

## Simpson-Mazzoli bill: attack on all labor

In a bipartisan drive, the House of Representatives whisked through a series of amendments and adopted the Simpson-Mazzoli bill June 20. The measure will increase the oppression and exploitation of Black, Latino, Asian, and undocumented

### EDITORIAL

workers. Moreover, it will be an added weapon against the entire labor movement.

The comprehensive bill now goes to a House-Senate conference committee where it will be reconciled with a similar measure adopted by the Senate in May 1983.

The central provision of the bill requires all workers to prove to their employers that they are U.S. citizens or authorized to work in the United States. Under the measure, an employer will demand that all job applicants produce two pieces of identification, such as a Social Security card and driver's license.

The House measure sets up a telephone  
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Immigration cop arrests workers in California. Simpson-Mazzoli bill strengthens hand of government, employers to step up racist, antilabor offensive.

## Nicaragua: CIA steps up war, sabotage

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

OCOTAL, Nicaragua — Just before dawn on a recent Friday morning, 500 to 600 counterrevolutionaries attacked this northern city of 20,000, the capital of Nueva Segovia Province.

Armed with automatic rifles, mortars, rockets, and incendiary devices, they killed 14 persons, wounded 34, and caused \$7 million in damage.

Almost completely destroyed in the attack was the main grain-storage center for the two northern provinces of Nueva Segovia and Madriz. Lost in flames was the better part of 800 tons of rice, beans, and corn, plus more than 7 tons of powdered milk — equivalent to a six-months supply of food for the entire town.

Also destroyed was the region's largest lumber mill, source of employment for 500 at peak production; offices of the power and light company; the town's coffee-processing plant; and part of the broadcasting equipment in the area's only radio station.

The attack was timed and planned to coincide with the June 1 visit to Managua by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Washington's message could not have been clearer: "accept our conditions or else."

The assault on Ocotal was costly to the counterrevolution. Some 200 *contras* were killed or wounded during the attack and subsequent retreat under heavy pursuit.

### Biggest offensive since revolution

The scope and intensity of the current counterrevolutionary offensive — on top of the cumulative effect of three years of economic military aggression — has taken a grave toll on the economy of this country of only 3.5 million persons.

Beginning in February of this year, at least 10,000 counterrevolutionaries have mounted a sustained, multipronged offensive.

Supplied by air and land from U.S. bases in Honduras and Panama, they have converted large, sparsely populated areas of four northern provinces (Nueva Segovia, Madriz, Matagalpa, Jinotega) and three southern provinces (Chontales, Rio San Juan, southern Zelaya) into what government leaders call "zones of permanent conflict."

According to army estimates, about 5,000 to 6,000 *contras* are now based permanently inside Nicaragua. Extensive mountain and jungle areas, in some cases well away from the border regions, have been converted to contra enclaves or strongholds. From these enclaves — as well as through forays across the border from Honduras and Costa Rica — the counterrevolutionary forces are building a propaganda apparatus, carrying out sabotage of economic targets, and attacking population centers.

One indication of the extent of contra striking-power outside the remote enclaves is the fact that government agencies now maintain a fleet of repainted, unmarked vehicles for travel in the north anywhere off the main roads.

Step by step, Sandinista officials have acknowledged the new realities of this stage of the war and have taken concrete steps to meet them:

In October 1983, military conscription was introduced for the first time. A second round of inductions — not originally planned but now necessary — is being organized right now. To reduce problems of confusion, misunderstanding, and opposition from draftees' parents, emphasis this time will be on filling quotas as much as possible with volunteers.

In December, January, and February, more than 100,000 city workers and students were mobilized to save the coffee and cotton harvests, threatened in different ways by the impact of the war.

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## Regime in India massacres Sikh rebels

BY ERNEST HARSCH

With a death toll that could mount to several thousand, the massacre of Sikh rebels in Punjab in early June marked the single most brutal repressive crackdown in India since that country won its independence in 1947.

It even surpassed the British colonialists' infamous massacre of unarmed Indian protesters in 1919 in Amritsar — not far from the Sikhs' Golden Temple that was the chief target of the Indian government's June 5 attack.

By ordering the massive army assault on the Sikh protesters — mostly landless peasants, agricultural workers, and students — inside the Golden Temple, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sought to present an example to all those in India who would dare oppose the policies of her capitalist government: not only the country's 14 million Sikhs, but also workers fighting for trade union rights and higher wages, peasants fighting for a living income, political activists seeking to express their ideas, and those struggling against national and religious discrimination and oppression.

### Slander and distortion

To justify the crackdown in Punjab, the Gandhi regime has gone to great lengths to slander and distort the aims of the movement led by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the Sikh religious leader who was killed in the Golden Temple complex along with many of his followers.

Following the regime's standard practice of blaming unrest in the country on "outside agitators," officials demagogically pointed fingers at the Pakistani regime — without offering any real evidence.

Bhindranwale and his supporters were also dismissed as religious "fanatics" who engaged in random acts of terror against those who adhered to the Hindu faith and against those Sikhs who disagreed with his course. The government would not yield to "violence and terrorism," Gandhi pro-

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## N.Y. meeting hails Grenada book publication

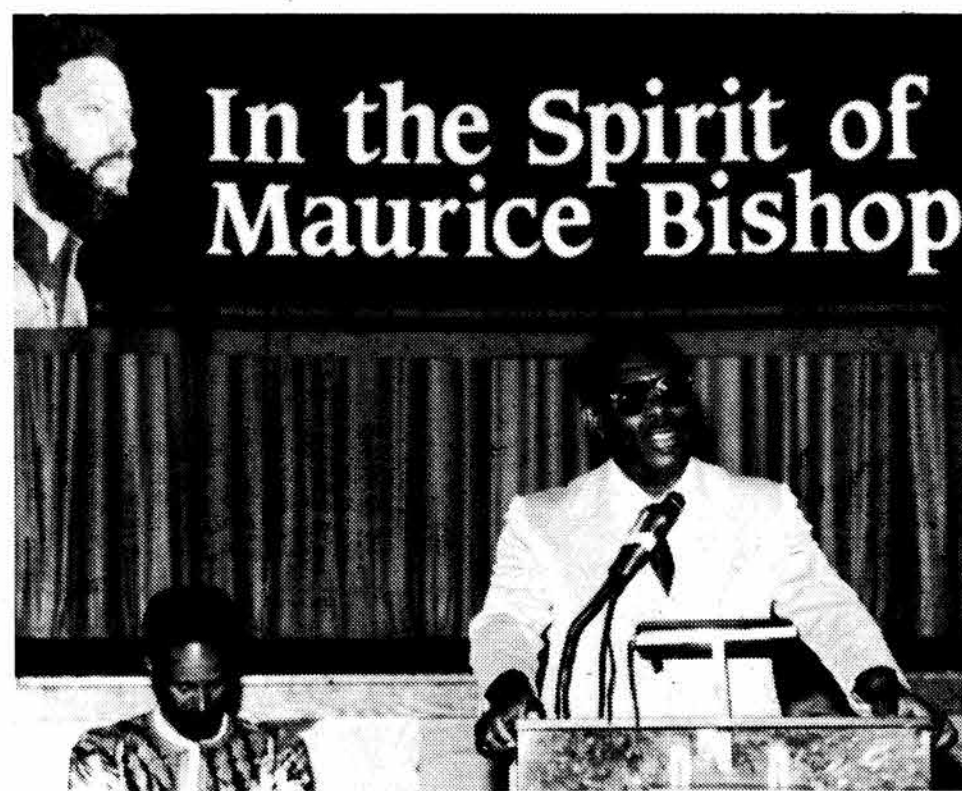
BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

NEW YORK — "We want to say that we are very grateful that Pathfinder Press has made it its business to put on record the work of Maurice Bishop in the form of the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*," said Joachim Mark, a noted Grenadian historian. Mark was speaking before a crowd of some 300 people attending a June 17 rally here to celebrate the publication of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

"We want to encourage you to buy the book," Mark continued, "not because you are Grenadian, but because it carries a message and a hope for working people, suffering people in all parts of the world. . . . And we ask you: don't buy this book and keep it on your shelf, but share it."

The June 17 rally, held at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, was a big boost to the campaign to widely distribute *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. This campaign enjoys broad support, as shown by the endorsement of the book celebration. The meeting was sponsored by Pathfinder Press, Medgar Evers College Center of Women's Development, New York City Black United Front, Patrice Lumumba Coalition, and the Caribbean People's Alliance.

Blacks have been the most outspoken in  
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June 17 meeting for book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. At podium, Joachim Mark; seated, Adeyemi Bande.

BY MIKE FRANKLIN

GREENSBORO, N.C. — Over the past year and a half, socialist workers in the Piedmont area of North Carolina have sold hundreds of *Militants* at textile mills organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

They have also sold at a number of unorganized textile mills (there are a lot of them in right-to-work North Carolina), and at a couple of other factories organized by the Teamsters and the Tobacco Workers.

The Socialist Workers Party is currently in the process of establishing regular plant-gate sales at three of the largest ACTWU-organized textile mills in the area, in addition to regular sales already established at a number of smaller mills.

There is a lot of discussion going on in the textile mills about how to defend the union today. The right-to-work laws mean many workers are not in the union, even at an organized plant, so there is a lot of discussion on how

to build the union and get membership up. Workers are very interested in reading about how unionists elsewhere are defending themselves against company and government attacks. Selling the *Militant* as a pronoun, antiwar newspaper puts the socialists in the thick of these discussions.

The largest textile manufacturer in the area is Cone Mills. Socialists are setting up regular sales at the Cone White Oak textile plant in Greensboro. White Oak employs 2,500 workers and manufactures denim. The ACTWU local at White Oak is one of the most important in the area.

Regular plant-gate sales are also being organized at the Cone Haw River mill, organized by ACTWU, which employs 800 workers. So far the response has been good: 18 *Militants* have been sold in the last three sales. On one of these sales the socialists sold 9 papers — all they brought with them — in 20 minutes.

The challenge facing socialist workers in the Piedmont is to introduce the socialist program to as many textile workers as possible.

The best ways to talk with textile workers are through the SWP election campaign and the implementation of regular plant-gate sales at six targeted textile mills. Hundreds of copies of a Socialist Workers Party campaign statement condemning the recent acquittal of Klan and Nazi members for the murder of civil rights fighters in Greensboro in 1979 were distributed at local plant gates. A number of workers told the *Militant* salespeople they were glad to see them out there speaking out against the Klan acquittals.

One carload of workers was heckling the salesperson. Someone in the car yelled out for everyone to shut up, and said, "What this guy is talking about is real serious stuff. Let's hear what he's got to say and buy the paper." Three people chipped in a quarter apiece for the *Militant*.

At the large Fieldcrest towel, sheet and carpet mill in Eden, North Carolina, which employs 1,200 workers and is organized by ACTWU, 18 *Militants* have been sold in the last 5 plant-gate sales. The socialists sell the *Militant* as a

campaign newspaper which supports socialist candidate Kate Daher for U.S. Senate against Democratic Gov. James Hunt and Republican Sen. Jesse Helms.

North Carolina is a Democratic party-controlled state, so workers know that the Democrats as well as the Republicans are responsible for it being the least-unionized state, with the lowest wages, in the country. The socialist campaign generates a lot of discussion, and workers generally tell the socialists that what they are saying makes a lot of sense.

Another important discussion in the mills is the attempt to reduce safety standards, especially the attempt by the owners and the government to increase the "acceptable" level of cotton dust. Tens of thousands of workers in North Carolina are afflicted by brown lung, a deadly and debilitating disease similar to black lung found among miners.

At the Dan River mill in southern Virginia, workers are being used as guinea pigs to test a higher level of cotton dust exposure,

above current government standards. The socialists recently sent a sales team to the Dan River plant gate to find out more about this. Three workers bought the *Militant*, and many were curious about the salespeople's proposals for the labor movement to fight back against this attack by the bosses.

As the United States steps up its war drive against the people of Central America and the bosses' offensive against working people and their unions continues, and the illusion of the Democratic primary passes, socialists have noticed an increase in the level of political discussions they have been getting into, and noted a more receptive response to socialist ideas and the *Militant*.

Sales have increased at the plant gates. An average of 11 *Militants* a week have been sold at the plant gates in the last six weeks, more than double the previous average.

This response discredits the myth, pushed by the capitalist media, that workers in North Carolina are antiunion and not interested in politics.

## UAW postpones Toledo march; seeks new talks

BY ROBBIE SCHERR

TOLEDO, June 20 — Confronted by determined company strike-breaking, on June 14 the United Auto Workers (UAW) announced plans for a June 24 mass demonstration aimed at forcing a settlement in the seven-week-old strike at the AP Parts Co. The following day, however, UAW officials announced an indefinite postponement of the action.

More than 400 members of UAW Local 14 have been on strike at AP Parts since May 2. The strike was provoked by the company's unilateral imposition of a sweeping concession contract that slashed wages by \$5.84 an hour and gutted union authority to represent workers in the plant.

On May 21 more than 3,000 auto workers and their supporters demonstrated outside the AP Parts gates. This militant action was attacked by the cops. Forty-one workers were arrested May 21 and one more the following day. The company returned to the bargaining table but quickly cut off negotiations. Since then a second shift of scab workers has begun work at AP Parts.

UAW plans for the June 24 march were announced June 14 in the *Toledo Blade*. The union applied for a parade permit calling for assembly outside Jeep Corp.'s Stickney Ave. plant, a march past AP Parts, and a rally outside the UAW-organized Dura Corp., down the street. UAW Region 2-B Director Joseph Tomasi told the *Blade* that international UAW Pres. Owen Bieber had tentatively agreed to participate.

That same day pickets at the AP Parts' gates told this reporter that the UAW was actively building the action outside of Toledo. A front-page headline in the June 15 *Toledo Union Journal*, weekly newspaper of UAW Local 12, announced "March for justice slated at AP Parts." The union paper confirmed that the march was being built throughout UAW Region 2-B. Thousands of auto workers were expected to attend.

UAW Local 14 officials had rejected a police proposal that the march be held

downtown, rather than in front of the struck plant. "We intend to follow through with our plan," Richard Thompson, chairman of the AP Parts unit of Local 14, told the *Blade*. "We intend to have a peaceful demonstration of course," Thompson affirmed.

The march was postponed at the request of international UAW President Bieber. Media accounts reported Bieber made the request in the hopes that the international could intervene in the situation, leading to

a resumption of contract negotiations with the company. But as of this writing AP Parts is stonewalling and no negotiations are set.

Meanwhile other support activities are planned for the strikers and the arrested workers. These include a union-sponsored food collection and fund-raising dinner.

Robbie Scherr is a member of UAW Local 16 at the Dura Corp.

## NOW to hold national conference in Miami

BY PAT GROGAN

The National Organization for Women (NOW), which has a membership of more than a quarter of a million, will hold its 1984 National Conference June 28-July 1 in Miami Beach, Florida.

The conference takes place at a time when the deepgoing attacks against women's rights have escalated.

Most recently, the Supreme Court dealt a blow against equality, when it ruled that seniority lists could not be modified to protect the hard-won gains of Blacks, Latinos, and women through affirmative action. Judy Goldsmith, president of NOW, condemned the ruling as an "erosion of affirmative action as a remedy against race and sex discrimination."

At last year's convention an important discussion took place that recognized the concerns of women of the oppressed nationalities — and working women as a whole — as central to the women's libera-

tion movement. A workshop on "Why Racism is a Feminist Issue" was held and the convention passed a resolution outlining concrete steps to win women of the oppressed nationalities to NOW, including the establishment of committees against racism at the state level. This crucial discussion will continue at the Miami convention. A workshop on "Combating Racism NOW" is scheduled.

Workshops have also been announced on pay equity, "Reagan Truth Squads," lesbian participation in presidential politics, voter registration, and on violence against abortion clinics.

NOW has initiated a public campaign to oppose the wave of arson and other violent attacks against abortion clinics.

The NOW conference also takes place at a time when the U.S. war in Central America has reached a critical stage. Last year's convention held a workshop on peace and disarmament that unanimously passed a

resolution opposing all U.S. military and political intervention in Central America and declared NOW's solidarity with women there.

The NOW Conference has been scheduled to precede the Democratic National Convention. This reflects the decision of the NOW leadership to make the defeat of Ronald Reagan by Democrat Walter Mondale the centerpiece of its strategy.

Many members of NOW oppose this course of subordinating the construction of a fighting, independent women's liberation movement to electioneering for Democrats and Republicans. A broad discussion of strategy for women's liberation will take place at the convention.

The conference is being held at the Fontainebleau Hilton, 4441 Collins Ave., Miami Beach, Fla. 33140. For more information contact: 1984 National NOW Conference, 425 13th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20004.

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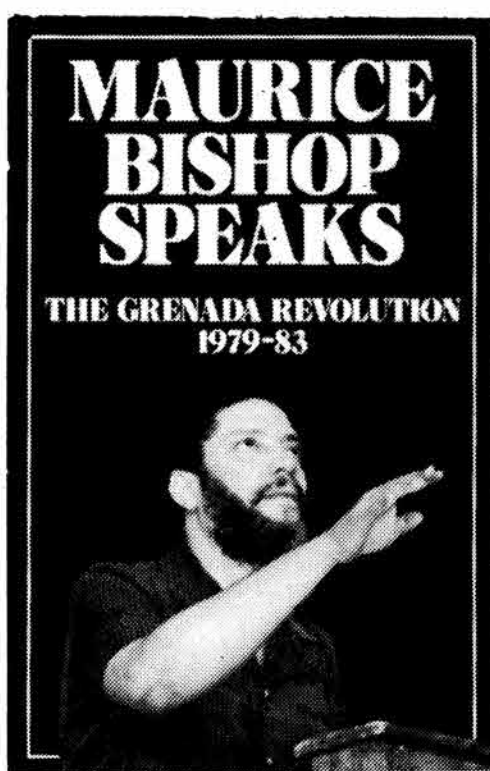
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# Mason brings solidarity to British miners

BY MARGARET JAYKO

**SOUTH WALES, Britain** — This beautiful, mountainous area is a militant center of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) strike.

Now in its fourth month, the strike was provoked by the plan of the National Coal Board (NCB), which runs Britain's nationalized mining industry, to close down at least 70 mines in the next three years, a move that would throw 70,000 miners onto the unemployment lines.

In a place like South Wales, historically a mining center, mine closures spell the ruin of whole communities. And the fighting spirit of the Welsh miners has put mines here at the top of the NCB's list of ones to be closed.

## Welsh fighters welcome Mason

These miners gave a warm welcome to Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, when he visited South Wales June 11 as part of his recent tour of Britain and Ireland.

Mason began the day with a visit to the Penrhwiweiber Lodge of the NUM. He was accompanied by three supporters of *Socialist Action*, the newspaper which sponsored Mason's tour of Britain; a socialist worker from New Zealand; and this reporter.

The dozen or so miners who were there ushered this international delegation into their office. Their mine is shut down tight. However, they, like thousands of their union brothers, participate in "flying pickets," which travel throughout Scotland, England, and Wales, picketing mines that are still operating and gathering support from other working people.

The discussion revolved around the fact that the union is divided. Only 85 percent of the NUM's members are on strike. This is due to the fact that miners at more productive mines — especially in Nottinghamshire in central England — make more money than other union members due to an incentive pay scheme. They have been convinced by the government that their jobs are secure.

## International solidarity

The miners told us that farmers in the area had donated 9,000 gallons of milk to the strikers and their families. This sparked a discussion on the possibilities for winning family farmers as allies of the working class.

Many of these and other Welsh miners had been to the 200,000-strong anti-

Reagan demonstration in London two days earlier. It was organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). The miners were all wearing peace buttons distributed by CND. They told us they enjoyed the march and had received a lot of support for the strike from other protesters.

They also told us about two Salvadoran trade unionists they had met who toured Britain to win support for their struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador.

Two of the miners we met had recently gone to Ireland to build support for the strike. The response was great from Irish working people. The miners were a little nervous, they told us, when they went to areas with a strong tradition of support for the struggle against British imperialism's division of Ireland. But, to their surprise, those were the areas where the miners got the best response. They attributed this to the fact that the miners and the Irish people have the same enemy — the Thatcher government.

## U.S. workers need labor party

The Welsh miners were all supporters of Britain's union-based Labor Party, and there were big stacks of Labor Party literature in the headquarters. They were surprised to learn that the United Mine Workers of America in the United States backs capitalist party candidates such as multimillionaire John Rockefeller in West Virginia.

One miner insisted that the problem with the unions in the United States is that they don't have their own political party. Until they get together and form one, he said, they won't be able to effectively fight for their membership. The miners were glad to hear that Mason's campaign urges working people to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form a fighting labor party.

What the miners liked most about Mason's campaign was that he's a socialist, or, as one miner put it, he's "representing the socialist class."

## 'NUM's case is rock solid'

In the evening, Mason drove to Newport to speak at a public meeting titled, "Solidarity will win." About 100 people were there, the big majority of whom were miners and their families.

Meirion Treble, a young NUM member from Celynen South, was the first speaker. He thanked *Socialist Action* for sponsoring a meeting that allowed the miners' side of



Militant/Margaret Jayko

SWP presidential candidate Mel Mason (right) in front of Penrhwiweiber mine in South Wales. Mason met scores of striking coal miners during his tour of Britain.

the story to be heard.

Treble declared that the NUM's case against the mine closures was "rock solid." The coal, he said, "belongs to all of us." It's the safest and most plentiful source of energy and could be used to meet the energy needs of working people. Thatcher, however, would rather invest in nuclear energy, with the goal of breaking the NUM.

Treble hit the incentive pay plans that the previous NUM leadership had accepted.

One of the most encouraging developments in the strike, he said, was the role of women as pickets and in other solidarity activities. Women are taking their rightful place, he declared, "picketing side by side with miners."

Treble praised the recent decision by rail unions not to move any coal, coke, or oil. "Thatcher is afraid of solidarity among unions." Solidarity would deal a "disastrous blow" to her plans to defeat the unions. It's necessary, said Treble, to rid the country of the Thatcher government. "If the working class unites ... we cannot lose," he said.

## 'We'll have to follow the miners'

Greetings were read to the rally from Paula Frampton, a railroad worker who was the first in her yard to refuse to move coal. A threatened strike by rail workers was recently headed off by the Thatcher government in order to avoid having these two key sectors of the working class out on strike together.

"Although our battle with the Rail Board has been postponed ... we know that we'll have to follow the miners into industrial action if we are to hold off Tory decimation of our industry," said Frampton. "Thatcher's obvious fear that we will unite in strike action with miners has strengthened the resolve of many of us to push for just that."

A member of the women's action committee here also spoke. Her husband is a miner.

"I've gone on demonstrations and marches" for the miners strike, she said. The "feeling will live with me for the rest of my life, the feeling of community with working people."

Ernie Way, from the Celynen North NUM, also spoke.

## Critical labor action

Mel Mason explained the three reasons he had come to Ireland and Britain.

One was to participate in the anti-Reagan protests that occurred during Reagan's tour of those countries.

Mason also wanted to express his solidarity both with the Irish freedom struggle and the British miners strike, which he termed "one of the most critical labor actions in the world."

Mason said he also planned to take the truth about this strike and the struggles of the Irish people back to U.S. working people in order to strengthen international

working-class solidarity and to inspire U.S. workers with the fighting example being set by their brothers and sisters across the Atlantic.

At a previous meeting in London, a South Wales miner had given Mason a maroon colored official South Wales NUM tie. "Till you win this strike, I will wear this tie at every campaign meeting and rally — even though I have no suits or sports coats that match it!" To remedy that problem, another miner gave Mason a navy blue NUM tie.

Mason reviewed some of the labor battles in the United States today, especially the Arizona copper miners strike. "I started my campaign in Arizona because it was the most significant labor action going on in the country," explained Mason.

As in Britain, women are playing a big role in the Arizona strike. "They are part of the political leadership of the strike," said Mason.

The Arizona copper miners and people of El Salvador have the same enemy, said Mason — "profit hungry bosses who have an interest in wars abroad because they have an interest in continuing to exploit people abroad."

"The capitalist system is inevitably going to go to war — not just against people in other countries, but against you and me."

War is "international union-busting," said Mason, and that's why he was so happy to see the striking miners marching against war and missiles in London on June 9.

During the discussion, one woman explained that the police repression against the miners was first perfected by the British imperialists against the people in the British-occupied north of Ireland. Mason expanded on the link between the fight for the rights of British workers and the liberation struggle of the Irish. Workers in Britain need to oppose imperialism abroad, in Ireland, as well as at home, said Mason.

## Best response from struggling workers

BY YVONNE HAYES

The socialist presidential campaign of Mel Mason and Andrea González has gotten the best response from those working people actively involved in struggle.

This was also true during Mason's recent trip to Ireland and Britain. Irish freedom fighters and striking British coal miners gave Mason a warm reception.

In this issue of the *Militant*, Margaret Jayko reports on the lively and thoughtful discussions Mason had with miners in South Wales about their strike, the need for an alliance of workers and family farmers, the role of British imperialism in Ireland, and the role of U.S. imperialism in Central America.

Mason found a high level of interest in building solidarity with U.S. miners and other workers internationally.

In particular, coal miners in Britain were interested in establishing ties with the striking copper miners in Arizona. Mason took every opportunity to talk about the struggle against Phelps-Dodge Corp., explaining the use of the National Guard and police against the strikers and the hardship these workers face in Phelps-Dodge's company towns.

Members of the Wives Support Committee in Kent, England, were inspired to hear about the activities of the women's auxiliaries in Arizona. They sent Mason back to the United States with a photograph of their banner and instructions to send it to their sisters in Morenci, Arizona. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in Kent is in the process of organizing a collection to be sent to the Arizona copper strikers.

After a meeting for Mason in Manchester, England, one miner handed the socialist presidential candidate a five pound note. He said he didn't have much money but wanted Mason to send this to the Morenci unions as a gesture of international solidarity.

Mason told the miners in Britain he would spread the word about their strike in the United States.

The socialist candidates plan to make future tours to deepen the ties of international solidarity among working people and to speak out against Washington's wars. The \$5,000 fund that has been established to cover the costs of Mason's tour to Ireland and Britain is important to make sure that these plans can be carried out. Those who would like to contribute to this fund can send their checks to the Socialist Presidential Campaign.

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## New York

## Hear Mel Mason Socialist Workers Presidential Candidate

Mason just returned from Britain and Ireland. He walked picket lines with striking British miners and campaigned door-to-door with Irish Sinn Féin leaders. He also participated in massive protests against U.S. war in Central America and placement of nuclear missiles in Europe.

Sunday, June 24

Reception: 6:30pm

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# CIA steps up war against Nicaragua

Continued from front page

On April 6 Government Coordinator Daniel Ortega told the people of Nicaragua, "We are confronting the biggest military offensive the United States government has launched" since the 1979 revolution.

On April 12, Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge warned that the Pacific Coast population centers did not fully understand the extent of the combat and war damage in the northern and southern war zones. "We are in full-scale war," he said. The "normality" that continues on the Pacific Coast is "artificial and subsidized" by peasants who are fighting for their lives.

On May 4, in place of the normal yearly speech to the Council of State reviewing the accomplishments of the revolution, Daniel Ortega reported, with extensive facts and figures, the impact of the war. Among the most important consequences he cited were the following:

"Partial destruction of our [economy's] productive base."

An "incalculable impact" on food production.

"Great difficulties" in transporting food to the cities.

"Disruption" of city-countryside trade and commerce.

Ortega warned that food shortages in the cities would worsen, food prices would rise, and government food subsidies would have to be cut. He promised greater government intervention in food distribution to help soften the blow.

On June 1, emergency legislation authorized government control over six basic food products, with harsh penalties for speculation and hoarding.

At the same time, four of the top nine Sandinista leaders were assigned personal responsibility to oversee defense and production in the provinces most directly affected by the war.

The key coffee-producing provinces of

Matagalpa and Jinotega, where the great bulk of counterrevolutionary forces are permanently based, were assigned to Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock.

The northern provinces of Nueva Segovia and Madriz, which have been repeatedly attacked by contras based in Honduras, were assigned to Commanders Borge and Víctor Tirado.

Chontales, a south-central province where there has been consistent contra penetration from the north, south, and east, was assigned to Commander Luis Carrión, vice-minister of the interior.

## 'War of permanent attrition'

U.S. military strategy, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega told the Nicaraguan people June 5, is to carry out a war of "permanent attrition," "disrupt the economy," and undermine social and economic programs.

Here, briefly, are the major effects of this strategy as they have begun to show up in everyday life. Nicaragua's three main cash crops have been hit hard. About a fifth of this year's coffee crop was lost because it could not be picked in regions subject to continuing contra attack. Sugar and cotton yields were affected, though to a lesser degree, by the lack of hard currency to import insecticides, fertilizers, and machinery replacement.

Food production is dropping because of the mobilization of peasants for combat, evacuation of more than 30,000 farm families from the border regions, and destruction of crops.

Transportation to city markets and processing facilities of what is produced has been increasingly affected by fear of ambushes, the mining of farm-to-market roads, and a shortage of vehicles, tires, and automotive parts. Additional difficulties stem from the fact that in the last year about one-tenth of the country's grain silos and food warehouses have been destroyed.



Map of Nicaragua shows provinces and Ocotal, scene of most recent CIA-led attack. Sandinistas consider provinces of Nueva Segovia, Madriz, Matagalpa, Jinotega, Chontales, Rio San Juan, and southern Zelaya to be "zones of permanent conflict."

The disruption of food production and normal city-countryside trade has resulted in spot food shortages in the large southern cities. Basic items such as corn, beans, rice, eggs, milk, and meat are still available. But they are much harder to get. And outside government-controlled or government-influenced channels (such as private merchants working in association with the state), the prices have in some cases doubled and tripled. In Managua a 10-cent tortilla (the official price) routinely sells for 30 cents, a 30-cent liter of milk for 70 cents, a \$3.60 tin of powdered milk for \$8 to \$9.50.

## Shortages in countryside

The countryside has been affected as well. In many outlying areas processed food items — such as pasteurized milk, threshed and processed rice, or cooking oil — are no longer getting through. Even more serious, from the point of view of maintaining production, is an acute shortage of work tools and essential farm implements. The machete, the basic tool of Nicaraguan agriculture, is currently selling at \$50 apiece in farm regions to the north — more than three times the official price of \$15.

Rubber boots — essential for farm work during the five-month rainy season — are quite scarce. The few pairs available are selling for several times their normal price.

It is not difficult to imagine the political consequences of such shortages. By exploiting the existence of scarcities, the contras have succeeded in winning over some peasants and neutralizing others.

As the direction, intent, and impact of the U.S. war strategy have become clearer, the Sandinista leadership has begun to reorganize and reorient the society to confront it. The major steps, including those mentioned above, fall in five main categories.

- Improved military defense through increased mobilization, longer tours of duty, and acquisition of more sophisticated military hardware.

- Improved relations with the peasants through increased land distribution, prioritizing rural areas for social and economic investment, and priority attention to material needs.

- In the cities, increasing government control of distribution to share out more equitably the burden of shortage.

- Reassignment of top leadership to areas most affected by the war.

- Finally, increasingly blunt acknowledgement of the scope of the difficulties, coupled with a political campaign to explain their source.

As Commander Humberto Ortega told Nicaraguans June 5, the entire country must become "an immense rear-guard" in support of the troops in the field and the peasants in the war zones.

## British cops riot against striking mine workers

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

SHEFFIELD, England — National Union of Mineworkers Pres. Arthur Scargill was among 51 pickets injured June 18, at the Orgreave Coke Depot, in what the *London Times* described as "the worst violence in a British industrial dispute since the war."

Six thousand striking miners from Yorkshire, Scotland, South Wales, Northumberland, and Durham were confronted by 3,500 police, many in riot gear, on horses, or with dogs. The mass picket was the largest in the four weeks since the miners have tried to prevent the British Steel Corp. (BSC) from transporting coke from the depot to its Scunthorpe steelworks.

British miners have been on strike for almost four months in response to a government plan to close down scores of mines and lay off thousands of miners.

The first of the 93 arrests on June 18 occurred when riot police were sent into the coke depot to clear out several hundred miners who had managed to get into the back of the works from across the fields. Forced out after a ferocious police assault, this group of pickets was herded into a yard near the entrance, on the other side of the main police line. Steve Shukla, a young miner from Armthorpe colliery, in South Yorkshire, described the events where the main picket was gathered.

"We assembled facing the police ranks, with everything peaceful at first," he said. "The police brought out riot gear, later claiming this was because stones were being thrown. That's not true, they were clearly trying to intimidate us."

"As the mass of pickets pushed up against the police line, some of the police lifted their riot shields up, edge on, hitting the lads at the front in the face. Senior police officers picked out individuals, and sent in snatch squads to arrest them. This inevitably led to pickets having to defend themselves."

"Things calmed down after the first convoy of lorries came out of the depot," Shukla reported. "The main body of men drifted off to get a drink, a breakfast, or just to get out of the sun before the second convoy was due in two hours' time."

## 'We were forced to fight back'

"It was then that the police advanced their lines forward, several hundred yards, driving back the few hundred pickets who were still in the area with considerable

Continued on Page 19

## Steelworkers Under Attack

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

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

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

## Thailand's troops invade Laos

BY WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — Thai troops have crossed into Laos and are occupying three villages some 80 miles west of the capital, Vientiane, Laos' ambassador to the United Nations Kithong Vongsay told the *Militant* June 19.

The Thai invaders apparently hope to remain in the territory they seized, the ambassador added. On June 12 they forced inhabitants of the three villages to register with Thai authorities and to begin using Thai currency. Thai-language teachers have been brought in as well.

The Lao villagers have been forced at gunpoint to dig fortifications, build a helicopter landing field, and lay mine fields.

One heavily armed infantry division of the Thai army has been moved to the area to reinforce the occupation, Ambassador Vongsay stated.

Vongsay added that "since the founding of the new regime in Laos [with the 1975 victory of the Lao revolution], our people have never undergone any hostile action of such magnitude and gravity" from Thailand.

The ambassador linked the Thai attack to a broader pattern of attacks against all three

countries of Indochina — Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. All three have forged close ties in the course of a three-decades-long common struggle against French colonialism and U.S. imperialism.

Vongsay also reported that Chinese troops shelled Luang Namtha Province in Laos on May 5, 9, and 23 and are now massed along the Chinese-Laotian border.

"Peking," Vongsay stated, is acting "in collusion with the extreme right-wing reactionaries of the Thai ruling circles and U.S. imperialists."

With the Thai attack on Laos, Vongsay pointed out, all the outside borders of the three Indochinese countries are now under attack. Peking is shelling the northern borders of Vietnam and Laos. Bangkok harbors right-wing guerrillas operating against Kampuchea from the Thailand-Kampuchea border. And now Thai troops have entered Laos.

Ambassador Vongsay expressed the hope that the current problem with Thailand can be settled peacefully. But he added that the Laotian government can call on the help of Vietnam under the terms of the July 1977 treaty of peace, friendship, and cooperation between the two countries.

# Nicaragua: firsthand report from war zone

Following the June 1 assault on the northern city of Ocotal by 500-600 counterrevolutionaries, a team of *Militant* reporters headed 140 miles north from Managua to talk to residents there.

How was it possible, we wondered, for the *contras* to attack a city of 20,000 from three directions when there is a Sandinista military base 100 yards outside the town?

Once the attack began, how did the rightists manage to send squads into the heart of town, destroying the radio station, lumber mill, coffee factory, grain silos, and in the process killing 14 (7 civilians and 7 soldiers)?

And, following the devastation of the attacks, how was normal life restored so quickly?

Walking around town, we interviewed a dozen people at random in the street and a similar number of revolutionary activists and prorevolution government employees.

BY JANE HARRIS

OCOTAL, Nicaragua — "What were you doing when the attack began," the *Militant* asked a dozen people at random in the street and inside the charred remains of the lumber mill.

"Were you able to participate in the defense effort?"

The civilians we talked with replied that (1) they were asleep, and (2) they hit the floor.

That was a logical response, given that the attack began about 4 a.m. and largely caught the town off guard. Civilians who may have wanted to help out in the defense, as well as militia men and women, were dispersed in their homes until the attack was well under way. Coming out into the streets in a disorganized fashion, with bullets and mortar shells flying everywhere, was naturally quite risky.

However, most contra attacks begin around 4 a.m. (just before dawn). Despite this well-established pattern, it remains a fact that Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) leaders virtually have to pull teeth to get volunteers to carry out night watch until dawn. (Agreeing to do so means going to work once a week with little or no sleep.)

And here in Ocotal, it is even harder to convince people of the necessity for all-night vigilance, one Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) member told us. The 1978-79 revolutionary war that overthrew ex-dictator Somoza bypassed this town, and the population never witnessed or took part in the insurrection.

To make things even more difficult for the town, the military base was nearly empty. Most of the troops in the area were already on combat missions in the surrounding Segovia Mountains.



## 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.

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



Militia members in Ocotal, Nicaragua, after beating back devastating military assault on town. *Militant* reporting team learned that much of population does not participate in regular defense activities.

After a six-hour battle, local defense squads — backed up by reinforcements from a special Sandinista army battalion and air support — drove the *contras* out of town and forced them north toward Honduras. Some 200 *contras* were killed or wounded during the fighting and subsequent retreat.

Yet many people here wonder out loud how it could have been possible for 500 *contras* to surround and enter Ocotal unnoticed.

"We know they have a network and that some have been here for days," one resident told us. She added, one contra, who was later dragged out of the radio station, "was seen entering the movie theater the night before!"

The *Militant* attended a small Thursday evening "Prayer for Peace" service.

Of the 15 adults and 15 children present, two peasants in particular shed light — in the course of their prayer — on aspects of the social and political situation faced by the local population.

A 50-year-old peasant woman from the nearby town of San Juan de Rio Coco began, "I am a peasant and I am afraid.

Many *campesinos'* lives are ruined. They cannot work their land. I came here out of fear. I left the few things I had. There are no people there," she said, referring to her home town.

"I cannot find a single Christian soul there," she lamented, and then went on to describe how fertile the land was for corn, coffee, and beans that used to be grown there.

Seventy-two-year-old Don Santos, a retired peasant who recently learned to read and is active in church affairs, rose to speak. He countered, from his own point of view, three of the main themes of counterrevolutionary propaganda — anticommunism, and opposition to atheism and Cuba.

"What we have in Nicaragua isn't communism or anything bad," he began. "Well, maybe we do have socialism," he said. "But it's a Christian socialism here in Nicaragua."

Don Santos moved on quickly to denounce "those who call themselves Christians" but help the *contras* and added, "The Cubans say they are atheists, but here they are helping us — building schools and hos-

pitals and carrying out God's work."

"How are Don Santos' ideas received in the community?" the *Militant* later asked the nun presiding over the service.

"Well," she said, "he has come under a lot of criticism" for his revolutionary views.

The *Militant* visited the intercity bus station to find out if the attack had motivated some townspeople to move south.

We met FSLN member Mario Ramos leaning on folded bed springs. It turned out he himself wasn't leaving, but was helping a woman who was. Ramos explained to us that while no large numbers of people had left, there was a certain pattern of peasants moving down from the still more northern border area to Ocotal. Now that Ocotal has been attacked, he said, some may move south toward Estelí.

Ramos himself had worked in Ocotal as a dance teacher for the Ministry of Culture. But he explained, the FSLN had asked him to work for the Social Welfare Institute. "This is a necessary move," he added, explaining that all resources must be directed toward defense and support of the soldiers and their families.

One CDS member expressed concern that the lessons of the attacks are being absorbed slowly. She said that attendance at a CDS meeting following the attack wasn't substantially bigger than before and there were still problems getting enough volunteers for night watch. "Why, even when I went out to [the fire bombed grain silos] to sort out grains that could be salvaged," she said, "there was hardly anybody else helping."

The day before the *Militant* arrived, we learned, there had been a political meeting in the town's square organized by the Sandinista Youth and the Sandinista Children's Association.

Augustín Lara, the political secretary of the FSLN in this region, warned the crowd, "Next time they [the *contras*] will attack with 1,000 men, and we will defeat that attack. And after that, they'll attack with air support."

Commenting on what she considered to be a well-grounded prediction, a U.S. nun who has lived in the town for several years said, "He's never lied to us. He's always told us the truth."

## Visit to radio station demolished by CIA-paid counterrevolutionaries

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

OCOTAL, Nicaragua — Some Sandinista activists here have nicknamed Radio Segovia "La Indestructible" — the indestructible one. Less than 24 hours after the building that housed the radio station was totally gutted in a June 1 raid by CIA-trained counterrevolutionaries, the station was broadcasting again.

"When the radio station came back on the air, people thought it wasn't really the radio station, but rather recordings of old broadcasts," said broadcasting engineer Ramón Gutiérrez in an interview with the *Militant* at the new Radio Segovia building.

"When people confirmed it was really the radio station," he added, "there was tremendous joy. It helped to boost the morale both of the fighters and of our people as a whole."

The CIA-trained commandos (*contras*) did succeed in destroying the physical facilities of the station. A visit to the building where it was housed shows an empty shell, with the roof totally burned away, walls covered with soot from the fire, wires dangling at crazy angles from the wall. Empty cartridges from weapons used by the *contras*, with NATO markings on them, still littered the floor.

At first sight the new Radio Segovia building seems little better. Naked bulbs hanging from wires taped to the ceiling provide light. The broadcast studio is a room facing an open courtyard where construction of the permanent studio is rapidly proceeding.

"People complain about the racket in the background during my program," said employee Arlette Saenz. Permanent wiring is being installed by electricians working

with black light in different parts of the building. Final hookup and testing can only be done between 11 p.m. and 4 a.m. when the station is off the air.

On a desk in the hallway two workers were playing old 45 rpm records on a children's toy phonograph. "We have to make sure they aren't scratched," one explained.

The fate of Radio Segovia is instructive. Counterrevolutionaries were able to penetrate to the very center of town, totally undetected, and destroy this station and several other important economic installations.

"Radio Segovia was their main target," said the station's director Ramón Peralta.

"But in less than 24 hours — at 3:20 a.m. — we were broadcasting again. People couldn't believe it."

Peralta told the *Militant* that Radio Segovia is the only Nicaraguan station that can be heard in this town and in areas to the north that are the scene of constant fighting between Sandinista troops and CIA-backed *contras*.

The radio station was rapidly restored because authorities in Managua, conscious of the political impact of this blow, rushed technicians and equipment to Ocotal.

Working around the clock with the station's 18 employees, they were able to resume broadcasting. Radio Segovia was not the only service restored rapidly following the attack. Although the *contras* had cut the cables and destroyed the local offices of the power company, electricity was quickly restored.

A visit to a lumber mill, whose large cutting and sanding equipment was heavily damaged, showed clean-up activities proceeding. Workers were confident that the

revolutionary government would somehow find the resources and that the mill would resume full operation soon.

Among revolutionary activists here, the attack has led them "to hook up their batteries and charge them up high," as one woman put it. The woman, a secretary and receptionist at the offices of the farmers association UNAG, explained that steps were being taken at this and other work places to strengthen revolutionary vigilance. Such measures were evident at Radio Segovia also, but not at other places the *Militant* visited.

A heightened concern about vigilance among the most conscious layer of the population was also evident on a walk across town. A couple of times this reporter saw teenagers with a pile of books under one arm, and an AK-47 assault rifle slung over their other shoulder.

Walking back to my hotel at 12 noon on the main highway, this reporter was stopped by one such young man and asked if he needed help. The man was very polite. It was also very clear that he was very curious as to who I was and where I was going.

He was a 16-year-old student at a teaching school only a couple of dozen yards from the highway. Since education is a special target of the *contras*, he explained, the students do regular watches 24 hours a day at several posts around the school. He pointed to some approaches through which the school might be attacked and the kinds of defensive measures one would take to meet such dangers. It was clear he had a working knowledge of what he was talking about. Yet, this was an exceptional incident during a two-day visit by four reporters.

# Behind struggle of Sikh rebels in Punjab

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The fierce struggle in India's Punjab state — which climaxed with the June 5-6 army assault on the Golden Temple in Amritsar and the massacre of Sikh rebels — is symptomatic of the class, national, and religious conflicts that are woven into the social and political fabric of the entire country.

Whether in Punjab, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, or elsewhere, India's more than 700 million people suffer from imperialist domination and oppression.

This has meant continued poverty for the vast majority. Unemployment and underemployment are rampant. Millions of Indians are homeless. Disease and hunger are widespread. About 40 percent of all Indians live on less than \$7.50 a month.

Side by side with this endemic misery and squalor exists a small class of wealthy capitalist businessmen in the cities and the countryside. They are often allied with big landlord interests, and look to imperialism for support.

Intertwined with these class divisions are those of nationality, religion, and caste. India itself was a creation of British colonial rule, which brought together numerous nationalities and language groupings. The British sought to heighten these national and religious divisions as part of a conscious policy of divide and rule. Among the Hindus — who are further divided by a hierarchical caste system — the colonialists also reinforced the domination of the upper castes. Although the masses of Indians succeeded in uniting to drive out British colonialism, India today still suffers from that colonial legacy, a legacy that is kept alive by continued imperialist domination.

## Class divisions

The class divisions fostered by the growth of capitalism in India, however, cut across all the main nationalities and religions. Urban workers and landless and poor peasants have frequently been impelled into struggle against their exploiters — capitalists, moneylenders, and big landlords — whether they speak Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, or Bengali or whether they adhere to Hinduism, Islam, or Sikhism.

## Some facts about India

BY STEVE CRAINE

India — the second most populous country in the world, with over 730 million people — is divided along religious, national, and linguistic, as well as class, lines. These divisions constitute the background for much of India's history and current politics.

The Hindu religion is followed by about 83 percent of the population, and another 11 percent are Muslims. Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, and others make up the remaining 6 percent of the people, but in some areas, like Punjab, these smaller religions represent important forces.

The languages spoken in India fall into 15 major groups, but as many as 1,600 distinct "mother tongues" have been identified, most of them members of one or another of the major groups. The official language of the entire country is Hindi, although only about 30 percent of the people speak it, and for many of these Indians, it is a second language.

India was once a direct colony of Britain. In the middle of the last century, British imperialism fought wars against the Burmese, the Sikhs of Punjab, the Afghans, and the Sinds and suppressed numerous revolts to expand and protect its commercial interests in the entire subcontinent.

When, after decades of hard-fought struggle, the mass independence movement forced the British to relinquish direct

control in 1947, India was partitioned into the majority-Hindu state of India and the Muslim state of Pakistan. More than 15 million refugees were displaced, about half crossing the borders in each direction. Hundreds of thousands died in communal clashes. In 1971 Pakistan was further divided when an independence movement of the oppressed Bengali people in East Pakistan led to the formation of Bangladesh.

Despite its vast size and fertile land, India is a very poor country. The total annual production of the country is less than that of Australia, which has one-fiftieth as many people. This amounts to only about \$260 for each Indian, and it is by no means evenly distributed. Illiteracy runs as high as 64 percent, and life expectancy is a mere 54 years.

Most of the population lives off the land. Seventy percent of the work force is engaged in agriculture, and 80 percent of the people live in more than 500,000 villages, with only 20 percent in about 200 towns and cities.

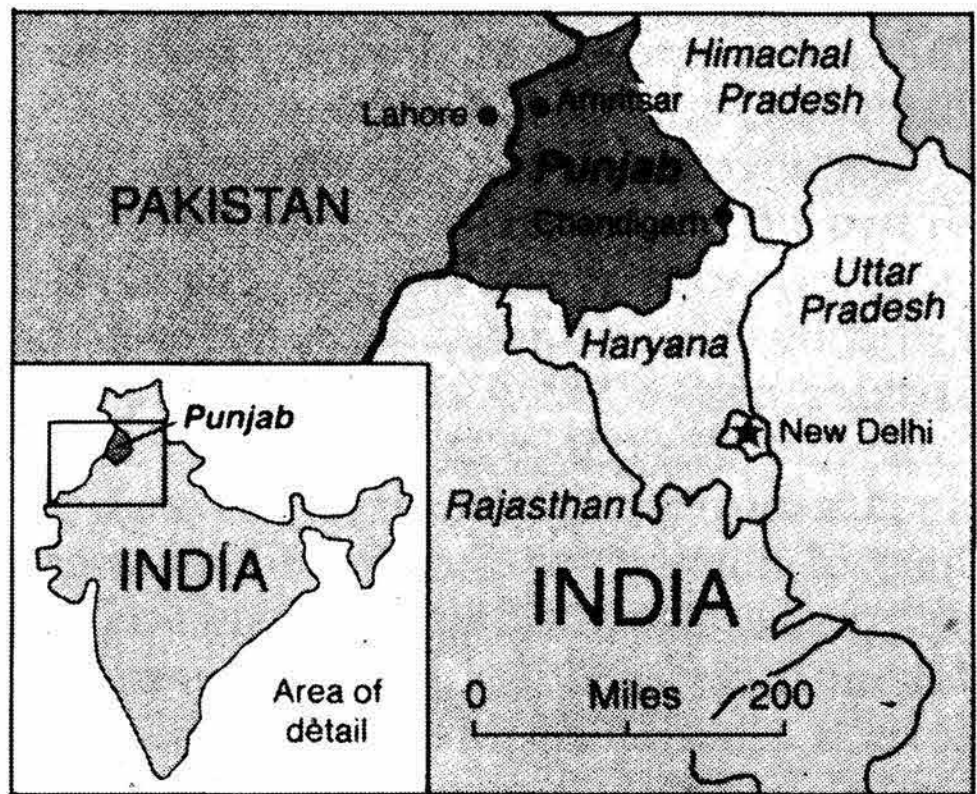
Although formally independent for 37 years, India is still oppressed by the heritage of British colonialism and is exploited as a neocolony of Britain, the United States, and other imperialist powers, which continue to siphon off much of the potential wealth of the country and frustrate the efforts of the people to determine their own destiny.

But because working people in India lack a revolutionary leadership, some of the underlying class antagonisms have taken distorted forms. Some have been reflected through conflicts around nationality or religion. In a few cases, this has taken a reactionary direction, such as the May clashes in Bombay between Muslims and Hindus, in which hundreds died.

The ruling class represented by its central government attempts to present itself as above such conflicts. But in fact the government fuels national and religious divisions as a way to divert working people from challenging its rule.

## Development of Punjab

On the surface, the conflict in Punjab may appear to be primarily around the religious and national demands of the Sikhs. That is the way it has invariably been portrayed in the capitalist news media. But be-



hind it lie powerful class forces and conflicts.

Before India gained its independence in 1947, Punjab was originally a larger state. After independence, Punjab was divided — with the primarily Muslim section becoming part of the newly created nation of Pakistan.

The Indian Punjab was majority Hindu (most of whom were Hindi-speakers) and minority Sikh (who spoke Punjabi). The Akali Dal, a Sikh party formed in 1920 that became a party of the Sikh big landowners and agricultural capitalists, launched a campaign for a predominantly Punjabi-speaking state. That demand was granted in 1966, when the Hindi-speaking areas were separated to form the state of Haryana. The two states, however, shared the capital, Chandigarh.

The new state of Punjab had a majority of Sikhs. According to the official census, this has now been reduced to a bare majority of 52 percent as a result of an influx of Hindu workers from other states. Yet the Sikh majority is in fact larger, since many of those who belong to the so-called untouchable caste (25 percent of the state's total population) consider themselves Sikhs, rather than Hindus as they are listed in the census figures. There are no castes in the Sikh religion.

## Capitalist agriculture

Compared to other Indian states, capitalist agriculture in Punjab is quite advanced. Some 85 percent of farmland in the state is irrigated, compared to the national average of 26 percent. Electricity is available in more of the countryside than in other states. Over the past few decades, Punjab has become India's main wheat-producing state, accounting for some 60 percent of the country's total wheat production. Although Punjab is not a key industrial center (like Maharashtra or Gujarat), some industry has developed.

Class inequalities are glaring. About 20 percent of the population (known as Jats) control 60 percent of the land. Some 70 percent of these prosperous Jat landowners are Sikh and 30 percent are Hindu.

The majority of the rural population, however, are poor Sikh peasants or landless Sikh and Hindu agricultural laborers. As Punjab's so-called green revolution developed, more and more small Sikh peasants lost their land or were driven to the edge of destitution. It was the big capitalist farmers who benefited.

Meanwhile, most commercial enterprises, industries, and urban property are owned by Hindus. Hindus also comprise the bulk of shopkeepers and moneylenders in the countryside.

These various classes have different — and often conflicting — material interests to defend. The basic conflicts are between the capitalists and big landowners on one side and the poor peasants and urban and rural workers on the other. Sikhs and Hindus are found on both sides.

## Akali Dal

The two main capitalist parties in Punjab are the Akali Dal and the Congress Party. While some Sikh big landowners support the Congress Party, most have historically backed the Akali Dal. Seeking to present an image as the party of all Sikhs, the Akali

Dal, until recently, also had the allegiance of most Sikh peasants.

In October 1973, the Akali Dal, which was then the main parliamentary opposition party in Punjab, formulated a series of demands against the local and federal Congress Party governments, seeking holy-city status for Amritsar, greater state powers for Punjab, the scrapping of an article of the Indian constitution referring to the Sikh religion as an offshoot of Hinduism, and greater access to the waters of several rivers. It did not, however, launch any major actions around these demands.

In 1977, during countrywide elections that swept the Congress Party from power on the federal level, the Akali Dal formed a new government in Punjab. The party's leader at the time, Prakash Singh Badal, became agriculture minister in the new federal government, which was run by the Janata Party, a national coalition of bourgeois parties opposed to the Congress Party. Many Janata Party leaders had been arrested by Gandhi during the 1975-77 state of emergency and presented themselves as supporters of the popular will. But it soon became clear that they were establishing closer ties with U.S. imperialism. And they smashed many struggles by workers and peasants seeking to improve their situations.

In 1980, however, Indira Gandhi's Congress Party was again voted into office, at the federal level in New Delhi and in Punjab itself. The return of India's dominant ruling-class party to power was not a reflection of newly gained popularity. It only showed that working people had become fed up with the bourgeois opposition, and had no mass working-class party as an alternative.

Thus agitation continued unabated across India soon after Gandhi's return to power. The bourgeois opposition parties attempted to capture some of these struggles to use them as weapons against the Congress Party.

Following the Akali Dal's electoral defeat in Punjab, it began to organize protest actions around the demands it had previously formulated, including the demand that Chandigarh become the capital of Punjab alone.

## Farmers' grievances

The Akali Dal's campaign also reflected some of the particular grievances of Sikh farmers, especially those of the large capitalist farmers, who wanted the central government to set higher prices for their produce and chafed at the Hindu industrialists' increasing use of the state's water resources. In early May 1984, for example, the large Sikh and Hindu Jat farmers carried out a week-long grain "strike," during which they halted wheat deliveries to the markets and public distribution points, to back their demands for higher wheat prices.

But in the context of growing class polarization in Punjab — as elsewhere in India — the landless and poor peasants and agricultural workers began to go into action around their own grievances. Sikh students, who have become increasingly embittered over their declining employment prospects, also saw an opportunity to protest.

Since there was no mass party in Punjab

that offered a clear political perspective for the workers, exploited farmers, and other radicalized layers, their protests against the capitalist government in New Delhi and against the local ruling classes were reflected through religious demands, including some of those raised by the Akali Dal. But as the movement became more massive, it escaped the control of the official Akali Dal leadership.

#### Bhindranwale

Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a previously obscure Sikh religious figure, was soon thrust into the leadership of this protest movement. Though he offered no clear program, his militant stance toward the Gandhi regime and toward local government officials, businessmen, and big landlords won him considerable support among the poorer classes of the Sikh population.

According to a report in the June 12 *New York Times*, "Mr. Bhindranwale's tirades included occasional barbed attacks on major Sikh landowners, who have prospered the most from Punjab's Green Revolution."

Bhindranwale also called for a "purification" of the Sikh religion, against what he and many other Sikhs saw as the corrupting influences of the wealthier Sikhs, who often tended to adopt the dress and customs



Sikh rebels on top of Golden Temple in Amritsar prior to massacre carried out by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's army

of North America and Western Europe.

As in the Iranian revolution, where anti-imperialism was often expressed in Islamic terms during protests against the shah, Bhindranwale's Sikh revivalism also had an anti-imperialist aspect to it. This parallel was a conscious one among Bhindranwale and some of his followers. When asked by reporters if he objected to comparisons with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in Iran, Bhindranwale replied, "What is the fault in that?" A Sikh student leader told a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, "We are not so unlike the forces behind the Iranian people's revolution."

Although Bhindranwale did not officially advance the demand for a separate Sikh state — called Khalistan — some of his supporters did, as did other Sikh currents that sprang up in the course of the upsurge.

Beginning in late 1981, the Sikh protests began to take on an armed character. Armed fighters, many of them young sup-

porters of Bhindranwale, clashed with police and carried out numerous attacks on railway stations, government offices, and prominent government, police, and business figures, both Sikh and Hindu.

The Gandhi regime denounced this as "terrorism." But these armed activists clearly had widespread support and sympathy. A report from Amritsar in the January 5 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that few Sikh fighters had been captured because "they have merged with the people, who have more than passive sympathy for their cause."

The bourgeois leadership of the Akali Dal was alarmed by this course of events. Its following declined as more and more Sikhs began to look toward the kind of militant action that Bhindranwale and his supporters advocated. Open splits developed within the party.

The official Akali Dal leadership around Harchand Singh Longowal made repeated attempts to call a halt to the protests and to arrange a negotiated settlement with the

Gandhi regime. Pamphlets in Longowal's name condemned the armed actions and branded Bhindranwale's supporters as "barking dogs."

According to a report in the February 11 *London Economist*, Longowal was "said to have been in secret contact with Mrs. Gandhi about a possible deal whereby he would support a crackdown on the Sikh extremists and she would concede his political demands."

#### Gandhi's 'lesson'

But Gandhi was not interested in negotiating an agreement with the Akali Dal. In the context of a mass upsurge, to concede on any of the Sikh demands would very likely have only encouraged the protesters to press further. The Akali Dal, moreover, was no longer in a position to help bring the situation in Punjab back under control.

Many bourgeois commentators in India

Continued on Page 16

## Indian government massacres Sikh rebels

#### Continued from front page

claimed just a few days before the assault on the Golden Temple.

Similar accusations and portrayals were featured in the imperialist news media abroad. An editorial in the June 9 *London Economist*, for example, called the Golden Temple — the Sikhs' holiest shrine — a "command-centre of carnage," and referred to Bhindranwale's followers as a "gang of cold-blooded killers" who operated "holy hit-squads."

The movement in Punjab did raise demands for recognition of Sikhism as an independent religion and for greater political autonomy for Sikhs. This flowed from what most Sikhs see as religious discrimination against them by the Hindu-dominated central government in New Delhi. But the movement also reflected social and economic grievances — a fact that has been generally obscured in the capitalist news media.

The Sikhs, who are a majority of the population in Punjab, are predominantly peasants. Like other peasants throughout India, they are adversely affected by the country's economic stagnation and poverty and the government's austerity drive. During the course of the upsurge in Punjab, their discontent has been expressed against the agricultural policies of the central government, against local Hindu industrialists and officials, and against big Sikh landlords. Some of this opposition has taken on an armed character.

#### A calculated massacre

When Gandhi first declared virtual martial law in Punjab on June 2, sending in Indian army units and imposing a round-the-clock shoot-on-sight curfew, she also ordered all foreign journalists out of the state. Only Indian journalists — who are subject to far greater press restrictions — were allowed to remain. This press blackout was an important part of the preparations for the assault, and subsequent massacre, at the Golden Temple.

Following the fighting at the temple compound on June 5-6, the Gandhi regime issued various accounts of what happened, in general seeking to minimize the number of casualties. Lt. Gen. Ranjit Singh Dayal, the commander of the army force in Pun-

jab, at first put the number of Sikhs killed at about 260 — itself a rather large number.

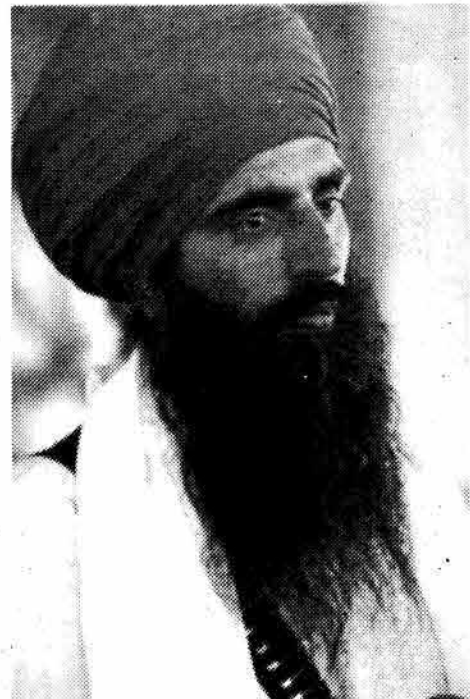
But within days it became clear that the massacre was of much greater proportions.

A June 10 Associated Press dispatch from Amritsar reported that "army and police sources said bodies were still being removed from the holy lake surrounding the 17th-century shrine and up to 50 bodies at a time were being cremated because there was not enough wood for individual funeral pyres."

"The sources said that so far, 780 bodies had been cremated after being taken from the temple compound in garbage trucks."

A day later, official sources told the same news agency that at least 1,000 people had died in the assault, including 825 Sikh rebels. The final death toll, they said, could reach as high as 2,000.

The government's efforts to portray all



Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Sikh religious leader who was killed in Golden Temple complex. His militant stance toward Gandhi regime and local capitalists and big landlords won him support among poorer classes of Sikhs.

of those who died in the temple compound as fanatical terrorists who fought to the death have also begun to unravel. According to a report in the June 18 *Indian Express*, about 150 of those killed were Sikh pilgrims who were caught in the temple at the time of the attack.

A June 13 Associated Press dispatch reported:

"A doctor and a police official said today that army troops shot several captive Sikhs at point-blank range here last week after tying their hands behind their backs."

"Two of the Sikhs whose post-mortem examinations I conducted had their hands tied at the back," said the doctor, a Sikh who normally works in a Government hospital in nearby Jullundur.

"Some of my other colleagues conducting post-mortems also came across young Sikhs who had been shot this way," the doctor said.

While the extent of the bloodbath in Amritsar itself is beginning to come out, little is yet known about what is happening in the rest of the state. The same day that the Golden Temple was stormed, army units attacked Sikh activists in 38 other temples and shrines throughout the Punjab. But no figures on casualties in those assaults have been released.

Moreover, a few days after the June 6 massacres, the second phase of "Operation Punjab" — as the army calls it — got under way, with army units sweeping through Punjab's fertile farming areas to hunt down suspected "terrorists." One senior army officer told a reporter that 5,000 such "terrorists" were still at large and that the army campaign could take the rest of the year.

Thus, under the guise of fighting so-called terrorism, the army has been given free rein to gun down peasant activists and anyone else in the state who might seek to challenge the Gandhi regime's authority.

#### Imperialists cheer

All the major bourgeois opposition parties in India hailed Gandhi's crackdown, some of them even criticizing her for waiting so long.

The imperialist news media has taken a similar stance. An editorial in the June 8 *New York Times*, while noting the risks entailed in the attack on the Golden Temple,

nevertheless commended Gandhi's action as an effort to prevent a possible disintegration of the Indian state. "It is the danger of India unraveling that earns Mrs. Gandhi the benefit of the doubt," it said.

An editorial in the June 9 *Washington Post* made the same point: "Given India's great size, strategic importance and democratic bent, the United States has an immense stake in its success in holding the Asian subcontinent together."

An article in the same day's issue of the *London Economist* was headlined, "India does what it had to do."

#### Widespread Sikh protests

On the other hand, Sikhs throughout India responded to the massacre and the attack on the Golden Temple with spontaneous and angry demonstrations in the days immediately following the raid.

In New Delhi and other cities, Sikh youths took to the streets and battled with police. In Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, nine Sikh protesters were killed by police, while in the Kashmiri town of Poonch a crowd of demonstrators stormed the state bank of India. In Jaipur, Sikhs closed shops and observed a fast to protest the attack. In Calcutta, shops were also shut down and a two-day strike was called. In the Punjabi town of Ludhiana, demonstrators tried to stage a march, but were broken up by police.

On June 17 a new wave of Sikh protests broke out in Delhi, Punjab, and five other states.

Large demonstrations were also held by Sikh communities in the United States, Canada, Britain, and other countries.

The extent of Sikh outrage over Gandhi's crackdown was also reflected in spontaneous and uncoordinated mutinies by an estimated 5,000 Sikh troops in the Indian army at bases in nine states. The rebel troops at the Ramgarh base in Bihar killed their commanding officer.

Sikh officers, who are drawn from the wealthier strata of Sikh society, remained loyal to the government. It was primarily young rank-and-file recruits who rebelled. They are largely from the same landless and poor peasant classes in Punjab that form the backbone of the protest movement.

# How health care is being revived in Kampuchea

BY DIANE WANG

The January 7 Hospital in Phnom Penh, Kampuchea, is named for that day in 1979 when Kampuchea finally drove out the murderous Pol Pot regime. The hospital had been a private institution in the 1960s, before Pol Pot took power. It was reopened free to the public in February 1979.

"When people first reentered the hospital, they found nothing but garbage, refuse, and excrement everywhere," Dr. Sau Sok Khonn told the *Militant*. "Equipment and medicines had been destroyed. There were not even any beds."

Dr. Khonn, who is now director of the hospital, returned to Phnom Penh from a forced-labor agricultural camp in Takeo province. He was one of about 50 medical doctors in Kampuchea who survived the Pol Pot brutality.

## Mortality rate down

In the first year of operation, the hospital had a mortality rate of 14 percent to 15 percent, Dr. Khonn said. "Many people passed through Phnom Penh as they wandered across the country fleeing the famine or in search of their homes. Many collapsed on their arrival at the hospital and died before we could help them," he recalled.

By contrast, the hospital has now brought its mortality rate down to about 4 percent.

While in 1979 most children born here weighed less than 6.6 pounds, most now weigh more. The number of births at the hospital has jumped from 90 per month four years ago to 150 each month now.

Today this is the largest of eight hospitals in Phnom Penh, in terms of beds. While the hospital began operation in 1979 with 50 beds, it now has 500. The staff is 10 times its 1979 size. The hospital is equipped to do major and minor surgery and deals with all kinds of medical needs.

Of course, in this desperately poor country, the hospital has severe shortages of medicines and personnel. A chalkboard next to the pharmacy office lists the few medicines currently in stock. The U.S.-organized economic blockade of Kampuchea makes it difficult to obtain supplies.

Some medicines are smuggled over the Thai border despite the blockade and are available in Phnom Penh's markets. But the government has few funds to buy drugs for the hospitals.

Of the 16 Khmer doctors on staff, only three were experienced before Pol Pot came to power. The others have been



Woman holding her malnourished child in regional hospital in Kompong Chhnang. Legacy of U.S. war and Pol Pot regime still causes great suffering for Kampucheans.

trained since the 1979 liberation.

International aid helps fill in the gap. There are 18 doctors, dentists, and nurses from Cuba working here; two Vietnamese, one a surgeon and the other an obstetrician; and a French doctor.

The January 7 Hospital's progress and problems are fairly typical of Kampuchea's medical care today.

## Improved day by day

"The health-care network, from the central administration to the localities, has improved day by day," Kampuchea's Minister of Health Yit Kim Seng told the *Militant*. As evidence, Dr. Seng cited a number of achievements:

- Every province now has at least one hospital with 100 to 400 beds. Over the last five years 36 provincial and district hospitals have been opened.

- There is now one bed for every 675 people in Kampuchea, far more than during the Pol Pot, Lon Nol, or Sihanouk regimes in earlier days.

In comparison, Thailand has one bed for every 690 people, the Philippines has one for every 714. Although these countries, allies of U.S. imperialism, have far more resources and drugs, Kampuchea has already surpassed them in making what medical care exists available to its entire population.

- Four times as many visits to doctors took place last year than in 1979.

- Infant mortality, which was at 77 per 1,000 in 1981, was lowered to 63 per 1,000 in 1982. This compares with an infant mortality rate of 62 per 1,000 in the Philippines.

- Kampuchea now has three pharmaceutical factories producing medicines. However, Dr. Seng added, these three factories cannot yet produce adequate supplies for the country's needs. The machines are from capitalist countries, so it is difficult to obtain spare parts. Kampuchea's chronic shortages of raw materials, electricity, and technicians handicap production.

- Kampuchea has twice as many health-care personnel today as in 1979. "We opened the door wide to receive educated people, all kinds of specialists to build the country," Dr. Seng said.

The medical school, reopened one year after liberation from Pol Pot, also has helped deal with the shortage of trained health-care workers.

## Training, research, and service center

Dr. My Samedy, dean of the medical school as well as head of Kampuchea's Red Cross, and Dr. Seng Lom Neou, head of the pharmacology department, showed us the school's facilities.

The 14 classrooms were crowded. The 1,020 students (275 of them women) attend class in shifts.

The library has been built back up to 1,000 books. The 7,000-volume library that the school once had was completely destroyed under Pol Pot, along with all the microscopes and laboratory equipment.

All of the school's equipment, professors, and students do double service, not only training medical personnel, but taking care of immediate health-care needs.

The laboratories, which were donated by various international agencies and workers states, are used not only for classes. Students do laboratory work for Phnom Penh's hospitals.

Passing through classrooms, Dr. Samedy introduced the professors. One was the chief at the pediatric hospital, another a leading surgeon. The entire staff and student body at the medical school work part-time in local and provincial hospitals.

The pharmacology department is the country's research center. It is attempting to isolate the active ingredients from traditional herbal medicines known to be effective so that drugs can be produced more



Militant photos by Diane Wang

Medical students at Phnom Penh, Kampuchea, medical school. Only 50 doctors remained alive in Kampuchea at time of overthrow of hated Pol Pot regime. Since then, 510 new doctors and medical personnel have been trained.

cheaply and efficiently in the local factories.

Dr. Samedy explained that before Pol Pot came to power in 1975 there were 500 doctors and 3,500 medical students in Kampuchea. Of these only about 50 doctors and 720 students survived.

Since 1980 the school has graduated 150 doctors, 143 pharmacologists, 13 dentists, and 204 medical assistants.

Those training to become doctors study for seven years. In order to meet pressing, immediate needs, a shorter, four-year course prepares medical assistants. Some of these will later complete the schooling to become doctors. In addition, there is an 18-month course to prepare health aides who help deliver primary health care in rural areas.

## 130 beds for 160 patients

Many graduating from the medical school go out to staff the provincial hospitals. The hospital at Kompong Chhnang that we visited may be typical.

This hospital has 130 beds for its 160 patients. Many children share beds; some adults are put on mats on the floor.

The staff has two doctors, two pharmacists, and four medical assistants, plus midwives and nurses. The Swedish Red Cross sends in a doctor, a pediatrician, and a nurse for three-month periods. Students from the medical school rotate through here for two months of on-the-job experience.

At this one provincial hospital alone, 8 of the 15 patients on the amputee ward had lost hands or legs when they came across unexploded bombs in their fields. From 1970 to 1975 the United States dropped a half-million tons of bombs on this small country. Peasants sometimes trigger the undetonated bombs while plowing or tending water buffalo.

The other commonly treated diseases here include dysentery, diarrhea, and malaria. On the children's ward there were victims of measles, meningitis, and malnutrition.

## Recovering from famine years

Although Kampuchea has made good progress in recovering from the famine of 1979-80, malnutrition is still a serious threat. Dr. Ang Saroun, one of the first women doctors in Kampuchea and director of the government's Department for the Protection of Mothers and Infants, described the problem.

Dr. Saroun explained that there were few records kept during the famine. In the months following liberation the immediate task was to save as many people as possible, not keep records. In addition, Pol Pot had destroyed most of the records from previous regimes.

However, Dr. Saroun estimated that in 1979-80 some 40 percent of the women gave birth to children weighing only 5.5 pounds.

In 1982 UNICEF specialists helped conduct a study. They found that 25 percent of the children from ages 6 to 35 months suffered malnutrition. Of these, some 6 percent suffered serious malnutrition. "The malnutrition of the 1975-81 period has stunted the lives of an entire generation of children," Dr. Saroun said.

Along with malnutrition, Kampuchea has battled a number of epidemics that raged through the country. Cholera has finally been brought under control, Health Minister Seng told us. However, there are ongoing campaigns against tuberculosis and malaria.

Tuberculosis was a widespread problem because people were so weakened by the famine and the years of forced labor under Pol Pot. About one out of every 200 people was affected by the disease at the time of liberation.

In 1982 165,700 children were vaccinated against the disease. Today there is a special hospital in Phnom Penh for tuberculosis patients, and travelling teams do health screening to try to find patients who need treatment.

Malaria has always been a problem in Kampuchea and today is an especially serious problem along the Thai border and the southeast border.

The shortage of mosquito nets is a big obstacle to solving the problem. The government has been cooperating with Vietnam in particular to get medicines and pesticides to spray mosquito-breeding areas.

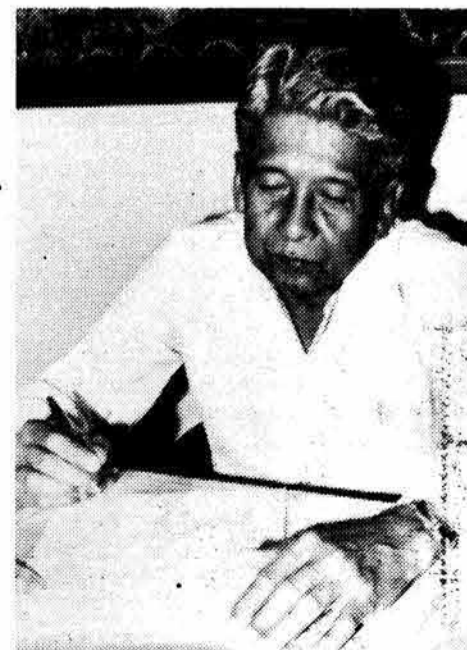
The campaigns against these epidemic diseases, as well as against diarrhea, dysentery, and last year's outbreak of hemorrhagic (dengue) fever all depend a great deal on sanitation and public health education, Dr. Seng said.

The Ministry of Health is promoting a sanitation campaign to teach people to boil water before using it, to cover themselves with mosquito nets at night, and to keep living areas clean.

The ministry is working with provinces to encourage the construction of model villages. These models will have sanitary toilets and wells to provide safe drinking water.

They are one of the ministry's priorities for the coming year. The other goals include promoting disease prevention, increasing medicine production, and developing hospitals and dispensaries to improve their efficiency and quality.

Diane Wang, correspondent for the *Militant*, and Steve Clark, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, visited Kampuchea for 10 days last March.



Dr. Yit Kim Seng, minister of health.

# González urges support for Arizona miners

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

PHOENIX — The arrival here of Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, sparked considerable interest from the media when she announced she would visit striking copper miners in Clifton and Morenci, Arizona. Reporters came to her news conference from two television stations, several radio stations, the *Arizona Republic*, *Scottsdale Progress*, and the *Final Call*, a publication of the Nation of Islam.

González's tour here coincided with new attacks by Phelps Dodge Corp. on the 13 striking unions of the copper miners, who have been out since last July 1. Just as González arrived, the company announced a deadline for evicting 48 families of strikers from company-owned housing.

González told the news conference, "I am here to extend my solidarity to the embattled copper miners. This strike is part of the general union-busting drive all over this country. My campaign calls for national, massive labor solidarity with the copper miners in Arizona and Texas, and with the AP Parts United Auto Workers (UAW) strikers in Toledo."

## Came to express solidarity

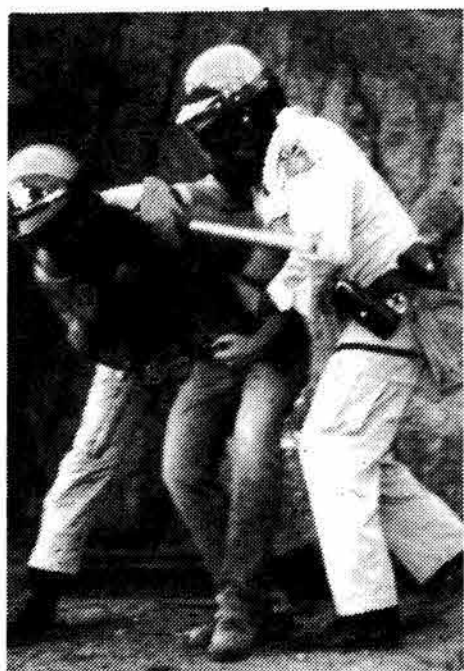
Asked if she had any advice for the copper strikers, González said that she had not come to give advice on tactics to the strikers, but to offer her campaign's solidarity and discuss with strikers the big questions facing the labor movement.

One reporter asked her if she were going to participate in any "trouble" in Morenci. González replied that Phelps Dodge and Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt were the only ones responsible for any trouble in the copper towns. Babbitt has twice sent in an occupying army of National Guard, as well as stationing dozens of Arizona Department of Public Safety police in these small towns. "The government has not been neutral in this. The government is on the side of the company."

After the news conference González and campaign supporters drove to the copper-mining towns of Globe and Miami where she was interviewed on KIKO radio. Many of the miners in this area are faced with a threat from Kennecott, Inspiration, and other copper companies to reopen the three-year contract signed just last June for new concessions. KIKO has a large Native American listenership.

That evening González attended a community meeting at the Clifton Social Club. The meeting had been called by Dr. Jorge O'Leary, formerly a company doctor who was fired by Phelps Dodge because of his support to the strike. He has since been treating the community at his People's Clinic, charging little or nothing.

The meeting was to discuss the news that Phelps Dodge had just withdrawn its contract offer. The roomful of strikers and their supporters cheered when O'Leary called for a solidarity rally to be held in three weeks to protest this move and the threatened evictions. Many of those facing eviction are union officials and strike activists.



Militant

Cop attack on May 5 peaceful picket line in copper-mining town of Clifton.



Militant/Elen Lauper

Socialist vice-presidential candidate Andrea González (second from left) joined copper miners' picket line.

González was able to address a meeting of the Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary later that evening. She told the women that she had talked to people all over the country who were inspired by their strike — working farmers in Missouri, farm workers in the Rio Grande Valley, UAW AP Parts strikers in Toledo. "The company is standing tough, trying to break you. This is part of the larger drive against all the unions, of the drive towards war against other working people, like those in Nicaragua, who, like you are just fighting for a better life...."

"It is in the course of struggles like this that we begin to forge a new leadership in the union movement. We need to be able to make our unions more militant, more able to organize national labor solidarity, more

able to organize against the war on Nicaragua. With a new leadership in the trade union movement we will be able to organize a new party, a party of our own, a labor party."

"How can Babbitt's party be our party? How can George Wallace's party be our party? With a labor party we could reach out and unify all the people who want to struggle, to organize a massive social struggle that can change the government. The government we have today is not our government. Would our government send troops against you? Would our government expel your child from school for calling a scab a scab? It's not our government, it's their government. It's Phelps Dodge's government. We need our government, a workers and farmers government that

would use its power to defend you against the company, that would give aid and not war to the workers of the world."

In conversations following the meeting, strikers told González about the history of racism that Phelps Dodge has perpetuated to keep its predominantly Chicano, Mexican, and Native American work force divided. Discussions touched on the vital contributions of Mexican workers to the U.S. labor movement. Several strikers expressed their admiration for González because she was a Latina running for one of the highest offices in the land, even though, as some added, they did not agree with her communist ideas. Many strikers said they had seen her picture in the *Militant*.

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## 'Now is the time for a Black party'

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW YORK — "Now is the time for a National Black Independent Political Party," Ken Morgan told an audience at the Adam Clayton Powell State Office Building in Harlem on June 9.

Morgan is cochair of the Baltimore chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and a member of the party's central committee. He was speaking in Harlem at a public forum titled, "Independent Black Politics 1984," sponsored by the Manhattan chapter of the NBIPP.

Also speaking on the platform with Morgan were Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, and Muntu Matsimela of the African People's Liberation Organizing Committee. Both are former members of NBIPP.

A sharp discussion took place among the panelists on one of the questions posed on the leaflet publicizing the event: "How can Black people fight for our rights in the era of Reaganism?"

Morgan explained, "This election year the most important thing Black people can do is build NBIPP. It is fruitless to support either the Republican or Democratic candidates for president. Mondale, for example, is a different colored pill," Morgan said, "but it's still the same pill that Blacks have been taking for years — one that will just bring us more pain, treachery, defeat, and unfulfilled promises."

"We have to be about building a mass-based party with political action as its base," Morgan said. "This is what we're attempting to build in NBIPP. Join us."

On the Jesse Jackson campaign, Morgan commented, "I fully support the right of Brother Jackson to run and will defend him against any racist attacks on his campaign. These attacks are attacks against all Black people."

"But I differ with Jackson's strategy that our national oppression can be negotiated through the Democratic Party. As Malcolm X said, 'We put the Democrats first and the Democrats put us last. It's time to give ourselves a chance.' Nobody can save us but us," said Morgan. "It's time to build an independent Black party."

Morgan also spent time explaining that Black politics cannot be reduced to just the ballot box. "Black politics means organizing welfare mothers, workers, tenants, and

using demonstrations, picket lines, educational work, any means necessary to gain our liberation."

Both Brath and Matsimela, the other panelists, advanced the view that critical support of the Jackson campaign and a vote for Mondale in November are the path to be followed by Black activists and other revolutionaries in 1984.

Reagan's replacement by even Mondale, they explained, may make it possible to prevent or postpone direct U.S. military intervention against the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions, and the Salvadoran

revolutionary struggle, they argued.

A lively discussion followed.

Morgan also mentioned that he had recently visited the Bay Area, Sacramento, and Los Angeles, California, at the invitation of NBIPP members in California. These visits and his visit to New York, he said, "have convinced me more than ever of the correctness of my decision to join and build NBIPP."

While in the New York area, Morgan also accepted an invitation to speak at a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum in Newark, New Jersey.

## Pa. steelworkers demand jobs, relief outside churches attended by rich

BY JACK ILETSE

PITTSBURGH — Club-wielding cops bar steelworkers, shipbuilders, and teamsters from entering the church where the rich stroll in to pray on Sunday.

A caravan of pickup trucks and vans winds its way through the affluent Fox Chapel community to the door of a top U.S. Steel official, on its arrival to be threatened with arrests by local guardians of this very private property.

The angry words of Ron Weisen, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1397 president, come on the television news. He holds area steel barons responsible for 18 suicides of workers crushed by layoffs in the Pittsburgh area's devastated steel industry.

These scenes are common and have been front-page news here for weeks. The Network to Save the Mon/Ohio Valley began capturing headlines Easter Sunday with its church protests to demand relief and job training for tens of thousands of unemployed workers.

The Network unites 30 area churches with 15 local unions. It includes six USWA locals, headed by Local 1397 at U.S. Steel Homestead works.

At times, Network activists have picketed the churches attended by the rich, handing out leaflets, entering services, and demanding the right to address congregations as part of their effort to win economic assistance and jobs.

This has made religious figures uneasy,

as union militants blister wealthy passers-by with accounts of rising human suffering from layoffs — the steel work force here has been reduced from 40,000 to 20,000 in the last two years — and holding them, including top bankers and steel owners who attend services, responsible for such misery. Often, Network activists stage protests with various props to dramatize the issue, satirizing the religious "purity" of the modern moneylenders.

The church wing of the Network, the Denominational Ministry Strategy, preaches that corporate greed is an evil and links the gospel to the rights and needs of working people.

Initial protests at Shadyside Presbyterian Church included a demand from the floor for the workers to be heard. The next day, news accounts blasted the Network for "disrupting" religious services.

From there, the battle's been joined, both on television and in the press.

One story in the media tirade against the Network reported on an FBI investigation of an alleged bomb threat against a church. The implication was that the threat was made by a Network activist.

"It was a fabrication, a setup," Ron Weisen told the *Militant*.

Network activists told the FBI they engaged in legal activity and would protest peacefully, informing them where the next such event would be held.

The guerrilla-theater tactics of the Net-

Continued on Page 17

# Fourth International discusses political strategy for working class today

## Debate over Central America, workers and farmers gov't, turn

BY STEVE CLARK

The discussion now under way in the Fourth International, which will lead up to a world congress scheduled for 1985, centers on questions of working-class program and strategy that are being debated by revolutionaries throughout the world.

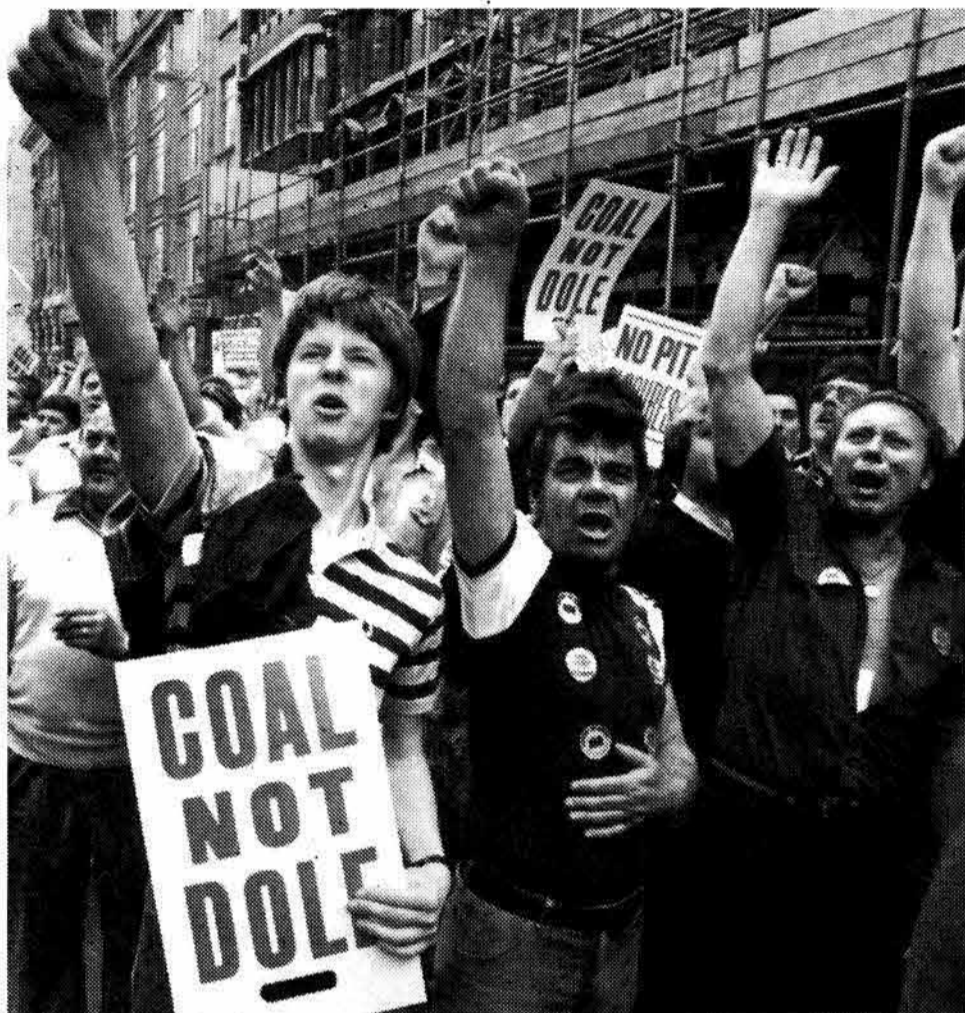
The Fourth International was formed in 1938 by revolutionary Marxists in 28 countries. Their goal in establishing this new international vanguard formation was to advance the development of working-class leaderships in each country that would fight to implement a program and strategy along the lines of those hammered out by the Communist International between 1919 and 1923, under Lenin's leadership.

Exiled Russian communist leader Leon Trotsky and other organizers of the Fourth International, including the founding leaders of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, had become convinced by the mid-1930s that the next step forward in the development of a revolutionary leadership of the world communist movement would be taken by forces emerging outside of the Communist International, (often called the "Comintern"). In the years following Lenin's death, the Comintern had fallen under the political stranglehold of the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, headed by Stalin.

The initiators of the new world organization believed that a mass workers International with the program that Lenin and his comrades had fought for would emerge from vanguard workers and farmers outside the now-Stalinized Comintern, as they participated in revolutionary struggles against exploitation and imperialist oppression. Therefore, the fight for a revolutionary International could not center, as it had previously, on efforts to alter the course of the Comintern. Bold new initiatives by leaderships outside the parties politically oriented to the class-collaborationist, anti-internationalist line set by Moscow would mark the next steps forward in the fight for Leninist internationalism.

An essential component of this course was the decision that the parties preparing to found the Fourth International should concentrate on a turn toward the industrial unions, penetrate deeper into the working class. In a 1937 letter on the eve of the founding of the SWP, Trotsky stressed that the task facing the young party was "to change the social composition of the organization — make it a workers organization." Trotsky urged that the same approach be adopted by all parties in the Fourth International.

The founders of the new international or-



G.M. Cookson

June 7 demonstration of striking coal miners and supporters in London. Last congress of Fourth International decided that turn to industry by all sections of International is essential to advance proletarianization of world movement.

ganization were determined to help the groups that looked to it for guidance to orient toward the most exploited layers of the working class and its allies in each country — the oppressed nationalities, women, and immigrant workers.

Trotsky emphasized the importance of orienting toward the working-class and other oppressed and exploited youth, pointing to the particular role of young people in the fight against imperialist war. He repeatedly insisted that the new movement must express, both in its program and in its day-to-day activity, the complete rejection of what the Comintern had summed up as "the traditions of the Second International, which, in reality, only recognized the white race."

The validity of the perspective that led to the founding of the Fourth International was confirmed with the historic triumph of

the Cuban workers and farmers, led to power in 1959 by the revolutionists assembled around Fidel Castro in the July 26 Movement. Unlike the victorious revolutions in Yugoslavia, China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and elsewhere, which preceded it, the Cuban revolution brought to power for the first time since the early years of the Russian revolution a leadership that was committed, in words and in deeds, to a thoroughly internationalist course.

Despite a quarter century of brutal pressure and attacks from U.S. imperialism, the Cubans have refused to compromise their revolutionary course. The Cuban revolutionists utilize the state power they conquered to advance the interests of the workers and peasants of Cuba, and to aid the extension of the revolution in the Americas and internationally.

The revolutionary perspective opened by the Cuban revolution has been reinforced since 1979 by the extension of anti-capitalist revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean, bringing to power workers and farmers governments, and by the emergence of revolutionary proletarian leaderships in Grenada, in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador.

### Debate over Nicaragua revolution

Following the triumph over Nicaragua's Somoza dictatorship in July 1979, a debate began in the Fourth International over how to respond to this revolution and its leadership, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). As the accompanying article by Mary-Alice Waters explains, counterposed resolutions on the question were voted on at the 1979 world congress. The discussion that is being held today in the Fourth International is a continuation and deepening of the one that began in 1979.

At the 1979 congress, a minority of delegates (including those from the U.S. Socialist Workers Party) submitted a resolution arguing that a workers and farmers government with a revolutionary leadership has been brought to power in Nicaragua

by the mass insurrection that had overthrown Somoza. Both the majority and minority documents on the Nicaragua revolution are reprinted in the special issue of *Intercontinental Press* devoted to the 1979 world congress, which is advertised in this issue.

The 1979 differences within the Fourth International over the Nicaraguan Revolution and the FSLN were directly related to counterposed lines with conflicting estimates of the course and revolutionary capacities of the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party. There were also differing estimates at the 1979 World Congress of the significance of the Grenada revolution, which had occurred earlier that year, and an SWP leader was given time for extended remarks on the importance of following the development in that country.

The conscious fight being waged by the new revolutionary leaderships in the Caribbean and Central America to extend the socialist revolution has, in the view of the SWP, confirmed the historical correctness of the decision in the 1930s to form a new International. Today the prospects are better than at any time since then for the Fourth International to take another step toward its founding goal of advancing the fight for a new mass, working-class International. That necessitates recognizing the convergence between the political course the Fourth International set out on in 1938 — which is being advanced today by the revolutionists of the Fourth International — and the line being charted by the leaderships of the mass revolutionary forces in Central America and the Caribbean.

### Strategy in fight for power

Connected to the debate over the course of the new revolutionary leaderships in Central America and the Caribbean is a second decisive question that will be discussed at the 1985 world congress of the Fourth International. This concerns an important programmatic question: revolutionary working-class strategy in the fight to gain, and to hold, political power.

This debate revolves around two alternative lines. The strategic orientation proposed by one section of the leadership of the Fourth International is expressed in a resolution entitled "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." This document, which is reprinted in the special issue of *IP* already mentioned, was discussed at the 1979 world congress, but the delegates decided not to put it to a final vote. Instead, they took a straw vote on it and decided to continue the discussion around it and the alternative views put forward in the discussion.

The strategic line that is counterposed to that in "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is outlined in a document adopted by the SWP National Committee in 1982 and submitted to the international discussion, entitled "For a Workers and Farmers government in the United States."

This document is currently being discussed by the Socialist Workers Party leading up to the party's national convention, which will be held this August. The aspects of the report related to the SWP's governmental perspective for the United States will be decided on by the August convention. Discussion on broader international and programmatic aspects of the line of this document will continue, leading up to a special SWP convention scheduled for early 1985 to vote on questions before the world congress.

Aspects of the workers and farmers government question have also been discussed in a number of public speeches and articles by individual leaders of the Socialist Workers Party since 1979. These

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## Industry

include: several articles reprinted in Education for Socialists Bulletins, listed in the advertisement below; "Their Trotsky and Yours: Communist Continuity Today," by Jack Barnes, published in the Fall 1983 issue of the magazine *New Internationalist*, and "The Workers and Farmers Government: Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship," by Mary Alice Waters, which appears in the Spring-Summer 1984 issue of *New Internationalist*.

### Turn to industrial unions

The third pivotal question in the discussion leading to the 1985 world congress is whether to advance or retreat from the decision adopted in 1979 "that the sections of the Fourth International must make a radical turn to immediately organize to get a large majority of our members and leaders into industry and into industrial unions."

This task was at the center of the report on the turn to industry adopted as a guide for action at the 1979 world congress. The congress decided that the turn is a necessary tactic for all sections of the International today. It is essential to advancing, under today's conditions, the proletarianization of these parties, which are composed largely of recruits from the generations of radicalizing youth of the 1960s and '70s.

The Socialist Workers Party in the United States has made substantial progress toward implementing this 1979 decision, which its members argued for at the world congress. The majority of the SWP members are now part of organized nationwide units, known as fractions, composed of party members who belong to major national industrial unions.

Important new lessons have been gained from the SWP's efforts to carry out the turn to industry. Over the past few years, for example, the SWP has established fractions in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), in addition to fractions begun earlier in other industrial unions. The ILGWU and ACTWU organize a substantial percentage of garment and textile workers in this country. These unionists, many of whom are immigrants, or members of oppressed nationalities, generally hold low-wage jobs. The addition of this component to the SWP's industrial union has brought the party more closely in



Cuban militia formed following victory of 1959 revolution. Cuban revolution brought to power, for first time since early years of Russian revolution, a leadership committed in words and deeds to a thoroughly internationalist course.

touch with the most oppressed layers of the working class in the United States, and the politics of its mass organizations. It signals further progress in constructing a party that is more proletarian in composition, and one that is more deeply internationalist in program, outlook, and day-to-day functioning.

In counterposition to the line along which the SWP and Fourth International sections in some other countries have been advancing, there are proposals to dilute or reject the report on the turn adopted in 1979, or to proclaim that the turn to the in-

dustrial unions has been accomplished and therefore need no longer occupy the attention of the sections of the International.

The various experiences and conclusions of the SWP and other parties have appeared in a number of articles in the newspapers and magazines of sections and sympathizing groups of the International since 1979. In addition to whether or not it remains necessary to lead the membership to get jobs in industry and become part of organized fractions in the unions organizing industrial workers, the questions being discussed include:

- What the character of revolutionary work in the trade unions should be.
- Whether or not revolutionaries should orient toward obtaining posts in the unions.
- The importance to the industrial unions of struggles for affirmative action by the oppressed nationalities and women, and full rights for immigrant workers.
- Whether or not to develop fractions in unions such as those in the garment and textile industries in the imperialist countries.
- How much weight to give to the importance of the workers movement developing a class alliance with exploited farmers, as well as fractions in farmworkers' unions.

For those interested in following the public aspects of the discussion under way in the Fourth International, a subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is the best bet. *IP* will continue to publish the major public resolutions of the International. It will also continue to provide the invaluable service of summarizing or reprinting articles from the publications of various sections and sympathizing groups of the Fourth International, keeping its readers up to date on the full range of opinions on major political questions within this component of the world revolutionary movement.

## 1979 World Congress of Fourth Int'l

A world congress of the Fourth International has been scheduled for the first part of 1985. This will be the sixth world congress since the Fourth International was reunified in 1963, following a decade-long split.

The central questions before the delegates will be:

First should the turn to industry that was adopted by the last world congress, held in November 1979, be reaffirmed and deepened?

Second, how should the Fourth International respond to the advance of the Central American and Caribbean revolutions — which are today at the center of world politics — and to their leaderships?

Third, what program, class alliances, and strategic orientation can guide the working class in the struggle to defend

and extend the conquests of the world revolution?

A number of resolutions adopted by the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the Fourth International as initial drafts for the world congress discussion have been published in *Intercontinental Press*, a magazine published in New York and distributed internationally. Articles reflecting a range of experiences and views concerning questions that will be discussed and decided by the world congress have appeared in articles and resolutions published in newspapers and magazines of the Fourth International and of its sections and sympathizing organizations.

Other aspects of the discussion leading up to the world congress are being conducted through an internal bulletin produced in several languages. The bulletin publishes resolutions submitted to the elected leadership bodies of the Fourth International — the IEC, elected by the last world congress, and the United Secretariat, elected in turn by the IEC. The internal bulletin also publishes contributions from leaders of the Fourth International and of its national sections and sympathizing organizations.

The discussion now under way in the Fourth International is a continuation and further development of debates that took place at the 1979 world congress. For this reason we are making available to our readers major excerpts from the following article, which appeared originally in a special January 1980 issue of *Intercontinental Press* containing the major reports and resolutions from the 1979 congress.

The author of the article, Mary-Alice Waters, is a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and a national cochairperson of the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP is barred from affiliation to the Fourth International by reactionary legislation in force in the United States today. SWP leaders participate in the discussions held by the leadership bodies of the International, and express their opinions on political questions by casting fraternal, or consultative, votes.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

With this special supplement of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* we are making available to our readers the major documents and reports from the world congress of the Fourth International which took place in November 1979. It was the fifth world congress since reunification in 1963 when a damaging 10-year split in the international was healed. It was the 11th congress since the founding of the Fourth International in 1938, if those that were held by part of the world movement during the split are counted.

The deliberations and decisions of the congress were marked by the international context in which the gathering took place — the deepening crisis of the world imperialist system.

The 200 some delegates and observers from 48 countries were concerned first and foremost with how to meet the challenges and take advantage of the openings in the period before us.

What must be done today to advance the construction of mass revolutionary parties that are working class in composition as well as program and perspective, in order to be able to make our revolutionary program a living reality? How can we prepare the cadres assembled in the sections of the Fourth International in recent years to be able to lead the young and combative layers of the working class in the kinds of battles that are on the agenda today?

### Turn to industry

The response to these questions is outlined in the world political resolution printed here, which the congress adopted by a large majority.

Emphasizing that our goal is the construction of "parties of experienced worker-Bolsheviks who act as political leaders of their class and its allies," the resolution states:

"In many countries the majority of comrades are union members, but strong industrial fractions remain to be built. New opportunities have now opened up for gains in the industrial proletariat. Success in utilizing these opportunities requires spe-

Continued on next page

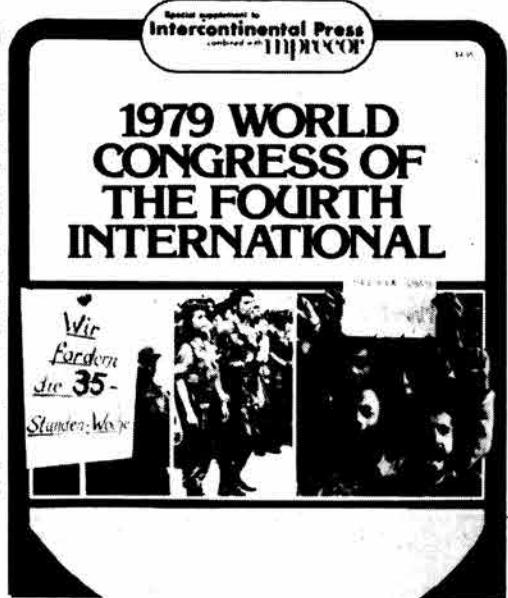
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Continued from preceding page  
cial efforts, including mobilization of cadres recruited in the previous period. In many countries these cadres have not yet become rooted in the industrial working class. They should be led to make a turn in this direction without further delay."

As [Ernest] Mandel stressed in his report [on the world political situation], "the growing weight of the proletariat in the real process of world revolution is by no means the simple result of the fact that the revolution is once again knocking at the door of the imperialist mother countries, where the working class has its heavy battalions. This is a universal phenomenon, which we see both in the imperialist and semicolonial countries, as well as in the bureaucratized workers states."

Because of the central importance of this task for every single section of the Fourth International, the congress discussed and adopted a separate report on the turn to get a large majority of the members of the Fourth International into industrial jobs and unions. It was presented by Jack Barnes.

Behind the necessity for the radical reorientation of the forces of the international lie basic structural as well as conjunctural changes in the world situation.

Given the evergrowing weight of the proletariat in all three sectors of the world revolution, the political resolution underlines the fact that urban explosions and proletarian forms of organization will continue to be the focus of revolutionary upsurges in the coming years.

Moreover, as Barnes stated in his report, "the ultimate target of the rulers' austerity drive is the industrial workers, for the very same reason that the industrial workers have been at the center of our strategy since the founding of Marxism — their economic strength; their social weight; the example they set for the whole class; the power of their unions to affect the wages, conditions, and thus the entire social framework of the class struggle; their resulting potential political power vis-à-vis the enemy class; the obstacle they pose to rightist solutions by the bourgeoisie. The industrial workers are both the source of most of the rulers' surplus value and the ultimate enemy that the rulers must defeat if the entire economic and social crisis of their system is to be turned around."

The conclusion that must be drawn by revolutionists, the congress affirmed, is that we must be parties composed of industrial workers if we are to be able to orient ourselves correctly today.

However, as Barnes emphasized, "Our movement's current social composition is totally abnormal. This is a historical fact, not a criticism. In fact, far from being a criticism, it was our movement's ability to recruit from the new generation of radicalizing youth — from the early '60s on — that today poses the possibility of



Militant/Michael Baumann

November 1983 demonstration in Nicaragua supporting Patriotic Military Service, the draft. World Congress in 1979 agreed on central task of defending Nicaraguan revolution, but delegates had differing assessments on character of Sandinista leadership and stage of revolution.

making this turn. And this possibility now coincides with a pressing political necessity."

Even relatively small revolutionary parties can grow tumultuously during mass upheavals, being forged out of the fighters that come forward in the class battles, great and small. This is what happened to the Bolsheviks in 1917.

But, the report emphasized, "this can only be true for parties of industrial workers who have already been tested in action and have experience and respect in the workers movement. It cannot happen from outside the heart of the working class. Those who are on the outside when such developments occur will simply be bypassed; the opportunity will be lost.

"This is the goal of the turn. To place our cadres where they must be to build workers parties that are capable of growing out of the big class battles that we know are on the agenda throughout the world. Otherwise, our program, which the world proletariat needs to chart a course to victory, will remain a lifeless document rather than a guide to mass revolutionary action.

"We make no guarantees that the turn

will bring us correct tactics, timing, or political savvy in meeting opportunities such as this. No promise whatsoever. These matters will be up to the comrades on the spot in each section and each new situation. We simply guarantee that these decisions cannot be made correctly without the turn, without parties composed in their overwhelming majority of industrial workers."

For this reason, "One central, practical consequence flowing from the political resolution submitted to this congress by the United Secretariat Majority overshadows all others — that is, that the sections of the Fourth International must make a radical turn to immediately organize to get a large majority of our members and leaders into industry and into industrial unions."

#### Political campaigns decided

While the turn was the overriding task that tied together the political decisions of the congress, the other campaigns which the Fourth International set as its priorities were equally in harmony with the analysis of the world situation.

The central political campaign decided on was solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution — a drive to get out the truth about the advances of the workers and peasants in Nicaragua, and to defend the revolution against all attempts by imperialism to roll it back.

Other tasks included:

- defense of the Iranian revolution, and continued pressure to win release of the imprisoned Iranian Trotskyists;
- the campaign against imperialism's drive to roll back the Indochinese revolution, especially the merciless effort to starve the people of Kampuchea into submission, while arming and feeding the remnants of the Pol Pot forces and other counterrevolutionary outfits;
- stepped up coordination of the international campaign against reactionary abortion and contraception laws;
- increased participation in the struggles against nuclear power on an international scale;
- defense of Peter Uhl and his Charter 77 codefendants in Czechoslovakia, as well as other victims of repression in the bureaucratized workers states.

#### Four major resolutions

Four major political resolutions were drafted by a majority of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and presented for discussion. The United Secretariat is the body responsible for the month to month leadership of the international. It is elected by the International Executive Committee which is chosen by the world congress.

The resolution on women's liberation was of particular significance. Its preparation and adoption by the congress marked the first time in nearly 60 years that the international Marxist movement has discussed and passed a major resolution on the fight for women's liberation, its role in the class struggle, and its importance as part of the socialist revolution. In 1921 the Third Congress of the Communist International, starting from the writings of Marx and Engels and the experiences of the women's liberation struggles at the turn of the century, adopted a document that dealt with many of the same themes, but in a more abbreviated manner.

The current resolution which will guide the work of the sections of the Fourth International, not only stands on that previous document but is also the product of more than a decade of participation in and leadership of the new rise of the women's liberation movement around the world. The resolution came out of many hours of discussion and collaboration by women and men from dozens of countries. It is not an exaggeration to say that there is nothing comparable to it in the arsenal of Marxist literature.

#### Correcting an error

The resolution on the orientation of the Fourth International in Latin America [reported on by Alfonso] is also of particular significance. It marks the end of a long faction fight that deeply divided the Fourth International from 1969 until the end of 1977.

At the world congress of the Fourth International in 1969 a resolution was adopted that projected rural guerrilla warfare for a prolonged period on a continental scale as the strategy for revolutionary Marxists in Latin America. Trotskyists in a number of countries attempted to implement this line, and variations on it including forms of urban guerrilla warfare. Very grave defeats were suffered. Most important was the evolution of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores de Argentina [PRT (Combatiente) — Revolutionary Workers Party] which organized and led the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP). The PRT (Combatiente), which was recognized as the section of the Fourth International at the 1969 world congress, moved further and further away from Trotskyism and finally left the international in 1973. It suffered heavy blows under the repression of the military dictatorship in Argentina and eventually most of its leaders were killed.

From the 1969 world congress on, a sizeable minority of the Fourth International opposed the guerrilla warfare line and organized to win a majority to reverse it.

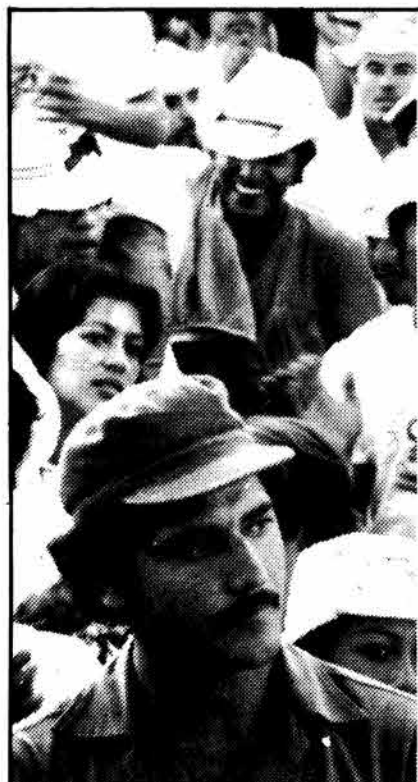
Leading up to the 1974 world congress two international groupings were organized on the basis of this political division. The International Majority Tendency (IMT) defended and generalized the line of the 1969 world congress. The Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF) called for it to be rescinded and for a return to the Leninist strategy of party building.

At the 1974 world congress the delegates were almost evenly divided on the balance sheet of experiences with the guerrilla line in Argentina and Bolivia.

Between 1974 and the end of 1976, however, the majority of those who had previously supported the guerrilla line became convinced that it was wrong. Following the publication of an initial critical balance sheet drawn up by the IMT, both international factions dissolved in 1977 and a new majority emerged in the world leadership of the international as the 1979 world congress was prepared. It was expressed in the four major political documents.

The resolution on Latin America published here states unequivocally:

"As a result of the erroneous line, many of the cadres and parties of the Fourth International were politically disarmed in the face of the widespread, but false idea that a small group of courageous and capable revolutionaries could set in motion a process leading to a socialist revolution. The process of rooting our parties in the working class and oppressed masses was hindered. The line that was followed not only cut across the possibility of winning cadres from the guerrillaist tendencies to a revolutionary Marxist program, but also led to adventurist actions and losses from our own ranks. The consequences for our small



## New International

A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory

Vol. 1, No. 3 \$4.00 Spring-Summer 1984

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by Mary-Alice Waters

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movement were most severe in Argentina and Bolivia.

"Accordingly, the Fourth International rescinds the erroneous line on Latin America adopted at the 1969 and 1974 World Congresses. The line of this resolution on Latin America now supersedes the previous line."

Most importantly, the new resolution on Latin America charts a course of building revolutionary Marxist parties in Latin America by orienting our forces toward the mass struggles and organizations of the working class and peasantry. The debate on the resolution was one of the richest discussions at the congress.

#### Perspectives in Europe

The resolution on Europe [reported by Charles Duret], like the one on Latin America, takes the world political resolution as its framework and gives a more detailed analysis of the situation in capitalist Europe and the tasks of the Fourth International in those countries.

Like the other resolutions, it orients the sections toward the mass workers movement, especially the trade unions and toward making the turn into industry. It analyzes the upsurge of workers' struggles in France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy over the last years, and points out that the setbacks or stalemates have not been due to any lack of combativity on the part of the workers. It is the betrayals of the Stalinists and Social Democratic leaders which have blocked the masses.

The large majority vote for the European resolution also indicated a series of differences over the tasks of our movement in Europe, which had emerged during the IMT-LTF factional struggle, had been resolved.

The resolution of the long internal struggle in the international and the dissolution of the two major factions represented a major victory. It demonstrated the capacity of the cadres of the international to recognize and correct errors once the test of experience was in. It was proof of the maturity and seriousness of leadership cadres on both sides of the deepgoing division, their ability to responsibly debate out the political differences while maintaining the unity of the international. The internal democracy of the Fourth International throughout this entire period can be matched by no other political current on the left.

In addition to the four major political resolutions already mentioned, there were three other important questions on the world congress agenda over which there were significant differences that gave rise to majority and minority resolutions which are published as part of this documentary record.

The first, and the only one on which a position was adopted, was Nicaragua. While there was overwhelming majority



Japanese feminists demonstrating (left), Italian women demanding right to divorce. Fourth International's 1979 resolution on women's liberation marked first time in nearly 60 years that international Marxist movement adopted such a document on women's struggle and its importance to socialist revolution.



agreement on the central task of defending the Nicaraguan revolution, differing assessments were presented on the stage of the Nicaraguan revolution, the character of the Sandinista leadership, the nature of the Nicaraguan government, and the orientation of the Fourth International supporters in Nicaragua.

In addition to a resolution presented by a majority of the United Secretariat members, there were three other resolutions put to a vote. One was drafted by a large minority of the United Secretariat. Another by United Secretariat member Alan Jones.

[Charles Duret reported for the majority; Jack Barnes for the minority.]

The document presented by a majority of the United Secretariat was adopted.

Three resolutions were presented on Indochina. They contained differing assessments of the contending forces involved in Indochina today, especially the role of imperialism and the character of the conflicts between the bureaucratized workers states. In addition to majority and minority United Secretariat resolutions, a document was submitted by the Japanese delegation and a number of other delegates.

[Roman reported for the majority; Gus Horowitz for the minority; and Sakai for the third resolution.]

As in the case of Nicaragua, despite the

political and theoretical differences over a number of important issues, there was overwhelming agreement on the need to support the Vietnamese and current Kampuchean governments against the brutal imperialist offensive in Indochina today.

An indicative vote was taken on the three resolutions and it was agreed to continue the discussion in an appropriate form to be decided by the United Secretariat.

The third point on which there were majority and minority resolutions presented by the United Secretariat was the question of socialist democracy. The debate revolved around the place of the fight for democratic rights and workers democracy in mobilizing the working class for the socialist revolution and consolidating the democratic rule of workers councils or soviets.

[Ernest Mandel reported for the majority; Barry Sheppard for the minority; Livio Maitan reported on a third resolution withdrawn prior to the vote.]

On this question, too, only an indicative vote was taken and it was decided to continue the discussion in an appropriate form.

The congress also heard a report [presented by Margaret Jayko] on the tasks of the international in building revolutionary youth organizations. During the congress

delegates and observers representing Trotskyist youth organizations in a number of countries met and discussed their progress. This represented an important step toward greater collaboration and coordination of the youth work of sections of the international.

Finally, an organization report was presented [by Frej] on behalf of the outgoing United Secretariat. It detailed some of the progress, problems, and challenges before sections of the international as they strive to deepen collaboration and simultaneously build both national sections and a revolutionary international.

#### A special tribute

At the end of the congress a new International Executive Committee was elected. It is the body responsible for the leadership of the international between now and the next world congress.

One of the highlights of the final session was the special tribute the delegates paid to Pierre Frank and Peng Shu-tse, two founding leaders of the Fourth International.

Because of their age and health these two veteran leaders of the Fourth International are no longer able to be active in the day-to-day leadership. But delegates felt it was important to maximize the possibility of drawing on their rich experience to help educate and train the new generation of revolutionary Marxists around the world.

For this reason, a special category of advisory membership on the International Executive Committee was established for those two founding leaders. In a special presentation by Jack Barnes delegates took note of the extensive contributions these two long-time leaders of the international had made to the struggles of the working class in France and China, as well as internationally.

\* \* \*

The 1979 world congress marked the opening of a new chapter in the history of the Fourth International.

The international has grown significantly in the decade since the massive youth radicalization of the 1960s began to win a new generation of cadres to the revolutionary Marxist movement. Many new sections of the Fourth International have been born, and older ones strengthened numerically and politically. But everywhere the international remains a small vanguard current. Nowhere does it lead a mass class-struggle wing of the labor movement.

The challenge before us is to take the gains of the last decade and reorient the cadres who have been recruited and tested in struggle toward the new openings in the industrial working class.

The decisive way in which the congress determined to do this, as the central priority for every section of the Fourth International, without exception, gives good grounds for revolutionary optimism in the period to come.

## New Zealand farm question featured in 'IP'

The June 25 and July 9 issues of *Intercontinental Press*, the international news magazine, feature an in-depth study of the farm question that will be of interest to revolutionaries around the world.

In two parts, the *IP* carries a major study of the agriculture question in New Zealand, an imperialist country whose meat, wool,

and dairy production are the nation's largest and most important industries.

The article, by Jim Pearson, is reprinted from *Socialist Action*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

In part one of the article, which appears in the June 25 *IP*, Pearson looks at the centrality of agriculture for the New Zealand working class and the current crisis farmers face. "A large proportion of the productive population is engaged directly in agriculture or agriculture-based industries," he writes. "As well as the 160,000 farmers and farm workers, there are more than 30,000 freezing workers, plus dairy factory workers, workers in transport and shipping, watersiders and others..."

Pearson outlines the problems faced by New Zealand working farmers, many of which are similar to those encountered by farmers in other imperialist countries: overproduction leading to a drop in prices, land speculation by big capitalists, and deepening debt.

"Debt servicing now constitutes the average sheep and beef farm's major expenditure item, at 15 percent of the total," he explains.

In part two of the article, scheduled for the July 9 *IP*, Pearson takes up both the solutions to the agriculture crisis offered by New Zealand capitalists and those put forward by revolutionary socialists.

He explains how the working farmer is exploited by big capitalist farmers, the banks, and food processing monopolies. He dissects the New Zealand government's price-support program, which has failed to bail the small farmer out of debt.

At the close of the article, he offers some proposals based on forging an alliance between the labor movement and the working farmer.

"Committees of family farmers should be formed that, together with workers' organizations, can demand that the financial records and pricing policies of the monopolies which exploit them both be opened to public inspection," he writes.

"The system of rents and mortgages is rooted in private ownership of the land and can only be eliminated by the government nationalizing all land," he continues. "This would not eliminate the family farm, but it would mean that private speculators and financiers could no longer buy, sell, rent, or mortgage land."

"A Labor [Party] government that truly defends the rights and interests of workers and farmers" is needed to enforce such measures, Pearson explains. Such a workers and farmers government would have an internationalist policy with regard to agriculture, he adds, making "a special priority of providing high quality, cheap meat and dairy products to the Pacific Islands, which New Zealand imperialism has helped keep underdeveloped..."

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# Nujoma addresses D.C. crowd on Namibia liberation fight

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Over 500 people jammed every nook and cranny of the Union Temple Baptist Church here on June 10 to hear Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organization. SWAPO is the liberation front leading the people of Namibia against South African colonialism.

The meeting was organized by the Southern Africa Support Project, a D.C.-based group.

Nujoma is in the United States at the invitation of TransAfrica, an organization that carries out lobbying and other activities in support of African and Caribbean causes.

The large turnout reflected the consciousness that exists among U.S. Blacks around African liberation and their deep hatred for the apartheid South African regime.

Jean Sindab, of the Washington Office on Africa, introduced Nujoma. She reviewed the way the big-business press, in particular the *Washington Post*, have played their part in the Reagan administration's efforts to pretty up the South African regime's image. In particular the capitalist media pushes the lie that Cuban troops in Angola, and not the "moderate" regime of Prime Minister Botha, are responsible for the "delay" in Namibian independence.

She also explained that "anti-terrorist" legislation Reagan is floating in Congress could make such meetings as this one illegal. The legislation would subject to federal prosecution groups and activities in solidarity with national liberation movements deemed by the State Department as "terrorist."

One of the reasons the racists in Namibia know their rule will not last, Nujoma told the audience, "is the support we count on from the progressive people of the West, especially the African-American masses."

"The hospitality, warmth, and solidarity we have received ... has taught me anew that Reagan and [Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester] Crocker do not speak for our Black people, if indeed they speak for anyone."

Nujoma traced the history of the struggle in Namibia. "When SWAPO was formed in 1960, 45 years after our land was illegally colonized, we engaged in peaceful protest. But after every boycott, after every strike, after every demonstration was over, there were dozens and hundreds of Africans killed and maimed."

"Since 1966, and especially today, our people are fighting for power arms in hand."

"If today, Africa is independent from Dakar to Madagascar, from Algeria to Mozambique, it is only because of armed struggle. If there was no armed struggle, Ian Smith would never have surrendered

... and of course there would be no negotiations today, no honeyed words from the West, if there had been no armed struggle. And we will not stop armed struggle because of a Chester Crocker."

"The agreements South Africa has signed with certain governments recently have not stopped us from fighting arms in hand," he added.

Nujoma spent some time on the meaning of the current negotiations between SWAPO and the South African regime.

"On May 11-13, there was a meeting in Lusaka [Zambia] between us and the racists."

"At this meeting ... we again offered to have a cease-fire, on the basis of UN Resolution 435 [which calls for South African withdrawal from Namibia, followed by UN-supervised elections]."

"Again the racists stalled, again they raised the issue of Cuban internationalist troops in Angola, what they and Reagan call 'linkage'."

"South Africa, with the support of its imperialist allies, is spreading stories. They

are saying, 'Namibian independence is being held hostage by Cuban troops.'

"We will never agree to their linkage. Never! We can wait. We are confident of victory."

Nujoma's ringing defense of Cuba's role in Africa received prolonged applause.

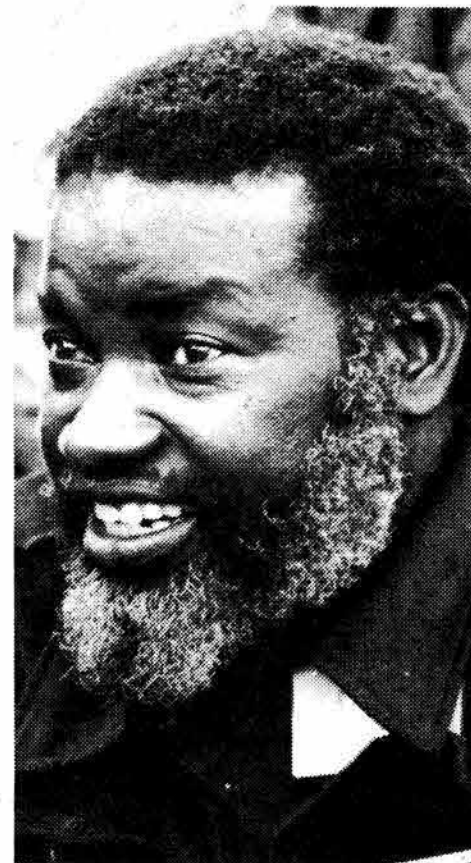
"All this stalling, all these lies, mean but one thing. South Africa still needs time to impose a neo-colonialist solution."

"The South African racists know they will lose any free, fair, and democratic elections," Nujoma explained.

His closing remarks were interrupted by applause.

"This is a critical stage in our struggle against the Botha racists and international imperialism. We promise our people — and you are also our people — SWAPO will never participate in a so-called government of national unity. We will never participate in any Bantustan project."

"We expect to seize power either through the barrel of a gun or through free, fair and democratic elections."



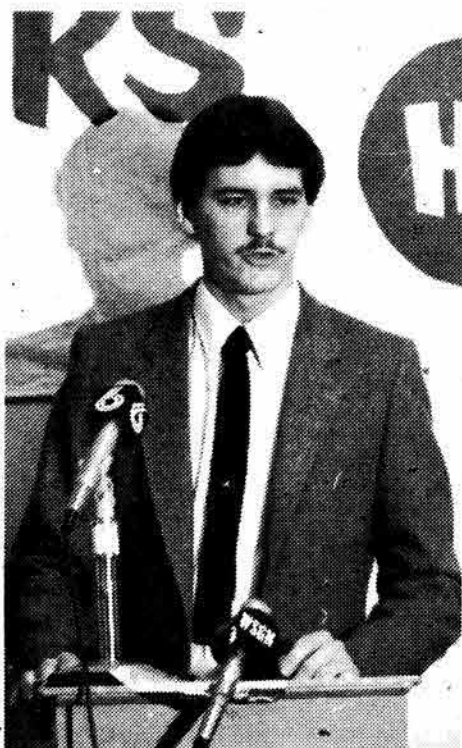
Y. Nagata/United Nations

SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma blasted U.S.-South African demand that Cuban troops leave Angola.

## Socialist backs Alabama strikers

BY SONJA FRANETA

BIRMINGHAM — On a hot day in June the Socialist Workers campaign of Mark Curtis for Congress went to Leeds, Alabama, a town of 6,500 near here, to talk to striking workers at the Lehigh Cement plant.



Militant

Socialist candidate Mark Curtis

The campaign team stopped at the union hall, a house opposite the main entrance of the plant, and commented on the location. One of the union officials smiled and said, "Yeah, so we can keep an eye on the enemy."

The strike is solid at the 100 percent union plant, organized by Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers Local 1108. The plant now employs 125. Strikers said many were laid off after the modernization sneaked in by U.S. Steel, the former owner, during a 103-day strike several years ago. One picket, a young Black woman, said she was the only woman in the plant and she's been laid off a few years.

The strike began May 4 when Lehigh offered workers a concession contract nationwide, with major cuts in benefits and vacation. In Leeds, Lehigh tried to bust the strike by moving in a house trailer under police escort and threatening to bring in and house 58 scabs.

Trucks had been going in and out of the plant unhindered, but after the strikebreaking threats, a few encountered some difficulties.

The city responded by getting a court injunction to limit pickets to two per gate, but it also warned the company that housing people on plant property would be against the law. The house trailer was moved out and no scabs are working in the plant.

Socialist candidate Mark Curtis, an aircraft worker, promised the strikers he

would tell the truth about their struggle to coworkers and others. He talked with pickets about the lessons of the ongoing Toledo United Auto Workers (UAW) strike at AP Parts, and about his own UAW local's strike against Hayes International last summer.

Pickets said that many people from town "stop by and give us support."

These strikers, as well as other workers in Alabama, are outraged at the attempts by Democratic Gov. George Wallace and the state legislators to push through a bill that would free companies from lawsuits by workers injured on the job. The bill failed to pass during a special legislative session, but Wallace and big business are expected to try again soon.

Wallace claims that the bill would eliminate the threat of lawsuits by workers against each other. But everyone knows when you get injured on the job, you sue the company and not your coworker. As bait to get labor support, the bill would raise workers' compensation a few dollars. But the increase would go only to workers making more than \$7 an hour. Nearly 70 percent of the workers in Alabama make less than that.

The real benefits of this bill would go to businesses. General Electric has just begun building a plant in Lowndes County. Wallace said that construction of this plant would show that "Alabama believes in the free enterprise system, and that it doesn't believe profit is a dirty word."

GE division Vice-pres. D. Rex Blanchard said that he was concerned about the current battle over job-injury lawsuits and he is confident the matter will be resolved to the company's satisfaction. He called such lawsuits "objectionable and onerous."

The current law in Alabama says that lawsuits may be filed for injuries resulting from negligence by company officials. Wallace, the legislators, and the companies say that this is the kind of thing that keeps industry from locating in Alabama. Workers are angry about the fact that Wallace and the legislature are reviving the very proposal that was defeated by a two-to-one ratio by Alabama voters in 1982 in a state-wide referendum.

Mark Curtis pointed out that "this attack on job safety comes at the same time that there is a nationwide attack on the unions in every way. The faster the companies push for higher productivity, more overtime, and speed-up, the more we're going to get hurt. That's why big business is determined to eliminate our right to sue them."

"Less than an hour's drive from Birmingham is one of the most dangerous coal mines in the U.S., according to the *United Mine Workers Journal*. It is operated by Jim Walters Resources. Companies like Jim Walters that repeatedly break the law and endanger workers' lives would be immune from a suit against them, if this bill were to pass."

## Minnesota nurses winning broad support

Continued from back page

lips, industrial relations director of Hospital Employers, Inc., which represents the struck hospitals. *City Pages*, a local weekly distributed free throughout the metropolitan area, quoted Phillips as saying: "Nursing has always been a part-time position. A lot of nurses choose part-time work because their incomes are second incomes."

MNA member Anne Dobbins, also quoted by *City Pages*, responded, "Many nurses are single and many are single parents. Even for those whose pay is an additional family income, it is not necessarily a disposable income. Many families require two full-time incomes to survive."

Other nurses the *Militant* spoke to on the picket line echoed this sentiment. One nurse said her husband had been laid off for some time and another noted that many of the nurses' spouses had been forced to take wage cuts or lower paying jobs during the past several years. So job security is more important than ever for nurses.

A resolution of support for the strike was passed by a Minnesota state conference of

the National Organization for Women held in Morris, Minnesota, which was called to discuss the problems of rural women. Over 100 women, including large numbers of union women and farm women, participated in that meeting. Striking nurses attended that conference and distributed information on the strike. Many conference participants wore buttons and T-shirts supporting the strike.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women included a special supplement with its June newsletter urging CLUW members to support the strike, to send money to the strike fund, and to join the picket lines.

The media is admitting that struck hospitals are operating at 30-40 percent capacity and are restricting admissions. Supervisors are working 12-hour shifts. Unstruck hospitals are overflowing. Only emergency operations are being performed.

Morale on the picket lines is very high. Only a few nurses have crossed the picket lines. So far the hospitals have succeeded in recruiting only 70 nurses to cross the picket lines — most of them professional strike-breakers imported from other states

and granted temporary licenses.

Picketing strikers expressed eagerness to win support from the rest of the labor movement. Plans are being made to send speakers to union locals in the area.

Despite an initial coolness toward the strike by some top AFL-CIO and Teamsters officials, support is coming in from local unions in the area as they meet and discuss the issues in the strike. Many have decided to send messages of solidarity and contributions to the strike fund and to urge members to join the picket lines.

One Teamster local donated \$1,000 and the MEA has pledged \$1,000 a week for the duration of the strike.

Supporters of the *Militant* working in unionized factories in the Twin Cities report that some workers participated in picket lines on their own from the very beginning of the strike and that in different shops workers sport buttons supporting the strike on the job.

Messages of solidarity with the strike can be sent to MNA, 1821 University Ave., Room N377, St. Paul, Minn. 55104.

# New York meeting hails Grenada book

Continued from front page

opposition to the U.S. invasion of Grenada and continued occupation of that mostly Black, English-speaking Caribbean island. About one-third of those attending the rally were Blacks from the United States and the Caribbean.

As Safiya Bandle, director of the Medgar Evers College Center of Women's Development, explained to the audience, her organization was pleased to cosponsor the event "because here at Medgar — an institution peopled by those of African descent — we share something with what happened in Grenada, where you had a nation peopled by those of African descent who were trying to change the world. . . . I want to welcome you to the college and to encourage everybody to purchase the book. . . . We all should have the words of Maurice Bishop — they are words that continue to inspire us."

The importance of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* for U.S. Blacks was also underlined by Adeyemi Bandle, national vice-chairperson for international affairs of the National Black United Front. The NBUF leader said that on behalf of his organization "I wish to extend to the comrades at Pathfinder Press our sincere congratulations on your production of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*."

"This collection of speeches by Maurice Bishop," Bandle said, "will stand up as a document important as the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. *Maurice Bishop Speaks* should become required reading for anyone who wishes to understand one of the most profound African-Caribbean personalities of the 20th century."

"It is important also in that it provides us with an insight into the process of the Grenada revolution," said Bandle.

"We in NBUF," said Bandle, "will encourage our members to read *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. We are also inspired by this work and see the need to produce similar works, particularly from an Afrocentric perspective."

U.S. Rep. Major Owens, the Black congressman from the 12th C.D. in Brooklyn, was among the speakers at the book celebration. The rally took place in the heart of Brooklyn's Caribbean community and in Owens' district.

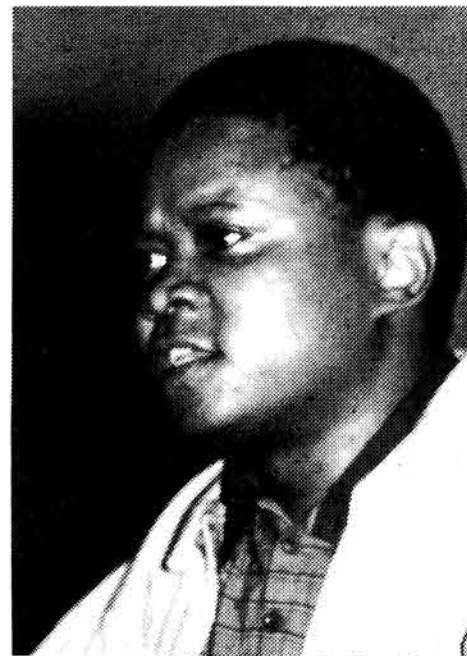
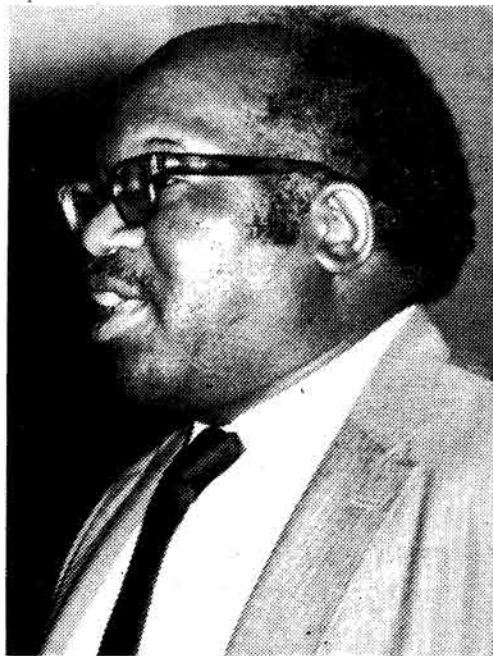
"Let me begin," Owens said, "by congratulating the publishers of this magnificent book. . . . Certainly, in order to understand the riddle of what happened in Grenada, a good place to begin is with the speeches of Maurice Bishop. We can in that way understand and appreciate the glory of what happened in Grenada. . . ."

## Book is a weapon

Elombe Brath, from the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, said that "We think [*Maurice Bishop Speaks*] is very, very important because it is a weapon. It is a weapon because it allows Maurice Bishop to reach out from the grave and indict the Reagan administration."

Brath said *Maurice Bishop Speaks* should be used internationally and, especially, in the United States, "to awaken peoples' consciousness about what actually took place in Grenada."

David Ndaba, representing the African National Congress of South Africa, said that "there is no better way to mourn for a fallen soldier than to pick up the fallen weapon. And we see the book as that weapon, which all of us have gathered here today to pick up in order to continue the



Militant photos by Lou Howort

Left to right: Safiya Bandle, director of Medgar Evers College Center of Women's Development; Rep. Major Owens, congressman from New York; and David Ndaba, African National Congress.

struggle and the fight of Maurice Bishop and all the revolutionaries who have been martyred in Grenada."

## Interest in Grenada

Joachim Mark thanked people for coming to the book celebration, saying that "The fact that you have come out in such nice numbers is living testimony of the interest in the Grenada revolution."

Some of those in attendance had been longtime participants in the struggles of Grenadian working people. Mark introduced one such person, C.B. Lowe, who was greeted with applause. Lowe was among the thousands of Grenadian workers and farmers who were with Bishop at Fort Rupert, where the Grenadian prime minister was executed along with other central leaders of the People's Revolutionary Government on Oct. 19, 1983.

Also attending the meeting were representatives from the Vietnamese Mission to the United Nations. They received a warm welcome when introduced to the crowd, as did a representative of the Association of Vietnamese in the United States, who appealed to the audience to join in the protest campaign against the shooting in San Francisco of two Vietnamese opponents of U.S. war policy. A right-wing Vietnamese group has claimed responsibility for the attack, which killed Pham Thi Luu and gravely wounded Nguyen Van Luy.

Interest in the Grenada revolution is high because working people, especially Blacks, want to know the truth about why the U.S. government invaded Grenada.

Peggy Brundy, a representative of Pathfinder Press who chaired the meeting, reported that the book has also stirred interest internationally, from Australia and New Zealand to the Caribbean and Canada.

Rally participants bought 20 copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, along with \$110 worth of other Pathfinder literature.

## Lessons of revolution

Each of the speakers pointed to lessons they had drawn from the Grenada revolution.

Safiya Bandle pointed to one of the most significant accomplishments of the Grenada revolution — the advance of women's rights. She quoted from a speech

delivered by Bishop to the National Conference of Women on June 15, 1979, and noted that the goals the People's Revolutionary Government set for itself in eliminating sexual oppression are the same as those the women's center at Medgar Evers College is striving for.

## Unity around Grenada

The Grenada revolution, explained Elombe Brath, is "a very binding thing in that [despite] our ideological differences, we all agree that the Grenada revolution was progressive. It was something that we all united behind. When it came to Grenada, all of us saw that that revolution was a popular revolution and needed our support. We need to use that understanding as the basis of our own unity today."

Brath suggested that supporters of the Grenada revolution should work together to mount actions on October 12-25 to commemorate the revolution. Adeyemi Bandle encouraged everyone at the book celebration to give material support to the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation as yet another way to keep alive the spirit of Maurice Bishop.

Steve Clark, who wrote the introduction to *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, pointed to the example the Grenada revolution set "of what a government of the workers and farmers can do once it takes political power out of the hands of the imperialist-backed landowners and capitalists and, as the banner of the New Jewel Movement put it, lets 'those who labor hold the reins.'"

The revolutionary leadership of Bishop and those around him "placed no interest above those of the workers and farmers," said Clark. They also set an example by their internationalism, seeing the fruits of the Grenada revolution as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialist domination.

Clark explained that a campaign to sell *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, which aids the fight against the U.S. occupation of Grenada and keeps alive the lessons of the revolution, is a "key part of the fight against escalating U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean."

Rep. Owens hit the U.S. invasion of Grenada. "Upon hearing President Reagan's 'Star Wars' speech in which he singled out Grenada," Owens recounted, "the Congressional Black Caucus united with TransAfrica to start a campaign to do whatever we could do to thwart Reagan's plan to invade Grenada."

"One of the parts of that effort," continued Owens, "was to force [the White House] to recognize Maurice Bishop, to force them to talk with him. We invited Bishop to the United States and helped plan a trip that allowed him to speak in the capital and elsewhere."

## 'Illegal and immoral'

"The invasion of Grenada was illegal and immoral," said Owens. The Black congressman pointed out that the entire Congressional Black Caucus opposed the U.S. invasion.

But, said Owens, what interested him most about Grenada were the events leading up to the revolution's overthrow, in-

cluding the Oct. 19, 1983, murder of Bishop and his supporters. "My concern," said Owens, "is that as we read books and write new books . . . we [need] to unravel the riddle of the disaster that handed the pretext to the United States to go in and invade."

One reason for the revolution's defeat, Owens suggested, may have been "exhaustion." He said, "I think the ambition of the people in the Grenada revolution was at a peak. They were very ambitious, trying to do the impossible." As a result, offered Owens, the Grenadian revolutionaries became exhausted and turned on each other.

In his remarks, Adeyemi Bandle pointed to the Nov. 14, 1983, speech of Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro which appears as an appendix in *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. Bandle said that "The analysis of the events of October by comrade Fidel Castro offers us lessons that must be learned by any of us who belong to organizations engaged in struggle to create a society free from racism, free from sexism, and free from capitalism."

Brath explained that the Grenada revolution was an example to the peoples of Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the rest of the Caribbean. Following the Grenada revolution, Brath said, that country "became a Mecca for revolutionaries" from all over the world.

"That's another reason why the U.S. invaded Grenada," explained Brath. "It had become a shining jewel."

## Frame-up of revolution

Clark said that the upcoming U.S.-staged trial of Bernard Coard, Phyllis Coard, Hudson Austin, and others who bear the political responsibility for the overthrow of the People's Revolutionary Government, will bring no justice. Those responsible for the murder of Bishop and the other October 19 martyrs should be brought to justice, said Clark, but by the workers and farmers of Grenada.

The trial planned by Washington is "aimed at discrediting the entire Grenada revolution. It is aimed at discrediting the idea that workers and farmers can take the reins of governmental power into their own hands. It aims to discredit leaders of the revolution such as Bishop, Unison Whiteman, and the martyrs of October 19, and seeks to frame up the Cuban revolution . . ." and to justify the continued U.S. occupation of the island and its subjugation to U.S. imperialism.

That's why, explained Clark, it's extremely important that the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, which has just been launched in Grenada by the supporters of the revolution, "is putting right at the center of its program the demand for an immediate end to the U.S. occupation and restoration of the sovereignty and independence of Grenada."

"And that must be the demand that we organize around here in the United States — to get the U.S. government off the backs of the Grenadian workers and farmers."

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the Militant**

## FROM PATHFINDER

### Fidel Castro Speeches Vol. II Our Power Is That of the Working People Building Socialism in Cuba

This volume of speeches by Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban revolution focuses on Cuba's commitment to the people's participation as the key to advancing the socialist revolution. Included are speeches on "institutionalization," People's Power, the trade unions and other mass organizations, the Communist Party, and the ongoing struggle against bureaucracy. 367 pp., \$7.95.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014  
Enclose \$.75 for postage and handling.

**He's catching on** — William Safire, the right-wing columnist who also does a weekly feature on language, received an inquiry,



**Harry Ring**

"What is my title as a citizen of the United States?" He responded, "it is becoming presumptuous and inaccurate to refer to North Ameri-

cans as 'Americans,' especially in the context of defending or upsetting Central Americans, South Americans, and Latin Americans." He advised, not inappropriately, that suggestions be sent to the "Gringo Division" of his column.

**Partial lineage** — The Cuban paper *Granma* noted that about a half million British pounds had been invested in tracing Reagan's ancestry, assertedly, to an 11th century Irish king. The paper commented, "What some observers find disappointing is that Burke did no research on Reagan's fam-

ily tree before the 11th century. Had it done so, he couldn't have escaped being related to the Cro-Magnon, Neanderthal, and other pithecanthropus erectus primitive men."

**P.S.** — When we were youngsters, Pop used to say, "Look back far enough on someone's family tree and you'll find someone hanging from it."

**Nutrition dep't** — A lengthy *New York Times* article confirmed that fish really is good for you — lowers blood cholesterol, helps avoid blood clotting, etc. The article concludes with a small cau-

tion. "It is wise to vary the kinds of fish you eat, since some may be contaminated with certain pollutants. Freshwater fish are especially likely to be contaminated by the toxic substances dumped into lakes, streams, and rivers. Ocean fish generally have less of a pollution problem, but the larger predator fishes, like tuna and swordfish, tend to accumulate chemical pollutants."

**Fashion tip** — Hand-embroidered linen is back in. One New York shop is offering a lace bedcover from about 1880, which assertedly took longer to complete

than the Sistine Chapel. Yours for \$75,000.

**What wasteful society?** — The producers of Citrus Hill, Minute Maid and Tropicana orange juice will sink a combined total of about \$65 million into peddling their respective products this year.

**Get a number, wait in line** — Survival Technology, Inc., creator of antidotes for chemical warfare agents, patented a resuscitator to treat mass casualties in chemical war. It enables one person to deliver fresh air to as many as four patients at a time. It will be offered to the military.

## Behind the struggle of Sikh rebels in Punjab

Continued from Page 7

and elsewhere have speculated that Gandhi's intransigent stance toward the Sikh demands may have been influenced by the fact that countrywide elections are due to be called before the end of the year. According to this reasoning, Gandhi was seeking to use the Sikh protests to whip up Hindu chauvinist sentiments throughout the country, so as to bolster the Congress Party's sagging electoral fortunes.

While that may have been a consideration, there was a much more basic reason for Gandhi's rejection of the Sikh demands

and for her bid to crush the protest movement with massive military force: to provide a brutal lesson to all the oppressed and exploited throughout India that the government will defend the interests of the capitalists and big landlords at all costs.

The Indian ruling class, backed by imperialism, is especially hostile to movements calling for national rights and autonomy. Simply to call for national self-determination in India is deemed a treasonous act.

The military assault on the Golden Tem-

ple, where Bhindranwale and many of his key supporters were based, had been carefully planned for several months. And following the attack, official government sources revealed that plans were under way to form a special 23,000-man "antiterrorist" force, to be used anywhere in the country where it might be needed.

With Bhindranwale and hundreds of his followers dead, Secretary of Home Affairs Madan Mohan Krishan Wali claimed that the Sikh protest movement's "back has been broken." That boast may be premature.

Gandhi has presented her lesson. But it remains to be seen how many have learned it the way she would like.

Certainly among the Sikhs themselves, the army assault on the Golden Temple has only served to increase their anger and bitterness. Sooner or later, this sentiment, intensified by the deepening economic crisis, will translate into more organized opposition.

As one young Sikh protester in New Delhi told a reporter, "As soon as we find a new leader, we will fight under him as one."

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Solidarity With the Irish Freedom Struggle.** Speakers: Georgia Flemings, editor of *Irish American Voice* and chair of Southern Regional Irish Northern Aid; Brian McCulla, Belfast native and president of Irish Republican Publishing. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**El Salvador: A New Vietnam War in Central America.** Slide show presentation on scope of U.S. intervention, what Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front is fighting for, and on growing opposition in U.S. to intervention. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**Oakland**

#### The Iraq-Iran War and the Defense of the Iranian Revolution.

Speaker: Jerry Freiworth, leader of Bay Area Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 23, 7 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**Protest Sheriff's Deputy Brutality!** Speakers: Margaret Clements and family; Rev. Jerome Owen, president of Mid-City Area Council; Rev. S.L. Harvey, president of Louisiana Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Fri., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Guatemala: Eyewitness Account and Update.** Speaker: Alberto Girón, Guatemalan in sanctuary at Walker Church. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally & Grand Opening of New Militant Bookstore.** Speakers: Mel Mason, SWP candidate for president; Jamie Partridge, Portland Labor Committee on Central America. Translation to Spanish.

## Kentucky socialists on ballot drive

BY CRAIG HONTIS

**LOUISVILLE** — The Kentucky Socialist Workers campaign kicked off its petitioning effort June 2 to collect 5,000 signatures to put Mel Mason and Andrea González — SWP candidates for president and vice-president — on the ballot in November. Signatures are also being collected to obtain ballot status for Dave Welters, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and for Peggy Kreiner, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 3rd C.D.

Over 700 signatures were obtained on the first day of this three-week petitioning effort, well above what had been projected for that Saturday.

In one shopping center a young auto worker recognized the petitioners from their selling copies of the *Militant* at the Ford Fern Valley assembly plant. After signing, he took three sheets of petitions with him to get friends and coworkers to sign. He agreed to meet the petitioners in the same spot the following Saturday to

help collect more signatures.

A high school student who had called into the campaign headquarters after looking up the Socialist Workers Party in the phone book came out on the petitioning drive just to see what it was like. After watching the petitioning for half an hour and seeing what a good response it was getting, he petitioned for three hours and agreed to come back in a couple of days to petition some more.

In the weeks ahead special teams will be traveling throughout the state of Kentucky collecting signatures and winning new supporters for the campaign. Special emphasis will be placed on gathering signatures in the coal producing regions of the state, including the town of Providence, Kentucky, where Mel Mason was born and raised.

**Subscribe to the 'Militant'**

**Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: Bruce Kimball, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2295, covered British miners' strike for *Militant*. Sat., June 30, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., room 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**War in the Persian Gulf: the Iranian Revolution Under Attack.** Speaker: Fred Feldman, member of Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

**Why Working People Should Support the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Speakers: Jeffrey Richardson, participant in Witness for Peace program in Nicaragua and a reporter for the *Pittsburgh Courier*; Paul Garver, staff representative for Service Employees International Union Local 585, toured Nicaragua with U.S. trade union delegation; Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party, worked in Nicaragua in 1983. Sat., June 30, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**U.S. and South Africa — Partners in Racist Terror.** Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### UTAH

#### Price

**British Miners Fight to Save Their Union: an**

**Salt Lake City**  
**Grand Opening of Militant Bookstore and Eyewitness Report from British Miners' Strike.** Speaker: Bruce Kimball, member of United Mine Workers Local 2295, covered British miners' strike for *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 29. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### Vietnam and Kampuchea: an eyewitness report

A slide show and presentation by Diane Wang

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

Fri., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner Raymond, one block from Broad). Donation: \$2. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

Sat. June 30, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

#### Columbus

Sun., July 1, 4 p.m. For more information call (614) 262-9735.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

Fri., July 6, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. Slide show by Diane Wang and presentation by Kathleen Gough, author of *Ten Times More Beautiful*. Donation: \$3. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Sun., July 22, 10 a.m. "Reconstruction in post-war Vietnam," a class and discussion. Sun., 1 p.m. "Genocide and Recovery in Kampuchea." For more information call (206) 723-5330.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Morgantown

Sat., July 28, 8 p.m. 957 S. University Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

# Colorado steelworkers meet SWP candidate

BY MAUREEN McDOUGALL

DENVER — Workers at the CF&I steel mill in Pueblo, Colorado, met Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, during the staggered afternoon shift change June 6.

González campaign supporters had passed out leaflets the previous day announcing the candidate's visit. Cars leaving the plant were backed up to the parking lot as workers rolled down their windows to shake hands with González, take a leaflet on the party's program, and exchange a few friendly words in English or Spanish.

The plant's work force has been cut by

layoffs from 5,500 to 2,200 in the last few years. Many workers were gratified to see a laid-off steelworker — a Latina at that — running for vice-president.

They were interested in her program to nationalize the steel industry, open the books of the big corporations, and establish public control of this vital industry. González explained that the labor movement should fight for such emergency measures along with demanding a massive public-works program that could put thousands of steelworkers back to work and produce steel for human needs here and abroad.

Later that day, González greeted CF&I

workers coming to the United Steelworkers of America Local 2102 meeting. Although the local officially supports Democrat Walter Mondale for president, González was invited to talk to local members inside the union hall informally before the meeting.

The Pueblo *Chieftain*, Channel 11 News, and three local radio stations ran stories on González campaigning at the plant gate and interviewed her about her campaign.

The TV news story focused on González' "Boycott Coors" button. (The longstanding boycott against the union-busting

Colorado brewery has recently been revitalized by the efforts of a coalition backed by the local AFL-CIO.)

González attacked the company's president, Bill Coors, for his antilabor practices and accused him of "trying to stir up racist poison" by his recent public statement that Blacks are "intellectually inferior."

González also campaigned and received television, radio, and newspaper coverage in Denver. Workers at Gerico, Inc., an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union-organized plant, met and talked with her in the parking lot June 7 at the end of the shift. Many were familiar with her campaign. Over 50 of the 180 workers there had recently signed petitions to enable socialist candidates, including González, to get on the Colorado ballot.

González finished her Colorado tour with a rally of campaign supporters in Denver June 8 that raised over \$1,000. Also speaking at the rally were David Martin and Cathy Emminizer, the Socialist Workers candidates for U.S. Senate and 1st Congressional District; Rita Montero of the Coors Boycott Coalition and the Kiko Martínez Defense Committee; and Yassir Allis of the Committee for a Democratic Palestine.

## González: support Arizona miners

Continued from Page 9

After a night spent in a company-owned house whose occupants face eviction, González attended the preliminary court hearings of some of the seven strikers arrested in the police attack on a May 5 picket line in Clifton. Governor Babbitt sent in the National Guard the day after the police riot.

At the Greenlee County Courthouse she met Tomás Aguilar, the mayor of Clifton who is also the financial secretary of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 616. He commented as he watched the state police officers file into the courtroom to testify against strikers, "It's becoming like a military state. One day as you walk by you will have to bow. And they still want more for the military, more for defense."

Aguilar has been struggling for months to get government aid to repair the massive flood damage that Clifton suffered last October.

González visited the Steelworkers hall and the Unity Council hall which houses the 12 other striking unions. She talked with officers of the USWA and the Machinists. Before returning to Phoenix she joined strikers on the picket line as the afternoon shift of scabs rolled by under the protection of the state police.

On June 1, González visited the Goldmar Ranch, one of the citrus farms organized by the Arizona Farm Workers (AFW). Union leaders showed her the air-cooled housing, dining, and recreation areas that the union has won for the agricultural workers. Workers pay \$5 a day for room and board. González had the opportunity to talk to several workers. She contrasted their circumstances with that of unorganized farm workers she had met in the Rio Grande Valley, some of whom are cooking over open fires in barrels and sleeping in shacks.

She was taken on a tour of the union's medical and dental clinics and the new union headquarters. The AFW has sent money and seed to the Nicaraguan farm

workers union, and has actively supported the copper strikers.

On June 2, González spoke to a campaign rally in Phoenix. She was joined on the platform by Joaquin Lira, a leader of the AFW who has just returned from Nicaragua. Betsy MacDonald spoke for the Arizona Committee for Democratic Election Laws. She described a recent court rul-

ing requiring the Socialist Workers Arizona campaign to turn over the names of contributors to its state campaigns to the court. The decision has been appealed because, as MacDonald stated, "These laws hurt independent voters and small parties. These laws hurt anyone trying to get representation for the majority outside of the trap of the two-party system."

## Pa. steelworkers demand jobs and relief

Continued from Page 9

work have shaken things up, although they involve just a handful of people at churches in wealthy neighborhoods.

"We are here to let you know we will not end this war," a Network leaflet circulated to Fox Chapel's elegant home-owners stated, explaining protests against U.S. Steel executives Thomas Graham and David Roderick.

"Thomas Graham spends six days a week dispensing corporate evil, eliminating jobs, closing plants, and union-busting, then on Sunday he goes to his corporate church and has his conscience cleansed so he can go out the next week and do the same exact thing to more innocent people, in the name of international banking," said the leaflet.

In those churches where clergy have supported the workers' protests, antilabor bigwigs have entered the fray. A local Lutheran pastor associated with the Network was called on the carpet recently and an investigation of him by church hierarchies made front-page news.

Within the church families have divided between supporters and opponents of the ministers involved in Network activity.

When a Teamsters strike was provoked by the union-busting Passavant Health Center, Network members went to the Lutheran church — which owns the center — to protest and target rich elders on its governing body.

When owners of Dravo Corp. shut its shipbuilding operation on Neville Island, striking shipbuilder unionists picketed the

church of the yard's owner. Union president Darrell Becker is a leader of the Network.

The Network demands a settlement of current strikes spurred by union-busting, telling local bosses and bankers to "call off the war on our plants, unions, churches; meet to negotiate a settlement, NO games, NO lower level executives."

Local 1397 and activists have also demanded the Mellon Bank finance retooling of the steel industry instead of making foreign investments.

Antiworker cartoons and bitter denunciations have been regular features in the two Pittsburgh big-business dailies, making the Network protests a number one local issue in the city.

"This group," sneered the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, "claims to be doing God's work. But . . . they do not worship God by preaching class hatred. . . ."

A drive from the Southside's vacant steel mills and boarded stores, through Homestead, where only 2,300 of 7,000 workers are punching in at the U.S. Steel mill, through the Black Hill district, where youth unemployment is at 60 percent, gives a picture of working-class Pittsburgh that seems a world away from Fox Chapel's gleaming mansions and from the graceful lawns of Squirrel Hill.

The types that live there, says Ron Weisen, "want to make people forget there ever were smokestacks in Pittsburgh. They push this high-tech, industrial-park stuff at five bucks an hour while they shut plants and close mills and destroy lives."

The Network's protests, he says, "shake things up, get attention on the problem, put the spotlight on what these people are doing."

He thinks coming protests will be bigger, and should be.

Weisen's earned a wide reputation as a tough foe of the company unionism that characterizes the top international officials of the USWA, who kept him off the ballot in the union's March 1984 special presidential election.

"These bureaucrats are interested in only what they can take out of the labor movement, not what they can put into it," says Weisen, blasting the "coronation" of newly elected USWA president Lynn Williams, which, he says, "is going to cost a million dollars. And that's a crime, with what our people are going through."

Weisen's also known as an opponent of Washington's Central America war policy. "Reagan and the heads of the 95 U.S. corporations in El Salvador ought to fight that war themselves, not the youth of this country," he says.

What next for the Network? Weisen says "the tactics will come as we go along."

"All the unions need to get together and call a big strike to shut this country down," he says, to fight the economic crisis and stand up in the struggle to win jobs and stop plant shutdowns.

But the important thing is stir things up, "tell it like it is" and "pull no punches," to make the rich a little "scared and put fear into their hearts."

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

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369.

**CALIFORNIA:** Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

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

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316.

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

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

**IOWA:** Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

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**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445 or 925-1668.

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**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.

**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, 767 S. State. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# Condemn O'Rourke deportation

The U.S. government — acting through the Supreme Court and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) — has struck another blow against the democratic rights of immigrants and of supporters of the freedom struggle in Ireland.

On June 19, the U.S. government turned over one-time Irish Republican Army member Michael O'Rourke to Irish authorities, one day after O'Rourke lost a five-year legal battle to remain in this country.

Upon landing in Ireland in the custody of federal agents, O'Rourke was immediately arrested and taken to Portlaoise prison outside Dublin.

O'Rourke, who was jailed in Ireland in 1975 for activities connected to the struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland, escaped from an Irish jail in 1976. Two years later he came to Philadelphia under an assumed name.

There, O'Rourke led a quiet life and married U.S. citizen, Margie O'Rourke.

He was arrested by federal agents in 1979 on charges of overstaying his visa. Although never convicted of a crime in this country, O'Rourke remained in federal prisons for four years and eight months, making him the longest-held detainee in Immigration and Naturalization Service history.

His plight attracted wide support in the Irish-American community, as shown by his election as honorary grand marshal of the 1983 Philadelphia and 1984 New York St. Patrick's Day parades.

O'Rourke's legal battle against deportation ended June 18 when the Supreme Court refused to hear his appeal. He had been denied political asylum in the United States, even though his activities in Ireland were clearly politi-

cal. O'Rourke's request to voluntarily leave for a third country had also been denied.

The forcible return of Michael O'Rourke to Ireland, where it was known he would be immediately rearrested, was aimed at getting around the lack of an extradition treaty between Ireland and the United States.

The INS even resorted to intimidation of an INS judge in its zeal to send O'Rourke back to an Irish jail. In June 1981, Judge Ernest Hupp, who later stated he had been inclined to grant O'Rourke's request for political asylum, suddenly removed himself from the case after his car was followed by another vehicle for 125 miles.

Hupp wrote: "I became very scared for my life because I felt that these men... may be sympathizers of the Irish Republican Army trying to intimidate me in reaching a decision on Michael O'Rourke." In fact, Hupp was followed by INS agents!

Washington's refusal to let O'Rourke stay in this country is part of a broader attack on supporters of Irish freedom, nearly two dozen of whom face frame-up charges in this country. And it is a blow to all immigrant workers, particularly those who speak out for social justice in this country and in their native lands.

As Héctor Marroquín, the Mexican born Socialist Workers Party leader who has his own appeal for political asylum pending before the Supreme Court, put it, "We should answer the deportation of Brother O'Rourke by redoubling our efforts in the struggle against U.S. anti-immigrant policy. We should continue to demand a stop to the deportations of Salvadoran, Guatemalan, Haitian, Irish, and other refugees fleeing persecution by brutal regimes supported by the U.S. government."

# Simpson-Mazzoli attack

Continued from front page

verification system for bosses checking the Social Security numbers of job applicants. By calling a toll-free number, employers will be able to learn whether a Social Security number is "invalid, defunct, or inadequate," according to Rep. Sam Hall, a Texas Democrat who backs the bill.

Employers who fail to comply with this provision are supposed to be fined up to \$2,000 for each undocumented worker they hire. But the bill isn't really aimed against employers or their hiring of the foreign-born. Its purpose is to increase the ability of the bosses to exploit workers, especially the undocumented, to drive down working standards, and step up discrimination on the job.

"If they look Hispanic, I simply won't hire them," one employer told New York's Spanish-language daily *El Diario* when asked about the effect the Simpson-Mazzoli bill will have on him. "How am I," he asked, "going to know if they're legal or not?"

The present effort to clamp down more on immigrant workers is an integral part of Washington's war policy in Central America and the Caribbean. Thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants who fled to the United States to escape the bloody dictatorship in San Salvador will be among the immediate targets of the new bill.

The racist campaign against "aliens" also aids the bosses' war against all working people here. The employers seek to turn U.S. workers, enraged by the high levels of joblessness, against the foreign-born rather than fight the U.S. capitalist class, which is responsible for unemployment.

The bill singles out Blacks and Latinos for victimization, but it is a blow to all labor. The ID requirement points toward the establishment of a centralized blacklisting system that would target not only undocumented workers, but Black, Latino, women, and trade union activists as well.

The Senate version of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill contains a provision aimed directly at the union movement. It provides penalties for union hiring halls that may send undocumented workers out on jobs.

Top union officials have supported most planks of this proemployer legislation. Jay Mazur, General Secretary-Treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, tried to prettify the reactionary bill, calling it "the first serious attempt in a long time at offering [legal] status to the undocumented." Mazur said, "Perhaps the law won't be the best, but for the moment it will resolve the situation of the undocumented."

The AFL-CIO officialdom has urged adoption of legislation penalizing employers for hiring undocumented workers. These union bureaucrats criticized the Simpson-Mazzoli bill in its present form because its employer sanctions aren't stiff enough!

The main complaint of the AFL-CIO officials, however, is the provision that would allow some foreign-born workers to come to the United States to harvest fruit and vegetables. AFL-CIO leaders claim this "guest worker" measure will mean the loss of jobs for U.S.-born workers.

But it is U.S. employers who hire and fire in this country. They, not undocumented workers, are responsible for unemployment, layoffs, and plant closings. By joining the U.S. capitalist class in scapegoating the undocumented for high unemployment, the labor bureaucracy hopes to cover its failure to lead an effective fight to win jobs.

To mask its reactionary content, the House bill includes a proposal to grant amnesty for many undocumented U.S. residents.

This is sucker-bait to win support for the antilabor measure.

In fact, the bill curbs even further the right of court appeal by those ordered deported or denied political asylum. The measure would allow the government to expel any immigrant who shows no "reasonable basis for legal entry into the United States."

Without the right to appeal, it's no wonder that many undocumented workers are afraid to apply for amnesty.

To qualify for the amnesty in the House bill, undocumented residents must prove to the satisfaction of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) — a racist cop outfit — that they have lived here continuously since Jan. 1, 1982. Having done this, an undocumented person will have legal status as a "temporary resident."

After two years, the temporary resident could become a permanent resident. But there's a catch. An applicant for permanent residency or "green-card" status under the amnesty "must demonstrate that he is employable, that he is not a felon, and that he is attempting to learn rudimentary English," said Rep. Jim Wright of Texas, who is the House Democratic majority leader.

Simpson-Mazzoli goes further in its denial of democratic rights. Those granted "amnesty" would be denied any form of federally-funded assistance for several years.

The measure enjoyed bipartisan support in both Houses. Alan Simpson, who introduced the bill in the Senate, is a Republican. Romano Mazzoli, the House sponsor, is a Democrat. House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, who pledged last year that Simpson-Mazzoli would never get to the floor, played a central role in having the bill considered in this session.

Adoption of Simpson-Mazzoli is part of the U.S. rulers' broader antilabor drive. The bosses are increasing their attacks on the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women, as shown by the recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling against a Memphis affirmative action jobs program.

Simpson-Mazzoli isn't aimed at halting "illegal" immigration. The new law will be another weapon the employers will use to squeeze every nickel they can out of undocumented workers. The purpose of the measure is to drive down even further the wages of those coming here in search of work, increase productivity through speedup and longer hours, and terrorize undocumented workers into not fighting back.

Foreign-born workers are the immediate targets of this antilabor assault. But it won't stop there. Labor should demand full social, economic, and political rights for the undocumented, such as the right to a job, health care, education, and public assistance. All labor must stand up and say: No to Simpson-Mazzoli! Stop the deportations!

# Leon Trotsky on the independence struggle in India

BY MALIK MIAH

The underlying reason for the current rebellion in Punjab by Sikhs is the imperialist domination of India. The Indian state — which encompasses numerous nationalities, language groups, and religions — was created by British imperialism. Through a conscious policy of divide and rule — pitting national and religious groups against each other — the British kept India as an impoverished country, now with more than 700 million people.

After a hard fought, massive movement, formal political independence was won in 1947. But none of the

# OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

other social, political, and economic problems facing the Indian masses were resolved.

Despite the claims of most bourgeois journalists that India is the "world's largest democracy," it is in fact the world's largest semicolonial country dominated by British and U.S. imperialism.

Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the 1917 Russian revolution, wrote about the tasks facing revolutionary communist workers in India. In a July 1939 article, "India faced with imperialist war," (*Writings of Leon Trotsky [1939-40]*, Pathfinder Press) Trotsky takes up the central question still facing workers and peasants today: imperialist domination.

Because Trotsky's article was written on the eve of World War II and at the height of the mass independence movement, he focuses his remarks on the inability of the Indian bourgeoisie to lead the independence movement to a revolutionary conclusion.

While today the Indian ruling class tries to take its distance from imperialism, it cannot lead a fight to end India's economic subservience to imperialism, nor bring about major land reform — the burning issue for the overwhelming majority of Indians, most of whom live in the countryside. That will require the establishment of a revolutionary workers and peasants government.

\* \* \*

The Indian bourgeoisie is incapable of leading a revolutionary struggle. They are closely bound up with and dependent upon British capitalism. They tremble for their own property. They stand in fear of the masses. They seek compromises with British imperialism no matter what the price, and lull the Indian masses with hopes of reforms from above.

Modern capitalism — declining, gangrenous, disintegrating — is more and more compelled to worsen the position of workers in the metropolitan [imperialist] center itself. How then can it improve the position of the toilers in the colonies from whom it is compelled to squeeze out all the juices of life so as to maintain its own state of equilibrium? The improvement of the conditions of the toiling masses in the colonies is possible only on the road to the complete overthrow of imperialism.

In the event that the Indian bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to take even the tiniest step on the road of struggle against the arbitrary rule of Great Britain, the proletariat will naturally support such a step. But they will support it with their own methods: mass meetings, bold slogans, strikes, demonstrations, and more decisive combat actions, depending on the relationship of forces and the circumstances. Precisely to do this must the proletariat have its hands free. Complete independence from the bourgeoisie is indispensable to the proletariat, above all in order to exert influence on the peasantry, the predominant mass of India's population. Only the proletariat is capable of advancing a bold, revolutionary agrarian program, of rousing and rallying tens of millions of peasants and leading them in struggle against the native oppressors and British imperialism. The alliance of workers and poor peasants is the only honest, reliable alliance that can assure the final victory of the Indian revolution.

The Indian people must divorce their fate from the very outset from that of British imperialism. The oppressors and the oppressed stand on opposite sides of the trenches. No aid whatsoever to the slaveowners!

To realize such a policy a revolutionary party, basing itself on the vanguard of the proletariat, is necessary. Advanced workers of British India must cast away false hopes and repel false friends. We must pin hope only upon ourselves, our own revolutionary forces. The struggle for national independence, for an independent Indian republic is indissolubly linked up with the agrarian revolution, with the nationalization of banks and trusts, with a number of other economic measures aiming to raise the living standard of the country and to make the toiling masses the masters of their own destiny. Only the proletariat in an alliance with the peasantry is capable of executing these tasks.

# J&L Pittsburgh Works — the death of a steel mill

BY JACK ILETSE

PITTSBURGH — The news, which came May 23, was not a thunderbolt but still, it was a surprise.

For the third time in three years, Jones & Laughlin's Pittsburgh Works on the city's southside was shutting down. This one is labeled "indefinite."

"We break our backs for five months and this is what we get," snaps a white-haired guy with 29 years' seniority.

A few years back, the Carson St. mill employed more than 6,000 workers.

On May 31, the 600 remaining workers punched out for the last time, after topping a world record for direct

## AS I SEE IT

shipment of steel, 87 percent of which did not need to be "scarfed" — having impurities removed.

The members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1227 were supposed to get jackets emblazoned with the record.

But some of the mainly white, middle-aged and older labor force never even got the windbreakers. "Some company," a steelworker grumbles. "They make millions, I don't even get my jacket."

The bosses glad-handed the workers on "B" turn who trooped up to the superintendent's office to hear the bad news, and the praise for breaking production records, for living up to their side of the supposed deal.

"It's very depressing to do all that and get kicked in the teeth," says a 30ish Black worker. "You wonder if it means anything."

It meant millions of dollars in profits for LTV, the Dallas-based conglomerate that owns J & L, the nation's sixth biggest steel firm. LTV is on the verge of finishing merger procedures with Republic Steel that will create the country's second largest steelmaking company.

The brass at LTV said the shutdown had nothing to do with the merger, but even lower level management employees (many of them filling out resumés to begin the search for other jobs), let alone most workers, think the opposite is closer to the truth.

The southside mill produces slabs in electric furnaces. These furnaces can be easily turned off and started up. When orders fell, the bosses flipped the switch.

When the orders pick up, "maybe," a superintendent tells the grim workers, "there'll be a callback."

An older Black worker with 30-plus years in the mill shakes his head. "You can't pay the bills on maybes," he says.

Many of the laid-off steelworkers won't even get unemployment insurance — the last callback to the mill didn't last long enough. Others just missed working long enough to qualify for paid vacation time.

A J & L mouthpiece called the Pittsburgh Works a "swing" mill. Off and on, in and out. Like seasonal work, but for steelworkers.

That's all part of the cutthroat "cost-cutting" side of the J & L-Republic merger.

They used to call the Monongehela-Ohio River Valley "Steel Valley." But for tens of thousands of steelworkers, it's death valley.

The southside's businesses and bars that catered to the steelworker community are boarded up with rusted nails. Hundreds of workers — mostly white — and their families line up on Wednesday nights at neighborhood churches for food hand-outs.

It was a bleak week for other steelworkers, as well.

The day after the J & L shutdown was announced, U.S. Steel announced termination of steelmaking at the Duquesne Works. This left jobless a majority of the 1,000 workers who remained after more than 700 were laid off a few months ago. Local Pres. Mike Bilcsik says, "the company keeps giving people hope and then they shatter it."

The same day, David Roderick, U.S. Steel president and chairman of the American Iron and Steel Institute, called for more concessions from the union. He termed the 20 percent wage and benefit giveback included in the concession contract imposed on the USWA in 1983, "modest."

There's not much discussion about workers buying plants here. And the 600 now-unemployed J & L steelworkers on the gloom-ridden southside proved that breaking your back may win the bosses' smile but it

doesn't keep the mill open.

That was doubly bitter for older workers, doing the labor of younger people and reporting in lost time with back-pulls, muscle strains, leg sprains, and other aches from the heavy toil the owners demanded as the price for continued operation.

Now, the grass is growing again on mill railroad tracks as the furnaces cool.

"Yeah, I'm bitter," says a worker with a couple of kids. "They had no right to do this."

A J & L supplier, an ex-steelworker with a son laid off two and a half years from U.S. Steel Homestead, scratches his head.

"There is so much anger out there, one day there's going to be a revolution," he says, "and I tell you, I am terrified. All those people need is a leader and there is going to be a revolution."

There's bitterness and gallows humor and gritted teeth at J & L as the last days roll around. But also pride.

That's what's between the lines of a ditty by an anonymous steelworker poet as the day of the plant funeral neared:

The time has come to close again  
Our best was not enough  
Our bills need paid, our kids need shoes  
Yes times are pretty rough

We were told "great jobs," "atta boy,"  
"Hang in there," and "stay tough"  
Yes, the time has come to close again  
Our best was not enough

So we hear, our costs were great,  
We shipped the greatest stuff  
We all pitched in and joined the team —  
Our best was not enough

To the folks in Dallas, who hold the  
Dice and rolled for us to close —  
Who picked the other plants to work  
And to us they thumbed their nose.

"Good-bye" we say as proud men —  
At Pittsburgh we're of the right stuff  
And in our hearts, we truly know  
Our best was good enough.

## Black worker awarded \$1.5 million in legal suit

Ben Citchen didn't quit. He fought, and he won an important victory for himself and all Black people.

For nearly nine years, Citchen faced constant racial taunts, harassment, and discrimination at Firestone Steel Products of Wyandotte, Michigan, where he worked. He found dead rats in his lunch bucket, nooses hung over his work station, racial epithets scrawled on the floors and



**BY ANY MEANS  
NECESSARY**  
Mohammed Oliver

walls near where he worked, and his car's wiring torn out, tires slashed, and upholstery ripped.

Last month, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission ruled that Citchen had been racially harassed. The commission ordered Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. of Akron, Ohio, the parent company of the Wyandotte firm, to pay Citchen \$1.5 million in damages.

Alan May, chairman of the commission, said he had never heard a case "so grievous and of such a contemptible nature."

Moreover, May said the commission found the company at fault. May said that employers who are supposedly working to eliminate racial discrimination in their businesses "must make an effort to stop the [racist] practices before they start." Firestone's owners failed to do this, the commission decided.

Firestone is appealing the commission's ruling. A mouthpiece for Firestone said the company's owners have "had a longstanding policy of equal employment opportunity. The types of conduct alleged by Mr. Citchen are reprehensible and would not be condoned by the company under any circumstances."

Yet, that's precisely what the company's bosses did for nine years. Citchen was hired at Firestone in 1967 as a welder. He was one of the first Blacks to be hired at the plant. Citchen said that the racial harassment escalated once he became a skilled welder in 1970.

"I had to worry about how to survive," said Citchen. "A lot of people have asked me why didn't I quit. Well, jobs weren't that available for Black people and when you got one, like I did, I tried to stay on it."

First, Citchen went to his union for help in fighting this

discrimination on the job. Unfortunately, the officials of United Auto Workers Union Local 174 took no serious action.

But Citchen continued to fight. He researched the law books. Later, in 1971, he hired a lawyer and filed suit with the Michigan Civil Rights Department.

Citchen's employers — wanting to be rid of this troublesome Black worker — fired him in 1976. "I was framed," Citchen said regarding the company's pretext for showing him the gate. Citchen has filed another suit against Firestone for wrongful discharge, which is still pending.

Citchen still suffers from his years at Firestone. He said he had a nervous breakdown and developed bleeding ulcers that required surgery.

Of the \$1.5 million award Citchen said, "I've been hurt. There ain't enough money in the world to give me back my health. Yes, what I got I need. I deserved it. But some things can't be bought. When you take away my pride, and my mind, there shouldn't be enough money in the world to buy that away from a man."

"I just hope this is a lesson for all the other employers," said Citchen. "You just can't let this happen to people."

## British cops riot against striking coal miners

Continued from Page 4

force. It was not until this time that the men were forced to fight back with stones, bricks, bottles, or anything that came to hand, to stop the police brutality.

"The police retreated under a hail of missiles, opening their ranks to allow a cavalry charge by 60 mounted police swinging three-foot-long sticks," Shukla continued. "Men were ridden down. Heads were split open by riot sticks. The cavalry were followed by the riot police, wielding shields and truncheons indiscriminately."

Several men who tried to escape across the fields were savagely bitten by police dogs, blocking their path.

The response to the violence of the police action was such that an incident shown on national television news where a cop was seen to grab a picket, knock him to the ground with his truncheon, and continue to hit him repeatedly immediately forced the police into conceding an investigation into the incident.

It was at this time that Arthur Scargill was knocked unconscious and had to be taken by ambulance to Rotherham General Hospital, where he was kept overnight for treatment.

John McDonald, a Bolsover miner, described to the *Sheffield Morning Telegraph* how Scargill was injured. "A group of us were running away from a charge by mounted police and the riot squad coppers. I saw Arthur Scargill standing near the wall. He was not doing anything wrong."

"I saw a policeman in riot gear run towards him, and as he passed him he brought his shield round and caught Mr. Scargill on the side of his head."

Scargill himself said, "All I know is that these bastards [the police] rushed in and this guy hit me on the back of the head with a shield and I was out."

"The police," Shukla explained, "after believing that they had routed, beaten and demoralized us, returned to their lines. But the miners, although bloodied, were not

beaten. We regrouped and marched back towards the plant."

"This time the pickets stopped short, at a narrow railway bridge, and built barricades to stop any further police charges. Old cars and steel from a nearby scrapyard were dragged into the road, along with fencing and anything that would burn. Behind this flaming barrier, walls along the roadside were demolished and bricks and stones were heaped into piles to hold up pointed wooden stakes, as a further obstacle to charging police horses."

"A police helicopter appeared overhead, flying low over our lines. Six van loads of police approached our rear, but quickly retreated when the pickets made clear they were now fighting back with no holds barred." The battle of Orgreave was over for another day.

BSC management announced later that "in view of the serious disturbances" it would be halting "temporarily" the transfer of coke from Orgreave to Scunthorpe.

It's not just the miners who have given

testimony to the wanton police violence. The South Yorkshire County Council police committee was recently given evidence of a similar police action at Orgreave on May 29 by Sheffield Policewatch, a group of trade unionists and Labor Party members who have been monitoring police activity since the start of the miners' strike.

Their written report stated, "at 8:20 a.m. mounted police trotted at speed straight into the crowd in wedge formation for no apparent reason."

In Shukla's view, the escalating violence at Orgreave represents an inevitable buildup of bitterness and resentment. "We've been on strike for 15 weeks now. Fifteen weeks of coppers kicking you about, boasting how much overtime they're earning. Fifteen weeks of scabs bragging about the blood money they're getting for crossing our picket lines."

"There's only so much that men will take from police or scabs, now the miners are saying, 'Enough is enough,' and are returning the police attacks in kind."

From Intercontinental Press

## Women miners conference opens

### Fight for women's rights strengthens United Mine Workers

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The Sixth National Conference of Women Miners opens June 22 in Charleston, West Virginia. The meeting, sponsored by the Coal Employment Project and Coal Mining Women's Support Team, will be an important one for women miners and other members of the United Mine Workers of America who will be there, and for other women and unionists.

The gathering will continue a discussion on how to defend the rights of women miners. Last year's conference registered some important advances in understanding how to do this.

A central theme was the need to mobilize the UMWA's power on behalf of its women members. This is essential to begin to solve some of the discrimination women miners face.

The discussion also pointed to the way that fighting for the rights of women miners strengthens the entire UMWA. Today's situation in the mines drives home the importance of these lessons.

The operators continue to discriminate against women in hiring. Once on the job women face discrimination in training and promotion, as well as sexual harassment. Women are still victimized by the discriminatory "last hired, first fired," rule of layoffs. Many women miners laid off at the time of last year's conference have still not been recalled to the mines.

#### Contract showdown

Women are also victims of the employer assault against the entire UMWA. The operators are preparing for a showdown over the national coal contract that expires September 30. They hope to impose a takeaway contract on the union. A process that some miners call "creeping concessions" has already begun in the mines.

Safety conditions are under especially sharp attack. Speedup is becoming a bigger problem. Many miners remain laid off, while others face six-day work weeks and overtime. The operators are cracking down on absenteeism.

Much of this will come to a head in the contract fight. The union too is preparing for a showdown. The December UMWA convention voted unanimously "No backward steps! No takeaway contracts!" A big topic of discussion among many miners is how to strengthen the union to make that stick.

The fight to defend the rights of women in the mines, and the role of women in the UMWA, is of prime importance in facing this challenge. Over the last year women have stepped forward to play a bigger role in the union.

Twenty women were delegates to the UMWA convention, the largest number ever. In many other ways women are asserting their role as activists and leaders of this militant union. This includes running for, and in some cases winning, local leadership positions. A growing number of women are serving on UMWA committees.

The special discrimination women face leads many to be among the best union militants. This strengthens the union and helps to arm it for the battles it is facing.

#### Special problems of women

UMWA Pres. Rich Trumka took up some of these themes in his keynote address to last year's national women miners' conference.

"As women miners, you face special problems in the workplace," Trumka said. "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," he affirmed.



"As we put a stop to sex-based discrimination in the mines," Trumka told conference participants, "we make it much harder for coal operators to discriminate against anyone, for any reason."

This is key. Sexual discrimination and harassment, like racist practices, are aimed at dividing the union, rendering it less able to defend its members, and thus helping to boost corporate profits and control of all conditions on the job.

When the union opposes these practices and fights against them, women, Black, and Latino workers respond by deepening their commitment as militant union fighters.

Trumka's talk recognized that this challenge has not yet been fully met. He acknowledged that "some union brothers were resentful, and, I might add, abusive," toward women miners. Others, Trumka pointed out, "were supportive and offered a helping hand."

He pointed to a lesson many women have learned. "As you entered the mines, many of you found that your union is your best protection against harassment, discrimination, and hazardous working conditions."

As women became active in the UMWA, it forced the union "to look at discrimination in a new light," said Trumka. "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."

"You have proven to the coal industry and to everybody else," Trumka concluded, "... that you belong in the coal mines if you want to be there."

However the coal operators have not abandoned their efforts to drive women out of the mines. And, as with many other features of the employing-class offensive against the labor movement, the courts

have joined in on the side of the owners of the corporations.

#### Affirmative action

On June 12 the Supreme Court ruled against modifications in seniority lists to protect Blacks, Latinos, and women from discriminatory layoffs. Some union leaders, such as American Federation of Teachers Pres. Albert Shanker, hailed this decision. Other AFL-CIO leaders have also portrayed it as proungion.

However this ruling is no more in the interests of labor than the Supreme Court's endorsement of the union-busting bankruptcy scam, or other antilabor decisions issued by lower courts. It leaves the employers freer to continue discriminatory practices, which divide the working class and weaken the unions.

The issue of affirmative action and layoffs was an important discussion at last year's women miners conference.

Many different views were expressed. Some participants thought seniority had to be modified in some way if initial gains in hiring women were not to be gutted. They expressed the opinion that seniority is an important gain, but that it is only effective when it serves to strengthen the union. Others felt seniority was a basic tenet of unionism that could not be altered in any way.

The conference did not attempt to resolve the dispute. The final report from the workshop on layoffs concluded that it had simply initiated a very important discussion. It will likely continue at this year's gathering.

This discussion and others about how to advance the rights of women and the interests of the entire union will be at the center of the conference. It is part of the preparation for the UMWA contract fight and future battles. Other unions, too, have much to learn from the example of the UMWA, this conference, and its discussions.

## Minn. nurses winning broad solidarity

BY CAROLE LESNICK AND JAY RESSLER

ST. PAUL, Minn. — On June 1, over 6,000 registered nurses (RNs) walked off the job at 16 private hospitals in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

The evening before the strike began over 3,000 nurses and their supporters jammed into the St. Paul Prom Center for a strike rally organized by the Minnesota Nurses Association (MNA), which represents the striking nurses.

Cynthia Hunt, chief negotiator for the MNA, explained the issues of the strike to the rally.

Hunt noted that the MNA is the largest bargaining unit for RNs in the country and that it first won the right to strike in 1982. This local, Hunt said, is in the forefront of the national struggle for better working conditions for nurses and improved patient care.

#### Job security

Hunt explained that the key demand of the strikers is job security. Currently nurses are laid off and recalled without regard to seniority. The MNA is demanding that nurses be recalled according to seniority before openings are filled from the outside.

In addition to ignoring seniority, the hospital corporations are demanding the right to "float" nurses from floor to floor as they see fit.

The on-call, "floating" status of many part-time nurses, and the lack of seniority rights, leads to what many call "warehouse

nursing," which is generally viewed as detrimental to patient care.

Nursing has increasingly become a part-time profession — over 70 percent of MNA members are part-timers today compared with 50 percent in 1980. On top of that, hours are being slashed for part-time nurses. The union is demanding a contract that will protect its members from arbitrary reductions in hours and pay.

Another basic issue in the strike is the right to contractual health insurance coverage. Management is demanding that this protection be stricken from the contract even though nurses already pay 20 percent of the cost of their own coverage and even more for coverage of dependents. Without contractual guarantees the hospitals would be able to decrease benefits and increase deductibles as they choose. Under the expired contract nurses had no eye-care or dental coverage.

Management is proposing that nurses use the hospitals where they work for their own health care. Many nurses feel this will limit confidentiality and privacy. Nurses choosing other hospitals are forced to pay a \$250 deductible for each stay and \$500 for each pregnancy.

#### Solidarity messages

The strike rally received a number of messages of solidarity, including one from Steve Jordan representing the Players Association of the Minnesota Vikings.

Marty Zins, president of the Minnesota

Education Association (MEA), offered the MEA office for use as a city-wide strike headquarters.

Peter Benner, director of Council 6 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, emphasized that "No one is striking on the sick. Rather, they are striking for the sick."

Democratic State Rep. Karen Clark pointed to the importance of the strike for all women. She noted that over 90 percent of the members of the MNA are women and that nurses are traditionally paid less than others for carrying out work of comparable worth. Clark reminded the strike rally that Denver nurses had sued that city to be paid as much as tree-trimmers there. Although the MNA is not making wage increases a main demand, it is asking for a 6 percent pay hike.

This strike is widely regarded as an important fight for women's rights both by the striking nurses themselves and by women's rights organizations and supporters.

Feminist slogans and signs decorate the walls of several of the strike headquarters.

Women's rights organizations such as the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women have solidified with this fight.

#### Hospitals' antiwoman stand

Many women have expressed outrage, for example, over the antiwoman position of the hospitals expressed by Mike Phil-

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