, mayor of Greensboro, condemned the attack on the socialists' head-

quarters.

Rev. Leon White, director of the Commission for Racial Justice for North Carolina and Virginia field office, denounced in another message the "terrorist attacks upon the offices of the SWP" and supported the "rights of all people and all groups to express themselves politically without fear of reprisals."

Milwaukee rally hails firing of cop

BY MINDY BRUDNO

MILWAUKEE — After nearly two years of struggle, opponents of police terror here have won a victory with the firing of one of the cops who killed Black youth Ernest Lacy.

The Fire and Police Commission decided on June 16, after nine weeks of testimony, to fire police officer Thomas Eliopol for use of "excessive force" when he arrested 22-year-old Lacy on the night of July 9, 1981. The commission suspended four other cops without pay for 45-60 days for failing to administer first aid to the dying Lacy.

The Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy, working with the Lacy family, had fought to bring the cops to trial. When criminal charges were dropped, the coalition shifted its focus to the Fire and Police Commission to win a "measure of justice" with the firing of the cops responsible for Lacy's death.

A coalition rally on June 20 gave a standing ovation to Myrtle Lacy, mother of Ernest. "This decision was a victory," she said, "and it was because of the hard work of all you here tonight and others that could not be here. People sticking together made

this victory possible."

Stanley Woodard, the lead attorney representing the Lacy family before the Fire and Police Commission, told the meeting that the police intend to appeal the ruling. "But we aren't leaving town," he said. "We will be there to meet their appeal."

Howard Fuller, one of the central leaders of the coalition who is now part of Democratic Gov. Anthony Earl's cabinet, told the meeting, "The next time these cops grab somebody, they're going to have to think. That's something I agree with [Police Chief Harold] Breier about." (Breier opposes the penalties because they will have a "restraining" influence on police.)

"This struggle proved that the Black community could mobilize itself and its allies in the Hispanic and white communities on the basis of a step-by-step approach," Fuller said.

Future activities decided on at the meeting include a massive fund-raising campaign to defray legal expenses, efforts to get the Justice Department to investigate the killing on grounds of civil rights violation, and legislative action aimed at making it easier to punish police brutality.

Volume 2 of 'Revolutionary Continuity' traces birth of U.S. communist movement

The following is the opening section of the preface to the second volume of *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States* by Farrell Dobbs. Dobbs has been a communist since 1934. A leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, he was the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to unionize over-the-road drivers. He served thirteen months in federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota, for his political opposition to U.S. imperialism's course in World War II.

Dobbs was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960. He was national secretary of the SWP from 1953 to 1972. He is currently writing the history of which this preface is a part.

This second volume of the series will go on sale in August. It is copyright 1983 and reprinted by permission of the Anchor Foundation.

BY FARRELL DOBBS

"Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922" is the second volume of the series entitled *Revolutionary Continuity*.

The first volume, covering the period from 1848 through 1917, outlines the political history of the early years of struggle for a Marxist leadership of the U.S. working class. It opens with the appearance of a distinct proletarian communist current in the world labor movement, marked by the publication in 1848 of its manifesto drafted by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, today known as the *Communist Manifesto*. The

The "International Socialist Review" feature in next week's "Militant" will include "Communist Movement Launched," the second chapter of "Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922."

volume ends with an account of the initial months following the October 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia. The response to that gigantic event marks the close of the early years of the struggle for revolutionary leadership of the U.S. workers and the beginning of the effort to build a communist party able to lead the toilers to power. That task remains.

In the introduction to that first book, I indicated that these volumes would trace, from the second half of the nineteenth century on, three major threads through the history of the workers' movement in the United States:

"(1) the fight for the economic organization of the working class into trade unions, and for organization along industrial rather than craft lines;

"(2) the fight for political and social consciousness and action by the workers' movement; and

"(3) the fight for the independent political organization of the working class, a labor party, to advance its interests and those of its allies against the interests of the ruling capitalist minority.

"Tying these threads together are the efforts by the Marxist wing of the workers' movement to gather the cadres of a proletarian revolutionary party needed to lead the fight to end capitalist rule, establish a workers' and farmers' government, and open the road to a socialist order."

Readers who have not read the first volume will have no trouble in picking up this

second one and following it. Those who are interested, however, may find it useful to refer back in particular to three topics dealt with in the earlier book that can serve as a jumping-off point to this one:

(1) the flaws in program, strategy, and organizational concepts that marked both the Socialist Party (SP) and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) from their origins at the turn of the century, explained in the chapters "Gains and Setbacks" and "A Disoriented Movement";

(2) the response to the outbreak of World War I and Washington's entry into it by various currents in the SP, IWW, and American Federation of Labor (AFL), as well as the disintegration of the bourgeois-led pacifist movement under the blows of the war, treated in the chapter "Supreme Test of War"; and

(3) the historic watershed events in Russia in 1917, which form the topic of the last two chapters, "Bolshevik Revolution" and "First Workers' State."

The previous volume placed the evolution, debates, and development of currents in the U.S. labor movement as part of the decades-long effort by Marx and Engels to aid proletarian organizations in Europe and North America in charting a revolutionary course. This collaboration was cut in any direct form in 1895 with the death of Engels, who had outlived Marx by a dozen years.

Although the thread of communist continuity was being picked up almost simultaneously in Russia by V.I. Lenin, then twenty-five years old, his writings, and the later development of the Bolshevik current, remained virtually unknown and without influence in the United States for more than two decades until after the Russian revolution.

The present volume, subtitled "Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922," opens just as the most prominent leaders in the largest parties affiliated to the old International had in their majority fallen in step with the imperialist governments of their own countries during World War I. It traces the emergence of a communist movement in the United States during its first five years, and its political interconnection with the efforts by Lenin and the Russian Communist Party to replace the now politically bankrupt Second International with a new international leadership of the working class.

In charting a course toward a new, communist, International, the Russian leaders based themselves on the accumulated historical experience of the modern working class, now qualitatively enriched by the lessons from the world's first successful socialist revolution and the struggles of the initial few years of the Russian workers' state.

During the years covered by this volume, the Bolsheviks explained over and over that the world of revolutionary working-class politics had become a bigger and more complex place. The first global imperialist slaughter and the first concrete example of a way out of such capitalist horrors had triggered struggles by working people not only in Europe and North America, but also among the masses of the oppressed colonial and semicolonial nations. The destiny of the toilers in any one country was more than ever linked to those in all others.

The Communist International, launched in 1919 at the initiative of the Russian



U.S. Communist Party-led demonstration in early 1920s. Revolutionary workers in United States were inspired by and sought to learn from leaders of Russian revolution.

leadership, dedicated itself to helping working-class revolutionists around the world understand and implement a revolutionary Marxist program and strategy, including the necessary organizational principles. That step had a decisive impact on those in the United States, attracted by the example of the October revolution and its Bolshevik leadership, who were determined to construct a communist party.

The discussions and decisions of the Communist International, as well as political consultation with its leaders, were a constant aid as these pioneers of communism in the United States sought to surmount all sorts of obstacles along their

path. To what extent, in their initial years, these revolutionary workers succeeded or failed in learning and applying the lessons of revolutionary continuity that the Comintern leaders were trying to impart is the subject of this volume.

The developments recorded here go through the Third Congress of the Communist International in July-August 1921, and the formation the following year — after several unsuccessful attempts — of the first united Communist Party in the United States. This brought together for the first time in a single organization the big majority of U.S. supporters of the Communist International.

Classes to focus on Dobbs book

BY STEVE CLARK

"Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-22," the second volume of Farrell Dobbs' *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States*, will provide the basis for a major class series at the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference this summer. The conference will be held July 30-August 6 in Oberlin, Ohio.

The socialist movement in the United States prior to the October 1917 Bolshevik-led revolution in Russia suffered from the lack of a working-class leadership armed with a clear revolutionary Marxist program, strategy, and organizational methods.

The majority of Socialist Party (SP) leaders during the first two decades of the 20th century fell under the influence of class-collaborationist figures in the European Social Democratic parties, such as Edward Bernstein, or centrists, such as Karl Kautsky. The influence of agrarian populism, middle-class progressivism, and bourgeois pacifism were strong inside the party.

In the left wing of the SP and among the revolutionary-minded leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World, anarchosyndicalist and various other ultraleft sectarian ideas took hold in reaction against the reformist and careerist practices and policies of the SP right wing. Few lessons had been learned from what Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had tried to teach vanguard workers during the latter half of the previous century, and prior to 1917, U.S. working-class leaders had virtually no familiarity with the writings of V.I. Lenin or documents of the Russian Bolshevik Party.

All these factors marked the young communist movement in the United States from its birth in 1919. Dobbs' book explains how the initial cadres of this movement, given this political heritage, sought to apply communist principles and build a proletarian party in this country, and the help and example provided for them by the Communist International and its central political leaders, the core of which were Russian Bolsheviks.

The classes on the book at the August conference will focus on five political themes, exploring both the program and strategy being hammered out by the Com-

munist International and the progress of the communists in the United States in developing a correct Marxist approach to these questions. These themes are:

1) Imperialist war, proletarian revolution, and the fight for a new international working-class organization.

2) The Marxist understanding of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3) The transitional method and strategy, including how communists participate in the trade unions, help advance toward independent labor political action, and combat reformism, ultraleftism, and sectarianism.

4) The allies of the working class, especially the farmers, its fellow toilers on the land, and Afro-Americans, an oppressed nationality.

5) The relationship between the program and strategy of the communist party and its organizational methods and structure.

These classes will not assume that those attending have read Dobbs' book beforehand, since it will go on sale only at the opening of the conference.

Attend the socialist conference

If you're interested in attending the 1983 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, from July 30-August 6, fill in the coupon below. Send to the SWP branch or YSA chapter nearest you (see directory on page 19), or to the SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name _____

Address _____

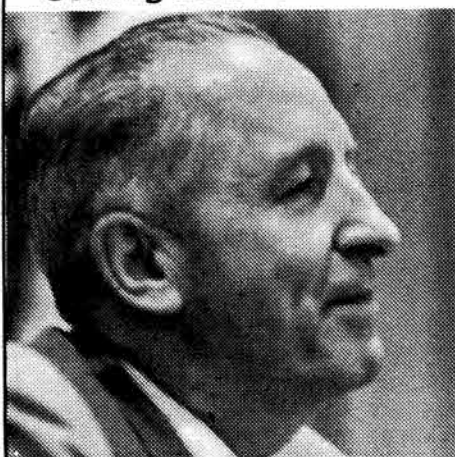
City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Union/Organization/School _____

Coming from Pathfinder



Revolutionary Continuity

Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922

By Farrell Dobbs. The second volume of this series will go on sale at the August conference in Ohio for the special price of \$5. *Militant* readers who won't be able to attend the conference can take advantage of this special offer by ordering prior to July 31. Shipment will be made in mid-August.

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

Canadian farmers visit Nicaragua, Grenada



Militant/Michael Baumann

June 1982 ceremony: 170 farm families receive title to land confiscated by government from wealthy landowners. At right in uniform are Sandinista commanders Humberto Ortega, Jaime Wheelock.

Introduction

BY NANCY COLE

Family farmers in the United States and Canada are grappling with how best to take on the crisis that is driving thousands of them off their land.

Protests, such as the penny auctions that are greeting many forced farm sales, are an important aspect of their response to the crisis.

It is increasingly clear to many farmers that this battle requires allies. Some farm groups are more and more looking to organized labor and the women's and Black movements. A new coalition, the North American Farm Alliance, has endorsed the August 27 march on Washington, D.C., for jobs, peace, and freedom, which is sponsored by many civil rights, labor, and women's groups.

As working farmers organize to defend their rights, they increasingly find themselves up against the courts, cops, and government officials unwilling to meet their demands. More and more North American farmers are realizing that their governments do not represent them, but rather the banks and big corporations.

So it was with great interest that several Canadian farmers participated in two trips to Nicaragua and Grenada, countries where workers and farmers have taken control of their destinies, thrown out U.S.-backed dictators, and installed governments that genuinely represent them. Revolutions took place in Nicaragua and in Grenada, a small Caribbean island, in 1979. The new governments established in both countries have made the needs of small farmers a major priority.

In August 1982, Liz Willick, a member of the Canadian National Farmers Union (NFU) was part of a trade union tour to Nicaragua from Saskatchewan, Canada. Excerpts from her report are reprinted below from the NFU's November 1982 *Union Farmer*.

Then in March of this year, the *Union Farmer* ran a feature on a month-long agricultural planning and educational tour of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada. Four Canadian farmers were part of that trip.

"In Grenada," the introduction to the Caribbean feature explains, "since the revolution in 1979, the government has been taking positive steps to help farmers and develop agricultural credit. Farmers in Dominica and St. Vincent are not so lucky."

The articles explain that the "new government is recognizing agriculture for what it is: 'The Motor of Our Economy,' with 95 percent of exports being agriculture products. To help agriculture achieve its potential, the government has drawn up a long term plan. . . ."

This plan includes development of state farms, encouragement of crop diversification, use of agriculture to create employment, and the introduction of new methods of cultivation and improved technology.

"Two other objectives are to expand foreign exchange through agriculture exports and to assist farmers to develop

strong organizations," the Canadian farmers report. The government is also encouraging the development of a strong cooperative sector.

The workers and farmers governments of Nicaragua and Grenada are a striking contrast to the governments of the United States and Canada, which are the instigators of the antifarmer policies. The agricultural accomplishments of these two poor countries in four short years merits attention from North American farmers and workers.

'A government of the poor, the workers, the majority'

The following are excerpts from an article in the November 1982 *Union Farmer*, published by the National Farmers Union (NFU) in Saskatchewan, Canada. The article, titled "Nicaraguan Farmers' Union: building a better society through co-operation," is by Liz Willick, who represented the NFU on an August 1982 trade union tour of Nicaragua.

Imagine a farmers' union which bargains with state marketing agencies for crop prices based on cost of production; which has a representative on the State Council; and on the council of the national banking system.

Imagine a government which prioritizes food self-sufficiency in agricultural policy; which believes agricultural lands must be in the hands of agricultural producers; which actively encourages co-operative rural development; which limits credit and interest rates on farm loans; which pays storage and transportation costs for staple food crops for domestic consumption.

Can your imagination stretch that far in a Canadian context? No? Then turn your thoughts south to Central America, to Nicaragua.

Nicaraguans say that their present situation must be understood in the context of the history of Central America as a region — forcibly colonized in the 1600s by Spain and to a lesser degree by England; and from the late 1800s on by the United States.

Infamous Somoza family

Nicaragua itself was occupied by American marines with only short interruptions from 1912 to 1933. From that point on, the infamous Somoza family ruled as one of the most oppressive military dictatorships in the world.

Nicaraguan society is agrarian-based. Most of the population of 2.5 million are rural people; prior to 1979, Nicaragua had an agro-export economy. Coffee, meat, cotton and sugar were the major foreign exchange earners. Profits flowed into Somoza's government coffers and into

those of the large land owners. One percent of the country's families owned 49 percent of the land — the most productive, of course. Profits were guaranteed by paying the large agricultural work force at rates that barely allowed its reproduction. High infant mortality, disease, malnutrition and illiteracy were, of course, the common lot of most Nicaraguans.

As Peter Marchetti [an American Jesuit priest working in Nicaragua] put it, "A peasant economy can't function without a community. But the National Guard eliminated the possibility of peasant co-operation; organizers were beaten, tortured, dropped out of helicopters."

In this context, it is not difficult to understand the absolute explosion of organization that took place after the Sandinista victory in 1979. In the last three years, over 1,000 new [local] unions were formed. One of the first and strongest was the Agricultural Workers Association (ATC). It began organizing clandestinely in 1978 and was a strong factor in mobilizing people in the countryside for the final offensive against Somoza. It is today, still the largest union in Nicaragua.

More agricultural co-operatives were formed in the first six months after the liberation than in any comparable period anywhere else in Latin America — with no injection of state funding or organizing. Except for certain key changes: the Somoza-owned 20 percent of producing land was confiscated in one fell swoop; land rental rates were drastically reduced; and peasants were officially granted the right to demand use of idle lands.

Today, there are about 3,800 agricultural co-operatives incorporating about 60 percent of the peasantry. Credit and Service Co-ops, averaging about 30 families, are usually those who owned a little land of their own before 1979. They retain private ownership of their land while pooling inputs, technology and the new access to credit. A major portion of the co-ops's income is pooled for reinvestment and development; the remainder is allocated to the families in proportion to their land holdings.

Sandinista Co-ops or collectives are usually formerly landless peasants and often based on the expropriated "Somocista" land holdings. Some is state-owned and under 99 year leases, and some has been titled to the co-ops under the Agrarian Reform Act. All ownership, including land, is pooled. Community assemblies designate priorities for agricultural inputs, health and education services, community buildings, etc.; individual income is evenly allocated among member families.

The Government for National Reconstruction also very quickly took over the National Banking system and export marketing systems. Such moves, naturally do not endear a country to the decision-makers for international high finance; but they do allow for controlled planning of the limited resources of the domestic economy.

Accessible credit

For farmers, the new economic regime has meant accessible credit with interest rates scaled in the range of eight to thirteen percent — lowest for the Sandinista co-ops, then the Credit and Service Co-ops, then to private farmers with the rate rising as the land base increases. It has also meant massive assistance to the large private and publicly owned export crop operations for rebuilding the country's war-damaged agro-export base. Extension programs for training in bookkeeping, farm management, crop varieties and methods and so on are available in rural areas. Top national priorities on literacy and health in 1980 and 1981 have reduced illiteracy on a national level from over 50 percent to under 12 percent; and virtually wiped out deaths from polio and measles, as well as bringing at least rudimentary free health services to even isolated rural areas where none had ever existed before.

Nicaraguans describe their new economic and political system as both pluralist and mixed. In agriculture, about 22 percent of production is now generated by the "Area of People's Production" (APPs). These are mostly the large state-owned agro-export operations. Efficiency-of-scale factors and the absolute necessity of foreign exchange to keep Nicaragua's poor and dependent economy and technol-

ogy operative means that these large operations will not be broken down into small packages under land reform programs.

Almost 22 percent of production is now generated from the co-op sector, and it is hoped that this will double over the next ten years. Concentration here is on basic grains — beans, rice and corn — to meet the need of co-op members and for sale on the domestic market.

The remainder and largest portion of agricultural production comes from privately-owned operations of all sizes. Marchetti estimates there are 500 to 600 large private farms (over 2,000 acres); about 8,000 medium farms; and then about 105,000 rich, middle and poor peasant families. (It's estimated that 50,000 rural peasants have received land titles under the agrarian reform program.)

Confiscation of land

In Nicaragua, land will be confiscated: if it is abandoned with the owner out of the country for more than six months; if it has been parcelled out and rented for profit; if anti-social methods of controlling workers are used; if the land is under-utilized (for example, on range land, there must be one head of cattle for every six acres — which is generous since in most areas, a half acre per head is adequate); or if the owner is decapitalizing the operation (i.e. sending the profits out of the country, usually to Miami).

In 1981, small and mid-sized farmers, who had been organized under the ATC, formed their own organization, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG). A year and a half later, UNAG had close to 200,000 members.

Membership in Nicaraguan unions is voluntary, and although I am unaware of opposition farm organizations, there is certainly a full range of political orientations among the trades union movement.

A few general impressions to finish off, then. For myself, as for more mainstream labor people, like the representatives from the postal workers or the garment workers, it's difficult at first to grasp the differences created by having a government that is of and for the poor, the workers, the majority. Except, perhaps for the small left and right wings of the union movement, the relations between Nicaraguan workers and farmers and the government is not antagonist, but cooperative. They see themselves as part of the same revolutionary process, working out differences and disagreements as they go in trying to build a secure and healthy egalitarian society.

A sense of pride

Everyone we met, in each workplace we visited, we encountered a sense of pride in what had been accomplished by a people with few resources and no history of self-rule in living memory. The amount of work that is done voluntarily is enormous — everything from garbage-gathering and tree-trimming in Managua to laying phone lines to isolated rural areas to militia duty.

The Nicaraguans place great importance on international solidarity to contain the threat to their future that they see from the Reagan government. We were asked to link peace and non-intervention in Central America to our activities for global peace and disarmament; and to urge our government to develop an independent foreign policy including closer relations with Nicaragua and support for the France/Mexico proposals for negotiated settlement of conflict in Central America.

Available from Pathfinder

What Difference Could a Revolution Make?

Food and Farming in The New Nicaragua

By Joseph Collins, Frances Moore Lappé, and Nick Allen. 186 pages, \$4.95.

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

Environmental champions — A Los Angeles federal judge issued a temporary injunction against the Navy killing wild goats



Harry Ring

on Clemente island. More than 650 goats have been killed by hunters hired by the Navy. Navy officials said the goats are destroying

the island's ecological balance that sustains several endangered plants and birds, plus a rare lizard. The Navy uses the island as a practice bombing range.

Forthright — The federal Office of Technology Assessment declared June 21 that earlier federal studies purporting to find the Love Canal area safe were a crock. Responding to this finding, Rep. John LaFalce, whose district includes Love Canal, firmly declared he would not suggest people buy houses there, but he would also not suggest that people move out.

Be cool — William Ruckelshaus, the new broom at EPA, feels people are getting "emotional" about environmental problems and we have to learn that there's so many risks today that we really can't expect the government to protect us from all of them. He said the Clean Air Act would be reexamined, and this could lead to a tightening or a loosening of standards. Wonder which?

P.S. — The typewriter ink was barely dry on the preceding item when Ruckelshaus announced the EPA would not impose economic

sanctions on communities that failed to meet the air quality standards of the Clean Air Act.

Good bedside manner — President Reagan complimented the AMA for cautioning against what he termed a "melodramatic" approach to the danger of dioxin. It's important, he said, not to frighten people unnecessarily. Of course. Far more important than not killing them unnecessarily.

Like a fox — At the time New Jersey officials were checking for dioxin at its old Newark plant, the Diamond Shamrock company or-

dered employees to destroy all records not required by law or essential to business functioning. Responding to suggestions that this was related to the dioxin probe, a company official bristled, "You have to be crazy to try and destroy records."

Progress report — New York's health department ruled rental horses cannot be required to work when the thermometer hits 90, and that carriage horses must be given a 15-minute rest break after every two hours of work. Now if we could get that regulation extended.

—CALENDAR—

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Harold Washington's Victory: a Discussion of the Black-Latino-Labor Coalition for the 1984 Elections. What Socialists Stand For. Speaker: Stuart Crome, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Sun., July 10, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

What Will a Socialist America Look Like? How Will a Socialist Government Deal With Unemployment, War, and Poverty? Thur., July 14, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop the Deportations! Speaker: Representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 9, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

Virginia

Report From Miami: the Fight Against Racism and the U.S. War in Central America. Speaker: Irene Kilanowski, laid-off miner from Reserve Mining, active in support of Black and Haitian community struggles in Miami, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 8, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Iron Range Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

U.S. Steps Up War in Nicaragua. Talk and slide show by David Salner, recently returned from Nicaragua, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 22, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Iron Range Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Crisis in Housing: How Not to Redevelop St. Louis. Panel discussion. Sun., July 10, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Profits From Racism: Union-busting at People's Express Airlines. Speaker: Tom Jen-

kins, representative, People's Express Workers Association; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean. Speaker: Wilma Reverón, director of International Office of Information for the Independence of Puerto Rico, Lares Committee at the United Nations. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Cuba Today. Slide show of the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution in housing, medicine, education, and equal rights for Blacks and women. Tues., July 12, 5:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal). Ausp: Militant Bookstore Summer Film Series. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Orquesta Aragon, Los Bravos, Caridad Cuervo: In Concert With Cuba. Fri., July 15, 7:30 p.m. and 11:30 p.m. Beacon Theater, 2124 Broadway (near 74th St.) Ausp: Caribe Productions Inc. For more information call: Box Office, (212) 874-1717; Charget, (212) 944-9300; or Ticketron, (212) 977-9020.

Protest the U.S. War Against Nicaragua. March and rally. Sat., July 16, 12 noon. Gather at Herald Square, 34th St. and Avenue of the Americas. Rally at 2 p.m. at Union Square, 14th Street. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 741-0633, 243-2678, or 242-1040.

Celebrate the 4th Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution. The Revolutionary Dance of the Summer — Direct from Nicaragua: Grupo Pancasan. Sat., July 16, 9 p.m. Martin Luther King Center Auditorium, Hospital and Health Care Workers District 1199, 310 W 43rd St. (near Eighth Ave.) Donation: \$10. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua.

Picnic in Central Park to Celebrate the Nicaraguan Revolution. Nicaraguan food, games, and fun. Grupo Pancasan. Sun., July 17, 12 p.m. to 6 p.m. 88th St. and Central Park. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua.

OHIO

Cincinnati

The Fight Against Concessions and Plant Closings. Speakers: Roger Witt, president of Local 256, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; Jim Wolf, research and education director, International Molders' and Allied

Workers' Union; Carl Harbour, former steelworker at Interlake; Rachael Knapik, member, International Association of Machinists Local 912. Sun., July 10, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Defend School Desegregation and Busing: Money for Education, Not for War. Campaign kick-off and Grand Opening of Militant Bookstore. Speakers: Tamar Rosenfeld and Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidates for Board of Education. Sat., July 16; open house with food and refreshments, 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. (near E 152nd St.). Donation accepted. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1983 Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Women's Liberation: Solidarity In the Fight Against U.S. War in Central America. Speakers: Andrea González, National Committee member of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance; Karel Kilimnik, coordinator of Philadelphia AMNLA Tour Committee, member of Hospital and Health Care Workers District 1199-C. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 9, 8 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

The Approaching War in the Middle East: U.S., Israel Attempt to Split the Palestine Liberation Organization. Speakers: Peter Link, Young Socialist Alliance; Tom Barry, Center for Peace and Justice in the Middle East. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 16, 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Celebration of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian Revolutions. Fri., July 15; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Myth That Imports Steal Jobs: a Working-Class Answer to the Lies of Big Business. Speaker: Joan Radin, former Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2271. Sat., July 9, 8 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

How to Defend Abortion Rights. Panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Fri., July 15, 8 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

An Evening in Solidarity With the Cuban Revolution. Speakers: Herb Pawless, director, American Indian Movement; representative, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 16; Cuban dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Milwaukee Christian Center, 2137 W Greenfield. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Teachers: no to deportation

Continued from Page 20

port of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, reported upon its return that it had seen nothing to suggest the Labor Committee should modify its opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

NEA officials John De Mars and Sam Pizzigati accompanied the delegation to El Salvador, then traveled on their own to Nicaragua. The convention was scheduled to hear a report on their trip later in the proceedings. The NEA is on record condemning the Salvadoran government and against "any U.S. plan for overt or covert action that would destabilize Nicaragua or would

adversely affect that government's successful campaign against illiteracy."

Besides Massachusetts, four other state delegations — Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and New Jersey — took time from busy agendas to hear Marroquín. At the New Jersey meeting, Marroquín noted he was addressing delegates from his home state, and that the INS office that will have him deported if he loses is in Newark. Again, his appeal ended to a loud ovation.

After each meeting, several delegates approached Marroquín, wishing to be contacted when he visits their state during his U.S. tour this fall.

In all, Marroquín encountered what he called in his convention address "an example of the kind of unity and solidarity needed today to defend our most elementary human and democratic rights."

"An unconditional solidarity that reaches beyond the complexity of geography and artificial borders, which cannot break through the basic bonds that link brothers and sisters who share the same interests.

"No deportation can abolish this sentiment. We may be separated temporarily if I am deported, but we will not be divided.

"With your continued support and inspiration, I promise you that I will do my best to continue this fight for human rights until we are victorious."

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

Chicago socialist speaks at campaign debate

Continued from Page 9

"We need a whole new type of government in Washington, D.C., made up of workers and farmers, that will act in our interests when it comes to war, funding education, or fighting racism. That's the kind of government they have in Nicaragua and Grenada. That's why Reagan seeks to overthrow them."

Warren laid out his program to abolish the \$200 billion war budget and use the money for a massive public works program to put people back to work building the things we need — schools, hospitals, and child care centers. He explained even more jobs could be provided by cutting the workweek to 30 hours with no cut in pay and spread the available work around.

Someone asked him to elaborate on the

war issue. "The war in Central America is the central question for working people today. We have no quarrel with the people of El Salvador or Nicaragua. Yet we will be on the front lines when they send in the troops, just like in Vietnam," Warren explained.

Warren urged everyone to attend the August 27 march on Washington, D.C., to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the March on Washington led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The march could be a powerful statement against the war in Central America, for jobs, against racism, and for full equality.

Most of the questions from the audience were directed at Marian Humes, another candidate who is currently the alderwoman from the 8th Ward, where the church is located. Humes had spoken out for women's

rights and calls for a moratorium on home foreclosures.

After the debate several people approached Warren for more information on his campaign. One woman gave her name to a campaign worker and said, "Palmer made a mistake when he said he wasn't tied to labor. *We are labor.*"

Other candidates at the debate were: Ralph Metcalf, Jr., son of the late congressman; Al Raby, longtime civil rights activist and Washington's former campaign manager; and Sheila Jones, a right winger affiliated with Lyndon LaRouche's national Democratic Policy Committee.

Several more candidates' forums are planned before the July 26 Democratic Party primary and Warren has received invitations to attend those as well.

Behind 'illegal alien' scare

"The half a million aliens invading the United States each month from Mexico pose a grave threat to the nation's security," begins a front page story in the June 5 San Antonio *Express-News*.

Under a red-scare headline calling immigrants a "grave security risk," the article features statements by Sen. Alan Simpson, coauthor of the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill. This proposed law is the most sweeping revision of immigration law since the McCarthyite exclusion of "communists" and other "undesirables" was passed in the midst of the Korean War in 1952.

Asserting that undocumented workers are "the most dangerous threat to our national integrity and security since the Civil War," the article is aimed at strengthening the repressive powers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and boosting the U.S. government's military intervention in Central America.

The *Express-News* declares that "these masses of illegal aliens will be fertile ground for subversion within the United States," especially those who come here from Central America, many of whom are "political immigrants bringing ideologies such as anarchism, nihilism and every form of Marxism, including 'Christian Marxism.'"

It would be a dangerous mistake to dismiss such statements as isolated right-wing extremism.

The Democrats and Republicans in the Senate have voted overwhelmingly — 76 to 18 — for Simpson's bill, which is now pending in the House. In February the liberal *New York Times* published an editorial endorsing the bill and echoing Simpson's "security risk" propaganda. The *Washington Post* did the same.

And in his June 20 speech to a Republican fund raiser, President Reagan joined the chorus. Arguing for a tougher policy in Central America, he railed against "a tidal wave of refugees — this time they'll be 'feet people' and not 'boat people' — swarming into our country."

This kind of racist propaganda has always been part of the U.S. rulers' justification for their imperialist wars. They called Puerto Ricans "a heterogeneous mass of mongrels" and "savages addicted to head-hunting and cannibalism" following the 1898 Spanish-American War. They spewed out "yellow peril" propaganda and threw thousands of Japanese-Americans into concentration camps during World War II.

Today's scare stories about an "alien invasion" of the United States are designed to serve as cover for a real invasion: the growing U.S. military intervention in Central America.

In his speech, Reagan claimed that the "tidal wave" of "feet people" would come to the United States fleeing "Communist repression." But the millions of workers

from Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, El Salvador, Guatemala who come here are fleeing imperialist-imposed repression and poverty, carried out through the very real invasion of U.S. corporations backed up by U.S. military might.

Simpson turns this reality on its head, claiming undocumented workers "have the potential to create here a measure of the same political, social, and economic anguish which exists in the countries from which they have chosen to depart."

This idea — that the working people of countries like El Salvador are to blame for the violence there — is utterly false. The violence in Central America stems from decades of brutal exploitation and bloody repression imposed on the people of that region by American corporations.

Cut from the same cloth is the claim that Marxist, class-struggle views are "alien" ideas that could only take root in this country through an "invasion" of noncitizens. The "fertile soil" for such ideas — as the U.S. rulers know full well — are their own plans to drive deeper into war in Central America and step up attacks on workers here at home. The inevitable result of these policies will be intensified struggle on the part of the U.S. working class, and immigrant workers will play a big role in helping lead that fight.

The rulers understand that such workers are especially inspired by the examples of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Salvadoran revolutions. Latinos are helping to spread the message of those revolutions and are in the forefront of mobilizing working people against Washington's war in Central America.

But if Latino workers are the immediate target of the campaign against "illegals," the broader target is the entire labor movement. Already, factory raids by immigration cops have become a convenient weapon in the hands of the bosses for union busting and getting rid of "troublemakers."

Strengthening the ability of the government's cops to go after any one section of the working class increases their ability to target others, from antiwar unionists working for war contractors, to labor organizers, to fighters against racist and sexist discrimination in the workplace.

And by singling out undocumented workers for special attack, the capitalists hope to deny them their basic human rights, exploiting them as a supply of cheap labor and driving down the wages of all workers.

The labor movement in the United States has every reason to oppose the new "red scare" and "yellow peril" anti-immigrant propaganda and laws. It is part of the fight to stop Washington's war against the peoples of Central America and against the working people of the United States as well.

Fight against racist layoffs

Continued from front page

Black and Latino firefighters would have been let go.

The action of the NEA convention came at a particularly important time. Thousands of teachers around the country have been laid off. According to the NEA, 11,500 full-time teaching positions were lost last year.

And massive layoffs in heavy industries, which Blacks and women had to fight to get jobs in, have provoked a discussion among coal miners, steelworkers, auto workers, and others.

Layoffs, like all the attacks that the government and employers are carrying out against working people, do not fall evenly.

Women and oppressed nationalities are among those hit the hardest.

They are systematically discriminated against in all facets of life. Affirmative action programs intended to eliminate some of the effects of centuries of systematic discrimination were won as a result of the struggles waged by Blacks and women during the 1960s and 1970s.

These programs were gains for all working people, because they pointed in the direction of narrowing the gap between women, oppressed nationalities and the rest of the work force. Affirmative action weakened the divisions among working people that are so necessary for the bosses' ability to keep us in our place.

The NEA's position will have a big impact within the labor movement as a whole. Labor officials such as American Federation of Teachers (AFT) president Albert Shanker have argued that applying affirmative action to layoffs amounts to an attack on the union movement. Shanker, who has led the racist opposition to affirmative action within the labor movement under the guise of opposing "quotas," justifies his position on layoffs by asserting that seniority is an absolute principle that must not be tampered with.

The problem is not seniority per se. Like affirmative action, seniority rights can be a weapon to unify the working class. Seniority was an important gain of the labor movement, giving the unions some control over the employers' ability to arbitrarily get rid of union militants, older workers, or any other categories or individuals.

The question facing the labor movement today is how to *strengthen* that union control so that women and Blacks are not gotten rid of.

The employers and the government actively oppose any remedy for discriminatory layoffs.

It cuts across their efforts to deepen race and sex divisions among working people.

Thus, they *counterpose* seniority to affirmative action. They turn the concept of seniority from a weapon of struggle that unifies the union to a bulwark for defending discrimination and thus crippling the ability of the labor movement to defend itself against the attacks being aimed at it.

President Reagan has led the charge against affirmative action, as well as busing for school desegregation, and other gains for the civil rights and women's rights movements.

Thus, on June 29, Reagan complained that in trying to correct "longstanding injustices in our society" such as racial segregation and sex discrimination, "many schools lost sight of their main purpose."

A week later, Reagan took his reactionary campaign into the AFT convention in Los Angeles. Reagan stressed his agreement with many of Shanker's reactionary policies and tried to deepen the divisions between the NEA and the AFT while pushing his racist and reactionary line. He accused the NEA of "brainwashing American schoolchildren" and of trying to "manipulate curriculum for propaganda purposes" because of its teaching guide on the Ku Klux Klan describing the United States as a racist society and because of its opposition to his nuclear arms policies.

But Reagan's appeal did not go over well among the ranks of the AFT. Less than half the delegates stood to applaud as he arrived, about 150 walked out as he began his speech, and there was frequent hissing among those who remained.

The NEA's position on affirmative action will encourage the large number of teachers in the AFT who oppose Shanker's racist positions. It will also deepen the discussion among coal miners, steelworkers, auto workers, and other unionists where a stance similar to the NEA's needs to be taken.

Puerto Rico: record of U.S. colonial plunder

July 25 marks the 85th anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico. The following are excerpts from an article in the July 28, 1978, *Militant*.

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

Eighty years ago this July 25, U.S. military forces headed by Gen. Nelson Miles invaded the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico.

One of the first things General Miles did upon landing was to issue a proclamation "To the Inhabitants of Porto Rico" (it took many years for the yankees to learn to spell the name correctly).

"[T]he people of the United States in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity . . . have come to occupy the Island of Porto Rico."

"We have not come to make war against a people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

contrary, to bring you protection . . . to promote your prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government."

Eighty years later, how have these promises been kept?

The first one, that the United States would occupy Puerto Rico, has been kept well enough. Military bases bristling with bombers and nuclear-tipped missiles occupy 13 percent of the island.

Parts of the country are used for target practice and military maneuvers by the United States, despite the vociferous opposition of residents of those areas. The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, and other secret police agencies devote much time to spying on and disrupting the legal political activities and organizations of Puerto Ricans.

But the other promises remain a dead letter. Puerto Rico is not prosperous for Puerto Ricans, only for American corporations.

In 1974, according to official government figures, one of every five dollars produced by Puerto Rican workers was taken out of that country by U.S. corporations. And that doesn't count the profits U.S. companies kept in Puerto Rico to avoid paying taxes.

The Puerto Rican economy is a wholly owned subsidiary of Wall Street. Even though it is a fertile island, Puerto Rico imports much food because it is more profitable to speculate in real estate than to grow food.

And although its own energy needs are modest, Puerto Rico is the site of a huge petroleum refining industry, because the American capitalists would rather not have these tremendous polluters in their own hometowns.

After 80 years of U.S. rule most Puerto Ricans live in poverty. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, real unemployment (including "discouraged" workers who have given up the search for jobs) is about 50 percent, and many more workers are forced to accept part-time jobs even though they need full-time employment. By the end of 1975, more than 70 percent of the island's population was on food stamps.

Some 2 million of the 5 million Puerto Ricans have been driven from their homeland to the United States by unemployment and poverty. Here they live in the worst slums, are employed only in the lowest-paying and most dangerous jobs, and are subjected to constant harassment and brutality by the cops.

On the political level, Puerto Rico is a colony in the purest sense of the word. The power of the U.S. Congress over Puerto Rico is absolute, although Puerto Ricans have no voting representatives in that body.

It is true that there is a local elected administration in Puerto Rico. But its powers are insignificant compared with those of a sovereign nation. U.S. courts have consistently ruled that "the government of Puerto Rico has those powers the Congress from time to time has seen fit to concede to it." And what Congress gives, Congress can take away.

When the United States goes to war, Puerto Rico goes with it, although Puerto Ricans have no say over this. Puerto Ricans are drafted into the U.S. armed forces with the U.S. president as their commander in chief — although no resident of Puerto Rico is allowed to vote for president.

American working people have absolutely no stake in the brutal colonial oppression of Puerto Rico. This colonial plunder only strengthens the same ruling class that is attacking our rights and standard of living in the United States.

That is why it is not only in the interest of Puerto Ricans, but in the interest of all American working people, to mark this eightieth year of U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico by demanding:

*Independence for Puerto Rico!
U.S. out now!*

Colorado INS raids

On June 14, Immigration and Naturalization (INS) agents raided farms in the Pueblo area of Colorado and in the Arkansas Valley. Some 55 undocumented workers were picked up, held in the county jail until Thursday, then put on buses to be returned to Mexico. Since then there have been reports of other raids. The number of workers seized cannot be verified, but a rough estimate is from 50 to 60. Most are young men, picked up in the fields. Other migrant workers, women and older men, say they were working in the same fields, but were bypassed. Those who are male, young, dark-skinned, are asked for their papers and arrested when they can't produce them.

The actions of INS agents are entirely arbitrary. A U.S. citizen who wouldn't ordinarily be carrying documentation, but is a Chicano, may be arrested in the general sweep, and the agent will not listen to any explanation or claim. Agents usually operate in plain clothes and unmarked cars and do not inform any of the social service agencies that they are in the area. They may go door to door in labor camps. If the workers do not open the doors, do not let them in, a warrant is needed to enter, but many migrant workers, documented or undocumented, do not know this. Service agencies are trying to inform people of their rights and also telling them how to apply for residency, but the latter is a lengthy process and fruitless if quotas are already filled.

Meanwhile, Colorado's Democratic governor, Richard Lamm, continues his push for stricter immigration laws and claims this has nothing to do with racial discrimination. He is only concerned "about America's ability to provide for its own people." And that's important for our millionaire governor.

Lois Remple
Pueblo, Colorado

D.C. gay pride march

More than 20,000 people participated in the annual gay pride march and rally in Washington, D.C., on June 19. The major theme of the day's activities was more government funding for research into the cause and cure of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome).

Speakers at the gay pride rally included D.C. Mayor Marion

Barry and City Council Chairman David Clarke. The biggest cheers of the day came when an evening march "to demand funding for AIDS research and not the U.S. war in Central America" was announced.

More than 200 people participated in the evening candlelight march and vigil at the White House.

Nancy Brown
Washington, D.C.

Likes farm coverage

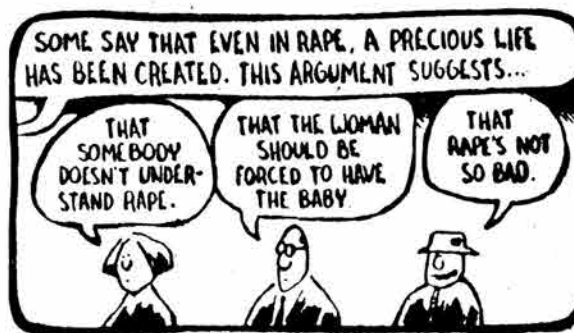
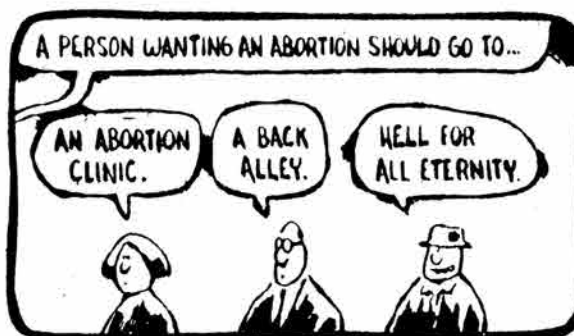
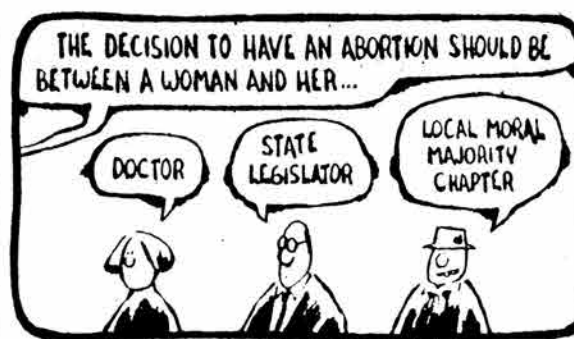
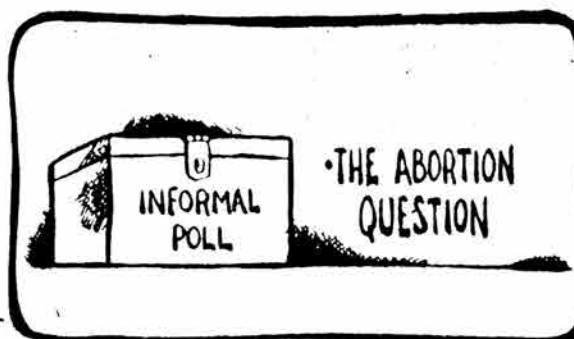
I am enclosing a couple of articles from the *Daily Register* in Portage, Wisconsin, where I am currently a reporter and farm editor. The information on the meeting of the North American Farm Alliance, the connection of the strike at Wilson Foods, and the problems of hog farmers was taken from the *Militant*.

I'm glad to see that you guys are involved with farmers' issues. I don't see much involvement with farmers' issues in leftist circles, which I think helps capitalists win an ideological victory by default. Most of the press releases that come my way are written either by big farm conglomerates or government agencies, neither of which offer much information about the extent of farmers' problems, their interests, or the nature of workers, women, or minority groups as they relate to farm issues.

Your coverage of the Wilson Food Corp. strike turned out to be particularly timely. Two days after I got the *Militant*, I wandered into my county agriculture extension agent's office and asked him what was happening with hog farmers, and he handed me a copy of the *Wall Street Journal* full of bad news.

I'm certain that without facts such as the *Militant* provided about the reasons for the Wilson strike, farmers would blame the workers. The National Pork Producers Council's news releases adopt the "neutrality" of only describing the strike's adverse effects on pork markets for farmers.

In the future, it would be nice if the *Militant* could dig up some information about women in agriculture. In Wisconsin at present, the state legislature is considering a bill that would make the state a "common property" state in which property held by one spouse is assumed to be owned by both. Farmers support the change, because



they experience problems when the husband dies and the wife tries to inherit the farm. Sometimes the wife has to sell the farm to pay inheritance taxes, and needless to say, the last thing in the world a farm family wants is to lose its land. Overall, the division of labor between men and women is quite different on a farm than in cities, and that would merit some coverage also.

Sheldon Rampton
Portage, Wisconsin

Samargia takes new job

Joe Samargia, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac iron ore mine, announced June 24 that he was leaving his position to take a job offered by Governor Rudy Perpich in Minnesota's Emergency Jobs Program.

Samargia has been a prominent national leader of those forces in the USWA who have opposed some of the policies of USWA International President Lloyd McBride. For instance, Samargia

has been a supporter of the right of rank-and-file steelworkers to vote on our contracts.

He assumed the presidency of the largest USWA local on northern Minnesota's Iron Range seven years ago and was a central leader of one of the most important class battles of the 1970s — the iron ore miners' strike in 1977.

"It's been very frustrating [as union president] in the past two or three years; with all the layoffs and me not being able to help people," Samargia told the press. "This job is exactly the opposite of that, so I think it will be exciting."

Dave Salner
Virginia, Minnesota

From Hawaii

Interest in the war in Central America is finally picking up here in Hawaii. So if you could send me one *Militant* a week to sell, I would be most appreciative. I am active in the local chapter of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Intercontinental Press is a valu-

able aid in Central America solidarity work. Xeroxed IP articles have been made available at the CISPES table on campus.

I'll try to write more often. Keep up the good work.
Marc Viglielmo
Honolulu, Hawaii

Correction

The *Militant* incorrectly reported in issue 24 that the International Association of Machinists Local 1060 at Browning-Ferris Industries in Pittsburgh returned to work with a new contract. In fact, they were forced to return without a contract under threat of mass firings.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams. Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities

Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63116. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1026, 1400 Glenwood Ave., Greensboro. Zip: 27403. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Teachers union: no to deportation!

NEA affirms political asylum right, hears Marroquin

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

PHILADELPHIA — Delegates at the convention here of the nation's largest teachers union, the National Education Association (NEA), gave a warm reception and strong applause to Héctor Marroquín July 2 when he told them of his fight against deportation. The convention reaffirmed NEA support for the right of the 30-year-old socialist to stay in this country.

"With great pride and inspiration I remember how five years ago your national convention in Dallas decided to express its solidarity with my fight for political asylum," Marroquín told the convention.

"That support for my rights as a refugee has been for me a tremendous source of enthusiasm and strength throughout five years of struggle." It has helped "prevent my deportation back to Mexico, where I could face brutal punishment just because of my political activities and beliefs."

At its 1978 gathering in Dallas, the 1.7-million-member NEA voted to "reaffirm its strong commitment to human rights by endorsing the right of Héctor Marroquín to political asylum in the United States."

The resolution asserted that Marroquín, a former teacher, "faces certain imprisonment and torture, and possible death, on false charges of terrorism and 'subversion'" were he deported to Mexico. It cited a 1977 report by Amnesty International that "contained a damning indictment of human rights violations in Mexico."

That convention also heard an address from the floor by Marroquín, which met with a standing ovation.

Addressing delegates as a special guest in Philadelphia five years later, Marroquín restated his case for asylum and again refuted charges lodged against him by the Mexican police and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). He then turned to recent developments in the case.

"Dear fellow teachers," he said, "today my case is at an extremely crucial and critical stage. My very last appeal is now before the Supreme Court."

"To this day, the INS is doing what it can to deny my rights. A couple of weeks ago, they said that I wouldn't be allowed my right to choose another country if I was to lose before the Supreme Court, and that instead they would immediately send me back to Mexico."

"Thanks to messages of protest sent by your president and hundreds of others, the INS backed down and told me that I could 'voluntarily depart' within 48 hours if I lose."

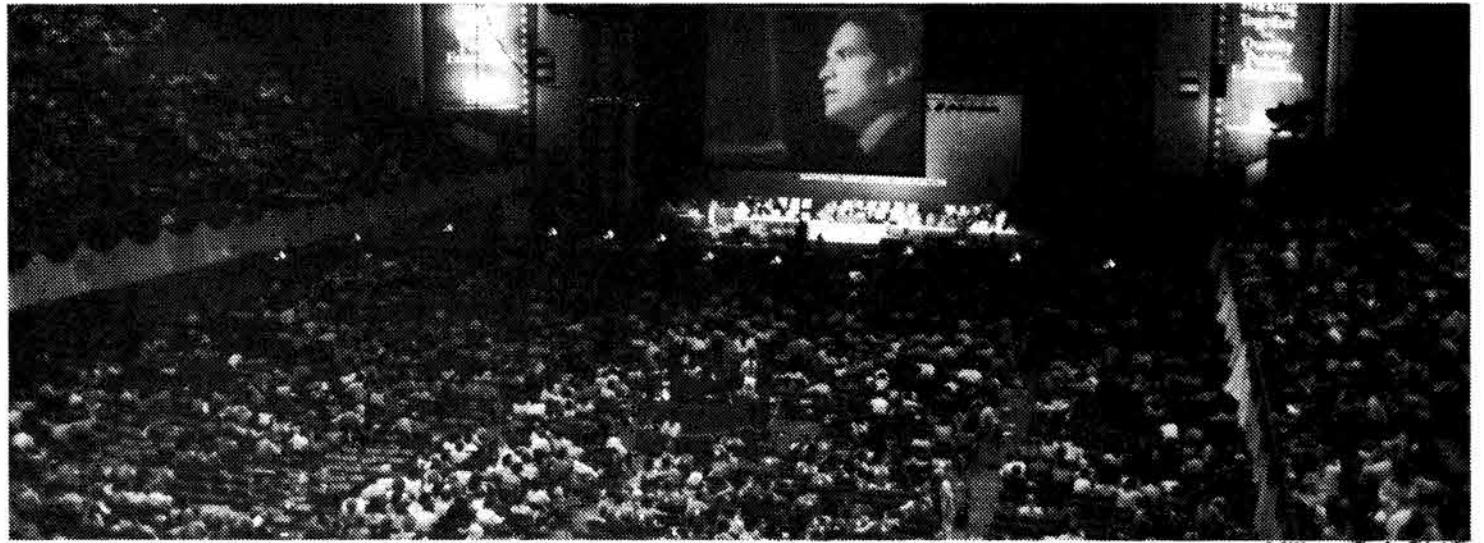
As NEA President Willard McGuire noted in introducing Marroquín to the convention, which drew about 9,700 delegates and observers, "twice the NEA has intervened on his behalf with the INS."

During the week of June 13, McGuire, an endorser of the case, called the INS and urged it to restore Marroquín's "voluntary departure" status. This followed a May 31 letter from the NEA head to the INS, supporting Marroquín's asylum appeal.

Marroquín shared the platform in Philadelphia with leaders of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), the international body to which the NEA is affiliated.

Keynoting this "International Guests" segment of the convention, WCOTP Secretary General Norman Goble named the world economic crisis and growing unemployment as two of the greatest obstacles facing teachers.

These are compounded, he said, by "deliberate government actions — budget cuts and other retrograde policies." These, in turn, are "linked to the diversion of resources from education, as governments parade their new weapons around the globe."



Héctor Marroquín addressing National Education Association: "Your support throughout five years of struggle has helped prevent my deportation."

Around the globe, "teachers unions are under fire," Goble continued, particularly in the countries of Central America, which "have become a byword for repression."

"Three hundred teachers in El Salvador are shot down in their homes; women teachers are arrested and driven over the edge of insanity by torture. Union officers in Honduras are seized by the army, and the homes of teachers are machine-gunned."

The rights of unionists in Central America, and the matter of U.S. interven-

tion there, were indeed on the minds of delegates — as Marroquín found the next morning in meetings with five state delegations.

"My fight for political asylum is a fight for every brother and sister in Central America," he declared before the Massachusetts delegation. "It is a fight for teachers' rights and for trade-union rights. A victory in my case would set an important precedent for those brothers and sisters in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras."

Marroquín, who received a standing ovation from Massachusetts teachers, was introduced to the delegation by state NEA President Carol Doherty. "Five years ago in Dallas," she recalled, "I had the opportunity to speak on his behalf in support of his battle for political asylum."

Marroquín pointed to the "good and necessary example" of the NEA's recent work in helping to send a labor delegation to El Salvador. That delegation, organized by the National Labor Committee in Sup-

Continued on Page 17

Copper workers strike Phelps-Dodge

BY JASON REDRUP
AND KAREN KOPPERUD

MORENCI, Arizona — On July 1, 2,300 copper workers went on strike against Phelps-Dodge Corp. (P-D) mines here and in Ajo and Douglas.

P-D, the state's largest copper producer, is trying in effect to take away cost-of-living allowances (COLA) from its union contracts. The company also wants to establish a dual pay scale, under which workers hired after the contract is signed would permanently be paid 10 percent less than those already hired. P-D wants to reduce company-paid medical benefits as well.

The copper companies had hoped to get concessions similar to those the steel companies had gotten in March — a reduced COLA rate and a \$1.25-an-hour wage cut.

Kennecott, the largest copper producer nationally, signed an agreement with unions led by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) that didn't give the copper bosses everything they wanted, especially givebacks on COLA. They were, however, able to get a wage freeze, more flexibility on work rules, and retirement benefit reductions.

Other copper companies, Magma, Asarco, and Inspiration, agreed to similar settlements.

But P-D wanted more; it broke from the copper companies' usual practice of agreeing to a contract similar to Kennecott's.

The unions involved, besides the USWA, are the International Association of Machinists, Boilermakers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Operating Engineers, and the United Transportation Union.

P-D's ploy for getting rid of or reducing COLA is a new twist: the company wants to base it on the price per pound of copper, which has been declining because of overproduction in recent years.

Thus, COLA increases would not be based on the prices copper workers actually must pay for goods, but on the price of cop-

per. However, the price of copper has little or nothing to do with the prices P-D sets in its company stores here in Morenci — where copper workers must buy or rent food, clothing, housing, and more from P-D.

Current wage rates are \$11.09 to \$14.53 an hour depending on job classification. Under P-D's demand for a two-tier wage structure, anyone hired after the contract is signed would get 10 percent less than that, and their rate would stay down by the same amount. P-D's payroll would be reduced 10 percent by the time the last worker under the old contract retires.

P-D also wants workers to pay \$100 deductible and 20 percent of the first \$1,000 of medical expenses. But Morenci, like other copper towns, is highly polluted by the company. Tailings, or scrap from the smelter, are dumped in the center of town.

One miner told the *Militant*, "We can't tell if our kids have the flu or are poisoned from the water we drink."

P-D is breaking other precedents, too. This is the first time in 23 years that a copper company has tried to run production with management personnel and scabs. P-D has said it will bring in scabs from outside the area; a tiny number of union members have crossed picket lines to work.

P-D is also cutting off credit to any miners not on the payroll, whether they are laid-off or on strike. In 1980 P-D denied credit to strikers at food stores, but allowed it for furniture and other items.

But the workers broke a precedent too. In earlier strikes they would gradually shut down, to allow furnaces to cool, and performed minor maintenance. This time they all simply walked off the job.

The concessions P-D is demanding would cost the workers \$13 to \$14 million in wages and benefits over the life of the contract.

Ray Gann, president of Boilermakers Local 506 and a cochair of the joint union negotiating committee, said, "Ever since the 1980 strike, the grievance procedure

has been a joke. It's been like a head-banging operation."

The unions, he said, "have been forced to stockpile grievances because the company has been forcing every grievance to arbitration, and no union can afford that."

Every striker the *Militant* talked with said P-D is out to bust their unions. Since the strike began, foremen and other management personnel have been working 12-hour shifts.

P-D has ordered all salaried employees, including secretaries, to work or be fired.

At the 6 p.m. shift change here, 200 miners were on the picket line to fight for their rights. They lined up on both sides of the gate as the company caravan went in.

The strike here has been peaceful, despite company attempts to provoke the unionists with cameras and tape recorders around the clock, and with extra security guards.

Nonetheless, P-D has since obtained injunctions against mass picketing here and in Douglas. The Morenci injunction was the first against copper workers here.

The media is also helping P-D with stories about "expected violence" and "neighbor against neighbor" in the mining towns.

Despite the severity of P-D's attacks on the workers, most told the *Militant* they're willing to fight. Other copper unions have pledged their solidarity.

The wife of one miner put it like this: "If it [the strike] goes into the fall, we'll have no money for school clothes for our kids. Nobody is prepared for a strike like we had in past years; we aren't even back on our feet from the layoffs."

However, she said, "We're prepared for several months, if that's what it takes to win."

Pointing to her children, she said, "I don't mind bringing them here [to the picket line]. They should know this is a mining town. I want them to know what they'll face every three years."