

Striking British miners need int'l solidarity

BY MALIK MIAH

International solidarity — that's what's needed to aid the embattled British coal miners who have now been on strike against mine closures for over 100 days.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), with 85 percent of its 183,000 members out on strike, is locked in a major class battle with Britain's employers and government. The mineworkers are historically one of the strongest and most militant British unions and have led the entire British working class.

The stakes in the current confrontation are high.

Impact and lessons

The outcome of this battle will be felt far beyond Britain. As the most important labor struggle in an imperialist country over the last decade, it will have an impact on the relationship between the employing class and working people in all the advanced capitalist countries.

A victory for the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will embolden U.S. employers, and those across Europe, to step up their class war against working people at home and abroad.

A victory for the miners will inspire metal workers who have struck for a 35-hour work week in West Germany, French steelworkers fighting mill shutdowns,



G.M. Cookson

British miners demonstrating in London

Spanish shipyard workers fighting for jobs, and others.

Of special importance in the United States is the impact a NUM victory can have on U.S. coal miners, who are heading toward a big contract showdown with the coal operators in September. Other U.S. workers, including auto and postal workers, also preparing for contract battles, can learn from this strike.

If the British miners win it will also inspire farmers, immigrant workers, Blacks, and women fighting for their social, economic, and political interests.

Already the NUM has received valuable international solidarity from workers in Europe and Australia who are helping the NUM try to stop Thatcher government efforts to import coal to break the strike.

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Grenada party demands: U.S. out!

BY ERNEST HARSCH

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — "Now we have a party to represent us."

That comment was widespread among the more than 700 Grenadians who turned out for a rally to launch a new revolutionary party, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), on May 27.

The party is named after Grenada's late prime minister and revolutionary leader, who, along with other key leaders, was murdered in a counterrevolutionary coup in

October 1983. That coup opened the way for the subsequent massive U.S. invasion of this eastern Caribbean island.

The rally in St. Mark's, in northwestern Grenada, was the largest such political gathering on Grenada since those events. It marked an important shift in the spirit and mood of at least a section of the Grenadian population, which is beginning to overcome the widespread shock and political disorientation ushered in by Bishop's murder and the U.S. invasion.

The rally, which was also called to mark African Liberation Day and Bishop's 40th birthday, was addressed by Kendrick Radix and George Louison, two key supporters of Bishop and members of the overthrown People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). Also present on the platform was Alimenta Bishop, the late prime minister's mother, who received a tremendous ovation from the crowd when she was introduced.

In his speech, Radix, who is the chairperson of the MBPM's Steering Committee, announced the formation of the new party. He declared, "We are launching this movement, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, to continue the great works Maurice started and the cause he gave his life for."

In a July 2 interview with the *Militant*, George Louison, who is also a spokesperson for the party, explained, "The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement carries as its central program the question of national sovereignty and independence. By that we mean the withdrawal of all foreign forces. We mean no foreign military bases in our country. We mean a total end to the occupation of Grenada."

Party's program

In mid-June, the MBPM published its manifesto, a detailed 24-page statement that outlines the party's proposals for all sectors of the economy, for education and health care, for the building of mass organizations, and for the attainment of Grenada's full sovereignty and independence.

"Today," the manifesto explains, "the many programs Bishop and his Party developed for the workers, farmers, youth, women, students and all sections of the Grenadian people have either been crushed, made dormant or sealed down."

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Charges against Louis Farrakhan: racist smear of Black community

The big-business media, Democratic and Republican parties, and the capitalist class that controls them are once again raising the racist smear that Blacks are anti-Semitic. This time the slander comes in the form of attacks on Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan for a speech he gave denouncing Israeli aggression against the Pal-

cans with their appeal for peace and normalized relations.

The anti-Semitism charge has a long history of use against the Black movement. Malcolm X was a frequent target of the charge, as have been Blacks who have met with Palestinian fighters — such as Jackson — and activists in the struggle for Blacks' right to affirmative action, a decent education, open housing, and greater political representation.

The charge is a lie from start to finish. The storm whipped up against Farrakhan stems from a remark in a June 24 sermon where he allegedly called Judaism a "gutter religion."

What did Farrakhan actually say?

First of all, he blasted the Zionist movement, which "began to take the land away from the Palestinian people and little by little they gained strength and power and, with the backing of the nations, they claimed that land to be theirs and they called it Israel."

"I say to the Jewish people," Farrakhan added, "and to the government of the

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1,000 at Dominican socialist rally

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — In the face of continuing arrests and other government attacks against the Dominican revolutionary movement, the Socialist Bloc held a large public rally here June 28 to open its first national convention. The resounding success of the rally was a big blow to the attempts by Pres. Salvador Jorge Blanco's regime to intimidate Dominican workers and farmers and carry out the economic austerity plan ordered by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In the weeks leading up to the congress, hundreds of activists and leaders of left organizations had been jailed. The Socialist Bloc made a special push to build the convention as broadly as possible, inviting a wide range of organizations and leaders.

An important component of the gathering was the participation of many international guests, who came to express solidarity with the Socialist Bloc and the Dominican struggle against U.S. imperialist domination. Among these was Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president.

'IMF out!'

Around 1,000 people jammed the hall where the rally was held. The militant crowd was overwhelmingly young, made up of workers, peasants, students, and other fighters. As the speakers and international guests filed onto the platform, the hall broke out into chants of "IMF Out of the Country!" "The Only Road is Socialism!" and "April, April, April, We're going to do it again!"

April is charged with political significance here. In early 1965 a popular armed insurrection shook the Dominican Republic. This led to an April invasion and occupation of that country by 40,000 U.S. marines, who only crushed the revolt after weeks of fighting.

And in April of this year, Dominican working people launched a massive rebellion against the government's acceptance of new IMF demands, which resulted in up to 100 percent increases in prices for basic consumer goods and drastic cuts in government food subsidies. The masses threw up barricades in the streets, forced the police back into their headquarters, and bravely

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Militant/Jeff Powers
Andrea González, socialist candidate for U.S. vice-president spoke at Dominican Republic rally.

EDITORIAL

estinian people. But the target is all Blacks and other working people who oppose racism here and abroad.

It's no accident that the hue and cry about "Black anti-Semitism" was raised while Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, who is supported by Farrakhan, was on his trip to several Central American countries and Cuba. The U.S. rulers were angered by the success the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments, which both invited Jackson to their countries, had in reaching millions of Ameri-

BY JASON REDRUP

HOUSTON — There is a discussion continuing here, in the Black community and in the plants and refineries, about the revolution in Grenada. This is reflected in the response socialists have found at the plant gates to the published speeches of revolutionary Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop.

Socialist Workers Party members in Houston organize regular weekly teams to take the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* and other literature to five area plant gates: the ARCO and Charter Oil refineries, organized by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW); US Steel-Baytown and Hughes Tool, organized by the United Steelworkers of America; and the Englewood rail yard.

At ARCO, the socialists began pointing out the *Militant's* coverage of Grenada in the few seconds they had to talk to workers pouring out the gate at shift change. This got an interested response, espe-

cially from Black oil workers. The team members decided to bring along copies of the pamphlet *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers* and offer it with the latest *Militant* for a dollar. Five copies of the pamphlet were sold at one shift change, and several more at another.

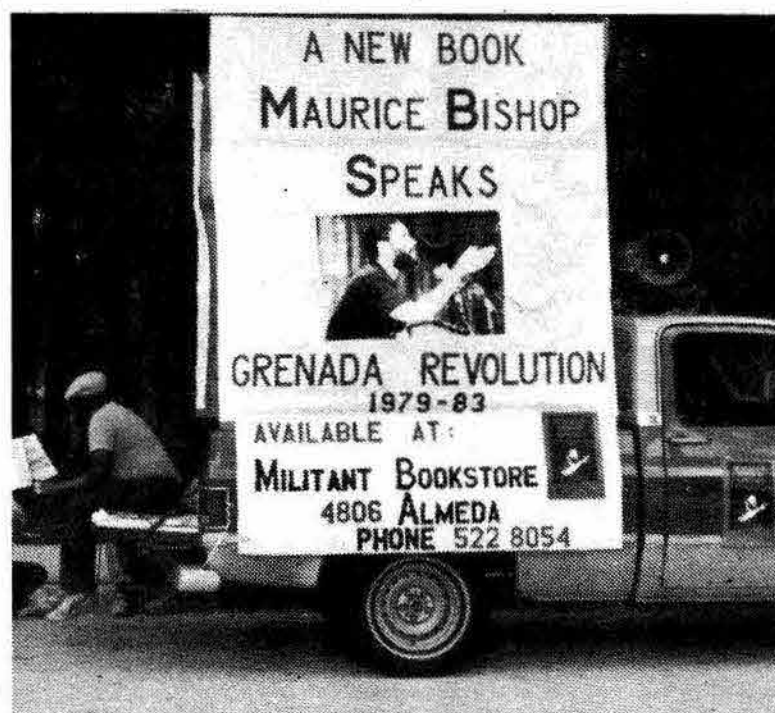
This was such a success at ARCO that the teams to other plant gates tried it too. Two pamphlets have been sold to workers at Charter Oil, and one at US Steel-Baytown. The teams also passed out leaflets announcing the publication by Pathfinder Press of the extensive collection of Bishop's speeches in the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

The socialists are known among political activists in Houston as staunch supporters of the Grenada revolution, as well as activists in OCAW and other unions. Because of this, SWP members were invited to a discussion on Black liberation and socialism, which was

attended by a number of ARCO oil workers. One of them expressed interest in reading *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

More working people were introduced to *Maurice Bishop Speaks* at the annual "Juneteenth" parade in Houston. On June 19, Black Texans commemorate the date when slavery was ended in Texas.

One of the entries in the parade this year was a float sponsored by supporters of the Grenada revolution. The float carried banners saying "U.S. Out of Grenada" and advertising *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. Along the parade route, the float was met with applause and raised fists. Nine copies of the pamphlet *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers* were sold to people watching the parade, and thousands of leaflets were handed out advertising the book and three bookstores in the black community that carry it.



Float at Juneteenth Day in Houston announced publication of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

'Hope Bishop book will be instrument of struggle'

BY TONY PRINCE

MILWAUKEE — Forty people came to a June 23 meeting here to celebrate the publication of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches of the slain leader of the Grenada revolution.

The meeting was held at Cross Lutheran Church in Milwaukee's Black Community. It was sponsored by Pathfinder Press, the publisher of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

Chairwoman Nancy Cole began the meeting by hailing the recent formation of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement in Grenada, a political party that has been established to continue the work of Maurice Bishop.

Cole read greetings to the meeting from Howard Fuller, a long-time Black leader who is now secretary of Employment Relations of Wisconsin. Fuller's greetings said in part, "Maurice Bishop was not only a person I admired and respected from afar. He was a personal friend."

"I saw great possibilities for the progressive development of the Grenadian society under the leadership of Maurice Bishop," Fuller's message said. "His death was a sad event for all of us who knew him."

"It is my hope that this book [*Maurice Bishop Speaks*] will become an instrument of struggle in the hands of those people who still want to see a free and independent Grenada."

Cole also read greetings from Milwaukee Puerto Rican leader Tony Baez, who denounced the use of Puerto Rican soil for the planning of the invasion of Grenada.

Readers will notice that the "Great Society" column did not appear in last week's issue or this week's. Staff writer Harry Ring recently underwent surgery and is currently recuperating. We expect to resume his column soon.

nada and future U.S. invasions in Central America.

Babette Grunau, from the steering committee of the Central America Solidarity Coalition (CASC), expressed her solidarity with the people of Grenada and reviewed actions taken by CASC to protest the U.S. invasion. She pointed out that the invasion is a "blueprint for war in Central America and the Caribbean" and called for continued opposition to the U.S. government's war plans.

Ronald Starks, from the United Black Community Council (UBCC), expressed his group's support for freedom fighters around the world. Several members of the UBCC attended the meeting.

Participants in the meeting heard a description of the growing radicalization in Jamaica from Fitz Jackson, who recently returned from that country. He said there is a growing frustration with the broken promises and economic failure of the U.S.-backed Edward Seaga regime, and rising

militancy among both the youth and adult population.

Mohammed Oliver, a *Militant* staff writer who has traveled to Grenada twice since the U.S. invasion, urged those present to buy, read, study, and distribute *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. It's an important book, he explained, because it shows what a government of workers and farmers can do — not just in Grenada, but here in the United States, too.

The revolutionary government in Grenada cut unemployment from 50 percent to 12 percent, reoriented agricultural production to meet the needs of the Grenadian people, carried out a literacy drive, and made medical and dental care free.

The book contains many lessons for U.S. working people, Oliver said. It shows the crucial importance of the workers and farmers taking governmental power and using that power to reconstruct society in the interests of the working majority.

Oliver concluded that a big part of defending the Grenadian people is to get out the truth about their revolution by publicizing and distributing *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

At the meeting \$61 worth of Pathfinder Press literature was sold, including four copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

Earlier in the week, socialists had set up a *Maurice Bishop Speaks* display at the annual Juneteenth Day festival in the Black community. Juneteenth Day, June 19th, marks the freeing of Black slaves in Texas in 1865. The festival is a big event, drawing 30,000 people this year.

At the festival, one copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* was sold in addition to 10 copies of the pamphlet *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers*. Fifteen hundred leaflets were distributed to publicize the meeting for the book, and festival participants showed a lot of interest in the Pathfinder booth.

Unionists show interest in Grenada lessons

BY NORTON SANDLER

YPSILANTI, Mich. — Trade unionists attending the June 15-17 Labor Notes conference here were interested in learning more about the Grenada revolution and the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, published by Pathfinder Press.

During the conference, an open house to celebrate the book was hosted by Pathfinder and cosponsored by Fred Dube of the African National Congress; Ron Weisen, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 1397; Glen Arnado, president of the Houston chapter of the Texas State Employees Union; and others.

Thirty-five participants in the Labor Notes conference attended. They heard more about the book, watched a videotape interview with Bishop, and held a lively discussion about the lessons of the Grenada revolution and its overthrow.

Auto workers from Wisconsin and Detroit came to the open house, as did three members of the Communications Workers of America from New York, four Canadian unionists, and others.

Sixteen unionists at the conference bought copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. (For newstory on the Labor Notes conference, see page 10).

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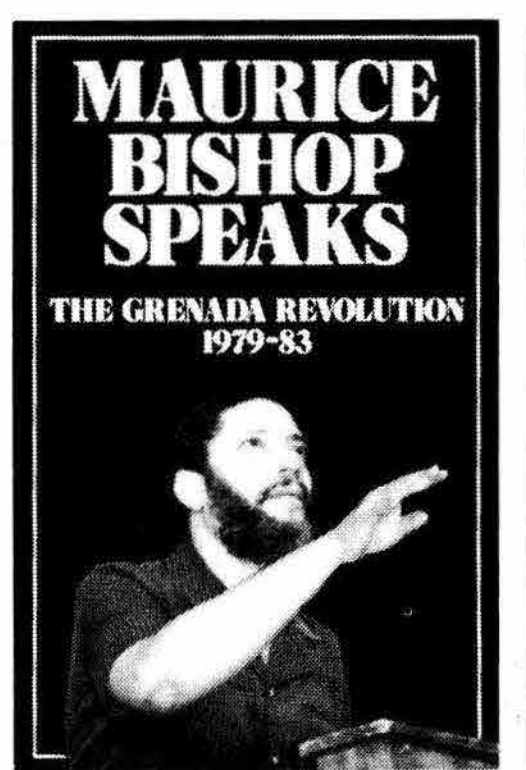
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Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

MALIK MIAH

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, Geoff Mirelowitz, Mohammed Oliver, Harry Ring.

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Sandinistas unmask priest's role in terrorist network

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The long-running conflict between the Nicaraguan revolution and the Catholic church hierarchy broke out into the open once again here June 20. The Sandinista government announced it had caught red-handed a Catholic priest participating in a terrorist underground network to aid CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries.

Despite irrefutable evidence against Father Luis Amado Peña, the priest denied the charges, claiming he was a victim of "a frame-up against the Catholic church."

The charges against Peña were made public at a June 20 news conference held by Commander Lenín Cerna, head of the General Directorate of State Security (DGSE), a branch of the Ministry of the Interior. Cerna reported that the DGSE had broken up an "internal front" of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). The FDN, based in Honduras, is the main CIA-sponsored group carrying out Washington's war against the Nicaraguan revolution.

The head of military operations for this internal front, Pedro Hernán Espinoza, alias "El Pez" (The Fish), has been arrested, as have several of his coconspirators. Cerna said Espinoza had implicated well-known leaders of Nicaragua's capitalist political parties, the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), professional associations, and others.

The counterrevolutionary leader Espinoza was brought before reporters. He gave a lengthy, rambling account of his activities with the FDN and other groups aimed at putting together an urban terrorist underground.

Videotape of conspiracy

The real bombshell of the news conference, however, was a videotape showing meetings between Espinoza and Father Luis Amado Peña. Obviously unaware of the hidden cameras and microphones, Peña expansively discusses with "El Pez" all kinds of counterrevolutionary activities and plans. Peña is shown receiving instructions on the use of weapons and explosives. He plots the storage and delivery of terrorist materials, using his church as cover.

On the videotape, Father Peña is clearly heard calling for the murder of top leaders of the Sandinista revolution: "What is needed is four bullets for one of these sons-of-bitches. . . . If I take care of three or four of them, horror will reign."

He also discusses trying to manipulate discontent among small merchants, going so far as to propose provoking clashes with the police during a projected demonstration.

Small merchants are a large sector of Nicaragua's urban population. They have been hard hit by shortages caused by the war. Many charge higher than official prices for basic items and some less scrupulous ones hoard and speculate with essential goods. Government efforts to impose effective controls on distribution and prices of essential items have been a source of friction with some merchants.

Cerna told reporters that Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge had met with Monsignor Pablo Antonio Vega, head of the bishops' conference, to explain the "difficult situation in which Father Peña finds himself," as Borge later put it.

To clearly demonstrate that the revolutionary government was not engaged in religious persecution, Borge told Vega that Peña would not be arrested. He urged that the church hierarchy relieve Peña of his normal functions and assume a cautious and responsible attitude.

Despite Borge's requests, the reaction by Father Peña and the Catholic church hierarchy was provocative and confrontational.

Plotters cry plot

"The church is a victim of a tremendous plot," said Miguel Obando y Bravo, archbishop of Managua and Father Peña's immediate superior. In statements printed under banner headlines on the front page of

the June 21 issue of the capitalist daily *La Prensa*, Monsignor Obando y Bravo claimed that charges against Peña were a complete fabrication.

"We know the methods the Sandinistas use," the archbishop said. "Somebody also imitated the voice of Father Peña. We know those methods. They [the Sandinistas] are artists."

For his part, Father Peña issued an eight-point "testimony," also published on the front page of *La Prensa*.

The CIA-sponsored Radio 15 de Septiembre, which broadcasts from Honduras and is the official voice of the FDN, gave prominent play to the statements by Archbishop Obando y Bravo, Father Peña, and the capitalist political parties defending them.

Protest demonstrations

Supporters of the revolution were enraged by this counterrevolutionary holy alliance between the CIA-organized FDN, the Catholic church hierarchy, *La Prensa*, the right-wing political parties, and others.

Several hundred residents of working-class neighborhoods in Managua staged a march on *La Prensa*'s offices and a similar demonstration was held at Father Peña's church in the Bello Horizonte neighborhood. People at the demonstration in front of the church were so furious the Sandinista Police were forced to intervene to ensure that no incidents took place that could be used to discredit the revolution.

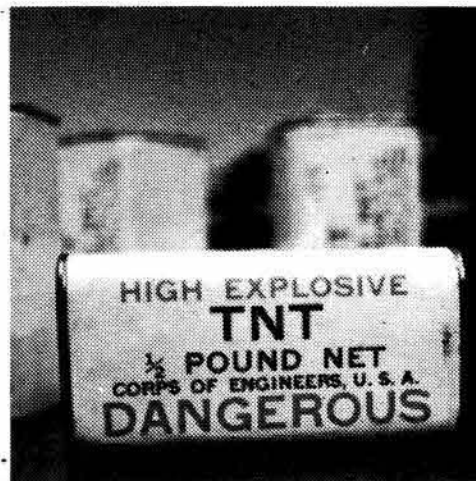
An indication of the sentiment among supporters of the revolution was given June 22 by representatives of the 13,000-strong Germán Pomares Ordóñez Federation, the union of the workers of the Ministry of Construction.

Gathered for a "Face the Nation" meeting with government leaders, 200 workers representing local unions adopted a statement denouncing "the priests who, using religious robes, cover up for the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie."

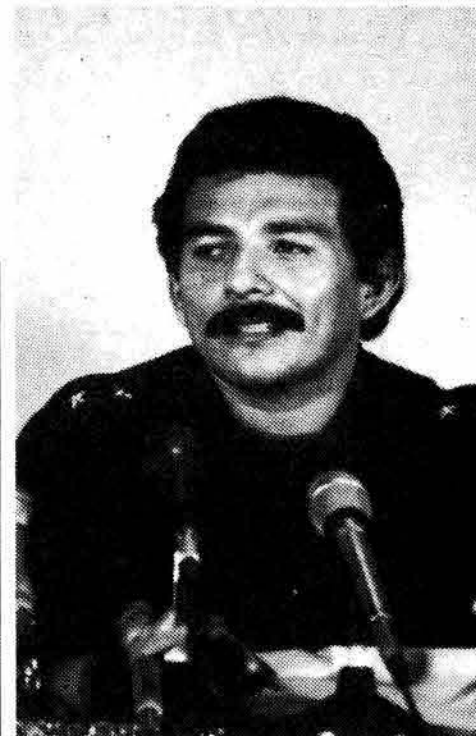
The statement continued, "we demand that the weight of revolutionary justice be applied vigorously against the priest Luis Amado Peña, the suspect Pedro Hernán Espinoza (El Pez), and others implicated in the attempt to create an internal front."

The reading of the statement was accompanied by shouts of "People's power" and "Deal harshly with the terrorists in priests' robes!"

On June 23, Interior Minister Borge, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front



Lenín Cerna, Nicaraguan state security head, held press conference to show evidence, such as TNT and videotape, revealing priest's involvement in CIA-backed terrorism.



Militant photos by José G. Pérez

(FSLN), spoke at a rally to commemorate the birth of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca. Borge dedicated most of his speech to discussing the Peña case and the lessons to be drawn from it.

Borge said, "It requires no effort whatsoever to see the enormous similarity that exists between the positions of the Reagan government and the political positions of the Catholic tops of Nicaragua." He pointed to concrete links between the church hierarchy and U.S. imperialism, such as the thousands of dollars the Managua archdiocese has received since 1981 from the U.S. Agency for International Development, supposedly for social action programs.

"Could it be," Borge asked, "that the Reagan government became filled with love for the poor of Nicaragua?"

"Or might it be that the political activity of the Managua Archdiocese coincides with [the U.S.] objectives of destroying our revolution?"

Borge pointed out that the CIA-organized counterrevolutionary troops (*contras*) have been unable to take over any zone within Nicaragua from which to proclaim a provisional government. For that reason, he explained, "the counterrevolutionary army has reoriented its activities against economic targets."

"But the main objective of destroying centers of production is political," Borge said. With such attacks, the *contras* seek to "sharpen problems with supplies and thereby create discontent among the masses."

Borge explained that the capitalists, the same people who profit from shortages

from hoarding and speculating with essential items, are now trying to make political hay from economic difficulties provoked by the CIA attacks.

"The protagonists of decapitalization, of hoarding, the lords of speculation and the anti-Sandinista philosophy, are the same ones who produce shortages and they are the same ones who base themselves on the shortages to accuse the revolution of being responsible for them. . . .

"But, of course, not only do they take advantage of the results of the terrorist action, they also criticize and attack the measures that we adopt to rationalize the distribution of food. . . .

"But, could they be expected to act in any other way? On what basis have these gentlemen accumulated their fortunes if it isn't precisely on the basis of hoarding and through practice of the theology of exploitation?" Borge asked. The Sandinista leader explained that the government had a duty to prevent manipulation of small merchants — many of whom are women — by people like Father Peña. "It is our revolutionary duty," he said to thunderous applause, "not to abandon these women, who are also daughters of our people."

But, he warned, "the political personalities who are behind the projects to create violence in the markets . . . will be the ones responsible for what happens there and on them will fall, without any hesitation, the full weight of revolutionary justice."

"We are not accusing the right-wing parties of acting on the military terrain," he

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Nicaraguan people tell Jackson they want peace

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Take back to your people the Nicaraguan people's desire to keep the freedom they have won. Tell your people: we want peace to return to Central America."

Commander of the Revolution Carlos Núñez addressed these words to U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson in a special session of the Council of State, Nicaragua's legislature, on June 28. Nicaragua was the last stop for Jackson and his delegation in a brief tour of Central America and Cuba.

During Jackson's visit, the Sandinistas made clear, once again, their willingness to do whatever is necessary to defend their revolution and to bring an end to the bloodshed brought about by the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary bands operating inside Nicaragua.

To this end a nine-point statement was agreed to by Jackson and Sergio Ramírez, one of three members of Nicaragua's top government body, the Junta of National Reconstruction. Among the points were several which have been made by the Sandinistas before: Nicaragua's commitment to hold elections, scheduled for November of this year; support to the peace negotiations proposed by the Contadora Group (Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, and Panama); the continuation of talks, already in progress, with the United States; and a reaffirmation of Nicaragua's commitment

not to attack Honduras or Costa Rica, but rather to maintain a strictly defensive military posture and seek bilateral agreements to reduce tensions with both neighboring countries.

The Sandinistas also extended their offer of amnesty to counterrevolutionaries who lay down their arms and reintegrate themselves into the social and economic life of the country. They agreed to support the idea of a summit conference of all Central American and Caribbean governments and legitimate political forces such as the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

In addition to addressing the Council of State, Jackson met with Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge and Defense Minister Humberto Ortega.

Jackson also met privately with the Catholic church hierarchy, leaders of the right-wing capitalist political parties, and U.S. embassy officials.

Leading up to Jackson's arrival, the Sandinista leadership urged all Nicaraguans to welcome him with open arms.

Welcoming Jackson when he arrived at the airport, Ramírez explained that "like the United States in 1776, Nicaragua two centuries later rose up in arms to win her independence. . . . And with a sense of national independence and with the vast support of the people of Nicaragua, we are

ready to carry this revolution forward, just as the United States carried its own forward at the moment it arose as an independent nation."

Ramírez went on to reaffirm Nicaragua's desire for normal, peaceful relations with the United States. "We only ask that our right to be independent be respected unconditionally, that our right to choose our own path be respected without outside interference nor impositions of any kind," he said.

Ramírez ended his welcoming speech by addressing Jackson as one "who represent[s] the sentiment of thousands of worthy and just people in the United States, the sentiment of the working people, of Blacks, Chicanos, Hispanics, Indians, and so many other North American victims of humiliation and discrimination."

"On welcoming you we say to you that Nicaragua is also struggling in order to not be discriminated against, nor humiliated, nor oppressed, just for being a poor nation that does not want to return to servitude."

Receiving Jackson at the Ministry of the Interior, Tomás Borge expressed the hope of Nicaragua that "one day the United States would begin to regain true hegemony — moral hegemony — by sending our impoverished countries doctors, technicians, and teachers who would be received with open arms."

First volume on Communist Int'l debate and resolutions will appear in late July

At the end of July, the first book in a multi-volume series documenting the origins and first five years of the Communist International (Comintern) will come off the press. With this volume, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, Documents: 1907-1916 — The Preparatory Years*, Monad Press launches a major publishing project that will take several years to complete. Pathfinder Press will be the distributor for the new series.

The goal is to make available in English the principal debates and resolutions of the international socialist movement that directly relate to the origins of the Comintern and debates and resolutions of the Comintern from its founding in 1919 through 1923.

This documentary record will enable revolutionary Marxist workers to reconquer a rich and invaluable part of our political heritage, thus deepening our capacity to meet the big challenges we face today.

The political record of the Comintern is presently only available in English in a fragmentary form. Therefore, a big part of the task is hunting down the documents, most of which are available in German or Russian, and translating them for publication. More than 40 collaborators in Canada and the United States as well as other countries have been involved so far in the process of researching documents, translating them, and checking the translations.

Of the material in the first volume on the preparatory years, more than 40 percent will appear in English for the first time and about a quarter of it is either totally out of print or virtually inaccessible in English. Except for the selections from Lenin, all the documents previously available in English will appear in this volume with new, improved translations.

Among the documents appearing in this volume for the first time in English are articles by revolutionary leaders Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky, and Grigori Zinoviev of Russia; Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg of Germany; and Karl Radek of Poland.

Also appearing for the first time in English are discussions from the 1907 congress of the Second International held in Stuttgart, Germany, and of the conference of socialist internationalists that met in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in the fall of 1915. For the first time all the documents of the Zimmerwald Left, in which Lenin played a key role and to which the Comintern traces its continuity, are assembled in English.

The Stuttgart Congress marks an appropriate beginning point for this series of documentary volumes because it was where the problems posed by the imperialist stage of capitalism were first debated in a major way at an international socialist meeting. After the outbreak of World War I these debates were to feature prominently in the struggle to create the Third International.

Classes on new book at SWP convention

A class series on *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, Documents: 1907-1916 — The Preparatory Years* will be one of the features during the Socialist Workers' Party convention August 4-9 in Oberlin, Ohio. The six-day convention includes an educational and activists conference.

Convention sessions, where delegates elected by SWP branches will discuss and adopt positions to guide the party's activities in the coming year, will take place each morning. During most afternoons there will be classes. Workshops, meetings of trade unionists, and other events will take place in the evenings.

In addition to the class series on *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, there will be a series on the article "The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship," by Mary-Alice Waters. This article appears in the Spring-Summer issue of *New Internationalist*.

There will also be a series of classes based on the book *The Founding of the*

The Stuttgart Congress met as decisive events were unfolding in the arena of international politics. Among them were the 1894-95 (Sino-Japanese), 1898 (Spanish-American) and 1900-1902 (Anglo-Boer and Sino-European) wars, which were openly imperialist in character. The peace of Europe was threatened by deepening imperialist conflict between Britain and Germany. All of Europe was engaged in a massive military buildup and the outlines of the approaching Europe-wide war already appeared clearly.

In this context the central issues discussed by the delegates at Stuttgart were militarism, the colonial question, and the approach class-conscious workers should take toward racism and immigrant workers.

Previous congresses of the International had discussed the colonial question and had always condemned bourgeois colonial policy as a policy of plunder and violence. However, at Stuttgart, the drafting commission on the colonial question was dominated by opportunists who inserted a sentence into the draft resolution to the effect that the Congress should not in principle condemn all colonial policy because under socialism, colonial policy could play a civilizing role.

This precipitated a sharp debate in which the opportunists, including the majority of the German delegation, argued that capitalist Europe needed colonies and that through an enlightened colonial policy the productive forces of the colonies could be developed. They also contended that even after capitalist rule was overturned socialist governments would continue to maintain colonies.

The majority of delegates rejected this proposed "socialist colonial policy," including the prominent German Marxist, Karl Kautsky, who was later to abandon Marxism.

At this time the International was overwhelmingly based on European parties and there was only scant participation of socialists from the colonial world. However, beginning with the 1905 revolution in Russia a massive wave of democratic revolutions swept across the East, including in Turkey, Iran, and China. These brought forward a layer of socialists who began to discuss imperialism from the vantage point of revolutionists in the oppressed nations. They debated whether imperialism, the force that was creating the first elements of a modern proletariat in their countries, was not thereby a progressive force.

The massive uprising against foreign domination that broke out in Iran in 1906 raised this question for Iran's Social Democrats — among the first in Asia to rally to the Second International. Many workers and intellectuals there had been influenced by their contact with the Russian revolution and the Social Democrats in Russia.

Under the rule of the Qajar dynasty, the Persian Empire had fallen victim in the

Socialist Workers Party, and another series on the lessons for working-class fighters in the four-volume series by Farrell Dobbs on the Teamsters struggle in the 1930s and 1940s.

If you are interested in participating in the convention and educational and activists conference, contact the SWP branch nearest you (see the directory on page 12) or send in the coupon below.

I am interested in attending the 1984 Socialist Workers Party convention and educational and activists conference, August 4-9, in Oberlin, Ohio.

Name _____
Address _____
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Public meeting during Second International's 1907 Stuttgart Congress, which took up militarism, colonial question, racism, and immigrant workers.

19th century to Russian and British domination. The empire was politically fragmented and economically very backward; modern industry had not yet appeared, although tens of thousands of Iranians were employed in industry within the tsarist empire.

Following the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1905, Iran underwent its Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 — a massive popular upheaval to modernize and democratize the state and to free it from foreign rule. Only in 1911, with the aid of Russian military intervention, was Iran finally brought back under imperialist control.

A Social Democratic Party had been formed among Iranians living in Baku, part of the Russian Empire. Soon after the outbreak of the Iranian revolution, a Social Democratic group formed inside the country. This new group, in Tabriz, began to discuss the questions that had aroused such heated debate at Stuttgart: was imperialist

penetration a force for progress or for reaction? Should a struggle led by bourgeois forces to free the country from imperialist control be supported?

The Iranian Social Democrats wrote to two leaders of the International, Karl Kautsky and a leading Russian Marxist, Georgi Plekhanov, soliciting their opinions on these questions. No reply by Plekhanov has ever been published.

The letter to Kautsky and his reply, which are reprinted below, will appear in *Documents: 1907-1916 — The Preparatory Years*. This will be the first time that the full text of these documents will appear in English.

On October 16, 1908, a meeting of the Tabriz group voted 28-2 to constitute a Social Democratic organization there, with goals that included participating in the revolutionary democratic movement, while heightening the class consciousness of the proletariat.

Correspondence between Kautsky and Iranian Social Democrats

Iranians' letter to Kautsky

Tabriz, July 16, 1908

Citizen Karl Kautsky

Dear Citizen,

We recognize your great competence in the economic and social sciences, and we would like to pose a few questions in this letter. As the answers to these are important to us, we would appreciate an immediate reply.

The Tabriz Social Democratic Group has recently been formed by some of this city's intellectuals. . . . Our group has already drafted its program of action. But the recent turmoil in Iran has forced us to

change our next meeting, scheduled for September, into a general assembly to reconsider our program and to discuss our participation in the Iranian democratic movement.

Industrial capitalism has not yet come into existence in Iran, and an industrial proletariat (in the European sense of the word) does not exist on which our group could base itself. However, despite this some of our comrades correctly believe that the group can go beyond its limited educational work, and that we can and must actively participate in the democratic movement. We can work for democracy and for the country's economic and social progress at the same time, without abandoning our fundamental principles.

Social Democrats naturally do not abstain from a democratic movement, because they are not only Socialists but also democrats — and the most consistent democrats at that. Therefore the group agreed in principle to participate in this movement.

Some comrades disagree with this. They are not completely opposed, but raise partial and conditional criticisms, which stem from their unclear conception of the nature of the Iranian revolution.

As you may know, there are two views among us concerning the nature of the movement in our country. According to the first, the Iranian revolution has no progressive content. This view contends that the thrust of the movement is against foreign capital, which is the only factor that can help develop the economy of the country. In other words, that the aim of this movement is to block the road to European civilization.

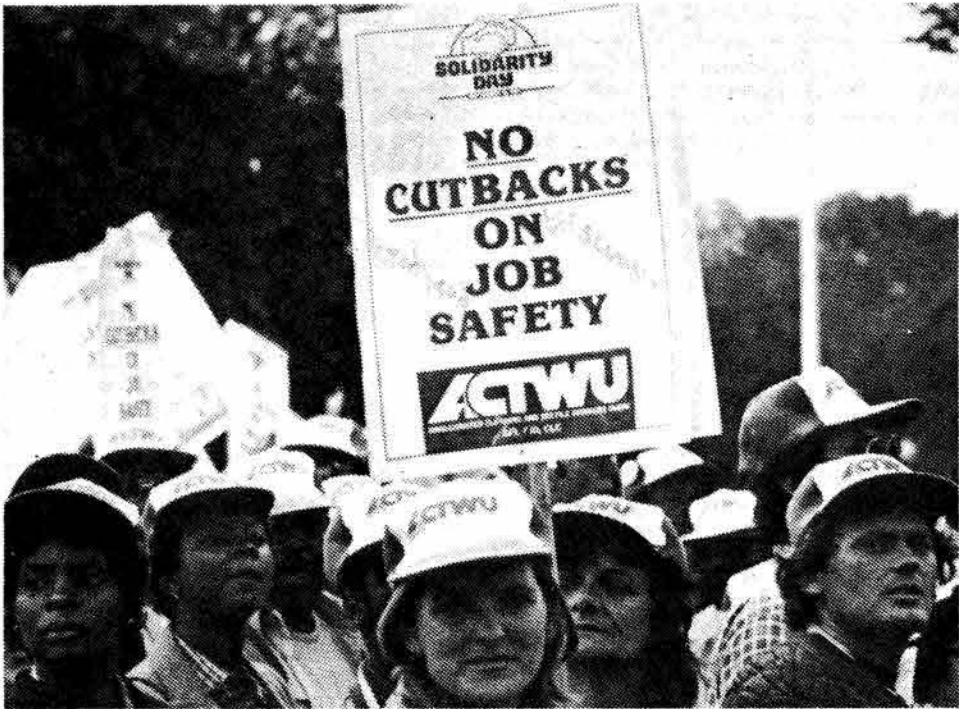
By contrast, those who support the second view claim that the movement is pro-

Continued on Page 12



Karl Kautsky

Clothing and textile workers convention takes up war, imports, organizing drives



Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at Sept. 19, 1981, Solidarity Day.

BY WENDY LYONS

HOLLYWOOD, Fla. — The third national convention of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) was held here June 11-15. More than 2,000 delegates and alternates from the United States and Canada attended.

A high percentage of the union membership is female, and many members are Spanish-speaking immigrants or Black. Most of the delegates here were white and middle-aged or older. Half were women. There was a significant number of Blacks and a few Latinos.

The major themes of the convention were "Defeat Reaganism," by voting for Democrat Walter Mondale, and "Buy American." These were offered by the union leadership as solutions to the unemployment, low wages, and worsening conditions the membership faces.

As the convention showed, the perspective of the ACTWU national leadership is to call on workers to collaborate with their bosses to "solve our common problem" of competition from capitalists abroad. This is the false idea behind the anti-imports "Buy American" campaign — get back to the "good old days" when the United States had undisputed economic hegemony and workers here could share a few extra crumbs from the resulting prosperity.

The ACTWU officialdom shares this basic outlook with the leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), the other major union organizing workers in the clothing and textile industry. This strategy of collaboration with the employers has dealt big blows to workers in both unions.

U.S. war in Central America

Unlike the ILGWU officialdom, however, the ACTWU leadership takes a critical stance toward the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. This stance, and the generally more open atmosphere at the ACTWU convention as compared to last year's ILGWU convention, led to an important discussion here on how unionists can combat the U.S. war.

Quite a few ACTWU locals and joint boards submitted resolutions to the convention calling for an end to U.S. attacks on El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada. Opposition to the widening war was a frequent topic on the floor of the convention.

For example, Connie Gunderson of Local 2440 in Duluth, Minnesota, explained how the Nicaraguan people, who rid themselves of the Somoza tyranny, are "now forced to fight against Washington and CIA-financed counterrevolutionaries."

"The people of Nicaragua support their government," she said, "and we should leave them alone." She also described efforts of trade unionists in Duluth to fight against deportation of a Salvadoran refugee there.

The final resolution adopted by the convention was much weaker than most of

those submitted from the field. It was also much weaker than the sentiment voiced by the delegates. Nevertheless, it represented progress and can aid unionists and others fighting to end the U.S. war against the people of Central America and the Caribbean.

The resolution called for "an immediate end of American military aid to the government of El Salvador and the 'Contras' seeking to overthrow the Nicaraguan government." To this end, the convention voted to encourage ACTWU joint boards and locals to continue "political pressure in various forms, such as marches, letter-writing campaigns, supporting and assisting Central American trade unionists in exile in this country, etc."

Support to National Labor Committee

The convention also voted strong support to the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. ACTWU Secretary-Treasurer Jack Sheinkman is cochair of the Labor Committee and spoke several times during the convention about the fact-finding trip to El Salvador that a delegation of unionists took last year. In addition to Sheinkman, the delegation included representatives from the United Auto Workers union, National Education Association, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union.

Sheinkman said that while there, the delegation met with a young trade unionist, Santiago Hernández, in a union hall that had been bombed by the right wing. Shortly after they left the country his body was found on a garbage dump. A death squad calling card was pinned through the skin of his chest. "And our government provides the weapons for these squads and our tax money pays for this!" Sheinkman said.

The convention went on record urging wide distribution of the report written by the union delegation to El Salvador. (It is called *El Salvador: Labor, Terror and Peace* and can be ordered from the Labor Committee at 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003 in English or Spanish.)

Convention delegates were invited to an evening meeting after the main sessions to hear more about the trade union delegation to El Salvador and to see slides of Nicaragua taken by Twin Cities Joint Board Pres. Richard Metcalf. Metcalf recently attended a trade union conference in Managua, Nicaragua.

Metcalf told of the gains Nicaraguans have made in basic necessities of life, health care, and education since overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship and getting "the boot off their neck." While only 5,000 workers were organized before the revolution, now 200,000 are members of trade unions, he explained. Praising the union delegation to El Salvador for getting the truth out about that country, he said, "the same thing needs to be done for Nicaragua."

About 30 attended the meeting and several delegates expressed interest in ACTWU organizing a tour of Nicaragua.

Dave Dyson, a leader of the Labor Committee and ACTWU, reported that during the visit to El Salvador the trade union delegation heard a lot of boasting from the U.S. military there that they would be given the green light to "clean the place up" after the U.S. presidential elections. Dyson said the union movement must step up its opposition to U.S. policy in Central America "before we see sons of unemployed workers here in the U.S. dropping bombs on the impoverished workers of Central America."

Dyson reported that the Labor Committee now has the affiliation of 20 international unions representing over one-third of organized U.S. labor.

A resolution on U.S. foreign policy adopted by the convention supported the bilateral nuclear freeze campaign, and called for an end to investment in and economic support for South Africa. It singled out the important struggle of South African textile workers at the Frame Co.

A separate resolution gave support to the reactionary government of Israel. When this resolution was introduced, one delegate rose to say that he thought the convention should call on Israel to get out of Lebanon. This was quickly brushed aside by the chair and the resolution adopted.

"Dump Reagan" speeches were a major feature of the convention, as they have been at all the labor conventions this past year. The social, economic, and political crisis facing workers was reduced to the policies of one evil man, Ronald Reagan. The solution offered: vote for the other capitalist candidate, Mondale.

Labor party discussed

Three years ago, at its last convention, ACTWU passed a resolution to investigate the possibilities of working with others to "assure workers their full political representation, including the running of independent labor endorsed candidates . . . and, if necessary, the formation of an independent party of labor." There was no mention of the labor party idea in the resolution on political action passed by the convention this year.

One joint board president explained that while there was agreement on an all-out effort to elect Mondale, a significant minority of the resolutions committee had wanted some mention of the labor party idea for the future.

Several other local officials spoke in a similar vein. It's clear that a section of the leadership thinks that while it is important to tie the union to the Democratic Party right now, it would be nice to have a pro-capitalist labor party sometime in the future and that it's good to talk about this ultimate goal.

Noel Beasley, Chicago Joint Board president, summed up this sentiment: "Our region will work hard to dump Reagan in the November election. However, we have to note that subservience to the Democratic Party is not working and we must continue a principled critique."

A featured speaker at the convention was Canadian Labor Congress Executive Vice-pres. Richard Martin, former head of the Manitoba Federation of Labor. He spent much of his speech talking about Canada's labor party — the New Democratic Party. The NDP has been the elected government in Manitoba for some time.

Martin said the province has the lowest unemployment rate in Canada, comprehensive free health care, a state-run prescription-drug plan, and the lowest auto insurance rates. He referred to these gains as the "fruits of democratic socialism under the NDP."

ACTWU affirmed its support for the NDP in both the Canadian Resolution and the Political Action Resolution.

Quite a number of Canadian delegates took the floor to talk about the value of having a labor party. "Don't worry so much about having a third party," one Canadian told the U.S. delegates, "we

have one up north and it's working for us."

While the NDP supports Canadian capitalism and backs collaboration with the employers at working people's expense, the contributions of some of the Canadian delegates and others were useful.

They help open up a much-needed discussion on the U.S. labor movement's self-defeating policy of subservience to the capitalist-controlled Democratic Party. This provides an opportunity for more far-sighted unionists to discuss the need for the labor movement to chart a course toward an independent labor party — independent not only in the sense of being outside the Democratic Party, but a party with a program independent of and opposed to the ruling-class policies at home and abroad.

'Buy American' campaign

Similar to the ILGWU and other labor conventions, ACTWU officials sought to whip up a big frenzy around the "Buy American" campaign.

The response from delegates to this started out slow but as the days wore on it became clear that the top leadership was using the anti-imports campaign as a way to vent the frustration ACTWU members feel about the crisis facing working people today. One delegate ended an emotional speech decrying the "flood of imports" by tearing off his shirt and throwing it into the air because it wasn't "made in the USA." He received a standing ovation. Not one delegate spoke against the anti-imports campaign.

Unionists with an internationalist perspective need to go on an educational campaign against this reactionary dead end explaining how the imperialist system works and why U.S. workers have a stake in uniting with workers in other countries against our common exploiters.

The ACTWU convention showed that many workers are trying to figure this out. In the course of discussions about Central America many delegates made points about how U.S. companies go abroad to superexploit workers in underdeveloped countries.

In fact, U.S. textile and garment companies reap the lion's share of the profits from imports, underlining the fraud of the "Buy American" campaign. North American workers have a big stake in the fights of their brothers and sisters struggling to unionize and to overturn repressive governments and end superexploitation once and for all. It is this road of international solidarity that is the only road to advancing the interests of U.S. workers.

As ACTWU members learn more about the struggles of workers in Central America and the Caribbean in the course of the union's educational activities against the U.S. war there, lessons can be drawn that point away from the chauvinist "Buy American" campaign.

Organizing the unorganized

Organizing the unorganized was a big discussion at the convention. Much of the clothing and textile industry remains unorganized. Many union shops were moved to the "right to work" South or abroad in the last decades.

ACTWU was founded from a merger in 1976 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which had about 350,000 members, and the Textile Workers Union of America, which had about 150,000 members. From this total of around 500,000, the union is now down to around 300,000, with a shrinkage of about 100,000 just since the last convention three years ago. About 11,000 new workers were organized in the same period.

The convention passed a strongly worded resolution on the need to organize the unorganized and the central leadership of the union spoke in favor of it. But in reality, organizing efforts have been cut back. Quite a number of textile workers from the South spoke to this problem. A delegate from North Carolina explained that the big Burlington chain has only two organized plants in the South — one organized by ACTWU and one by another

Continued on Page 15

NOW women back Marroquín

Farm workers lead immigration rights discussion

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

MIAMI — Many participants at the June 28-July 1 National Organization for Women (NOW) national conference here were concerned about recent attacks by the Reagan administration, the Supreme Court, and the U.S. Congress on the rights of immigrant workers. They were looking for a way to fight against these attacks. And hundreds found a way to do just that at this conference.

Among conference participants was Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist and political activist, who is fighting the U.S. government's attempts to deport him. Marroquín and his supporters distributed an open letter signed by six leaders and activists in NOW. The letter asked for support for Marroquín's fight to live and work in this country.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has tried for seven years to deport Marroquín. Just days before the conference, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Marroquín's appeal for political asylum. He is now continuing to fight to win a permanent residence visa — a green card — based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen.

Eleanor Smeal, former president of NOW, and U.S. Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder joined more than 200 others at the NOW conference in signing a petition to INS Commissioner Alan Nelson opposing the deportation of Marroquín.

Also just before the NOW conference, the U.S. Congress approved the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

Marroquín and several of his supporters visited farm workers in Homestead, Florida, and invited them to attend the NOW conference to speak out against the Simpson-Mazzoli bill and win NOW members and supporters to the fight to defeat this racist bill.

A dozen farm workers — men and women — responded to the invitation and came to Miami for the conference. They helped distribute leaflets inviting conference participants to a special workshop on defending the rights of immigrant workers.

Thirty people attended the workshop, including farm workers and a Haitian refugee. At the suggestion of one participant, the workshop was conducted in Spanish with English translation.

There were presentations from a migrant farm worker; Gloria Ramos, a counselor for farm workers in Homestead; and Héctor Marroquín.

The farm worker explained that she and

her family have been living in the U.S. since 1979. Her four children were born here and are thus U.S. citizens. But because she and her husband are undocumented, they can't take advantage of unemployment compensation or any other federally funded programs. They live in constant fear of being discovered by *la migra* (INS) agents and deported back to Mexico.

"We came to this country to have a better life, to have the hope of a decent education for our children," she explained. "But we live in poverty and fear. It is a sad life."

Ramos pointed to the great injustice that the Simpson-Mazzoli bill would mete out to the undocumented. "It would mean not only that those workers without papers would be deported. But their children, many of whom are U.S. citizens, would also be deported."

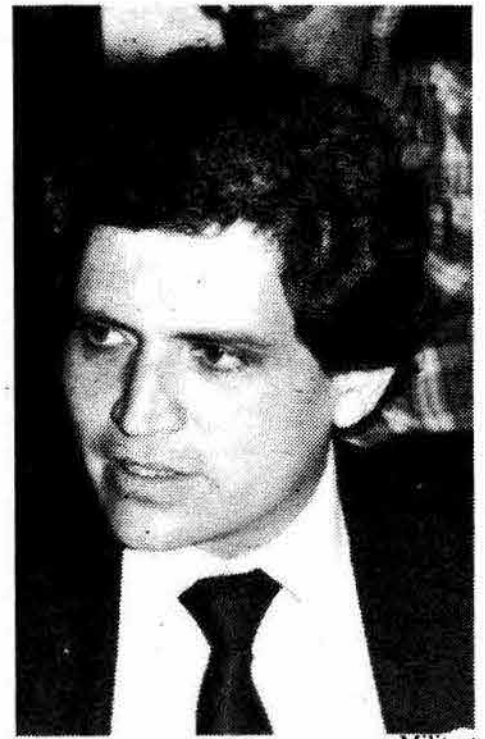
Marroquín pointed out that since women aren't even recognized as equal in the U.S. Constitution, "we all have a lot in common in fighting against discrimination. We should join together in fighting this racist,

bipartisan Simpson-Mazzoli bill," he said.

One NOW delegate attending the workshop spoke in agreement with the need for a united fight against Simpson-Mazzoli. "I think all immigrant workers should be citizens. Then they could at least have some of the benefits from the taxes they pay," she said.

Another NOW member from Tallahassee said she was "ashamed and outraged at the treatment that undocumented immigrants receive at the hands of our government." She plans to set up a meeting on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill when she gets back home and invite representatives from the farm workers and supporters of Héctor Marroquín's fight against deportation.

At the 1983 NOW convention, NOW delegates passed a strong resolution in opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. This, along with the enthusiastic response from NOW members to join the fight to stop Héctor Marroquín's deportation and for the rights of all immigrant workers, points to the opportunities to continue this work in NOW.



Militant

Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist fighting deportation from United States, gained support at national convention of National Organization for Women and participated in discussion on anti-immigration bill passed by Congress.

1,000 at Dominican Republic rally

Continued from front page

confronted the army, which killed 60 and wounded 200 unarmed demonstrators.

The whole atmosphere of the rally was marked by the revolutionary traditions and continuity of workers and farmers in the Dominican Republic and internationally. Slides were shown depicting heroes of different revolutionary struggles. The biggest applause was evoked by scenes of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, and by the picture of Col. Francisco Caamaño, the main leader of the 1965 Dominican rebellion.

The speakers referred to the presence in the audience of several generations of revolutionary fighters and leaders.

Growing unity

Another theme of the opening rally was the growing unity among left and revolutionary forces in the Dominican Republic. The Socialist Bloc itself came about through a fusion of three parties, the Communist Workers Nucleus, Socialist Workers Movement, and Socialist Party.

In turn, the Socialist Bloc, together with the Dominican Communist Party (PCD), the Dominican Workers Party (PTD), and other forces, have formed the Dominican Left Front (FID) in order to collaborate on activities where there is a common agreement.

One sign of this growing collaboration was the fact that the Communist Party offered its national headquarters to the Socialist Bloc for its rally in an act of solidarity with the convention.

Socialist Bloc Political Committee member Octavio Rivera, who chaired the rally, introduced the special guests at the rally, who included the main leaders of all the parties in the Dominican Left Front, as well as leaders of the General Workers Federation and Independent Peasants Movement, the country's major trade union and peasant organizations respectively.

But the working-class solidarity expressed at the rally spilled well beyond the borders of the Dominican Republic. Greetings were sent from revolutionary organizations in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Puerto Rico, and Palestine. Dominican authorities tried to disrupt this solidarity by not allowing the representatives of the Cuban Communist Party and the Sandinista National Liberation Front to enter the country and attend the gathering.

Speech by González

However, the broad international representation was an important victory for the socialist convention. This was recognized by the audience, who gave a huge ovation to U.S. socialist Andrea González when she got up to speak.

González pointed out in her greetings to the rally that she was speaking not only as

a U.S. worker, "but also as a Puerto Rican woman, a victim of U.S. imperialist aggression, like the Dominican people, who have suffered U.S. invasion and occupation." The audience responded with chants of "Death to the Yankee Invader!"

González stressed that workers, small farmers, and the oppressed nationalities in the United States share common interests with the Dominican people, as well as a common enemy: imperialism.

"In reality there exist two Americas: an America of the U.S. imperialists, their government, and their parties — the Democrats and Republicans — and our America of the working class, the farmers, and the oppressed."

Today, she said, the world working class is winning victories, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. The crowd cheered her mention of Cuba as an example of revolutionary working-class leadership.

"All oppressed peoples are learning the lessons of the need for revolutionary unity," Dominican revolutionaries, she said, "are giving an example of this unity."

She stressed the importance of U.S. working-class solidarity with the struggle against imperialism, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. It is this kind of international solidarity that can "prepare the way for a revolution against U.S. imperialism in its own back yard, in the United States of America," she declared, to strong applause.

These themes were reiterated by other international guests, who included representatives from the Socialist Revolution Group of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the Revolutionary Workers Party of Panama, the Revolutionary Communist League and the Communist Movement of Spain, and the Socialist Workers Party of Switzerland.

The central part of the rally was a speech given by Rafael Safa Taveras, general secretary of the Socialist Bloc. He began by stressing that the Dominican Republic is undergoing the worst economic crisis of its history. The governing Dominican Revolutionary Party, he said, has no solutions for working people; it just tells working people they must accept the IMF's demands. Among "all the other bourgeois currents," he said "none has a different alternative from the IMF."

Because the Dominican people have rejected the government's economic policy with mass mobilizations, a crackdown on democratic rights has been unleashed. The Socialist Bloc has used every possible avenue to mobilize working people against the attacks and to put forward a political perspective, as shown by the holding of the public rally in the midst of the growing repression.

Several convention delegates, in fact, had come straight to the rally from prison; others were still in jail.

Taveras posed some questions: "Is a revolution possible for this political genera-

tion? Is it possible to make another revolution in this area against U.S. imperialism?"

Taveras pointed to last April's rebellion here, noting the determination to struggle that the people showed and continue to show, the level of organization in this country, the level of consciousness of the revolutionary movement. "It is not naive to think," said Taveras, "that we are marching towards a definitive moment," one that could become "clearly prerevolutionary."

Taveras said, "This political generation can say confidently that the taking of power is a possibility."

He pointed out that the imperialists, in spite of their defeat of Grenada and their stepped up military intervention in the region, "have been unable to crush the Salvadoran revolutionaries, have been unable to hold back the steady advance of the Sandinista revolution, and have been unable to destroy the resistance in Guatemala."

Revolutionary forces in the region are forging "the greatest unity that has ever been witnessed," he said. "Among the very people of the United States," he continued, those forces "capable of going beyond their borders to strengthen the current of continental unity against the imperialist government are advancing."

Taveras declared this is a great historical period for revolutionaries who, "on the crest of a revolutionary wave, will come to power in more than one country in the Caribbean."

Forging revolutionary vanguard

In the Dominican Republic, Taveras stressed, the unity of revolutionary forces, represented by the Socialist Bloc and the FID, will lead to the fusion of forces within the FID and beyond the FID.

The creation of a real revolutionary vanguard, he concluded, requires a "unity that will allow us to work in a single leadership [and in] one party. And I believe that the left has sufficient resources in the labor movement, the peasants' movement... to build the revolutionary leadership capable of leading this country to a showdown for political power."

This idea was greeted with chants of "April, April, April, We are going to do it again!"

Organizers of the Socialist Bloc opening rally told González they saw it as a big success and an important step forward in the building of a revolutionary workers party in the Dominican Republic.

The event received widespread publicity in most of the press here. Many articles noted the participation of the U.S. socialist candidate in the rally and the impact of her presence. One paper said, "The Socialist Bloc said that González's visit 'is of great importance since it shows that the U.S. and Dominican people want the workers and oppressed to be the ones who rule in the interests of the masses of people.'"

New International

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SWP candidates say: 'Lift ban on travel to Cuba!'

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — Mel Mason and Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, blasted the Supreme Court's June 28 decision to uphold the ban on travel to Cuba. They charged that this action was a "further escalation of Washington's war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean and a blatant denial of the democratic rights of U.S. working people."

The court voted 5 to 4 to overturn a 1983 decision by a federal appeals court in Boston, which had ruled against the ban.

Noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin represented the group of individuals in Boston who had challenged the travel ban.

The socialist candidates stated, "The U.S. government has been attempting to strangle the Cuban revolution for over 25 years. Washington claims that this is because Cuba is a 'tyranny' and represents a threat to the 'internal security' of the United States. In fact, the real reason for the rulers' hatred of Cuba is, as White House spokesman Larry Speakes says, Havana's 'behavior in support of revolution in this hemisphere.'

"This 'behavior' — Cuba's support to the revolutionary struggles of working people in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, and elsewhere and the contribution of Cuban doctors, teachers, and technicians in countries around the world — stands as a shining example of internationalist solidarity. The socialist campaign applauds Cuba's defense of people struggling for independence and justice worldwide," said Mason and González.

The socialists explained that the "travel ban is key to the U.S. government's efforts to slander the Cuban revolution and to prevent working people in this country from learning from the experiences of their Cuban brothers and sisters."

Mason and González point to the workers and farmers government established in Cuba in 1959 as an example of the kind of government needed by U.S. working people so they can begin to solve the problems of unemployment, racism, and sexual oppression inherent to the capitalist system.

The candidates stated, "The ban on travel to Cuba is part of a campaign aimed at preparing U.S. workers and farmers for an escalation of Washington's war against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran people, a war in which Cuba is also a central target."

Mason and González called the travel ban "another weapon in Washington's drive to isolate Cuba," noting the U.S. government's refusal to establish diplomatic relations with the Cuban government.

The socialists' program in the coming elections calls for normalizing relations with Cuba, lifting the travel ban, and ending the U.S. economic blockade of the island.

Mason and González also condemned Reagan's threat to invoke the reactionary Logan Act against Democratic Party presidential candidate Jesse Jackson in the wake of Jackson's recent trip to Cuba and Nicaragua. Reagan also warned Jackson against following through on his plan to go to the Soviet Union before the November elections.

The Logan Act, which was enacted in 1799, is intended to prevent ordinary citizens from meeting with and having discussions with governments of other countries.

"Reagan's threat to prosecute Jackson using the undemocratic Logan Act is an attack on the right of working people to be able to go to other countries and engage in a dialogue with governments that are on Washington's hit list," said the socialist candidates.

"Our campaign is for scrapping the Logan Act and the Cuba travel ban. We're for working people — through their unions, solidarity groups, and Black,

Latino, and women's organizations — visiting Cuba and Nicaragua and meeting representatives of those governments, which are allies of U.S. workers. We're also for workers here establishing fraternal links with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, the striking coal miners in Britain, and other fighting brothers and sisters around the world.

"We urge all opponents of the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and all supporters of democratic rights to join with us in condemning Washington's attacks on the right to travel."



Militant/Lou Howort

Mason hits U.S. war at London rally

BY MARGARET JAYKO

LONDON — "We of the New Jewel Movement are not anti-American, we're anti-Yankee invaders." That's how Denis Bartholomew from the New Jewel Movement Support Group began his talk at a "No to Reagan's War Drive" meeting here June 8. The New Jewel Movement (NJM) was the party that led the March 1979 revolution in Grenada.

The meeting here was held on the eve of a massive antimissiles demonstration of 200,000, organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, that coincided with Pres. Reagan's visit to Britain.

Joining Bartholomew on the speakers' platform at the meeting was Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Mason was here as part of a tour of Britain and Ireland.

"With Mel here, I could not possibly be anti-American," said Bartholomew, who devoted his talk to explaining why the U.S. government invaded Grenada last October.

Grenada revolution

The 1979 Grenada revolution distinguished itself from a coup, said Bartholomew, by being "for the people and in the interests of the people." The real reason for the U.S. invasion, said Bartholomew, was not that Grenada was a military threat to the United States.

Rather, what the U.S. government feared about Grenada, said Bartholomew, was its example. Bartholomew reviewed the revolution's record in making education and health care accessible to all Grenadians and in the high level of popular democracy that the country had achieved under the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Bishop and other NJM leaders were murdered Oct. 19, 1983 following a coup that overturned the PRG. Bartholomew

said these events "paved the way" for the U.S. invasion.

"Resistance is increasing to the presence in our territory" of the U.S. troops and their cohorts sent by reactionary regimes in the Caribbean, reported Bartholomew.

He described how the new U.S.-backed government is systematically rolling back the social and economic gains that the people won under the PRG: "Free education is a farce. Benefits for women are being turned back," he said.

However, said Bartholomew, "the invasion came four-and-a-half years too late" to prevent the example from being set. And the struggle for a free Grenada continues, affirmed Bartholomew. "We will determine our future irrespective of the United States. Forward ever; backward never!" concluded Bartholomew as the audience picked up the chant.

Solidarity with Britain's victims

Mason first told the audience about his recent trip to Ireland, where he met many victims of British-style "justice" — freedom fighters jailed because they oppose British imperialism's domination of their country.

"Working people here and around the world have an obligation to be part of the fight to get the British occupation troops out of the north of Ireland," said Mason.

Mason reported that the SWP campaign has supported the strike of British miners since it first began almost four months ago and "we're going to keep on supporting them all the way down the line until they win this strike."

Mason talked about his trip to Grenada during the revolution there and the solidarity activities he helped organize when he was a city councilman in Seaside, California.

Washington feared Grenada, said

Mason, because it was a socialist revolution that occurred in the Western Hemisphere in a country that is Black and English-speaking.

"If it's in the Western Hemisphere, that means it's too close for the U.S. rulers. If it's Black, that means Blacks can identify with it. If it's socialist, that means Blacks and other U.S. workers will start thinking about socialism. And if it's English-speaking, that means they can tell us why and how they made their revolution," explained Mason.

It was the attractive power of Grenada to the workers and farmers of the Caribbean, Latin America, and the United States that caused Washington to invade Grenada and to continue occupying the island right up until today, said Mason.

The Grenada invasion and the U.S. aggression in Central America are not just Reagan's policies, stressed Mason. They are carried out by both the Democrats and Republicans because both parties are the political servants of the ruling rich. "Reaganism equals Carterism equals Fordism equals Nixonism equals Johnsonism equals Kennedyism equals capitalism," said Mason.

International solidarity

Jude Woodward, from the editorial board of the British weekly *Socialist Action*, also spoke. *Socialist Action* sponsored Mason's visit here.

Woodward referred to the hoopla in the big business-owned media about the 40th anniversary of "D-Day." This was being used, she said, to cover over the fact that millions of people in Europe oppose what Reagan represents, especially the nuclear missiles that have been placed in Britain and other European countries.

Woodward talked about the big workers struggles against attacks on their living standards and rights that are going on in Europe today, such as the German metal workers strike for the 35-hour workweek and the strike by British coal miners. To turn back this worldwide imperialist offensive, said Woodward, an alliance must be built among European workers and beyond — with the people of Nicaragua, Grenada, and other victims of U.S. imperialism.

Welsh miners

Don Hughes, a striking miner from South Wales, also addressed the rally. He announced that several buses from the South Wales coalfields would be going to the anti-missiles demonstration the next day.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) strike is directed against the plan of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the National Coal Board to close down scores of mines and lay off thousands of workers.

"We in the NUM know that the pits [mines] don't belong to Margaret Thatcher, the National Coal Board, or the NUM — they belong to you since 1947." That's the year Britain's coal mines were nationalized.

Also speaking was Tracey Doyle, a member of the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.



G.M. Cookson

U.S. socialist presidential candidate Mel Mason speaking at London antiwar rally. He was joined by Denis Bartholomew from New Jewel Movement (left), and Jude Woodward (partly hidden) and Carol Turner from *Socialist Action*.

British miners need int'l solidarity

Continued from front page

The U.S. big-business media has virtually blacked-out information about the British miners fight. Only occasionally does news creep into the papers and onto radio and TV, particularly after big confrontations between the strikers and Thatcher's cops.

There's a reason for this blackout. U.S. workers, who face increasing attacks by the employing class, and its government (including cops, courts, and legislatures), can draw many valuable lessons from the British miners' experience, if they can learn the truth about it.

Background to fight

The Thatcher government is pursuing the same antilabor aims as the Republican and Democratic parties in this country. As in the United States, the employing class and its representatives in Britain are united in their aim of qualitatively weakening, and if possible, busting, the union movement.

British coal mines are nationalized — owned by the government — as the result of big labor struggles after World War II. The Thatcher government and its National Coal Board (NCB), aims to close 20 mines and wipe out 20,000 jobs in the next year, and 70 mines and 70,000 jobs over the next three years.

This is part of an overall offensive against the entire British working class, which suffers double-digit unemployment. Part of the attack on the miners is aimed at laying the groundwork for "privatization" — selling off the more profitable mines to private corporate interests. Similar plans are afoot in the nationalized British steel industry.

British miners believe this privatization scheme will lead to much poorer working, health, and safety conditions — like those facing U.S. miners.

In response to the British government's job-cutting plan, the NUM leadership began organizing a fightback. This started with a major campaign within the union to educate the membership on the issues and stakes in the impending confrontation.

The NCB sought to divide the ranks of the NUM in anticipation of this fight. Earlier it instituted an incentive pay plan that resulted in a minority of miners, in areas such as Nottinghamshire, receiving much higher wages than other NUM members. The union's educational campaign sought to counter this divide-and-rule scheme, explaining the need to remain united to beat back the government attack. The union hammered away at why miners have to stick together if all are to have a job and decent pay.

NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill has played a leadership role in this effort. He toured the coal fields and explained the miners' case politically to all British working people.

Use of mass picketing

The NUM began the strike in the union's most militant regions, areas like Yorkshire, Wales, and Scotland, which are hit hardest by the mine closing plan. This established a momentum of struggle that led to an NUM national delegate conference, which called for an all-out, national strike.

The NUM has used "flying pickets" and caravans of miners to travel to Nottinghamshire and other areas where the strike is weaker, to apply pressure and encourage other miners to respect the need for union solidarity. These tactics helped solidify the strike and show the entire British working class the determination of the NUM membership.

In carrying out this strategy, the fighters in the NUM did not allow Britain's battery of undemocratic antilabor laws — such as those banning mass pickets and secondary protests — to prevent an uncompromising fight for workers' interests.

So far the Thatcher government has not felt strong enough to take the miners to court to enforce these laws. This reflects the impact the miners direct-action tactics have had. It holds a valuable lesson for other workers around the world.

The strike highlights the importance of militant leadership. The fighting stance of the NUM leaders both reflects and has encouraged creativity and boldness in the ranks. The top leadership has helped push the struggle forward, and, in the fight, new young leaders are emerging.

The admiration for Scargill among the miners is for good reason. He's been on the front lines of the confrontation, where he has felt the blows of the police batons with other miners and, like them, has been carted off to jail.

Scargill speaks for the mood of the membership of the NUM when he says, "If it takes until November or December, we will win." He tells the miners, "You have a leadership prepared to lead, not a leadership whose only interest is a seat in the House of Lords [Parliament's upper house]. I pledge that this leadership will not accept pit closures. The leadership will lead until we win."

Scargill has expressed the union's willingness to negotiate with the NCB, but he insists that the NUM will not abandon its fight on the key issues. Most important, he has continued to organize mass mobilizations by the miners.

Scargill's statements and actions reflect the determination of the rank and file displayed in the mass picketing, the miners' militant defense of their rights when violently attacked by the cops, and the mass demonstrations such as the May 14 action of 45,000 in Nottinghamshire and the June 7 march by 30,000 in London.

Support of women, Blacks, farmers

The sacrifices and fighting spirit of the miners has won growing support from women, Blacks, farmers, and the organized labor movement.

The strike has also polarized the labor movement. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) — Britain's equivalent of the AFL-CIO — is on record backing the strike, although many top officials have only given lip service. But others, notably rail workers and dockers who are inspired by the NUM's fighting example, have pledged strong support for the strike and have acted on it.

Britain's union-based, mass Labor Party also backs the strike despite the lukewarm support offered by many right-wing leaders. The National Executive Committee of the party has levied its 250,000 members 50 pence (75 cents) a week for the strikers' support fund.

The wives and family members of miners (there are no women miners) have taken the lead in organizing unprecedented active support among women for the strike. The women's strike support groups do more than organize collections of food and money. They also help lead the political campaign to expose the lies about the strike pressed by the big-business media. They are helping to get out the miners' side of the story and win support. Women have been on the picket lines and the women's

UMWA's '74 message to British strike

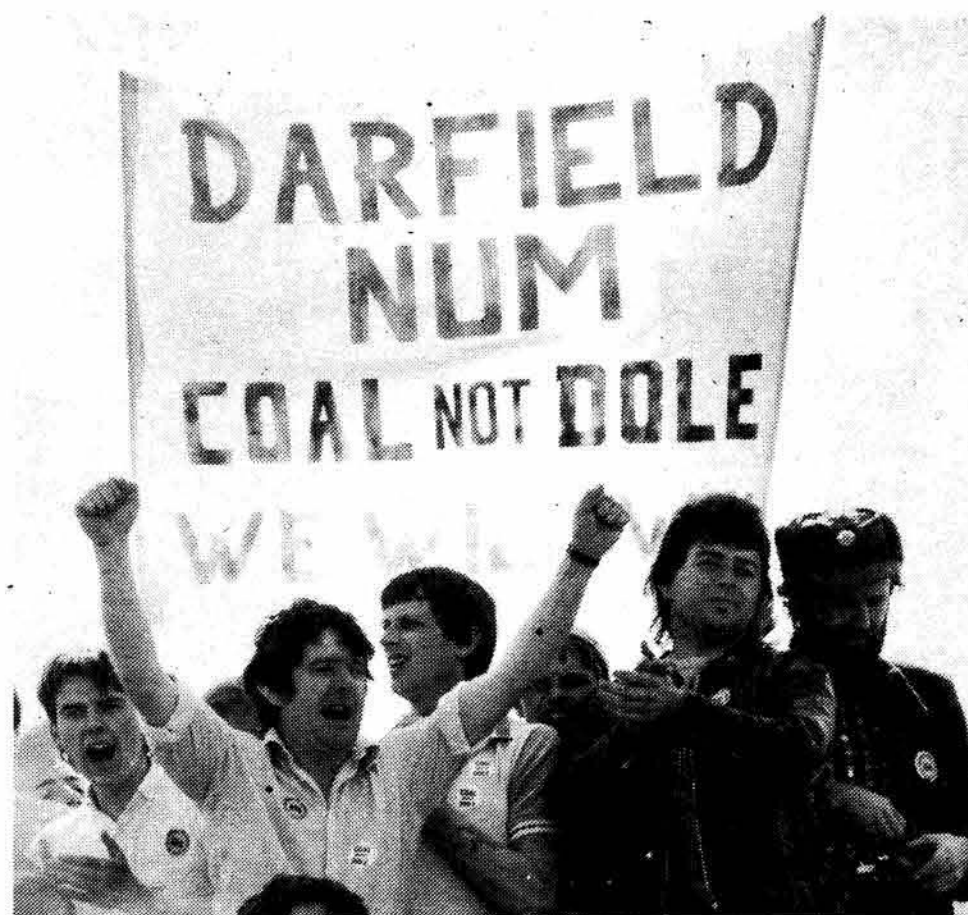
On January 21, 1974, the United Mine Workers of America sent a contribution of \$5,000 to the British National Union of Mineworkers in solidarity with their struggle.

Along with the check, UMWA Pres. Arnold Miller sent a letter that read, in part:

"I am writing to offer the support of 205,000 United Mine Workers for the efforts of our brothers in the National Union of Mineworkers to win a living wage and such basic rights as portal-to-portal pay...."

"It is clear that the Heath government hopes to use the present crisis to break the strength of the labor movement in Britain. The vicious propaganda barrage leveled against British miners in recent weeks has one aim only: to make your union the sacrificial lamb for the Heath government's failings...."

"In many ways coal miners in Britain and the United States face similar chal-



G.M. Cookson

British coal miners have been on strike over 100 days. Extending solidarity will help them and also strengthen U.S. labor movement.

committees helped organize the big support demonstrations.

Nothing like this occurred during the 1972 British miners strike (the first since 1926) or the historic 1974 strike that led to the fall of the Conservative Party government in power at that time.

A social struggle

The deep involvement of women in the strike highlights the fact that the strike is taking on more and more of the character of a social movement. It is increasingly seen as a fight of the entire working class and its allies against the employers and their government.

Some working farmers have come to the aid of the strikers. Dairy farmers in South Wales donated 9,000 gallons of milk to miners and their families. On June 23 farmers in Porthcawl, Wales, joined a protest against a visit by Thatcher organized by miners' wives. The farmers raised their own demands, protesting milk production cuts imposed by the Common Market, and threw eggs at the hated prime minister.

A delegation of miners went to Ireland, where they received enthusiastic support from the Irish trade union movement, especially in those areas most opposed to the British occupation of Ireland's northern six counties. This support has shown a layer of miners that they have the same enemy as their Irish brothers and sisters — the Thatcher government.

The miners have also begun to win some support from Blacks. Most Blacks in Britain, who make up 5 percent of the population, are from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, or the Caribbean. A flyer for a June 23 Black delegation to mining villages in Kent proclaimed, "Support the miners. Their struggle is our struggle."

A strike support newsletter put out by the Hem Heath local branch of the NUM reported on the "magnificent £212" a dele-

lenges. You have your Heath; we have our Nixon. Both dance to the tune of big business....

"United Mine Workers are beginning to experience the same kind of propaganda attacks as British coal miners as we move toward contract negotiations. The big oil companies, which also control the coal industry, are trying to use the energy crisis as a club to beat down coal miners at contract time. Industry officials hope to manipulate public fears about fuel shortages to shift the blame for a nationwide coal strike, if one occurs, onto the coal miners.

"I do not think that the American public is going to be fooled by such efforts any more than the British public. The energy crisis is the creation of the oil industry. Coal miners, like the rest of the public, have only been its victims...."

The letter ends, "Please do not hesitate to call upon us for help."

gation of miners received from the Indian community of Walsall.

The miners "will long remember this act of solidarity from their Asian brothers and sisters," the newsletter continued, "who are also familiar with the spectre of unemployment and have bitter experience of police brutality and harassment."

Attacks on democratic rights

This reference to police brutality faced by Blacks points to new lessons many miners and their supporters are learning about the true nature of British "democracy." Cop violence and Thatcher's sharp restrictions on democratic rights has become a big issue.

To date more than 3,000 miners have been arrested and hundreds injured by rioting cops. Two strikers have been killed. The police have literally occupied many towns in the coal fields. The elite counter-insurgency unit of the Special Air Services has also been mobilized against the strike.

These attacks are carried out under the guise of "protecting the rights" of scabs. Under new government anti-crime laws, workers can be arrested and held for up to 96 hours without charges.

The British ruling class is pursuing this course because of the high stakes involved. They are pulling out the stops to try to defeat the miners because this is key to driving ahead their antilabor policies.

So far they have not succeeded. The outcome is not yet decided. Every act of solidarity with the NUM, in Britain and abroad, helps to tip the scales in favor of the miners.

How can U.S. workers help?

International solidarity can make a difference. British miners are eager for help from other workers. On one of the occasions when he was dragged off to jail, Scargill proudly wore a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) cap he had received several years ago from a visiting UMWA delegation.

Up to now, top officials of the AFL-CIO and other unions, including the UMWA, have not said a word about the strike.

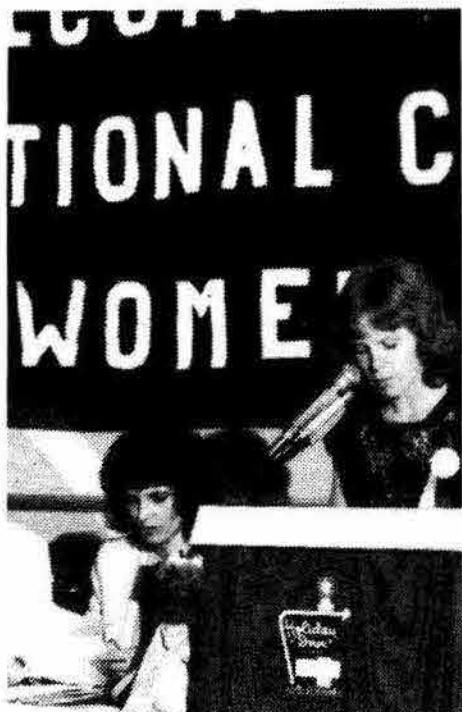
But U.S. workers and the labor movement face the very same problems of unemployment and union-busting that the NUM is fighting. The U.S. labor movement should come to the aid of the British miners.

This will not only help the strike in Britain and lend encouragement to the miners who are on the front lines. It will help strengthen the labor movement in this country too. Whenever the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," is given real meaning — whether by aiding striking Arizona copper miners, Toledo auto workers, Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers, or British miners — the entire union movement benefits.

The U.S. labor movement should help break the press blackout. It should tell the truth about the British miners' fight. U.S.

Continued on next page

Women miners fight for rights, build union



Militant/Louise Armstrong
UMWA staffer Marat Moore paid tribute to miners killed underground.

Continued from back page

tailed discrimination, speed-up, safety violations, arbitrary firings over absenteeism, and forced overtime as regular features on the job now.

The last UMWA convention had unanimously adopted a position of "No backward steps. No takeaway contracts," to guide upcoming contract negotiations. Anticipating a strike, many women expressed the view that current attacks by the operators are aimed at dividing the union, weakening its fighting stance. Furthermore, speed-up and overtime are being used by the companies to stockpile coal for a strike.

A recurring theme at the conference here was the need for unity of all miners: men and women, Black and white, working and unemployed.

In the workshop on sex and race discrimination, Kipp Dawson, a Pennsylvania miner, explained, "At our mine, the company just served notice on two women miners with seven and nine years' experience

each. These women were sent letters by the company saying they were not suitable for work in the mines."

These women miners have been put on a form of probation. Dawson explained that if these kinds of attacks on women are not fought, they will next be directed at other miners. "We're fortunate," said Dawson, "our local has a strong group of women miners, and our mine committee immediately responded by filing a grievance."

An outraged woman miner from West Virginia added, "AEP [Appalachian Electric Power Co.] has just fired four people, three of them Black, for being off on compensation. The company is saying they are 'accident prone' absentees." Several conference participants confirmed that the "accident prone" charge is a commonly used company cover for discrimination.

Discriminatory layoffs

The conference occurred in the wake of the recent Supreme Court ruling against modification of seniority lists to protect women, Blacks, and Latinos from the discriminatory effects of the "last hired, first fired," syndrome. It was a topic of discussion in the sex and race discrimination workshop and came up again in informal discussion during the weekend.

Women miners have been hit especially hard by the deep, longterm layoffs in the coalfields. As at last year's women miners conference, different opinions were expressed over how to grapple with this challenge.

In the workshop, Pennsylvania miner Kathy Mickells expressed the view that the union would be strengthened if it demanded changes in seniority to defend women. Otherwise, she noted, the coal operators can use discriminatory layoffs to wipe out women's hiring gains.

Another woman responded that "someone has to get the axe." She said she did not think seniority should be altered.

However, in other discussions throughout the conference, many miners described ways in which the operators bypass seniority in job bidding and other matters to discriminate against women, Blacks, and union militants. Citing a contract clause concerning "ability to perform the work," the operators frequently undermine bidding rights and lay off out of seniority.

Mickells and others argued that the UMWA should demand changes in seniority to strengthen the union, unify its members, and equalize the impact of layoffs.

During one workshop West Virginia miner Lotus Montgomery described how her local fought against forced overtime and layoffs. "We talked among ourselves in the dinner hole. A lot of our brothers and sisters have been laid off. They're needing jobs, and we're knocking them off. So we refused to work overtime. Then the company ended up hiring about 30 of those miners."

UMWA international staff member Eddie Burke and international executive board member Steve Weber headed up the workshop on "New Challenges for the UMWA in the '80s."

Weber and Burke led a discussion on how the union is preparing for the coming contract fight, union organizing perspectives, and the UMWA's political action efforts. During the conference several UMWA officials urged participants to back Democrat Walter Mondale in the coming U.S. presidential election. However, there was little discussion about this as most conference participants preferred to discuss specific issues facing women and the union.

The workshop discussion on new challenges facing the union, for instance, focused primarily on the contract fight. Both women and men miners asked questions about how the selective strike tactic, adopted by the UMWA convention, might be utilized, and how to win support for the expected strike.

Acid rain debate

A lively debate emerged in the workshop on "Is Acid Raining on Your Job?" Acid rain is a growing environmental danger caused by the mix of sulfur dioxide (a by-product of burning coal that has not been cleaned) with rain.

Some workshop participants urged ac-

tion to stop acid rain. They pointed out that environmental dangers hurt coal miners too.

UMWA international staff members who came to the workshop stated that not enough is known about acid rain. They said more research is needed, but emphasized what they claimed is the danger of job loss for coal miners.

Several women miners argued that the union should take the lead in a fight to make the coal and utility companies use scrubbers and other pollution control devices that allow coal to be burned cleanly. Some pointed to the example of the alliance the UMWA has forged in the past with environmentalists and others in the fight against nuclear power.

UMWA staffer Eddie Burke observed at the end of the workshop that the discussion had been useful and should be continued at a future conference.

International visits

One of the high points of the conference was a panel discussion of "International Visits." Women who have traveled outside the United States were encouraged to report on their trips.

Mary Ann Cabbage, CEP staff member, told about a tour she and Utah miner Joy Huitt took through India, the USSR, and Britain.

She gave a vivid account of the acute poverty facing working people in India and described terrible working conditions in In-

dian mines. Living and working conditions for Soviet miners, as she described them, were qualitatively higher. She said that miners' safety in the Soviet Union seemed to be a greater priority than in the United States.

Canadian potash miner Peggy Frazier described conditions faced by women miners in Canada.

The panel was chaired by Pennsylvania miner Clare Fraenzl. She gave a stirring account of the current strike by the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain. Fraenzl had recently returned from a trip to the British coalfields, where she joined in solidarity actions with the miners' fight for jobs.

The conference concluded Sunday with a plenary session. Resolutions reaffirming CEP's stand on maternity-paternity leave and calling for continued education and study by miners of acid rain passed unanimously. Utah was selected as the site for next year's conference, and a new advisory committee to plan it was elected.

Wrapping up three days of lively discussion and debate, the miners voted to send messages of solidarity to striking British miners, Arizona copper miners on strike for a year against Phelps Dodge, and Teamsters striking against the MCI telephone company.

Louise Armstrong is laid off from U.S. Steel's Morton mine and is a member of UMWA Local 2236 in District 17 in West Virginia.

Women miners to British strikers: 'Stop closures! Solidarity forever!'

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — When the participants at the sixth national conference of women miners heard a firsthand account of the British miners strike, they enthusiastically voted to send the following message to the British National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and to the women's support groups that have sprung up to back the strike:

"The participants in the Sixth National Conference of Women Miners send you our warmest greetings. We have heard reports about your four-month strike to stop mine closures. Your battle to save jobs and your union is an inspiration to U.S. coal miners who are suffering unprecedented layoffs and increasing attacks on safety.

"Women miners are playing an increasingly important role in our union. We are pleased to hear about the historic role British women are playing in your struggle.

"Stop pit closures!
"Solidarity forever!"

The proposal to send the message came up in the panel discussion on international visits. Clare Fraenzl, a Pennsylvania miner who chaired the panel discussion, reported on her trip to Britain.

Fraenzl explained the militant fight the NUM is putting up against British government plans to close many mines and throw tens of thousands of miners permanently out of work. She emphasized that strikers are eager to talk to U.S. miners and welcome solidarity.

Fraenzl also pointed to the fierce repression directed against the strikers by British cops. The strikers are very aware, she said, of the way that cops and company goons have been used against the UMWA when it has fought for the rights of miners in this country.

Fraenzl also told of the big role being played in the strike by British women. There are no women underground miners, explained Fraenzl, but women, especially wives and others from coal mining areas, are part of the backbone of the fight. They demonstrate actively in support of the strike, help raise funds, and spread the strike message.

A video crew covering the women miners conference was filming the panel discussion. One of the crew members, Gregory Dropkin, is British and has recently participated in filming several videotapes of the British miners strike. These, he said, will be distributed by the NUM to build solidarity. Dropkin also added to the eyewitness account of the strike.

The session voted to propose that a solidarity message be adopted at the conference plenary. At the Sunday morning plenary, Fraenzl presented a brief report on her trip and the solidarity message was unanimously adopted. Dropkin promised that when the videotapes of the British strike were completed, he would send copies to the Coal Employment Project for use in the United States. As the conference adjourned, Dropkin collected funds to be brought back to the British strikers.



Women miners conference sent solidarity message to British mine union and to women, like these above, helping to lead strike through women's support groups.

British miners need solidarity

Continued from preceding page

unionists — especially coal miners — should go to Britain and bring back the story of the strike to other working people.

One good example has already been set. The Sixth National Conference of Women Miners held in Charleston, West Virginia, June 22-24 sent a solidarity message to the NUM and the British women's support groups (see news story on this page).

The special links between U.S. and British miners was noted by Arnold Miller in 1974 when Miller was international president of the UMWA and the British miners were on strike. The UMWA sent a \$5,000 contribution to the NUM with a solidarity message from Miller (excerpt's are reprinted on page 8).

This example of international solidarity can be emulated in many ways by U.S. unionists today.

'Government loyal to our class'

The British miners are not only striking to stop the mine closure plan. They are also striking to get rid of the labor-hating Thatcher government that is pressing that plan and the entire offensive against British working people.

Scargill has pointed out that this strike shows that miners and all British workers "need a government as loyal to our class as Thatcher is to hers."

For U.S. workers, who are constantly told that voting for Democratic and Republican party "friends of labor" is the way to secure workers' interests, this lesson of the miners strike is quite important. The British miners' mass strike action is part of the political fight for a new government that represents them.

This is a lesson that U.S. working people will also learn through similar struggles.

'Victory to miners,' say 30,000 in London

BY MALIK MIAH

LONDON — More than 30,000 people marched and rallied here June 27 in a regional "Day of Action" in support of striking coal miners. It was the fifth and largest day of action called by the miners and the labor movement since the strike began 16 weeks ago.

The midafternoon day of action was called by the Southeast region of the Trades Union Congress (Britain's equivalent to the AFL-CIO) and the Kent National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Most demonstrators were from various trade unions affiliated to the 10-million-strong Trades Union Congress (TUC) as well as independent unions. There were contingents from most unions in the region — rail workers, printers, clerks, engineers, office workers, auto workers, communications workers, and bus drivers.

Rail workers walk off job

Hundreds of rail workers walked off the job to join the demonstration. Few passenger trains were in service.

Miners came from all parts of Britain — England, Wales, and Scotland. They carried colorful banners identifying their areas. Some of the slogans on the banners said, "With unity there is strength" and "Forward to a socialist Britain and world peace."

Placards read, "No more Fleet Street lies" (Fleet Street is the home of Britain's major dailies), "Stop the police state," and "Victory to the miners."

There were also contingents from Labor Party groups and the Labor Party Young Socialists. Most socialist groups also carried banners and placards.

There were women's support groups from all parts of Southeast England. Most were miners' wives support groups, which have been quite active in supporting the strike. There were also a number of Blacks on the march, mainly in union contingents.

Thousands of cops lined the march route. Unlike the June 7 solidarity march that also took place in London, the police did not attack the marchers. But the demonstrators' deep hatred for the police was visible. Several marchers wore fake "bobbie" helmets to mock the cops.

When the march reached Fleet Street loud boos, shouts of "what a lot of rubbish!" rang out. Three of the antilabor dailies — the *Sun*, *Financial Times*, and the *Daily Mirror* — were not published that day because the print workers unions walked out after management refused to publish union statements in support of the miners.

Thousands of marchers also wore red carnations in memory of two Yorkshire miners killed while on the picket lines. When the march crossed over the Thames River the demonstrators threw the carnations and wreaths into the river.

Largest support action

This was the largest action in support of the miners since the strike began. The miners are on strike against the government's proposal to close 20 mines and fire 20,000 workers over the next year. The coal industry here is government owned.

The broad labor support for the miners reflects a growing understanding that the miners' fight is a fight for the entire working class. The NUM is one of the most powerful and militant unions in Britain. Its advances or setbacks have generally set the tone in all labor battles. That's why the employing class is determined to crush the strike.

Arthur Scargill, president of the NUM, led the march. He told the closing rally that the miners will stay out as long as necessary and urged other trade unionists to join their picket lines and build local support groups.

Scargill also praised the print workers for their action. He said their action was "the best day's publicity ever" and added, "Why not consider extending the demand to at least once a week to print the NUM's case in the national newspapers?"

Tony Benn, a leader of the left wing of the Labor Party, said, "politically, the most important thing that has happened is the print workers are telling the proprietors that they are no longer prepared to print lies about the miners."

Benn announced that the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party that morning voted to launch a national campaign with the NUM to protest the National Coal Board's (NCB) proposed mine closures. While local Labor Party constituencies have actively organized strike support, the national Labor Party, while giving some financial support, has not energetically exposed or opposed the government's attacks on the miners.

Active solidarity continues to spread. On June 26 the leadership of the National Union of Railwaymen changed their rules to increase the level of union pay to striking or suspended members. This decision means rail workers suspended for refusing to cross the miners' picket lines will be financially backed by the union.

Labor Party-dominated city councils across the country are donating city funds to support the striking miners. In Sheffield, for example, £100,000 is being contributed to a hardship fund. And, in Doncaster, a £60,000 shoe voucher has been set up to help the miners' children.

At the same time, there are divisions in the labor movement over the strike. Noticeably absent at the massive march was Neil Kinnock, head of the Labor Party, and Len Murray, general secretary of the TUC. While formally backing the strike, Kinnock and Murray are careful not to organize all-out solidarity with the strike. They both reject Scargill's view that the strike is against the NCB plan and the government of Conservative Party Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

In addition, conservative leaders of the steelworkers union refuse to give active solidarity. The same day as the massive march, steel union officials at the British Steel Corp.'s Llanwern steel works in South Wales publicly announced that they would accept coal, coke, and iron ore "from any source" to keep "their" mill operating.

NUM pickets have effectively kept coal and coke out of the mill as rail workers refuse to cross their picket lines.

'Labor Notes' conference held in Michigan

BY NORTON SANDLER

YPSILANTI, Mich. — The third *Labor Notes* conference was held here June 15-17.

Labor Notes is a monthly publication of the Labor Education and Research Project (LERP) based in Detroit. It is not affiliated with any union.

The theme of the conference was building union solidarity. Some 650 people from 52 unions in the United States and Canada attended. The largest group of participants were members of the United Auto Workers (UAW), which opens national contract negotiations with Ford and General Motors this month. Among the other activists in attendance were postal workers, who face a contract expiration in July.

A Black caucus attended by 50 unionists focused its attention on the problems of Black workers in basic industry. It put out a summary sheet that was distributed to the rest of the conference. The summary took special note of the recent Supreme Court decision against modifying seniority lists that protected affirmative-action gains of Blacks and women. The decision, said the caucus statement, "is devastating to Black opportunity to advance and to hold jobs."

The Supreme Court ruling was also discussed in the women's caucus and in an affirmative-action workshop.

Speakers at the conference included Evert Hoogers, president of the Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Employees; Bruce Boyens, an organizer for the United Mine Workers of America in the western states; Paul Blackman from the Wisconsin AFL-CIO Human Rights Commission; Pete Kelly, president of UAW Local 160; Dave Daniel, president of the West Virginia Postal Workers Union (APWU); and Jane Slaughter, a *Labor Notes* staff member.

Fernando Rodríguez of the Committee of Salvadoran Trade Unionists in Exile and Fred Dube of the African National Congress also spoke.

Workshops and several union caucuses were also held, the largest of which was the



G.M. Cookson

June 27 Day of Action supporting striking British miners. Tony Benn, speaking at microphone, is leader of Labor Party left wing. He announced Labor Party campaign to fight mine closures.

These divisions among the trade unions are being used by the government and the capitalist press to maintain a firm stand against the miners. NCB Chairman Ian MacGregor continues to say that the NCB will oppose any settlement with the NUM that is a retreat from their original proposal. The press reported that MacGregor told a private meeting of NCB officials that a quick solution to the strike is out of the question.

The stakes in this battle are growing. The miners are ready to stay out indefinitely to win. The spirit of the marchers — miners and others — testified to that.

Another "day of action" is set for the

west Midlands on July 7. The NUM is holding a national conference in Sheffield on July 11-12. Pressure is growing in the labor movement to organize even more massive protests.

U.S. workers should rally in support of their union brothers in Britain. The big U.S. bosses are watching this battle carefully.

International solidarity is needed more than ever. The miners can't win alone. Their fight is our fight. As speaker after speaker put it, "Victory for the miners will be a victory for the protection of jobs for all other trade unionists."

UAW caucus attended by 100 people.

Speakers in a workshop on upcoming contracts included Paul Roose, president of the North American Letter Carriers Local 1111 in San Francisco; Bob Weissman, former president of UAW Local 122 in Twinsburg, Ohio; and Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.

Roose said that the government is trying to impose the "associated work force concept" on postal workers, which he said was "just another name for the two-tier contract." He also said that a club being held over the heads of postal employees is the threat by the government to change postal rules to allow private companies to deliver first-class mail, thus weakening the postal unions.

Roose said that postal workers have tough choices ahead in their negotiations. They can strike (which would violate federal law), risking the full wrath of the government as demonstrated in the PATCO strike; accept severe givebacks; or have the negotiations submitted to arbitration.

Roose said he personally did not favor arbitration, but that many in the union lean that way.

Pete Kelly, the UAW local president at the GM Technical Center, announced a national "Restore and More Caucus" had been formed in the UAW to support efforts to win a decent contract in the upcoming auto negotiations. He said that a caucus mailing would be going out soon to UAW locals in Michigan and northwest Ohio urging them to "empty the plants" for a demonstration on July 23, the day negotiations with GM begin.

The question of what road to take in the 1984 elections was discussed out in a workshop in which most participants were backers of Jesse Jackson. Those backing Walter Mondale said others should do the same since it was clear that Jackson would not be the Democratic Party nominee.

Workshop participants who supported the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González

offered a different perspective, the need for the labor movement to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form an independent labor party.

Two supporters of Jackson's campaign said it had provided "the left with an opportunity to be relevant in politics." They argued that an organization like the Socialist Workers Party that runs its own candidates or advocates the formation of a labor party is destined to remain "irrelevant."

Labor Notes organizers distributed material urging the formation of a "Solidarity Network" to provide "a regular flow of up-to-date information about existing struggles" that unions are involved in. The *Labor Notes* leaflet said that while such networks were not a substitute for official organization of solidarity through the channels of the labor movement, "there is a place for a catalytic action that sometimes brings official support in its trail."

During one discussion of this proposal, Mark Friedman, a member of UAW Local 12 in Toledo, suggested that union militants can often be more effective by pressing for solidarity inside the unions themselves. He explained that the militant May 21 demonstration of 3,000 workers in solidarity with UAW strikers at the Toledo AP Parts plant had been organized through the union as the result of pressure from rank-and-file workers who saw the need to act.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who is fighting deportation from the United States, participated in the discussion at the conference and was able to win new support for his case. Among the new backers of his right to live and work in the United States are Ron Weisen, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 1397; Ed Mann, a former Steelworkers leader from Youngstown; and Evert Hoogers from the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.

Sixteen conference participants bought copies of the Pathfinder Press book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. All told, participants bought \$275 worth of socialist literature and 65 copies of the *Militant*.

Hong Kong garment workers ask for solidarity from U.S. labor

BY DIANE WANG

Hong Kong seems very much like Chinatown in New York or San Francisco — only bigger. It is so much a British colony that many of the public signs, newspapers, and TV stations are in English, even though the population is Chinese. The big drugstore chain is called Watson's.

The garment shops are not so different from New York, either, and the women who work in them could be people at the machines next to me in shops where I have worked.

Like New York, Hong Kong has a huge garment industry. It is the largest industry on an island of almost 6 million people. About a quarter million people work in garment, another 120,000 in textile.

Several young garment workers talked to me about what their life is like when I visited Hong Kong last March.

\$135 a month

Sophia is 28 years old and runs an overlock machine in a shop of less than 20 workers making men's shirts. She only earns about the equivalent of \$135 a month. "The average wage here is a bit higher," she added, more like \$255. Some shops, but not all, have a minimum wage of \$100 a month for beginning operators.

That is not much, especially when her family's rent for a small apartment is around \$112 a month.

Her friend Susan, who is 24 years old, has worked in shops making women's clothes for about five years. She works in a relatively large factory with more than 100 workers now. Because Susan goes to school once a week to improve her sewing skills, she earns only about \$235 a month as a samplemaker.

Ling, another young woman who had worked in garment for some time, explained that real wages in Hong Kong have gone down steadily for the last five years. Ever since the 1974 recession, inflation has been driving prices up.

Rents, for example, are very high. A one-bedroom apartment in Hong Kong might rent for \$300 a month. There are also government housing projects where some 42 percent of the island's population lives. Rent there is only an average of \$57 a month. But the apartments are tiny, perhaps as small as 20 by 10 feet.

Homework, piecework like U.S.

Homework is as common a fact of life in Hong Kong as in New York. "In the government housing projects you will see lots of women bringing work home in the evening," Ling said. For that work women earn 20 to 30 percent less than they would in the factory.

Many garment workers work on a piece rate, the women said. As in the United States, that is used to wring the most work out of them and exempts them from some of the few labor protection laws that do exist.

For example, in 1974, Hong Kong's colonial government was forced to pass a law providing for minimal severance pay for workers laid off during the recession. Piece-rate workers get far less compensation, if they can manage to win even that.

"In Hong Kong we have no unemployment insurance, no pension or social security, and so many rules and conditions on welfare help that most workers cannot get it," Ling explained.

She cited one study done by a bank that showed Hong Kong workers have to work three and a half times as many hours as U.S. workers just to earn enough money to buy basic necessities.

Sophia, Susan, and Ling explained that there are, however, some benefits that have been won by workers. People have a number of holidays and seven days of vacation, for example.

Weak unions

It is difficult to win improvements, however. While unions are legal, the British colonial government denies them the right to collective bargaining. The women estimated that little more than 10 percent of the garment industry is unionized.

"I've only seen one union representative

in the shops where I've worked in the last three years," Sophia told me. "And where they do exist they mainly organize picnics and social activities."

The largest trade unions are led by supporters of the Peking government. Their main concern is not championing Hong Kong's workers, but trying to ensure good diplomatic relations between Peking and Hong Kong's colonial government and bosses.

"It is very difficult to try to organize," Sophia explained. "Most of the shops are very small, and in some most people are relatives. In my place, for example, the floor lady is the boss's sister. So when there are problems people try to work it out through their family instead of with other workers."

Occasionally there are defensive actions. Susan recalled that in a shop where she had worked a few years ago the women had joined together to lodge a formal complaint when the boss tried to close the shop without paying them.

But even when something happens in one shop it is hard to have a wider impact because the shops are so small and separate, she said.

Ling explained that in Hong Kong 80 percent of the shops have less than 20 workers; 93 percent have less than 50 workers. That means almost half the work force is in these small shops.

Ton, a young woman working in an electronics factory, suggested that another problem is that the women lack self-confidence. "Where I work we are mostly young women," she explained, "and many of the women just don't take themselves seriously."

Immigrants as scapegoats

Another problem, I was surprised to learn, is discrimination against immigrant workers. While Chinese make up more than 90 percent of Hong Kong's population, a large number of workers from other Southeast Asian countries have gone there too.

A number of Vietnamese who left their country after 1975 have ended up in Hong Kong.

Once the Vietnamese arrived there, however, they faced discrimination. As in the United States, the bosses and government have tried to tell workers that the immigrants steal their jobs.

"But in the last two years," Ton said, "the economic crisis has become so severe that it is clear it can't simply be blamed on the immigrants. Still, there is a problem of communication so that the bosses can try to do anything."

Ling also felt that the effort to blame the immigrants has run out of steam. "Increas-

ingly people can see that the government is to blame for our economic problems, not these other workers," she said.

The women were amazed when I told them there is a similar campaign under way in the United States to blame Hong Kong workers for stealing U.S. jobs.

"Do American workers really believe that?" asked Susan incredulously.

Ling explained that there is, in fact, big investment by U.S. capitalists in Hong Kong. She cited figures showing that U.S. companies have invested \$37 million in Hong Kong's garment industry. Even though Hong Kong is a British colony, the U.S. investment is much larger than the British.

"The reason that the American capitalists invest here is because our wages are so low. We are superexploited," said Susan. "It is not us who steal the jobs. It is the capitalists who are stealing from workers to get higher profits."

I explained that some of the U.S. trade union leaders point to that superexploitation to justify their support for protectionist measures against Hong Kong and other colonies.

I asked the women if a boycott of Hong Kong garment would help them fight their bosses.

"That does not help us," answered Ling. "The import quotas already set by the United States and the EEC [European Economic Community] only hurt us and cost us our jobs."

As in the United States, Hong Kong bosses whine about their problems making a profit and use that as an excuse to lay off workers, pay less wages, and pit workers against each other.

How to fight superexploitation

"No," said Sophia, "the answer is that Hong Kong workers have to organize to fight back to improve our living standard." That is how to deal with the superexploitation, not by getting rid of the jobs altogether. "So American workers should not only fight to improve their own living standards, but they should support us as well."

"Your struggle against your bosses helps us in the colonial and semicolonial countries," said Ling. "It weakens the imperialists' political and economic influence here." If the U.S. bosses had their hands full dealing with the demands of U.S. workers, it would open up more opportunities for Hong Kong workers to organize and fight back, she explained.

"Support us, don't make us the enemy," she said. Ling pointed out that when workers in countries like Hong Kong make gains it actually helps workers in the United States. "Our struggle will help you,



Militant/Barry Chan
Garment shop in New York's Chinatown. Workers in both Hong Kong and the United States suffer exploitation, should join in common struggle against employers.

because the less opportunity the imperialists have to carry out capitalist exploitation in other countries, the weaker will be its political and economic control over workers in the United States itself."

The truth of what the women in Hong Kong said hit me forcefully when I returned to New York.

Under this capitalist system — where it's more important to the boss that we make profits than make clothes — we do all compete. I don't just compete with workers in Hong Kong. I compete with the woman at the machine next to me, with every other worker trying to make a living. My shop competes with every other shop trying to make a profit.

And how do we compete? By working faster and cheaper.

The only time things have improved at all has been when workers broke through that competition and joined together to make a union. Solidarity is an antidote to the worst effects of competition.

What should we do when new shops open in the South, in another state, in another city, or across the street? The answer is not to go on a big campaign to close them down, but to unionize them.

Otherwise we get caught in a trap of working harder and cheaper, working with "our" boss to show that "our" shop is more profitable.

We cannot go over to Hong Kong and unionize shops over there. But solidarity with Hong Kong garment workers should be our starting point.

Rather than making workers in Hong Kong the scapegoats, we should support their efforts to improve their conditions and fight to improve our own.

Sandinistas unmask priest's terrorist role

Continued from Page 3

said, "nor do we want to limit their political activity. We are simply determining concretely the character and nature of their actions and the objective links that tie them to the empire and its armed wing, the FDN."

Case of priest

Borge continued, "In sociological terms what has happened is a social, political, and military division of labor against the Nicaraguan revolution." It is in that framework that he looked at the Peña case.

The Sandinista leader explained how the government had decided to act cautiously in the Peña case, but the attitude of the church hierarchy had been completely different.

"Never did we say that what was involved was a conspiratorial attitude on the part of the church," Borge explained. "It has been others" — an unmistakable reference to the hierarchy — "who hold this thesis. Moreover, we have done everything possible to demonstrate that Peña's participation was an isolated case. It has been others who have done everything possible to show the opposite."

The minister of the interior then re-

viewed the overwhelming evidence against Peña, including a second videotape whose existence had not been previously announced by the revolutionary government.

That videotape — broadcast together with Borge's speech that evening and the next over Nicaraguan television — shows Peña trying to deliver a suitcase that had been hidden in his church for several days. It shows how the priest is intercepted by police, who upon opening the bags discovered grenades, explosives, FDN literature, and the FDN flag — which is the yellow-and-white Vatican flag with the initials "FDN" stitched on.

In response to the hierarchy's charges that the videotapes were somehow fabricated, Borge announced the Ministry of the Interior will make the tapes available "to whomever may want to do technical examination." He challenged the hierarchy to take the tapes and prove that they had been doctored or faked, "so that they can pillory us publicly."

"An opportunity like this should not be missed," the Sandinista leader said to cheers, laughter, and applause. "We hope that they will accept our offer."

Borge explained that the revolution remained firm in its resolve not to jail or expel Father Peña from the country. Those

who are trying to provoke such an outcome, Borge said, seek to make propaganda to the effect that "we persecute the church."

Nevertheless, Borge said, legal proceedings against Peña would continue. "The revolution can forgive Father Peña — it would not be the first time this revolution granted a pardon — but it will be the People's Tribunals of the Revolution that will condemn or absolve Father Peña."

On the more general subject of urban terrorist networks, he explained that the break up of this FDN internal front did not mean that danger had been eliminated.

He said the revolution's enemies "seek to create a social base to serve the overall plans of the counterrevolution. They have the objective of provoking political confrontation in the different cities of the country, particularly the city of Managua. They propose to base themselves on the discontent of some sectors to provoke — as some one has said — blood, death, and horror."

Borge explained that in the struggle against CIA-inspired attempts to create a new internal front, "the people can triumph only through a conscious mobilization on the political terrain and an intransigent ideological struggle."

ARIZONA

Phoenix

The Current INS Campaign Against Immigrants: What Can We Do About It? Speakers from the sanctuary movement, Arizona Farm Workers Union, South Mountain Community College, and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 7, 7 p.m. 17 E Southern. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Recent Developments in the Struggle for the Liberation of Southern Africa. A panel discussion. Speakers: Vussi Shangasi, member of African National Congress; Ron Wilkins, member of Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 7, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Diego

Celebrate and Defend the Nicaraguan and Cuban Revolutions. Speakers to be announced. Sat., July 21, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Jose

Why Is There a War Between Iraq and Iran? Is the U.S. Neutral? Speaker: Jerry Freiwirth, Bay Area District Chairperson of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 7, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: An Attack on All Workers. Speakers: representatives from Midwest Coalition in Defense of Immigrants; Casa El Salvador; Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 7, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Looking for Solutions to Unemployment, Racism, and War? Strategy for Black Liberation. A Young Socialist Alliance Class Series. Tues., July 10, 6:30 p.m. 4850 N College.

Vietnam and Kampuchea: an eyewitness report

A slide show and presentation by Diane Wang

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 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.

Ausp: YSA. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

U.S. War Against Nicaragua: an Eyewitness Account. Speakers: Kathy Owen, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; Thomas Hunsdorfer, Christian Theological Seminary; both recently returned from Nicaragua. Sun., July 15, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Toledo Auto Workers Stand Up to Union-busting: Firsthand report on the AP Parts Strike. Speaker: Joe Callahan, member of United Auto Workers Local 12 (Jeep Unit) in Toledo and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., July 8, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

Correspondence between Kautsky, Iranians

Continued from Page 4

gressive because it is aimed against the feudal order, and because it is a movement of the masses, who are exploited by the landlords.

The democratic movement includes the big and commercial bourgeoisie. They are struggling against the big landowners, who keep the population in poverty through hoarding, and so on, and who bar the development of trade. Although the movement in its initial stage contains retrogressive tendencies arising from reactionary elements, and inclined toward nostalgia for the past, these tendencies will be destroyed as the movement develops. Supporters of this view stress that despite the so-called struggle against foreign capital, imports of European products increased during the tax year 1906-1907, the year Iran had a parliament, and when the democratic movement was ascendant.

We hope that you will be in a position to answer the following theoretical and scientific questions, which we must discuss in our next general assembly. We will be very grateful for your answer, as it will make our decisions much easier.

1) What in your view is the character of the Iranian revolution? Is it retrogressive? Please explain your view.

2) How should Social Democrats participate in a democratic and progressive movement? What if the movement is reactionary? We recognize that such participation should not violate our fundamental principles. Please explain your views.

Arshavir Chalangarian

Karl Kautsky's Reply

August 1, 1908

Dear Comrade,

I apologize for not responding to your letter earlier. The delay was not because of a lack of interest on my part; on the contrary, I consider your letter very important. But I have been traveling and received your letter only yesterday.

Since I am traveling and do not possess the necessary documents, it is not possible

MISSOURI

Kansas City

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: an Attack on All Workers. Speakers: Howard Eisberg, immigration lawyer; Diane Shur, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 5th C.D.; Norma Hill, activist with Haitian refugees. Sun., July 15, 7 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

800 Workers Locked Out at Merck: Fightingback Against Union-busting. Speakers: Paul Renner, chief steward, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-575; others to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 13. Pre-forum dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond, 1 block from

Broad St.). Donation: \$2; \$3 for dinner. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

New York City

Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: An Attack on All Labor. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, socialist fighting deportation to Mexico; representative of Committee for Fair Immigration Legislation; Apolinar Prinida, Latinas United for Political Action. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 6, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Party to Celebrate Fifth Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution. Sat., July 7, 8:30 p.m. to midnight. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: New York and New Jersey Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (201) 643-3341, (212) 226-8445.

for me to write a complete answer to your letter. Therefore I will limit myself to a few lines.

Turning to your question: it is difficult for me to pass judgment on a country about which I know very little, a country, furthermore, where new forces and social layers, previously unknown even in their own country, have suddenly emerged, and where sharp oscillations occur every day.

I can say without hesitation, however, that Iranian Socialists have the duty to participate in the democratic movement. Like simple democrats, Socialists take part in this struggle alongside bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. But for Socialists the fight for democracy is a class struggle. The triumph of democracy will not end the political struggle, but will open new struggles that were virtually impossible to wage under the previous despotic rule.

In a democratic movement supported by all classes of the country's toilers there are always reactionary tendencies brought in by small peasant and petty-bourgeois layers. This is not a reason to stay out of the struggle; on the contrary it poses the need to combat such tendencies inside the democratic movement. This was Marx's tactic in 1848 when there was no chance of establishing a strong proletarian party in Germany.

A hostile attitude toward foreign capital is not necessarily reactionary, even though heavy industry and railroads are as important for Iran as for other countries. Capitalist development has now begun in Iran and perhaps it will develop even faster if it is not exploited by foreign capital.

This capital appears in Persia not only as industrial capital, but also, and to a greater extent, as capital for moneylending. In this form it exploits the whole nation, including the peasants, whose taxes pay the interest on the government's debts. Consequently, the peasants become poorer and are unable to buy industrial goods. This is why foreign capital in Iran, as in Russia, obstructs the development of the home market, the

essential precondition for industrial development.

When Iran's exploitation by foreign capital is ended, the extra surplus value remaining inside the country will help develop the internal market and domestic capital. For the proletarian movement, democracy means not only political freedom, but also independence of the country from foreign influence — both economic and political.

By fighting to overthrow capitalism, the peoples of the East weaken European capitalism and therefore strengthen the European proletariat. Thus they fight for socialism not only in their own countries, but also for us in Europe.

If the 1905 revolution in Russia had been able to stop interest payments on the government loans, a revolution in France would have resulted. If British India and Egypt were strong enough to achieve their independence, that would deliver a mighty blow to English capital and intensify the contradictions between British capitalism and the proletariat.

Iran and Turkey, in their struggle for liberation, fight for the freedom of the international proletariat.

Dear Comrade! I hope this short letter will satisfy you. When I return to Berlin, if time allows, I will study the Iranian situation in depth.

In any case, it is important for us to be informed of the revolutionary movement in Iran, its causes, tendencies, and the classes that support it.

I will be happy to publish an article by you on this topic in *Die Neue Zeit*, a newspaper distributed internationally. Your Marxist viewpoint would enrich your article and allow us to see the problems more clearly than would that of a simple democrat.

Although your country is in a revolutionary situation, I hope these lines will reach you. I shake your hand and wish success for you and your comrades.

With comradely greetings,
K. Kautsky

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

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

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

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Ill. steelworkers in bitter strike against Danly

BY CHARLIE ROSENBERG

CICERO, Ill. — Members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 15271 at Danly Machine Co. here are in a bitter fight to defend their union against the company and the cops. A new stage in the union's seven-week strike began June 6 when police arrested six union pickets, including Local 15271 Pres. Joseph Romano on charges of "mob action." A former Danly employee faces a felony charge of "aggravated arson."

Danly is a major domestic manufacturer of punch presses and die sets for the auto industry. The company is owned by the Ogden Corp., a large conglomerate that also owns the giant, nonunion, Avondale shipyard in New Orleans.

Until a few years ago there were more than 1,300 production workers at Danly. When the strike began Local 15271 had 425 members working, as the machine-tool industry nationally is still in a downturn.

Danly forced the strike with demands that would effectively render the union powerless to repre-

sent workers in the plant. The company seeks to eliminate union seniority provisions and prohibit the union from electing shop stewards to service workers' grievances in the plant.

Other company demands include a two-tier wage system that would cut the pay for new hires to \$3.50 an hour less than that earned by current employees. Danly is also demanding that workers pay for all future increases in insurance costs. It insists on no future increases in pension benefits.

The strike appears solid as fewer than 12 workers have crossed the picket line. Union-busting moves like the one at Danly are becoming more common at similar-sized union shops in the Chicago area. A union victory at Danly can help put a stop to them.

Charlie Rosenberg is a member of USWA Local 7999 at Sloan Value in Chicago.

Cops attack Teamsters in Pittsburgh

BY JACK ILETSE

GREENVILLE, Pa. — The Lutheran church hierarchy turned local police here on striking Teamsters and their labor allies as they protested Bishop Kenneth

May's union-busting attack at the Passavant Health Center, June 6.

Greenville cops charged into more than 60 unionists organized by the Network to Save the Mon/Ohio Valley. The attack came after Teamster Local 583 Secretary-Treasurer Ray Baker attempted to lead the unionists into a prayer session of the annual meeting of the Western Pennsylvania-West Virginia Synod of the Lutheran Church of America at Thiel College.

Baker and a Teamster striker were arrested.

The Synod appoints directors of the health center, which fired 130 Passavant workers earlier this year, permanently replacing them with scabs, after the union had accepted an 8 percent wage cut and a give back of sick days.

Before the strike and contract, maximum pay for a licensed practical nurse with 10 years seniority was \$6.16 an hour.

As Baker was escorted by cops to a patrol car, protesters surrounded the vehicle, forcing it to back up, as trade unionists ran to the rear of the car, trying to stop its exit. Fists flew in a brief and fairly equal exchange, as the cops cut a path through chanting, shouting demonstrators. There were no injuries to either side.

Moments later, the local cops were reinforced by State Police and Mercer County Sheriff's de-



Militant Cops arrest Ray Baker, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 583, as Network to Save the Mon/Ohio Valley protests against Lutheran church hierarchy's scab herding.

partment officers.

The labor solidarity action drew steelworkers from the big Pittsburgh mills 100 miles to the south, including union activists and leaders from Allegheny Ludlum, U.S. Steel Homestead and Irvin works, as well as a dozen workers from Dravo Corp., organized in the Marine and Shipbuilders union, who've been without a contract and out of work

since September 1983, when the bosses announced an "indefinite" suspension of operations at the shipyard.

The Network to Save the Mon/Ohio Valley unites 15 union locals and 30 churches in solidarity actions and protests against unemployment, layoffs, and plant shutdowns, demanding economic relief, jobs, and industrial modernization.

Iron miners, González discuss strategy for labor



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky Socialist Workers candidate González

VIRGINIA, Minn. — One day after U.S. Steel announced a 12-week shutdown of its Minntac taconite mining operation on the Mesabi Iron Range, Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, addressed 75 members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1938 at their regular monthly meeting June 13.

USWA Local 1938 represents over 1,600 working miners. More than 2,000 others are on long-term layoff from Minntac, the largest such mine in the United States.

Speaking on the heels of the shutdown announcement, González received a very attentive and serious hearing for the socialist campaign's proposals.

González had the chance before and after the union meeting to talk with some of the miners about her campaign. Among the questions the miners asked González were about her proposals to fight back against the union-busting offensive of the companies and the government, how to defend the rights of working women, what can be done to make the unions more effective tools to fight for workers' rights, and what attitude unionists should take to the 1984 presidential elections.

González had just come from a visit to the Arizona copper mines where miners are fighting against the union-busting of Phelps Dodge Corp.

In her remarks to the USWA meeting here, González said, "The copper miners' strike, along with the United Auto Workers strike in Toledo against AP Parts, the hotel workers strike in Las Vegas, and the nurses' strike in Minneapolis-St. Paul, point to the challenge confronting us today, a challenge to the very existence of our unions."

"In each of these strikes, the unions, the strikers, and their families confront not just the companies and scabs, but also the police who attack picket lines and arrest strikers; the courts with injunctions and trials; and in the case of the copper miners, the National Guard, who invaded and occupied their towns. In short, the strikers face the companies and the government."

In her discussions with the miners, González found a rising anger against recent decisions of the Supreme Court attacking labor and women's rights. Many miners were especially angered by the decision to allow the use of illegally obtained evidence in court by the government. One miner described this attack on democratic rights as making cops the judge, jury, and executioner.

A miner asked González, if she could solve just one problem faced by working people, what would it be? She answered that the most serious problem workers face is the war being waged by the U.S. government against the workers and farmers of Central America.

González explained at the USWA meeting that the motivation for union-busting here also underlies the escalation of the U.S. war in Central America. "They drive ahead with their war to overthrow the Nicaraguan government — a government that has encouraged and defended unions, and has given land to small farmers."

"This U.S. war goes hand in hand with union-busting," she continued, "because it has the same basic purpose: to stop working people from advancing politically, economically, and socially, to push us back to a time when we had no protection from the whims of the bosses."

In her discussions here, González found miners did not believe what the U.S. government was saying about the Nicaraguan revolution, and most thought they were being lied to about Cuba, too.

One of González's discussions centered on a question about the U.S. presidential elections. A miner asked her, "Even though nobody is very enthusiastic about Walter Mondale, wouldn't it make things a little better to vote for him as a lesser evil than Reagan?"

González reminded this miner of the strike-breaking move by the Carter-Mondale administration to invoke the Taft-Hartley law against striking coal miners in 1978.

González also pointed out that Carter and Mondale began the U.S. intervention in Central America.

"The war on working people inside and outside the United States will not be stopped by the elections in November," she said. "These attacks will only be stopped by us organizing independent of the employers and the Democrats and Republicans, who serve them."

"Our message to the companies and the government must be 'No More PATCOs, no more union-busting!' We must stand on the central condition of the workers movement — solidarity, all working people together, Black and white, men and women, inside and outside the United States. Because if we let the companies and government push back workers anywhere in the world, then we grow weaker."

González continued, "It was our international solidarity that helped to end the slaughter in Vietnam, and only this solidarity organized, mobilized, and led by the unions will enable us to end the union-busting and make our unions a social cause looked to by everyone who experiences unemployment, discrimination, and poverty as their defender, their champion, as organizations worth fighting for."

"In the course of organizing, mobilizing, and leading this type of solidarity today, we can begin to forge a party based on the unions that can strengthen our ability to fight for our unions and reach out to our allies, a party not of so-called friends of labor, but of labor itself, that would fight with us and for us 365 days a year."



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Woman vice-president discussion

The big business-owned media has been pumping up the discussion and debate over whether the Democratic Party should nominate a woman vice-presidential candidate.

This media campaign is designed to convince women and supporters of their rights that the Democratic Party represents them and that women's equality can be won through the two-party system.

The recent national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW), held in Miami Beach, Florida, focused on urging Walter Mondale to choose a woman as his running mate.

NOW Pres. Judy Goldsmith explained that NOW supports a woman on the Democratic Party ticket because it is the way to beat Ronald Reagan.

"Think of the women throughout this country, who have become tired and skeptical about the political establishment ever making a serious effort to end the discrimination that burdens their lives. Think of them on November 6. Do you think wild horses could keep them from the polls and a historic vote for the first woman vice-president of this country?"

Goldsmith assumes that the key problem facing women is Reagan and that the way to solve this problem is replacing him with Mondale. It will be easier, she reasons, to convince a lot of "skeptical" women to vote for Mondale if his running mate is a woman.

But the big problem facing women is not Reagan. And a Democratic vice-president who is female will do nothing to solve the burning questions facing women.

Women's rights are under attack, all right. From employers who refuse to implement affirmative action plans. From the Supreme Court, which says that discriminatory layoffs are okay. From a bipartisan Congress that votes to cut child care and other social services and puts restrictions on women's right to abortion.

Women are also deeply affected by layoffs, racist attacks, inflation, and the escalating U.S. intervention in Central America.

Reagan is leading the charge on all these fronts because he is the executive officer of the tiny handful of superrich families that run the government through their parties — the Democrats and Republicans.

The fact that the Democrats jointly administer these attacks with the Republicans is proof positive that they are not going to carry out a different policy if they occupy the White House for the next four years.

Having a capitalist politician who is female occupy the vice-president's place in the White House won't change which social class is running things. And that means it won't help women.

Having Sandra O'Connor be the first woman on the

Supreme Court has certainly not made that reactionary institution any more friendly to women's rights.

Strikingly absent from all the media hoopla about a woman vice-presidential candidate is any discussion of what *program* any of the most talked about nominees have to offer women and working people.

That's no oversight.

It's assumed that Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, Rep. Patricia Schroeder, and San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein all have the same program as their party — a program which defends the interests of U.S. big business first and foremost.

The woman vice-president discussion is designed to obscure the class line that exists between the interests of working people and oppressed groups like women and Blacks, and the interests of the employers, which the Democrats represent just as ably as the Republicans.

The fact that for the first time one of the two governing parties in the United States has been forced to discuss running a woman for vice-president is a reflection of something important — something that has nothing to do with elections.

It reflects the large numbers of women who have entered the work force in the last three decades. This resulted in the rise of a movement of women dedicated to fighting for their rights.

In the course of that fight, women have won important allies in the union movement and in the Black community. And women in the United States have inspired women around the world to struggle against their oppression.

Women began to win some political power when they started to stand up to their bosses, the government, the church hierarchies and every other foe of women's equality.

The Socialist Workers Party is running a woman for vice-president: Andrea González. Along with SWP presidential candidate Mel Mason, González advocates that women fight back against these attacks on their rights and living standards and not subordinate their struggle to the fortunes of the Democratic Party and the class it represents.

González is an outspoken opponent of the U.S. war in Central America and a supporter of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. She is a longtime activist in the fight for Puerto Rican independence and in the union movement. And González is a socialist, committed to the fight to rid this country and the world of the parasitic capitalist system and replace it with a society where human needs come before profits.

This is a perspective that women who have gotten fed up with the "political establishment" of the capitalist class should seriously consider.

Attacks on Louis Farrakhan

Continued from front page

United States of America: the present state called Israel is an outlaw act. It was not done with the backing of Almighty God nor was it done by the guidance of the Messiah. It was your cold, naked scheming, plotting, and planning against the lives of a people there in Palestine. Now you have taken the land and you called it Israel and you pushed out the original inhabitants, making them vagabonds in the earth."

The formation of Israel was indeed a criminal act. Like South Africa, Israel is a settler-colonial state. European settlers, backed by world imperialism, drove the Palestinian people from their land and established their own state in occupied Palestine.

Farrakhan's stance on Israel reflects an elementary sense of solidarity of growing layers of U.S. working people, especially Blacks, with their oppressed Palestinian brothers and sisters.

The source of war in the Mideast, explained Farrakhan, is the existence of Israel, which is based on the subjugation of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

Farrakhan went on to say, according to the capitalist media, that "there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying, and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name."

Farrakhan denies that he used the word "gutter." Whether he did or not, he incorrectly equates those who adhere to the Jewish religion with Zionism. This myth originates with the imperialists themselves who denounce all critics of Israel as "anti-Semites." That's false. Zionism is a racist ideology spread by the rulers of Israel and their imperialist backers. It's not an innate belief held by all Jews, but the product of the decaying capitalist system.

Backers of Israel quickly seized on Farrakhan's June 24 sermon in order to whip up a massive propaganda barrage against him, and, by association, Jesse Jackson. President Reagan was right near the front of the line and the Senate wasn't far behind. On June 28 it adopted a resolution, by a vote of 95 to 0, calling on both the Democratic and Republican party chairmen to issue written repudiations of Farrakhan.

Democratic presidential candidates Walter Mondale and Gary Hart chimed in and both demanded that Jackson

also denounce Farrakhan.

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, also joined the attack. Perlmutter is a longtime opponent of affirmative action for Blacks, labelling advocates of this right "anti-Semitic."

In the earlier slander campaigns charging Jackson and Farrakhan with anti-Semitism, most Black leaders said little rather than join the racist chorus.

This time it was different.

Rev. Joseph Lowery, who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, asserted that, "The nation of Israel is an established fact and it serves no good purpose at this point in history to denigrate a nationhood of Israel."

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said "The NAACP deplores the inflammatory statements" made by Farrakhan. "The NAACP's established policy," said Hooks, "supports the right of Israel to exist."

The Communist Party jumped on the bandwagon to offer its support to imperialist Israel. In a statement released June 28, Ishmael Flory, a longtime Black leader of the CP and its 1984 candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, said his party has "supported the UN-sponsored right of the state of Israel to exist. . . ." Farrakhan's remarks, said Flory, "must be condemned and rejected by all progressive and peace-loving forces."

Jesse Jackson also sharply denounced Farrakhan, calling his remarks "reprehensible and morally indefensible."

Why did these individuals and organizations choose this moment to criticize Farrakhan? The Democratic primaries are over. Walter Mondale is expected to be the party's presidential nominee, and, they argue, there must be unity behind Mondale to defeat Reagan. Jackson said, "I will not permit Minister Farrakhan's words, wittingly or unwittingly, to divide the Democratic Party."

The sharp repudiations of Farrakhan highlight once again how support for the capitalist Democratic Party is an obstacle to leading an effective struggle either for Black rights or the national rights of the Palestinian people.

Supporters of Black rights should roundly denounce this racist slander campaign.

Malcolm X on anti-Semitism and Israel

The Black revolutionary leader Malcolm X was slandered throughout his political life as an "anti-Semite" and "racist in reverse" because of his political ideas. Whenever he was asked about such charges, he would point out that Blacks, the victims of racism, were being turned into criminals.

In 1964, shortly after he had left the Nation of Islam and set up the Muslim Mosque, Inc., Malcolm was inter-

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viewed by the music critic and poet A.B. Spellman. Spellman asked him to answer the charges that "you are as racist as Hitler and the Klan, etc. That you are anti-Semitic. That you advocate violence."

Malcolm replied, "No, we're not racists at all. Our brotherhood is based on the fact that we are all Black, brown, red, or yellow. We don't call this racism, any more than you could refer to the European Common Market, which consists of Europeans, which means that it consists of white-skinned people — is not referred to as a racist coalition. It's referred to as the European Common Market, an economic group, while our desire for unity among Black, brown, red, and yellow is for brotherhood — has nothing to do with racism, has nothing to do with Hitler, has nothing to do with the Klan."

"The Klan in this country was designed to perpetuate an injustice upon Negroes," Malcolm explained, "whereas Muslims are designed to eliminate the injustice that has been perpetuated upon the so-called Negro."

Malcolm said the charge of "anti-Semitism" was raised because his organization condemned Jewish merchants who ripped off the Black community. "This doesn't mean we are anti-Jews or anti-Semitic," he explained. "We're antiexploitation."

The anti-Semitism charge was also flung at Malcolm because of his stinging denunciations of the state of Israel. Malcolm traveled widely in the Arab world and Africa to express his solidarity with the peoples there against Zionist aggression and U.S. and European imperialism. In a 1964 article titled "Zionist logic," printed in the *Egyptian Gazette* (and reprinted in the Feb. 25, 1983, *Militant*), Malcolm exposed the myth of "benevolent" Israel:

"The Zionist armies that now occupy Palestine claim their ancient Jewish prophets predicted that in the 'last days of this world' their own god would raise them up a 'messiah' who would lead them to their promised land, and they would set up their own 'divine' government in this newly gained land. This 'divine' government would enable them to 'rule all other nations with a rod of iron.'"

"These Israeli Zionists religiously believe their Jewish god has chosen them to replace the outdated European colonialism with a new form of colonialism, so well disguised that it will enable them to deceive the African masses into submitting willingly to their 'divine' authority and guidance, without the African masses being aware that they are still colonized."

"The Israeli Zionists are convinced they have successfully camouflaged their new kind of colonialism. Their colonialism appears to be more 'benevolent,' more 'philanthropic.'"

"Did the Zionists have the legal or moral right to invade Arab Palestine, uproot its Arab citizens from their homes and seize all Arab property for themselves, just based on the 'religious' claim that their forefathers lived there thousands of years ago? Only a thousand years ago the Moors lived in Spain. Would this give the Moors of today the legal and moral right to invade the Iberian Peninsula, drive out its Spanish citizens, and then set up a 'new Moroccan nation' where Spain used to be, — as the European Zionists have done to our Arab brothers and sisters in Palestine?"

"There are over 100 million of our people in the western hemisphere who are of African origin. Just because our forefathers once lived here in Africa, would this give Afro-Americans the right to come back here to the mother continent to drive the rightful citizens of Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanganyika, or Uganda from their cities, confiscate all their property for ourselves, and set up a 'new Afro-American nation' — as the European Zionists have done to our Arab brothers and sisters in Palestine?"

"According to this warped Zionist logic, all the whites would be forced to leave the entire western hemisphere, and those two vast continents turned back to the original owners, the American Indians. And since anthropologists say the American Indians originally came from the subcontinent of India, they could return to India and displace its 300 million people — as a handful of European Zionists have done to our Arab brothers and sisters in Palestine."

Grenada party demands: 'U.S. get out!'

Continued from front page

Now poverty, unemployment and suffering have returned to the life of the ordinary Grenadian like the old days.

"The ideas, policies and programs that Bishop put forward still hold the key to real development and progress in Grenada. More than ever before, the people are crying out for a Party that can bring jobs, food, a decent standard of living, and build a genuinely independent and democratic society, based firmly on the will of the Grenadian people."

"Never be defeated."

"We believe that these words of Maurice Bishop carry the message our people now need. Even in the most difficult and painful times we have to pick up the pieces and seek to rebuild."

Members of the MBPM have been active around the country in seeking to build support for the new revolutionary party. This has involved meetings — individually or in small groups — with people who were known in the past for their staunch support for the PRG and its policies.

The MBPM also publishes a weekly newspaper, *Indies Times*, which describes itself as "the organ of the poor, the oppressed and exploited masses of our country" and enjoys a circulation of 2,500 on this island of 110,000 people.

Louison explained that the MBPM has close political links with its predecessor, the New Jewel Movement (NJM), which was founded in 1973. Those links are reflected in the MBPM's program, which draws on the NJM's 1973 party

manifesto and on the policies implemented by the NJM when it was in power.

Louison also explained that the MBPM includes *only* those former members and supporters of the NJM who remained loyal to Bishop and PRG during the October coup engineered by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. There is a section of former NJM members, Louison said, "who are not involved in any way in the MBPM. Because of the ideological and political line they followed in October, they cannot lift the banner of Maurice Bishop. They cannot lift the banner because they now do not stand for the same things that we stand for. They represent an ultraleft clique that destroyed the revolution."

Louison pointed out that one of the things MBPM activists are seeking to

clarify in their discussions with potential supporters is what happened in October 1983 and who is responsible for it.

Meanwhile, the U.S.-installed Interim Advisory Council has abolished numerous programs such as the Centre for Popular Education (for teaching adult literacy) and free milk distribution. It has gutted the National Cooperative Development Agency, which provided assistance to farming cooperatives. Unemployment has jumped from 12 percent at the time of the PRG's overthrow to some 30 percent today.

While Grenadian workers and farmers have suffered a big blow with the overthrow of their government, they retain some of their organizations, such as the trade unions, and have begun to resist these attacks. In the process, the U.S. role has become more apparent to many of them.

Clothing and textile workers convention

Continued from Page 5

union. "This gives us no strength at the bargaining table," he explained, "The bosses just sit across the table from us doodling on paper." The vast majority of textile workers — nearly 600,000 — remain unorganized in the Southern heart of textile territory.

Workers from the South and other parts of the country pointed the way forward by speaking in favor of drawing the ranks of the union into the effort of organizing new shops, mills, and plants.

Many of the newly organized ACTWU workers come from a wide assortment of industries outside of clothing and textile. There seems to be a retreat from seriously organizing the clothing and textile sectors. This was indicated in one section of the resolution on organizing which says, "Our organizing should reflect changes in the economy and the work force from manufacturing to high-tech and service work."

In a related move, the union is part of a joint venture with major apparel and textile firms to develop a robotic sewing machine that will "make U.S. companies more competitive."

During the course of the discussion on the need to step up organizing efforts, one delegate pointed to the cutbacks in the union organizing staff and proposed, "We should be spending our money on organizing instead of trips to El Salvador." This received both applause and opposition.

Many delegates took the floor to speak in favor of the union taking a position against U.S. government policy in El Salvador. They supported the sending of fact-finding tours to find out the truth. Some linked taking this stand to the ability of the union to attract new members.

Brown lung

Health and safety was a deep concern of the delegates. A resolution documented the progress the union made in its historic fight for a dust standard to help prevent "brown lung." This deadly disease has killed many and disabled 30,000 cotton textile workers. Recently, the resolution pointed out, OSHA approved special variances from the dust standard for the Dan River Co. in Virginia and South Carolina to allow the company to "study" the effects on exposed workers. Mention was also made of the need to campaign around ending the use of cancer-causing dyes in the industry.

The convention also voted in favor of stringent laws to protect the environment, and for the need to win the labor movement to championing a clean environment and not counterposing it to jobs.

A resolution was passed on civil rights and civil liberties calling for affirmative-action programs for women and oppressed nationalities, the need for busing to desegregate schools, upholding the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and opposition to right-wing organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, and the American Nazi party.

Many delegates spoke to this resolution, urging that the union take action to combat racism. The establishment of a civil rights department of the union was won for the first time.

The convention voted support for women's rights, endorsing the idea of equal pay for work of comparable value, the Equal Rights Amendment, and support to various laws that opposed discrimination against women. Notably absent was any mention of the right to abortion.

The convention reaffirmed its support to the Coalition of Labor Union Women. A lively CLUW table was set up that recruited quite a few women to CLUW during the course of the gathering. ACTWU Vice-pres. Joyce Miller is the head of that organization. She is one of three women on the 30-member general executive board of ACTWU.

Immigration

Meeting in the midst of the debate over the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill, the convention adopted a resolution on immigration. It made no mention of the bill but called for a "generous amnesty of undocumented workers" and "an end to raids in workplaces by the INS." It ended by saying "ACTWU pledges to continue to be a leader in guaranteeing that all workers whether citizens, legal residents, or undocumented workers, are accorded the full rights of union membership and full rights under the laws of this nation."

The convention reelected the outgoing officers with no opposition: Murray Finley, president; Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer; and Scott Hoyman, executive vice-president. Sergeants-at-arms passed out placards with the names of the three outgoing officers printed on them, along with hats and noisemakers. The convention was organized to march up onto the stage to congratulate the reelected officers.

Attacks on Bishop supporters

In this context the MBPM can play a central political role. That is what the authorities fear, and that is what they are determined to keep from happening.

Early on the morning of June 1, just five days after the MBPM was launched, a powerful explosion rocked the home of Kendrick Radix. A bomb had been detonated outside, causing some damage and leaving a small crater.

On June 22, Radix was returning to Grenada from a trip abroad, accompanied by his wife, Shaiba. At Pearl's Airport, Shaiba Radix, who was born in Guyana and worked in Grenada from 1979 to 1984, was insulted by the immigration officers, bundled onto a plane, and unceremoniously deported. Kendrick Radix himself was assaulted by the police.

These attacks on the MBPM are part of a broader effort to intimidate the population and build up a new repressive apparatus.

Several hundred U.S. troops and an equivalent number of troops from six Caribbean states — called the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force (CPF) — are still stationed here.

Political activists are still occasionally detained for questioning. And U.S. and Caribbean troops carry out raids on houses, ostensibly in search of weapons.

Some youths have reported being beaten and maltreated during such raids. At least one youth is known to have been killed by a policeman in St. Andrew.

The MBPM clearly has the potential to build up an important base of support here. But it also confronts the full power of U.S. imperialism.

In that fight, it needs the solidarity of workers and farmers in the United States and elsewhere. The MBPM's struggle against the U.S. occupation is a struggle that is in the interest of all working people.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Grenada — a Legacy of a Revolution: Celebrate the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: August Nimtz, associate professor of political science and Afro-American studies at University of Minnesota; Father Paul Washington, minister of the Church of the Advocate; Leonel Cepeda, ISTMO, a Nicaraguan solidarity group; Sonya Sánchez, poet; Ernesto, a Salvadoran refugee. Fri., July 13, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Advocate, 2121 N. Gratz. Ausp: Pathfinder Press. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Grenada Before and After the U.S. Invasion: a Celebration of the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: William Crawford, Indiana State Representative; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Jim Rose, Committee for Peace in El Salvador; videotape of Maurice Bishop. Sat., July 21, 7 p.m. IUPUI Lecture Hall, room 104. Ausp: Pathfinder Press, Committee for Peace in El Salvador. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Celebrate the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: Linval Lewis, Jamaican supporter of the Grenada revolution; Asya Munir, Intercultural Understanding; Rogelio Martí, Casa El Salvador; Georges Sayad, Pathfinder Press. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 14. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Press. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Cops riot against copper strikers in Arizona

Continued from back page

daughter said, "All I saw was helmets. I tried to walk through them. I was dizzy already. I was the first one to come out. They hit me with their night sticks and shields. They were trying to push us back in. I fell ... and someone dragged me away into a house."

Alice Miller, one of the owners of the store, is eight months pregnant. As she emerged she was dragged away by cops who handcuffed and arrested her. The musicians' instruments were kicked and damaged.

Many retired miners live in that area of Clifton. Coolers and air conditioners were going full blast in the over 90-degree heat, and gas was sucked into the dwellings and businesses as cops shot canisters onto the roofs and into the yards.

Barricades go up

In the clouds of gas, strikers and youths began to build barricades with rocks and beams across the highway to impede the cops' advance.

The cops, spoiling for a fight, began beating their sticks in unison on their shields, preparing to charge. Demonstrators set the barricades on fire. Police were arresting strikers and roughing them up.

Many citizens had returned to the area to

join the defense of their town against the hated cops. Many came to help the older people and children caught in the drifting gas. People opened their houses and turned on their garden hoses to help others wash off the gas.

As darkness fell cops were confronted by an outraged community that by now had erected three burning barricades. Reporters and camera people were all over. The troopers decided to withdraw from the narrow valley that holds most of Clifton.

Although summoned by city police at various times through the night, the DPS did not return until morning, when several National Guard trucks were used by the DPS to bring in reinforcements, bringing the occupying force to just under 300 state police.

The wife of one arrested striker said many of the more than 20 arrested workers were first taken to the Morenci Ball Park, which, like everything in this company town, is Phelps Dodge property. There in plain view of the scabs, the cops hosed the workers down. Wet and handcuffed, they reportedly spent the night on metal chairs in the Morenci Club, also owned by Phelps Dodge. They were allowed no communication with anyone until midday Sunday. Most have been charged with "unlawful assembly," and "inciting to riot."

Union officials blasted the police attack

at a July 1 news conference. Unity Council Chairman Ray Isner of Boilermakers Local 506 charged, "with little or no warning ... the tear gas was used indiscriminately against demonstrators, residents, and worst of all, small children. A council statement charged that Phelps Dodge has 'provoked and prolonged the strike,' and is the real cause of violence."

Angel Rodríguez, president of USWA Local 616, reported that the night before, Phelps Dodge had bulldozed the strikers' picket shelter by the main gate off the edge of the cliff and forced the pickets to leave, claiming they were "trespassing." A second shack was burned.

The Unity Council condemned Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt for failing to investigate previous complaints about DPS harassment. It called on him to set up an independent commission of inquiry into the weekend's events. Babbitt later refused, praising the DPS for their "professionalism" and "restraint" because no one had been killed yet.

The unionists have decided to launch an independent investigation of the June 30 events and the conduct of the DPS. USWA Director Petras has pledged the union's full support to the effort to make the facts of Phelps Dodge's union-busting, and the heroic resistance of the copper miners, known as widely as possible.

Cops riot against copper strikers

Union rally of 2,000 marks year of strike

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — As the 13 unions of copper miners marked the anniversary of their year-long strike against Phelps Dodge Corp. with a day of solidarity events June 30, Arizona state troopers delivered a characteristic anniversary message from the company.

More than 150 Department of Public Safety (DPS) cops launched an unprovoked attack on pickets that spread through an entire neighborhood of the predominantly Chicano, Mexican, and Native American town.

Strikers and supporters, infuriated by the racist attack that included brutal assaults on children and elderly people, fought back in self-defense. The striking unions have announced they will conduct an independent investigation of the strike-breaking violence.

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the Morenci Labor Unity Council, including other striking unions, had scheduled an all-day event including speakers, food, recreation, and music. Some 2,000 strikers and supporters, including unionists from all over Arizona, heard speeches by retired USWA international Pres. I.W. Abel, USWA District 38 Director Robert Petras, Phoenix Central Labor Council Pres. Pat Cantelme, representatives of the United Farm Workers, and others from the Chicano movement in Arizona. It was the largest union-organized solidarity event in months.

Many of those at the rally also participated in a separate, but related, solidarity march in the afternoon. Dr. Jorge O'Leary, the former Phelps Dodge doctor fired for his support to the strike, led about 1,000 chanting and singing demonstrators up the highway leading through Clifton. Later in the day O'Leary spoke at the union rally.

History of cop violence

The strikers have been heavily violence-baited by the company, government officials, and the big-business media. This has been used as a cover for the brutal police violence and constant harassment that has backed Phelps Dodge's union-busting efforts from the beginning.

The company has kept its operations working with scab labor, and the cops have escorted the strike breakers across picket lines in this "right-to-work" state. Union pickets have frequently felt the state troopers' night sticks. A full-fledged police riot attempted to break up a May 5 Cinco de Mayo strike solidarity rally organized by the strikers' women's auxiliaries.

Faced with this history of strike-breaking violence aimed at intimidating and demoralizing the courageous miners, the organizers of the June 30 activities went to great lengths to insure they would be peaceful. Union monitors were organized for the rally. The marchers had secured a permit to have the highway closed from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. Both the rally and march were successful and peaceful.

Police attack

The cops moved in after the march had dispersed. A small group of 30 to 40 pickets had remained at O'Leary's People's Clinic near the road that leads to the mine. The strikers were peacefully listening to a Mexican band. They yelled at three cars of scabs that passed by, as pickets do every day at the afternoon shift change.

As two DPS helicopters circled overhead, two DPS captains pulled up to the picket line and exchanged words with the pickets. As the cop cars pulled away, one person smacked it with his hand. This was the pretext for the police assault.

A Tucson television crew picked up the cops' radioed order: "That's it, bring 'em

in!" The troopers immediately sealed off the only road through town at both ends. Within minutes two bus loads of riot police armed with gas masks and shields were in formation.

The cops gave an order to disperse and began firing tear gas. Men, women, and children, old and young, crowded into several small buildings nearby in an attempt to escape the gas. The troopers, intent on terrorizing the workers, broke the window in the locked door of the Clifton Liquor Store and shot gas into the packed room.

'I thought they were going to die'

Ricardo and Angelita Delgado, both 74 years old, had to be carried from the gas-filled store. Their son, Armando Delgado, a striking steelworker, said his father, a retired Phelps Dodge miner, has a pacemaker. "I thought they were going to die!" he said.

His wife, Elisa, was arrested as she stumbled out of the store. His 13-year-old

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Militant/Karen Kopperud

Copper miners march before cop attack. Struggle continues after year of strike.

Women miners fight for rights, build union

BY LOUISE ARMSTRONG

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The Sixth National Conference of Women Miners held here June 22-24 was another important step in organizing to fight against the sexual discrimination and harassment fostered by the coal operators against women miners. It registered further progress in the commitment of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) to help lead that fight and in women's leadership role in the union.

The conference was sponsored by the Coal Employment Project (CEP), an organization that helps women get, and keep, mining jobs, and by the Coal Mining Women's Support Team, made up of women miners themselves. It was enthusiastically endorsed by the UMWA (for the second year in a row) and attracted 218 participants, including 114 women miners and 48 of their union brothers.

On the minds of all conference participants was the big showdown coming between the UMWA and the coal operators when contracts expire September 30. Many miners viewed the conference as another opportunity to help prepare the union for that fight.

To publicize the weekend, UMWA Vice-pres. Cecil Roberts joined three women miners, conference co-chairs Sandy Dorsey and Edith Stith, and conference organizer Cosby Totten, in a well-attended press conference here June 15.

A highlight of the conference was Saturday's opening session. Representatives from the Charleston chapters of the National Organization for Women and NAACP welcomed the crowd. Artelia Bracey, national organizing director of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Alice Peurala, the first woman elected president of a large basic steel local of the United Steelworkers of America, also spoke briefly. Carroll Rogers, UMWA District 31 president, and John Banovic, UMWA international secretary-treasurer, saluted conference participants.

Death in the mines

Marat Moore, UMWA Journal staff writer and former miner, gave a moving invocation to the 56 miners killed on the job this year. Observing that this is double the fatality rate in 1983, she singled out for tribute Linda Thompson, a Mingo Co., West Virginia, miner and personal friend killed in a roof fall.

Betty Jean Hall, CEP director, presented the annual year-in-review report. She described several victories in lawsuits against job discrimination and pointed to others that have been filed against sexual harassment.

'Peephole' case

A particularly important case mentioned by Hall is a "peephole" fight being waged by women miners in Beckley, West Virginia, against the Pittston coal company. The UMWA members charge that company officials spied on and harassed women miners by drilling a peephole into the women's bathroom. The women have remained targets of victimization.

For instance the Beckley Chamber of Commerce recently staged a play titled, "The Best Little Bathroom in Beckley."

Hall noted the new role of women in the UMWA. Twenty women served as delegates to the December 1983 international union convention, two women are now on the international union staff, and many serve on local union committees and as officers. At last year's conference, women miners began a national drive to win UMWA support for a demand for maternity-paternity leave to be included in contracts with the coal operators. They won unanimous approval for the resolution at the December 1983 UMWA convention.

The conference keynote speaker was Cecil Roberts. He started out by describing a 1943 issue of the UMWA Journal that featured an article attacking coal operators for hiring women.

"We've come a long way since then," Roberts explained. In contrast, today the UMWA supports the efforts of women miners and the CEP to deal with "the ugly fact of sex discrimination and harassment," he said.

Roberts recounted the way the coal operators used race, nationality, and language differences among coal miners to divide workers in the early days of organizing the UMWA. Workers learned "a golden lesson" then, he said. "[If we] allow management or anybody else to play us off against each other, we'll never win."

'Fight for rights of women'

He reminded conference participants that John Mitchell, an early UMWA president, used to tell miners that "coal is not Irish coal, it is not Italian coal, it is not

Slavic coal. It is just coal."

If Mitchell were here today, Roberts said, "he would tell us all to stand up and fight for the rights of women."

"If one group of workers can be discriminated against," said Roberts, "all workers can be enslaved. Coal is not male or female, it's just coal."

"It was a long time before women found a place in the mines," he went on, but years earlier, sacrifices and struggles by women built the union.

He recalled the history of the big 1912 battles with the coal operators at Paint Creek and Cabin Creek, West Virginia. Roberts told of the strong role of Mother Blizard and Mother Jones in winning the strikes.

Women's needs today

Roberts addressed some of the real needs of women miners today.

"It is about time our federal government funded a child-care system," he stated. "And I believe we should also do a little self-examination ourselves. Locals and districts [of the union] should look into setting up child-care centers for women and men who desire to participate in union activity."

Roberts sharply underscored the need for maternity-paternity leave. "If reproduction is a necessary and crucial activity for maintaining the human race, the employers should be forced to recognize this and address the needs of pregnant miners and of parents."

Acknowledging the number of women who have won local union positions, Roberts also urged women to run for district and international union office.

In closing, Roberts quoted Mother Jones, "Organized labor has not yet learned the lesson of lining up with the women. Let the working women realize what they can do and they will join with men, and industrial troubles will soon be over."

His speech ended in a standing ovation.

A wide range of workshop sessions were held, including "Sex and Race Discrimination: The Same Old Thing or New Problems?" "New Challenges for the UMWA in the '80s," "Union Politics: Claiming Our Place," "Safety in the Mines," and many other topics.

Nearly every workshop included discussion of the coal operators' drive to beat back previous union gains. Women de-

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