

British miners meeting reaffirms nat'l strike

BY CELIA PUGH

LONDON, England — Delegates from every area of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) met in Sheffield July 11 to reaffirm the commitment of their members to the strike against mine closures. When the vote was taken to "reemphasize the decision to endorse as official the strike," it was 100 percent — an event unprecedented in the union's history.

The national strike by coal miners here is now in its 20th week. The miners are fighting the plans of the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to close 20 mines and throw 20,000 miners out of work in the next year alone.

At the April NUM delegate meeting the decision to give the strike official national backing was made by a 60 percent vote. The strike originated in the areas which would be hardest hit by the mine closure plan and then spread nationally. Now every area in the country is officially backing the strike — even the areas where the 20 percent of scab miners are still working.

Union Pres. Arthur Scargill told the press, "This has never happened before. The fact that other areas who are not on strike have said they will go back to their areas and convey the tremendous feeling in the conference and ask their areas to reconsider their position is highly significant."

The conference renewed the NUM's demand for the withdrawal of the government hit list of mines to be closed. It also reaffirmed that the only grounds for closure acceptable to the union is exhaustion of coal



Striking British coal miners demonstrating in London. Recent National Union of Mineworkers conference unanimously reaffirmed nationwide strike.

G.M. Cookson

reserves. The NUM is also demanding more government investment, no cuts in manpower, expansion of the industry, a four-day work week, and early retirement at age 55.

"For the first time," said Scargill following the conference, "many miners have dis-

covered what it's about, what the issues are that face both the industry and the union.

"The magnificent courage and determination of our people," he pledged, "will see us through to victory. Over the past 18 weeks I have witnessed among our rank

Continued on Page 17

Mason on solidarity tour to Nicaragua

MIAMI — At a news conference here July 18, Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, announced he was on his way to Nicaragua to join in celebrations there of the revolution's fifth anniversary. Mason is going on a trip of socialist workers from the United States, Canada, and New Zealand sponsored by Militant-Perspectiva Tours, Inc.

Mason told reporters he is visiting Nicaragua to learn more about the gains of the Sandinista revolution. He denounced as "typical U.S. slander" an article that had appeared in the *Miami Herald* that morning charging Sandinista leader Tomás Borge with drug smuggling.

The socialist candidate released to the press the text of greetings he is bringing to the Nicaraguan people. The greetings follow.

* * *

Sisters and Brothers,

I am proud to be joining you on the fifth anniversary of your triumph over the



Militant Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason

bloody dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. That glorious day, July 19, 1979, struck a giant blow for all those struggling against U.S. imperialism and its puppet governments worldwide.

The advances made by your revolution in the five years since stand as an inspiration to workers and farmers in the United States and around the globe. By taking political power and wielding it on behalf of the exploited and oppressed in Nicaragua, you have shown the road forward for all working people.

Today in Nicaragua, tens of thousands of peasants own land for the first time in their lives, and are receiving financial aid and technical assistance from your government. In the United States, by contrast, family farmers are being pushed off their land and driven deeper into debt by the banks, big food monopolies, and the U.S. government.

U.S. trade unions are also under assault by bosses who are lowering wages, cutting medical and pension plans, and stripping away union rights on the job. The cops, courts, and Congress are backing this union-busting offensive to the hilt.

But in revolutionary Nicaragua, union power is flourishing and encouraged by your government. The unions have been in the forefront of the revolution and have won major improvements in workers' standard of living, health and safety, and control over working conditions.

Young and old in today's Nicaragua enjoy a free education. Many have learned to read and write as a result of the revolution. But in the United States, the government is shutting schools down, attacking teachers unions, denying Spanish-speaking students the right to bilingual-bicultural education, and trying to overturn desegregation programs won by Blacks. Illiteracy, in the richest, "most advanced" country on

earth, is increasing.

Your government has made free health care a right of the Nicaraguan people, bringing doctors and clinics to parts of the country where they never before existed. In the United States, where hospitals are closing down and government funds for medical care are being slashed, decent health care is soaring beyond the reach of many working people.

Your revolution has opened a new life for the women of Nicaragua, who were condemned to discrimination and abuse under the Somoza tyranny. Today, the revolution is bringing women forward in all spheres of society, because the resources of the country are being used to uproot the

Continued on Page 9

Jackson campaign: false step in fight for Black equality

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Hundreds of activists are meeting July 19-22 in Chicago at the fifth national convention of the National Black United Front (NBUF). Big questions face them and other fighters for Black equality including:

How to fight against the U.S. employers' war in El Salvador and Nicaragua. How to combat increased cop terror against the Black community. How to defend ourselves from the employers' offensive against our wages and working conditions.

One of the most important questions will be drawing a balance sheet on Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination and its impact on the struggle for Black rights.

NBUF has been one of the most active organizations in the defense of Black

Ferraro nomination: no advance for women

The following statement is by Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

The Democrats' selection of Geraldine Ferraro as their vice-presidential candidate has sparked a lot of discussions and commentary.

On the one hand, Ferraro's selection has elicited a spurt of sexist remarks from anti-



Andrea González for vice-president

woman forces who can't stand the idea of women in public life. My campaign condemns these reactionary attacks, which are directed at all women.

But most commentators on Ferraro claim her nomination marks a historic advance for women and others who suffer discrimination.

This is false.

The Ferraro candidacy is another attempt to convince women and other victims of capitalist society that progress can indeed be won through the two-party system, and especially through the Democratic Party.

But the Democratic Party can never be made to represent the interests of women because the Democrats, like the Republicans, represent the employers and defend and uphold the system that is the cause of women's oppression: capitalism. The fundamental social change that we need to win equality will not be won at the ballot box. And it will not be won by electing women to office.

Britain is a clear example of this. A woman, Margaret Thatcher, holds the highest office in Britain. But, true to her class — the employers — she uses the power of that office, not to advance the struggle for the rights of women and working people, but to wage war on the British working class.

In Britain today, the key to winning political power for working men and women is not by following the lead of Thatcher, but that of her staunchest opponents — the

Continued on Page 16

rights. It led, for example, struggles against police brutality in New York and other cities. It is active in the fight for women's rights also. Recently, NBUF joined with other organizations in the Washington, D.C., area to speak out against the bombing of an abortion clinic there.

NBUF is also active in the fight against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. It played a leading role in fighting for an anti-intervention perspective at the historic June 12, 1982, antinuclear weapons demonstration in New York, which drew some one million people. NBUF is an active participant in solidarity actions with the Salvadoran rebels and the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions.

Continued on Page 10

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

In Philadelphia, socialist workers have been reaching out through plant-gate sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to build solidarity with striking workers in the area. We recently talked with socialists there about their experiences with plant-gate sales over the past months.

As in other cities, the employers in Philadelphia have stepped up their drive to seriously weaken, if not outright bust, the unions. Many workers are looking for ways to fight back and defend their unions.

At Sun Oil's Marcus Hook refinery, workers organized by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) have been on strike since March 21 when Sun management turned down the industry-wide terms accepted by the other major refineries earlier this year.

At the Purex Co. in Bristol, Pennsylvania, workers organized by OCAW Local 8-373 walked out March 31. Purex demanded either cuts in medical benefits or a lower-wage increase.

And at Merck Pharmaceutical in West Point, Pennsylvania, workers set up picket lines when the bosses locked out their sister local in Rahway, New Jersey, over concession demands (see story on page 3).

Katy Karlin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania's 2nd C.D., is one of the striking workers at the Marcus Hook refinery. Getting out the facts about the issues in these three strikes and winning solidarity for them has been an important focus of her campaign.

Since the early days of the strike at Sun Oil, Karlin's campaign has organized regular weekly trips there.

These weekly teams have included members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance and other supporters of the socialist campaign. Most are industrial workers themselves, but teachers, medical workers, and other supporters also go to express their solidarity, sell the *Militant* and *PM*, and discuss the socialist perspective of independent working class political action.

According to Karlin, her coworkers at the refinery have been most interested in the struggles of the workers in Toledo to defend the United Auto Workers (UAW) union at the AP Parts plant. "The inspiring thing about this struggle," she said, "was that because of the solidarity shown by other unionists in Toledo, they won a partial victory. They stopped the scabs that day." Management personnel are running the Marcus

Hook refinery.

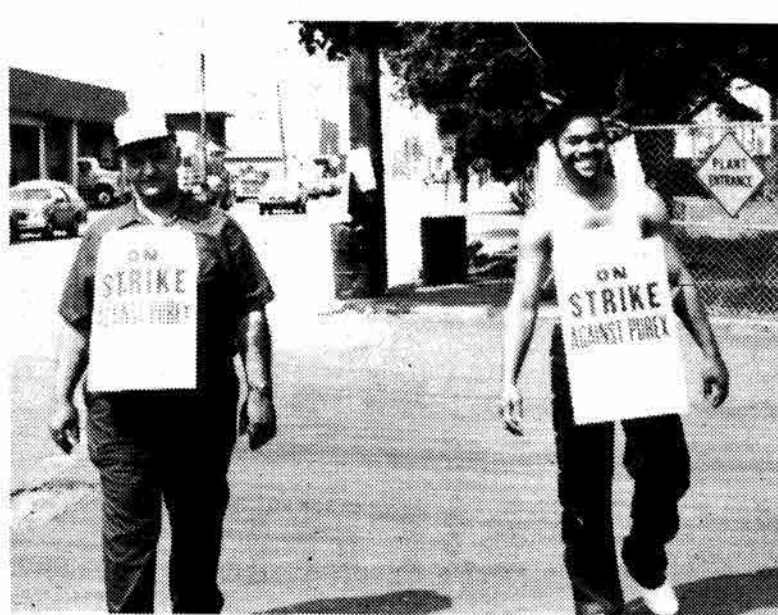
The workers at Marcus Hook are watching the Toledo experience particularly closely because their sister OCAW local at Sun's Toledo refinery is also out on strike and has been involved in initiating actions in solidarity with the AP Parts workers.

Response to Karlin's campaign, and to the SWP presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González, has been good. Picketing workers want to discuss how the socialist campaign's proposals differ from Mondale and the Democratic Party.

Strikers at the Purex Co. plant are strong supporters of union solidarity. Some of them traveled to Toledo to participate in the May 21 AP Parts solidarity rally, which was attacked by police, and to New Jersey to demonstrate in solidarity with workers locked out there by Merck.

They told *Militant* salespeople that they had seen the *Militant* in Ohio and in New Jersey. They were glad that the campaigners had brought it out to their plant and looked forward to each new issue.

The continued existence of the union at Purex is now seriously threatened. In addition to management personnel, scabs have been hired to run the plant. The com-



Militant/Katy Karlin

Striking OCAW members at Purex in Bristol, Pennsylvania.

pany's latest offer is to rehire only a handful of union workers with the most experience. But solidarity among the union workers is strong and the strike remains solid.

More recently, a team of campaign supporters traveled to West Point and spent some time talking with the picketing Merck workers. Karlin reports that the Merck workers were very interested in the strikes at Sun Oil and Purex,

and that her coworkers were glad to get information on the struggle at Merck. In thinking through how the unions can best resist these attacks by the employers, workers are eager to follow and learn from experiences beyond their own plants, cities, and unions.

At all three plants, workers are coming to rely on the *Militant* for its coverage and socialist perspective on labor struggles around the country.

'People's World' hails 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

The campaign to widely distribute *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, published by Pathfinder Press, continues to be boosted through reviews of the book appearing in various publications.

Bishop was the prime minister of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, which came to power through a popular revolutionary uprising in March 1979. The revolutionary government was overthrown and Bishop and other central leaders executed in October 1983. The U.S. invasion of Grenada came quickly following this defeat.

One of the most recent reviews appeared in the July 7 issue of the *People's World*, a West Coast weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party.

"The exemplary leadership of the assassinated prime minister," notes Sara Diamond, "and the ideals that were realized by the Grenadian people live on in *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-1983*, a collection of speeches and interviews given by Bishop as prime minister and leader of the New Jewel Movement."

Diamond reports that "The speeches are framed with introductory and concluding

chapters on the history of Grenada, the events leading up to the October 1983 coup, the assassination of Bishop and his cabinet members, and, finally, the U.S. invasion."

Later, Diamond explains that "Bishop would never surrender to any foreign power. In his speech 'In Nobody's Backyard,' given just one month after the revolution began in March 1979, Bishop warned Grenada's enemies: 'Though small and poor, we are proud and determined. We would sooner give up our lives before we compromise, sell out, or betray our sovereignty, our independence, our integrity, our manhood, and the right of our people to national self-determination and social progress.'"

Maurice Bishop Speaks, explains Diamond, "serves as a tribute to Bishop and the other Grenadians who did give up their lives. It is a tribute to all the progressive people of Grenada."

The book continues to be reviewed in a large number of Black publications. In the last several weeks, *Maurice Bishop Speaks* has been reviewed in the *Brooklyn Daily Challenger*; the *Challenger* of Buffalo, New York; the *Indianapolis Recorder*; and the *Louisville Defender*.

Gordon Lewis, a noted historian and scholar, reviewed *Maurice Bishop Speaks* in the June issue of *Monthly Review*, a radical magazine.

The June issue of the *Caribbean Entertainment Guide*, which is published in Detroit, reviewed the new book. "One of the greatest tragedies that followed the American-led invasion of Grenada last fall," explained Steve Beumer, "was the large number of Americans that accepted all or part of the justifications for it put forward by the Reagan administration. . . . This pattern of disinformation may have served the immediate purpose of covering up an act of wanton aggression against a tiny sovereign nation, but it also stirred more questions in the minds of Americans about the process that had begun to unfold in March of 1979 and its Prime Minister Maurice Bishop."

"Now, seven months later, Grenada will have its opportunity to speak to Americans, to answer those questions that the Reagan administration officials hoped desperately would never be asked, through the publication of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. . . . Each one of the twenty-seven different contributions [in the book] provides a clear look at the problems and progress that took place under the leadership of Bishop. The broad range of material covered in *Maurice Bishop Speaks* ensures it a place as a central historical document in recording the experience of the Grenada revolution."

All supporters of that revolution should do all that they can to ensure the widest possible circulation of this historic book.

Celebrate 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Grenada: Lessons of the Revolution and the U.S. Invasion. Speakers: Jerome Sadiki McBarrette, a Grenadian activist; Maceo Dixon, National Black Independent Political Party; General Vann, spokesperson for Tchula 7. Sat., July 21, 7 p.m. RWDS Union Hall, 1901 10th Ave. S. Ausp: Pathfinder Press. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

U.S. Out of Grenada! Celebrate the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, *Militant* staff writer recently returned from Grenada; representative, National Black Independent Political Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 28, 3:30 p.m., wine and cheese reception; 4 p.m., program. Ruth Hawkins Community Center, 1801 James Ave. N. Donation requested. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

SPECIAL OFFER TO MILITANT SUBSCRIBERS

"Maurice Bishop Speaks"

This collection of interviews with and speeches by the slain prime minister of Grenada also includes an introduction explaining the events that led to the overthrow of the revolution, Bishop's assassination, and the invasion by U.S. troops.

We are offering the book to subscribers for a special price of \$4 (a \$2.95 discount!).

You can also participate in getting this important book out to others by ordering a bundle of 3 or more copies for \$3.50 each.

Please ☐ begin ☐ renew ☐ extend my subscription:
☐ 3 months/\$6 ☐ I am enclosing an additional \$4.00
☐ 6 months/\$15 for a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*
☐ one year/\$24

Name _____

Address _____

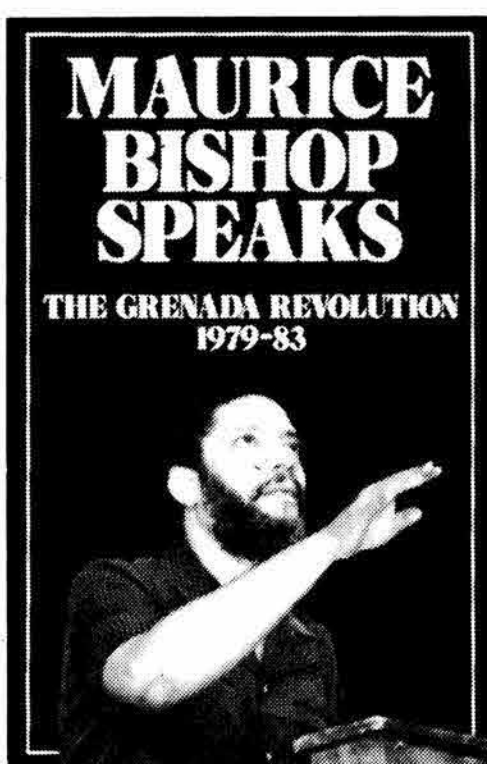
City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____ Union/Organization _____

☐ Enclosed is \$ _____ for a bundle of _____ copies of the book at \$3.50 each to sell to friends and coworkers (minimum of 3 copies).

☐ Enclosed is \$3 for a 12 week introductory subscription (book offer not available).

Mail to: *Militant*, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014.



The Militant

Closing news date: July 18, 1984

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.

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

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

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

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

N.J. OCAW strikers see solidarity key to win at Merck Co.

BY BOB MILLER

RAHWAY, N.J. — Members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-575, who have been locked out for 10 weeks by Merck and Co., were joined by 500 unionists in a mass picket line, march, and solidarity meeting here on July 11. The support activities were sponsored by the New Jersey Industrial Union Council (IUC) and 17 unions.

Picketing outside the Rahway plant of Merck, the largest manufacturer of prescription drugs in the United States; the unionists were demonstrating their opposition to Merck's efforts to pressure OCAW Local 8-575 members into submitting to the company's takeback demands.

The company wants elimination of the cost-of-living allowance, reduction of medical benefits through raising the deductible from \$150 to \$400 per family, no wage increase the first year and only 25 cents the next two years, and establishing a two-tier wage system under which new employees would make about \$3 less per hour than current workers.

"Today our parents, tomorrow us"

"Corporate greed must go!" "N.J. labor stands united against Merck," and "Merck waters run deep" were typical slogans on the placards at the July 11 action.

Members of the United Auto Workers

(UAW) Region 9, International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) District 3, Communications Workers of America Local 1060, Laborers Local 464A, OCAW Local 8-166, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and others showed their solidarity with OCAW Local 8-575.

Children wore T-shirts which read "Today our parents, tomorrow us."

The workers then marched to city hall. A petition signed by merchants urging an end to the lockout was slipped under the door, as city hall was locked up.

After the stop at city hall, a solidarity meeting was held at the Second Baptist Church. It was chaired by Maurice Veneri, president of the Industrial Union Council.

Archer Cole, president of IUE District 3 and vice-president of the IUC, said to rousing applause, "Merck is conspiring to starve people back to work on their conditions. Are we going to let this happen? Hell no, we won't go!"

Jonathon House of the Committee of Interns and Residents, which organizes 5,000 salaried doctors in New York and New Jersey, announced his support for the OCAW workers and drew attention to the placard that said, "Tell your MD, no Merck prescriptions." We want people not prescribing Merck, House added.

The master contract between Merck and



Militant/Barbara Mutnick

Solidarity is vital to winning strike against Merck. OCAW Local 8-575 president is traveling to Ireland to appeal for aid from Merck workers there.

OCAW, which represents more than 3,000 Merck employees in five states, expired April 30. The union decided to work without a contract while negotiations continued. There are 730 workers in the Rahway plant.

Background to fight

The Rahway facility of Merck is the company's original plant. Merck is now a multinational pharmaceutical company with over \$3.25 billion in sales. Last year it made \$450 million in profits. The company projects itself as a "family company" and for many years had the reputation in the Rahway community of being "a good place to work."

But at 3 a.m. on May 4, Merck management locked out its union employees in Rahway. Between 3 a.m. and 5 a.m., management called the rest of Local 8-575 members at home to tell them not to report to work.

In negotiations at Rahway, the company is demanding an additional 109 takebacks. This includes the elimination of most job classifications.

The lockout at Rahway is viewed by many unionists here as an attempt to break OCAW and impose these concessions. Because of the militant traditions of the Rahway local, the bosses hope that busting this union will send a warning to other workers in the state not to fight back.

Strike begins nationally

Recognizing the stakes in the battle, OCAW's national bargaining council decided on June 4 to call a national walk-out at Merck to press the union's demands and back the locked-out Rahway workers. Nearly 3,000 Merck workers walked out in Georgia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and California.

Paul Renner, plant chairman at OCAW 8-575, referring to the union's rejection of the two-tier wage system, said "Why would workers, especially in the South, want to join a union where they would make less money for doing the same work?"

At a July 13 Militant Labor Forum in Newark Renner further explained that a two-tier wage structure leads to increased efforts to fire the higher-paid workers. He asked: If a company with a half billion dollars in profits can institute concessions, arguing that they must be cost competitive, where will it stop?

Two-tier contracts and other concessions would just begin a downward spiral, Renner said. "Where does it stop? It stops right here — before it starts."

Renner also asked, "How can a company which has made money selling over \$3.5 billion worth of drugs to sick people cut our health benefits?" The workers at Merck are exposed to benzene, asbestos, and other cancer causing drugs.

Solidarity needed

Neal Gorfinkle, an official with OCAW Local 8-406 at R.P. Scherer in New Jersey, told the New Brunswick *Home News* that the Merck union contracts serve as a bellweather for the pharmaceutical industry. "We realize that their fight is our fight."

The General Motors Linden Assembly plant is a stone's throw away from the Merck plant. Doug Stevens, until recently the plant chairman of UAW Local 595 at GM, said, "Merck Chairman John Horan sits on the board of GM. If his style of

management is to lock people out, that presents a serious threat to GM workers."

Solidarity from UAW Local 595 with the Merck workers has inspired the locked-out OCAW members. The April-May issue of the UAW 595 newspaper, *The Assembler*, features a front-page article on the lockout headlined "Their fight is our fight ... No Concessions!"

Workers at GM Linden collected \$2,604 on May 18 for the locked-out workers. Many UAW members have frequently joined the OCAW informational picket lines.

Renner told the Militant Labor Forum, however, that a strike alone will not win the fight. It is an important tactic, he said, as a part of a larger labor strategy. But labor's strategy must be as many pronged as the company's.

The companies have their Chambers of Commerce and their "round tables," he explained. That's why we need solidarity nationally and internationally.

Renner explained that Joe Anderson, president of Local 8-575, is going to Ireland to win solidarity from Merck's unionized employees there.

The Local 8-575 leadership believes that international solidarity is necessary when confronting a multinational corporation. Renner told the Militant Labor Forum that the development of a national bargaining council including OCAW and the other unions at Merck's U.S. plants in the 1950s was an important step forward for the unions. In the 1980s, he said, an international bargaining council is needed.

He reported that the International Federation of Chemical, Energy and General Workers Unions has endorsed their fight. The federation includes affiliates in dozens of countries in North America, Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Through the federation, the local OCAW leadership hopes to make more trips abroad to win support for their struggle to win decent wages and working conditions.

The local OCAW leadership has infuriated Merck as well by opposing the company's efforts to dump dangerous drugs throughout the world, especially in semicolonial countries. The Local 8-575 leadership, Renner explained, has exposed Merck's claim that this dumping provides jobs in the United States.

Fight is changing views

Renner also pointed out how the locked-out workers are being educated by the fight against Merck's union-busting. Several workers told this reporter during visits to the picket line how they were unsympathetic to the strike of air traffic controllers in 1981. The common view then was the controllers were not really unionists and were breaking the law by striking. The controllers lost their strike and union when the government fired them all.

Today, Renner explained, Merck workers see themselves becoming "a private sector PATCO" (PATCO is the name of the air traffic controllers' union). The main lesson they've begun to draw, he said, is the need for solidarity to fight back.

The type of solidarity displayed on July 11 is what the Merck workers will need more of to win their battle. As one Johnson and Johnson worker, Mike Shay of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, put it, "We are donating \$100 to ourselves. You are fighting a battle for us."

Bob Miller is a member of IUE Local 401 in Edison, New Jersey.

SWP candidate González visits Puerto Rico and Martinique

BY YVONNE HAYES

Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, arrived in San Juan, Puerto Rico, this week for an eight-day fact-finding tour. González has been an activist for Puerto Rican rights since attending Brooklyn College in New York, where she participated in battles for open admissions for Black, Latino, and other working-class students and was a member of the Puerto Rican Student Union.

Before arriving in Puerto Rico, González went to the Caribbean island of Martinique to participate in a conference in solidarity with the people of Grenada and Central America.

González is touring Puerto Rico to show her support for the struggle for independence and against U.S. colonial rule. She is accompanied by Martin Koppel, editor of the Spanish-language socialist publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. González serves on the editorial board of the socialist biweekly.

'Militant' editor in Quebec radio debate on Ferraro candidacy

Militant editor Cindy Jaquith participated in a radio debate on the Geraldine Ferraro candidacy for U.S. vice-president sponsored by the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. July 15. The debate, aired in French in Quebec, also featured Jacqueline Simon, U.S. bureau chief of the French magazine *Politique Internationale*; Evelyn Vitz, an opponent of abortion rights; and Barbara Lamont, a Democrat and backer of Ferraro.

Jaquith argued that the Ferraro nomination does not represent an advance for women's liberation and discussed the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president. Jaquith announced to Quebec listeners that González will be touring Toronto and Montreal in late August. The socialist vice-presidential candidate will address a rally in Montreal August 25 along with candidates of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Workers League), Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The socialist candidate plans to participate in two important proindependence actions on July 25, the anniversary of the 1898 U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico and of the creation of the Free Associated State in 1952.

One of these actions will take place at Cerro Maravilla, where two independence activists were killed by cops in 1978. These killings, and the subsequent attempt to cover up the role of undercover cops in them, have been a focal point for protest in recent years.

González will meet with leaders and activists in the independence movement, including those involved in defense of the victims of the U.S. government, jailed by grand juries for their opposition to Puerto Rico's colonial status. The socialist candidate plans to discuss how her campaign can build solidarity in the United States with the fight for Puerto Rican independence.

González, a leader of the fight against U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean, also plans to meet with antiwar activists to discuss building international solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador. Puerto Rico was a stronghold of sentiment against the war in Vietnam, and Washington's use of the island as a launching pad for its military operations in the region — including Grenada — has kindled deep opposition among Puerto Rican working people.

González will travel to Vieques, an island off Puerto Rico that has been used as a target for U.S. naval artillery and as a training ground during war games in the Caribbean. An important movement has developed, led by Vieques fishermen, demanding the U.S. get out of Vieques.

The socialist candidate will also visit Villa Sin Miedo, a community whose people have been threatened with eviction from the land they've lived on for more than four years. U.S. economic domination of Puerto Rico is responsible for the conditions of poverty and extreme exploitation experienced by Puerto Rican workers and farmers such as those in Villa Sin Miedo.

González plans to bring these conditions to the attention of U.S. working people on her return. "Solidarity with our brothers and sisters on the island," she says, "will strengthen the fight by workers and farmers in the U.S. against our exploitation."

BY GREG ROSENBERG

On June 19, Ronald Reagan demanded that \$100 million for summer jobs for youth be linked to a Congressional bill that included \$21 million for U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary terrorists trying to smash the Nicaraguan revolution.

The irony of demanding that these two issues be linked together can't be emphasized enough. The capitalist politicians in Washington couldn't care less about jobs for young people. The only job they want to give us is the job of fighting their wars in Central America and the Caribbean.

Aid to the *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) was stripped from the bill before it was passed, but \$618 million for the murderous Salvadoran government was kept in. In commenting on why the aid to the *contras* was dropped from this particular bill, Sen. Howard Baker said, "The Nicaraguan program is best supported by not joining the issue in this bill, but saving our fire for another time."

In Nicaragua the firing is going on right now.

I had the chance to visit revolutionary Nicaragua in May on a tour sponsored by Militant-Perspective Mundial Tours.

Those of us who are members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) were especially interested in the discussions we were able to have with members of the Sandinista Youth—July 19 (JS-19). As

members of a revolutionary youth organization in the United States, we knew we could learn a lot from our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters.

"You young people here are the friends of humanity, not like the song goes, because that's directed against Mr. Reagan and his class."

That's what Alan, a member of the JS-19 in Matagalpa, Nicaragua, told us. The song Alan was referring to was the Sandinista anthem which calls the "Yankee" rulers of the United States the "enemy of humanity."

We told our Nicaraguan counterparts what capitalism has to offer young people in the United

States: racism, sexism, unemployment or employment at sub-minimum wages, and the ultimate job of defending the profits of the super-rich by going to war against our brothers and sisters around the world.

Then the Nicaraguans explained what their revolution offered them.

More than 50,000 people died in the course of the Nicaraguan revolution, many of them teenagers. Their revolution has earned them free education and medical care, the beginning of the end of discrimination against women, and most important, the political freedom to build a new Nicaragua. The youth of Nicaragua are determined to defend these precious gains with arms in hand.

A young Black Sandinista in Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast said, "The revolution has given youth the opportunity to hold posts of responsibility — that's why young people fought. Defense rests on the youth," he said.

Nationwide elections are scheduled for November 4 of this year in Nicaragua. The minimum voting age in the elections will be 16 years old.

We described the undemocratic elections in the United States, which are controlled by the two capitalist parties. We explained the YSA's support to the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Mel Mason for President and Andrea

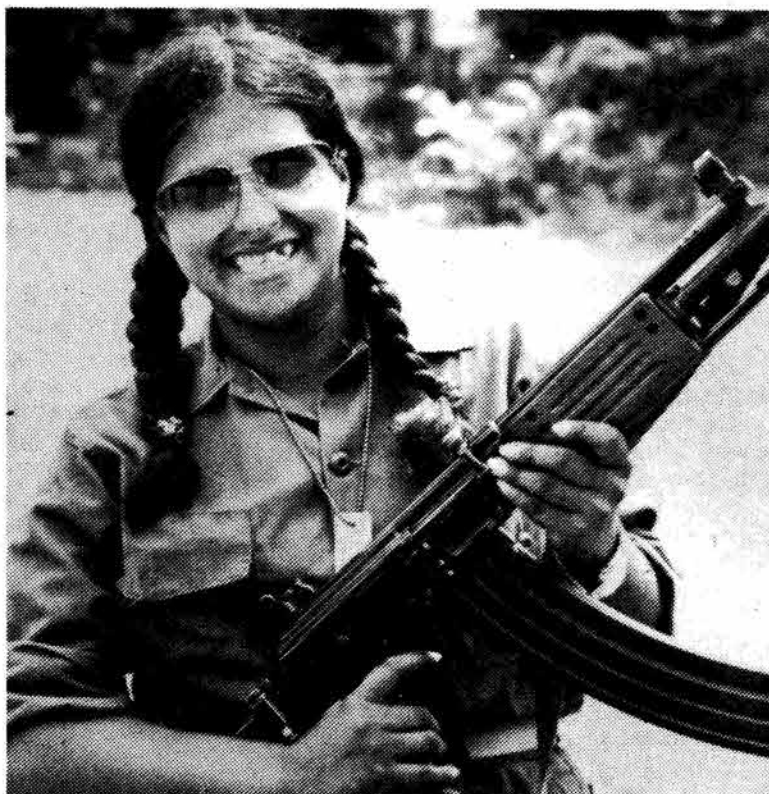
González for vice-president.

In the discussion around the 16-year-old vote in Nicaragua, we were told, "The youth of Nicaragua have acquired a high level of maturity. We've demonstrated this fighting the *contras* with rifles, in harvesting coffee and cotton in the mountains, in leading the literacy brigades. The JS-19 struggled to obtain this vote. The reactionaries opposed it — they said we were too young. We maintain that young people have earned this right. Young men and women have died in defense of their revolution."

Visiting Nicaragua has made me more determined than ever to help build a movement of working people, Blacks, Latinos, and women in this country against Washington's war in Central America. It's only through a big struggle by working people — not electing some capitalist politician — that we will be able to bring this war to an end.

Greg Rosenberg is a member of the Philadelphia chapter of the YSA.

To find out more about the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential campaign, write to Young Socialist Alliance, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's bimonthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.



Rafaela Diaz

Youth play a big role in defense of Sandinista revolution.

SWP scores victory in Pennsylvania ballot fight

BY FRED FELDMAN

HARRISBURG, Pa. — A victory for democratic rights was scored here June 8 when Commonwealth Court Judge Joseph Doyle ordered the Pennsylvania Bureau of Elections to accept the nomination papers of Clare Fraenzl.

Fraenzl, a coal miner and member of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1197, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 22nd C.D. This southwestern Pennsylvania district includes the heart of the state's coal industry.

State officials had refused to accept the papers April 18. They stated that the SWP was a certified political party in the 22nd C.D. As such, they said, it was barred from circulating nominating papers and had to choose its candidates in a primary election.

The SWP was certified as a political party after Kathy Mickells, its 1983 candidate for commissioner in Washington County, which is part of the 22nd C.D., won 7 percent of the vote. Mickells had earlier beaten back a Democratic Party effort to bar her from the ballot.

Fraenzl and the SWP fought back against this latest attempt to restrict ballot rights.

While fighting for her spot on the ballot, Fraenzl went to Britain to express her solidarity with the striking British coal miners. She has made international working-class solidarity a theme of her campaign.

Mobilizing broad opposition to the state's attack on the socialists' political rights was key to winning this ballot fight, a fight that all working people have a stake in.

With the help of Lucinda Bush, a Washington County civil liberties attorney, Fraenzl's campaign filed suit against the Bureau of Elections and the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

They charged that the bureau's actions violated the SWP's right to choose its own candidates by means of a convention, as it has always done in the past in Pennsylvania.

They pointed out that state law made it impossible for the SWP to use the primary election method, even if it wanted to. The law requires petitions signed by 200 registered party members to place a candidate on the primary ballot.

Further, they explained that, in view of the decades-long record of government harassment of the SWP, it is unconstitutional to require SWP supporters to publicly register as party members.

In effect the Bureau of Elections was pulling a Catch-22. The significant SWP vote in 1983, the bureau argued, meant that the SWP had to meet new and impossible conditions to get on the ballot in 1984.

The SWP campaign mobilized considerable support in defense of its democratic rights. Statements of protest from across the state poured into the elections bureau.

Those calling for placing Fraenzl on the ballot included the president of her UMWA local; the president and former president of UMWA Local 2350; Pittsburgh NAACP Pres. Harvey Adams; Wilkesburg NAACP Pres. Bob Pitts; Pittsburgh City Controller Tom Flaherty; and State Assemblyman David Sweet.

Even Congressman Austin Murphy, the Democratic incumbent in Fraenzl's district, told the media that he felt the bureau's position was wrong and that she should appear on the ballot.

The American Civil Liberties Union here endorsed the SWP suit and provided help in preparing a brief.

The judge's ruling upheld some key SWP contentions. "We do not believe," he declared, that "the legislature intended to mandate pursuit of the primary process at least where, as here, the number of voters registered in the party makes it impossible for a candidate to utilize that process."

"We do not read the Election Code to impose any duty on a political group to actively register voters in the party name."

"Were such an affirmative duty to seek registration of party supporters imposed by the Code, we doubt that it would pass constitutional muster. Any requirement that SWP supporters publicly identify themselves not only as supporters of particular SWP candidates but as members of the

party would gravely burden the freedom of association guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth amendments to the United States Constitution."

Fraenzl greeted the outcome: "This ruling is a response to the wide awareness that the Bureau of Elections was using the law to keep a working-class party off the ballot and to further tighten the monopoly position of the big-business parties — the Republicans and Democrats. I expect that my name will now appear on the November ballot without further ado."

The SWP will have three congressional candidates on the ballot in Pennsylvania. In addition to Fraenzl, Al Duncan is running for Congress from the 14th C.D., which includes Pittsburgh. Katy Karlin is the candidate from the 2nd C.D. in Philadelphia.

A write-in campaign is being waged for the SWP presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González.

Canadian socialists launch election campaign

BY PAT GROGAN

The Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of Canada is running five candidates in the 1984 federal elections. The RWL is the Canadian section of the Fourth International and is a sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

The RWL candidates — Katy LeRougetel, Michel Dugré, Bonnie Geddes, Larry Johnston, and Bill Burgess are all workers who are championing socialist solutions to the deep crisis facing working people in Canada and the oppressed French-speaking nation of Quebec.

In a statement released June 29, the socialist candidates stressed that solidarity with struggles of working people in Canada and Quebec and throughout the world will be the starting point of their campaign.

Michel Dugré, a 36-year-old Montreal garment worker, announced that he will travel to Nicaragua to bring solidarity from North American workers to that country as the Nicaraguan people celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Sandinista revolution.

"The RWL's election campaign is explaining to Québécois and to workers in English Canada that the victory of the Nicaraguan people in 1979 is a powerful aid to our own struggle against the same bosses

and imperialist system that are responsible for the economic crisis here at home," Dugré said. "This is the same system that refuses to grant any measure of self-determination to the people of Quebec."

The RWL calls for support to the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party, against the two capitalist parties — the Conservatives and the Liberals.

Bonnie Geddes, who is a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 2858 in Toronto, explained, "A vote for either of these two parties will only perpetuate the capitalist attacks. Today that means rolling back workers' living standards, deepening the national oppression of the Québécois, and stepping up racist and sexist attacks."

The NDP is financed by and based on the organizations of working people. Most of the major industrial unions in English Canada as well as many public sector unions are affiliated to the NDP.

The RWL candidates explained that every step to strengthen the NDP and defeat the bosses' parties increases the fighting capacity of labor and its allies.

"But," explained Bill Burgess, a member of the International Woodworkers of America, "more is needed than simply calling on workers to vote NDP on election day." It will require massive battles,

Burgess explained, by workers and their allies to oust the bosses from government once and for all and establish a government of workers and farmers.

Unlike the top officials of the NDP and the unions, the socialist candidates advance the idea that the NDP must become a fighting party — a weapon that can unite the overwhelming majority of the exploited and oppressed in struggle. The NDP, they argue, must pose socialist solutions that challenge the control of Canadian society by a tiny handful of capitalists.

Because the NDP has backed the Canadian ruling class' attacks on the Québécois, it is discredited in Quebec. The RWL calls for the Quebec unions to launch their own labor party that can fight for Quebec's national rights and ally with workers in English Canada.

The RWL calls for an NDP-Quebec labor government that will fight for socialism and for Quebec's national liberation.

The RWL candidates will champion the needs of those most oppressed by capitalism: Québécois, women, Native peoples, and French-speaking minorities in English Canada.

"This is the class struggle path unions must take up," said Katy LeRougetel, a 26-year-old machinist apprentice.

González meets Dominican peasant leaders



Andrea González, U.S. Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, meeting with peasants at Aguayo farm in San Francisco de Macorís, Dominican Republic.

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — Peasants are the majority of the population in the Dominican Republic. Like Dominican workers, they are suffering from the increased poverty, hunger, and repression brought about by the crisis of the capitalist system here.

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, Andrea González, met with peasant activists on her recent 10-day fact-finding tour here, which was sponsored by the Socialist Bloc.

Independent Peasant's Movement

González was invited to the headquarters of the Independent Peasants' Movement (MCI) to talk with seven leaders of the organization.

One of the leaders explained to González that the MCI has "1,500 active local associations, organizing a total of about 55,000 peasants throughout the country."

These include, he said, three types of peasants: "semiproletarians, who have a tiny plot of land and have to find day work; small subsistence farmers; and small proprietors, who make enough to improve somewhat their living standards or at least pay their debts." Only working farmers, not rich farmers, can join the MCI.

Pedro de León, general secretary of the MCI and a peasant from the southwest part of the country, described the rich history of the peasant movement in the Dominican Republic.

Since the 1961 death of dictator Rafael Trujillo, a big landowner himself, peasants have increasingly organized to struggle for

land, including the vast Trujillo family holdings that were taken over by the state. Land occupations involving thousands of peasants have taken place, often in "violent confrontations with landowners or the government forces," de León explained.

The government initiated a "land reform" in 1972 in an attempt to quell the peasant activism, but it has remained largely on paper. Today, a handful of rich landowners own some 3,000 big farms that occupy half the arable land. Multinational

corporations such as Gulf and Western own huge tracts. Meanwhile 330,000 peasants are landless.

'A new vision'

The first peasant organizations were controlled by church groups and capitalist parties such as the currently ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party.

"But it's mainly in 1976-80 that the large number of [local] associations began to develop and organize independently," said de León.

"This is when the MCI is born, as an organization that is no longer controlled by any state or private institution, but truly run by the peasants. And it has a new vision."

Another leader added: "We have a collective leadership. We have peasants who support the Reformist Party [of Joaquín Balaguer], the official party in power today." Others, he said, support "the different left parties; others don't support any party. But they can all be in this organization because it is democratic."

"The MCI is a class organization and fights to defend our class interests. We fight for the poor peasants, not the rich ones. We are independent of the state, the bourgeoisie, and the landlords. And we seek unity with the rest of the people in struggle."

"Our struggles focus on the government's policies. We say that the peasants want land and that it is the state's obligation to turn over the state lands. We also demand technical assistance, guarantees

[to ensure] production, health care, and other social and economic demands in the countryside," he said.

The two most important recent struggles, however, have not been for land. They are demands to wipe out peasants' debts — especially those incurred after the devastation of Hurricane David in 1979 — and to restore the pig breeding that was decimated after an epidemic in 1977-78.

The struggle around pig breeding is particularly significant because through it the MCI was able to begin to mobilize the peasantry nationwide in coordinated actions against the government's antifarmer policies.

Pig-breeding struggle

The demand raised was simple and popular, the MCI leaders explained. "We went to the national congress and told them to give us pigs in exchange for the ones they had slaughtered [after the epidemic], one pig for two killed," said de León. The government instead proposed a plan that "benefited the big merchants and rich farmers," but ripped off the small farmers.

The "one for two" demand galvanized the peasant movement. A series of protests took place. In November the movement launched "a 12-hour occupation of 32 government offices throughout the country. In a single day we mobilized more than 12,000 peasants in simultaneous actions."

The government was forced to sit down and negotiate with the peasants for the first

Continued on Page 13

Haitian 'slave labor' in Dominican Republic

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — "Like slaves. That's how these Haitian workers are forced to live," José Maldonado told Andrea González.

Maldonado, a labor organizer in the town of Haina, took the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president to visit the *bateyes* — slum dwellings for immigrant Haitian cane cutters — located near the canefields of the state-owned Río Haina Sugar Mill, just outside Santo Domingo. Haiti and the Dominican Republic share an island in the Caribbean.

González visited the *bateyes* along with other socialists from the United States, Martinique, and Spain, as well as members of the Socialist Bloc. The Socialist Bloc had invited socialists from all over the world to the group's first national convention, held here June 28-30.

Haitian 'braceros'

Maldonado explained that 15,000 Haitian cane cutters are brought to the Dominican Republic each year as *braceros* — guest workers — under a contract between the repressive Haitian regime of François Duvalier and the Dominican government. In addition, rich Dominican landowners, including most high military officials, hire another 15,000 Haitians who immigrate without papers.

The bosses pay \$80 per Haitian and reap superprofits from these workers by keeping them in conditions of virtual servitude.

González was able to see how these workers live. It was barracks-style housing. Whole families were cramped in tiny rooms furnished only with metal cots. In some, women were cooking vegetables over little wood stoves. They were lucky, compared to other workers who often have to live on nothing but cane juice for days at a time.

These *bateyes* have no services. Unsanitary outhouses carried signs that warned, "Don't get sick!" Medical care is non-existent there.

Gilbert Pago, a leader of the Socialist Revolution Group in Martinique and Guadeloupe, was part of the group. He spoke in Creole to an old man who was lying almost motionless on his cot. The man told Pago he had been sick for the past five years without receiving any medical treatment. He had been unable to work all this time.

Deportations

Maldonado pointed out that those Haitians who try to go to a hospital, traveling



Haitian sugar cane workers in Dominican Republic.

Militant/Omari Musa

several miles to another city, have to produce papers. If they don't they are deported to Haiti.

The capitalists maintain the immigrant workers in these subhuman conditions by keeping them terrorized. During our visit, several "country guards" on horseback passed conspicuously along the road. These thugs act as cops, overseers, and immigration service for the bosses and their government. After each harvest, the "country guards" carry out sweeping raids through the *bateyes*, deporting thousands of Haitians.

The *bateyes* are a version of apartheid. Haitian workers must remain there and carry their identification cards at all times, until they are obliged to return to Haiti after the harvest. In some *bateyes*, especially when a mood of protest rises among the workers, the doors are locked at night and opened in the morning.

Across the street from the Haitian quarters was the housing for Dominican employees of the sugar company. These are mainly foremen, as well as those working other jobs besides cane-cutting, which is only done by Haitians. The Dominicans' houses we saw were slightly better than the Haitians', but not much.

Racism

The capitalists actively foster racism against the Haitians, said Maldonado.

Alejandro, a Socialist Bloc activist in our group, told us that the big-business press here constantly foments the anti-Haitian hysteria, blaming the immigrants for everything from unemployment to disease.

The bosses use this racist campaign to divide the working class. As the living standards of Dominican working people are squeezed by the grip of U.S. imperialist domination, the government tries to convince them that the Haitians are to blame and that Dominican workers are really not so bad off . . . compared to the Haitians.

One result of this divide-and-rule policy is that workers in the sugar industry, including the 100,000 Dominican mill workers, remain largely unorganized. However, as Dominican labor activists told González, unions such as the General Workers Federation, are making efforts to counter the racist propaganda, explaining the need to unite and organize all workers against the bosses.

After the visit to the *bateyes*, González commented that these conditions were not unfamiliar to her. "Among the Latino farm workers of the Río Grande Valley in Texas and California's Salinas Valley, I saw the same exploitation, the same racism, the same cop terror that Haitian workers face here. And it's the same problem: capitalism."

New International

A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory

The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship

by Mary-Alice Waters

Imperialism and Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean

by Manuel Piñeiro

The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution

by Tomás Borge

- ☐ Send me the Spring-Summer 1984 issue for \$4.
- ☐ Send me the Fall 1983 issue featuring "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today," by Jack Barnes, for \$4.

To subscribe:

- ☐ In United States, four issues for U.S.\$12
- ☐ In Canada, four issues for \$18.50 (Canadian)

Send to: New International, 1317 Est. Ste. Catherine, Montreal, PQ H2L 2H4

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Country _____

Send to New International, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Salvadoran postal workers win strike

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Thousands of postal workers in El Salvador returned to work July 11 after winning a wage increase of up to 130 colones (U.S.\$52) a month. At the same time, the Salvadoran Legislative Assembly reneged on a government promise of wage increases for all public employees.

The freedom fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) hailed the month-and-a-half long strike as "a victory and an example for the Salvadoran workers."

In a July 12 broadcast monitored here, Radio Venceremos reported that the postal workers had achieved all their demands: rehiring of fired workers, a wage increase, and a government pledge to provide them with uniforms and shoes.

"The victory of the postal workers points to a road of struggle and of victories for all the workers and exploited of El Salvador," the FMLN station said.

At the same time, Radio Venceremos denounced Salvadoran Pres. José Napoleón Duarte and the Legislative Assembly for denying a wage increase to all public employees.

"The parasites of the assembly have no shame in showing themselves for what they are: enemies of the working class," said Radio Venceremos. "But we workers have the example of the postal workers who firmly and militantly won their demands through their strike. Public employees have already announced new work stoppages."

The day the postal strike ended, a new strike broke out, that of 250 workers of Route 29, a bus system in the capital city of San Salvador. Workers are demanding that the board of directors of the bus route —



Salvadoran guerrillas march through liberated town of Jucuarán. Rebels named current military offensive in honor of workers' struggles like the postal workers strike.

which is formally a cooperative — resign. They are also demanding rehiring of fired workers and wage increases.

At the same time, the strike by workers of the Directorate of Urbanism and Architecture (DUA) continued into its second week. According to Radio Farabundo Martí, another FMLN station, some 8,000 workers are demanding payment of back wages. The DUA is part of the Department of Public Works, and the workers on strike are those engaged in road building and repair.

Meanwhile, teachers have continued to press for wage increases and better bene-

fits. Radio Farabundo Martí reported July 12 that hundreds of teachers had rallied in front of the Ministry of Education that afternoon in support of demands presented by their union, the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES — June 21).

Workers at the Cuscatlán taco factory in San Salvador also staged a protest July 12 demanding an end to management union-busting maneuvers. Management is threatening to close the plant, supposedly due to a lack of raw materials.

The current wave of strikes and labor protests that began in late May with the

postal strike represents a major challenge for the regime of José Napoleón Duarte, recently installed in office by the U.S. government.

The Salvadoran government has repeatedly threatened to use military force against the strike, and Duarte publicly branded strike leaders as "subversives" — a clear invitation to the death squads to assassinate strikers. These hit squads are drawn from the police and military and are therefore now under Duarte's command.

Nevertheless, the wave of workers' struggles has continued to mount.

The FMLN has been promoting solidarity with the growing labor protests in the urban centers. Both FMLN radio stations have added a regular segment to all their broadcasts specifically devoted to reporting and commenting on the wave of strikes. The FMLN has also launched a new military offensive, naming it in honor of the strikes. And on July 13, Radio Venceremos added another FM relay station to its growing broadcasting network, this one covering La Paz, Usulután, and the southern part of San Vicente department, a heavily populated strip with several secondary urban centers.

Previously, Radio Venceremos could only be heard with a short wave radio in that area. Radio Venceremos concluded its inaugural broadcast over the new relay station with a special greeting, "To the workers who are on strike throughout the country, and to the firm postal workers, who, with dignity, forced Duarte's quivering government to grant their demands."

Meanwhile, statements by Duarte claiming that the army has extended its control in the eastern part of the country and that it has the FMLN on the run were proven to be empty boasts during the second week of July.

An FMLN appeal to truck, bus, and other drivers to stay off all main and secondary highways paralyzed transport in the east and north of the country, and seriously disrupted it elsewhere. All overland transportation to and from Honduras was also cut off.

The ban on road travel, in effect from July 10 to 13, caused some 6 million colones in damage "to the war economy of the dictatorship," reported Radio Venceremos on July 14.

In addition, on July 11 and July 14 insurgents sabotaged two trains near San Salvador, the capital. The more serious attack was the second one, which was called "Revolutionary Heroes of June 30 — Carlos Fonseca present," to honor the memory of the founder of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front, who was born on June 30, 1936.

According to the initial communique by Commander Salvador Guerra, broadcast over Radio Farabundo Martí, the FMLN destroyed two locomotives and 21 cars in the July 14 action. Twenty agents of the Treasury Police were killed and four captured in the attack. FMLN forces suffered one casualty.

NAACP takes up Black rights, elections

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — The 75th national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the nation's oldest civil rights organization, met here July 2-6.

Attended by 3,000 people, the convention took up many issues of concern to Blacks, including unemployment, education, and affirmative action.

The framework in which these issues were addressed, however, in workshops, plenary sessions, and evening "mass meetings," was the need to elect a Democratic Party president in November.

In his speech to the convention, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks said the nation's problems are the result of "Reaganitis" and the NAACP's main goal is to "wipe out the evils of the Reagan administration" through registering 3 million more Blacks to vote before November.

The convention adopted a number of resolutions dealing with civil rights. These included a call for the ending of funds for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, since, in the words of the resolution, "the Reagan administration has destroyed [its] independence and objectivity." The convention reaffirmed the NAACP's support for the Equal Rights Amendment for women and voted to oppose a subminimum wage for youth.

While the convention did not change the organization's longstanding position in favor of busing to achieve school desegregation, mention of this issue was noticeably absent from workshop discussions or plenary resolutions.

During the convention, the NAACP Lawyers Conference was convened to take up the recent Supreme Court decision on affirmative action in the case of Stotts vs. Firefighters, generally known as the Memphis fire fighters case. In that ruling the Supreme Court dealt a severe blow to affirmative action by ruling that the Memphis fire fighters seniority system, which protected Black fire fighters from discriminatory layoffs, was invalid.

At a press conference following the lawyers' meeting, Herbert Henderson, NAACP acting general counsel, announced the Lawyers Conference's decision to challenge this Supreme Court ruling. Henderson said that the conference would take three actions.

First, it would ask Congress to define a bona fide seniority system as one that considers and protects the rights of minorities and women. Second, it would ask Congress to prohibit the Justice Department from using federal funds to frustrate the purpose of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1969. And, third, it would ask the courts to enjoin the Justice Department from "placing its heavy thumb on the scale of justice in order to tip it in favor of the powerful and entrenched white, male establishment."

A large part of the convention was allocated to hearing the three Democratic Party candidates for president — Walter Mondale, Jesse Jackson, and Gary Hart — and numerous other Democratic Party politicians. The most well received speakers were Jesse Jackson and Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, who centered his remarks on the need for unity in the Democratic Party.

Also attending the convention, but with a different message, was Black rights

fighter Mel Mason, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president.

In informal discussions following convention sessions and at a reception held for him, Mason explained to a number of convention participants that the problems facing Blacks and the entire working class are not the result of the Republican Reagan administration, but rather the bipartisan defense of the capitalist system by both the Democratic and Republican parties.

"Do we solve these problems," Mason asked, "by joining one of the parties that are causing them to begin with? Or do we form our own party — a Black party or a labor party?"

Socialist campaign supporters from Kansas City and St. Louis joined Mason in distributing several thousand copies of his campaign platform. In addition, \$140 worth of socialist literature was sold, including six copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a recently published collection of the slain Grenadian prime minister's speeches.

SWP convention to discuss union struggles

BY ILONA GERSH

Hundreds of socialist activists — union members, Blacks, Latinos, women — will participate in the August 4-9 Socialist Workers Party National Convention and Educational and Activists Conference.

A central feature of the conference activities will be meetings, classes, slide shows, and films about how to chart a class-struggle road forward for the labor movement, which includes fighting against concession contracts, takebacks in social services, discrimination against women and oppressed minorities, and the government's war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

In the past several years, the SWP has made substantial progress in taking its campaigns to and expanding its influence in several national industrial unions. Time is set aside in the conference schedule for members of industrial unions to meet together and discuss challenges facing workers in their industries, and their common efforts as socialist activists in the union movement.

This summer, several SWP miners and a rail worker traveled to Britain, where they

spoke to striking coal miners. They have been giving first-hand reports on the strike to coworkers, union meetings, and Militant Labor Forums across the country. The union activists attending the SWP convention will discuss how to further utilize these trips to build more union solidarity with the British strikers.

Several classes at the conference will discuss how to build a fighting, effective, union movement. These include a major series of classes on Farrell Dobbs' four books on the teamsters union (see special offer on page 7).

A series of classes on the First International, which Marx and Engels helped found in 1864, will take up opposing strategies within the labor movement at that time, and the course of action proposed by the Marxists in the British and U.S. labor unions.

Other classes will take up such questions as how the U.S. government's immigration policy has affected workers in this country, and the development of the Marxist position on the aristocracy of labor.

A few classes will include slide shows

and videos, including programs on the striking Guatemala Coca-Cola workers, and the Arizona copper strike. Evening entertainment will include two showings of *They Don't Wear Black Ties*, a Brazilian film about a factory strike.

If you are interested in attending the convention and conference, contact the SWP branch nearest you (see directory on page 16) or send the coupon below to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

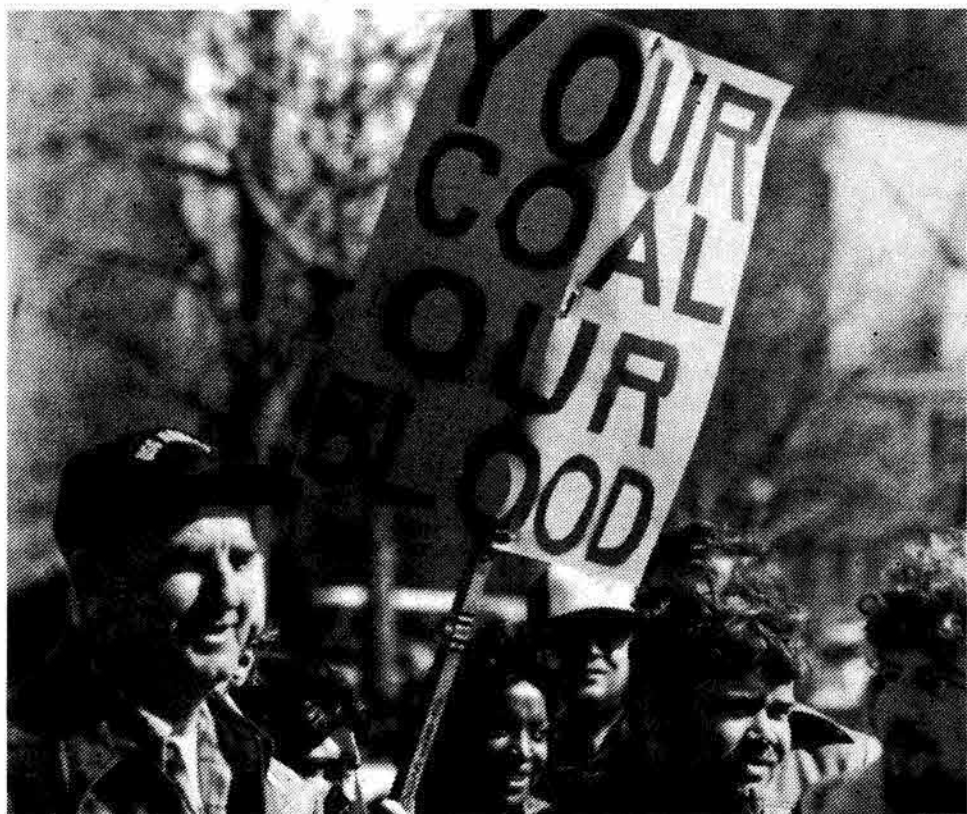
Zip _____ Phone _____

Union/Organization/School _____

Clip and send to: SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Contract confrontation coming in the mines

Socialists meet to discuss defense of union; winning miners to socialism



Miners march on Washington during 1977-78 strike. Operators' productivity drive, attacks on safety, and growing fatalities among miners are again key issues today.

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

PITTSBURGH — A big battle is brewing in the coalfields as the coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) square off for a showdown fight over the national coal contract, set to expire September 30. The outcome will affect all working people.

These are among the main conclusions drawn by a leadership meeting of socialist miners which met here July 8. Present were miners from Pennsylvania, both southern and northern West Virginia, the southern Illinois coalfields, and from the mining towns in the West, a socialist UMWA member from Price, Utah.

They met to discuss the situation facing the union and how socialist miners can continue to participate in the effort to defend the UMWA from the employers' attacks. They also agreed on new steps that can be taken to develop a current of revolutionary Marxist miners in the union — those who view themselves as internationalists and see the fight to defend miners' interests in the framework of the need for the working class to fight for political power.

British strike: sign of things to come

"The experience striking British miners are having today is a taste of our future," explained Bruce Kimball a miner who works for Exxon in Southern Illinois. Kimball, who traveled to Britain when the strike began as a correspondent for the *Militant*, presented the main report to the meeting.

The British government's plans to close 20 mines and cut 20,000 jobs immediately, and shut 70 mines, eliminating 70,000 jobs over the next three years, "shows the ruthlessness and determination of the employing class," said Kimball. The strike, he said, is an important battle in "an escalating, worldwide class war," against all working people.

Throughout the world the employers are determined to radically reorganize industry to increase their profits. They must try to do this at the expense of working people. This results in more and more frontal assaults on the unions, like the drive to bust Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

This is combined, said Kimball, with the employers' need to turn back the advancing revolutions of workers and farmers in Central America. On all fronts, said Kimball, the rulers and their governments must go further than they have today. "The U.S. government is not satisfied with mines in Nicaragua's harbors and advisers in El Salvador," he said, just as the employers are not satisfied with the steps they have taken so far to weaken and bust the unions here.

The British miners strike, Kimball pointed out, "has also demonstrated the de-

termination and combativity of the working class. The NUM," he said, "is writing a fightback manual," that should be studied by U.S. workers and miners in particular.

Lesson of solidarity

Of special importance said Kimball, is the impressive solidarity from British working people that has emerged in the course of the strike. In addition to important support from other unions, this strike has led to a much deeper involvement of women in the struggle, growing outreach to Britain's Black community, and important appeals to farmers.

Kimball proposed that socialist miners here step up their campaign of solidarity with the strike. Key to this is getting out the truth about the heroic battle being waged by the NUM and its supporters. Immediately following the meeting, socialist miners Kathy Mickells and Dave Ferguson left for Britain to see the struggle firsthand. When they return they plan to report on the strike to miners and other working people.

Offensive against the UMWA

The worldwide employing class assault, exemplified by the attacks on the NUM, sets the context in which the U.S. coal operators are waging an offensive against the UMWA.

Discussion at the Pittsburgh meeting painted a vivid picture of the deepgoing attacks on the union. Massive unemployment, forced overtime, mounting safety violations, antiunion arbitration decisions and court rulings are among the many problems facing miners today.

Kimball pointed to a July 9 *Business Week* article titled "Why a strike may shatter coal's newfound peace." The influential big-business weekly notes the big increase in productivity of union miners — a 46 percent jump since 1978.

That's the result, said Kimball, not of peace, but of the operators' war against the union. *Business Week* he observed, makes no mention of the 56 miners killed underground so far this year — a 100 percent increase over 1983.

The escalating death rate is a direct result of the employers' drive for more coal production by fewer workers, and a corresponding assault on union work rules. Sometimes, said Kimball, the operators claim they're only enforcing the contract, at other times they use arbitration rulings to rewrite it, and if necessary, they just tear it up. "Their bottom line," he said, "is to get what they want anyway they can."

Erode union power

In Illinois, Kimball explained, dozens of miners have been fired this year for "absenteeism."

While on a recent speaking tour in coal fields in Alabama, talking about what he saw in Britain, Kimball said he learned of growing attacks on union seniority and job-bidding rights.

The Jim Walters Co. mines in that state are a particularly notorious example of the operators' attempts to erode union power. Kimball noted a recent article in the *UMWA Journal* exposing the fact that, at Jim Walters, the operators "run the mines the way they want to." The *Journal* article titled "Stop the next Farmington," echoes the fears of many miners, said Kimball, that another terrible accident, like the 1968 explosion that took the lives of 78 miners in West Virginia, could happen again any day.

Government complicity

The operators' drive against the UMWA is actively aided and abetted by the government through the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), arbitrator and court rulings, as well as a complete default by inspectors from the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA). Another example of government collusion with the powerful and wealthy families who own the coal companies is the cheap leases for national grass lands in the West, awarded to the coal operators.

Importance of western coal

Kimball recently traveled to Utah and other Western states, where he saw firsthand the gigantic challenge posed to the UMWA to organize the western coal fields. Today the union has an important, but small, foothold there. In the state of Wyoming alone, he said, the operators are mining 100 million tons of coal a year. This, he added, equals yearly coal production by all mines in Britain before the strike.

The UMWA scored an important organizing victory in 1983 at one of the largest mines, owned by Decker Coal in Montana. But since the representation election, the company has refused to negotiate a UMWA contract.

The operators use their nonunion operations in the West, along with the threat of high unemployment, as a club against the union, to drive up production levels.

In the West the operators tell miners they have more in common with "their" companies, than with union miners in the East, explained Cecilia Moriarity, a Utah UMWA member. But in fact, she explained, miners face the same problems including safety conditions and unemployment. In her area, she said, where as recently as 1981 the operators were hiring up to 20 new miners a week, the number of working union miners is down from 4,500 to 2,000 as the result of massive layoffs.

Union resistance

While the coal operators are definitely on the prod, the battle is not one-sided. Coal miners are preparing to fight back.

The unanimous decision of the UMWA's December 1983 convention to accept, "No backward steps. No takeaway contracts," is an accurate reflection of the mood among miners, the participants in the Pittsburgh meeting agreed. The union has put itself in position to set an example for other working people, including postal and auto unionists whose own contracts expire

in the next months.

The UMWA has already set an important example through the national contract strikes it conducted in 1977-78 and 1981. In both cases the employing class hoped to deal big blows to the union. But they met resistance from the union's militant rank and file.

While some concessions were imposed on the UMWA, the operators fell far short of their goals. Following each contract fight, the employers continued their drive against the union in other forms. The upcoming contract showdown will focus the battle and give miners the opportunity to take a firm stand in defense of their union.

Hard battle ahead

The socialist miners agreed that the coming battle will be a big challenge to the union. It will be up against very powerful ruling-class forces including the enormously wealthy families who own the oil and steel monopolies, and in turn control most coal production. Clearly the government will continue to stand behind the operators as both Republican and Democratic administrations have in the past.

From the beginning of the current employer offensive against the labor movement, the miners have been in a stronger position than other workers because of the successful fight for greater rank and file control of the union, waged in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In the November 1982 UMWA election, the union ranks used the democracy they have won to decisively oust UMWA international Pres. Sam Church. The miners voted Church out because they believed he had not done an effective job in leading the 1981 strike. In Church's place the ranks installed a new, younger leadership team headed by Pres. Rich Trumka. The Trumka slate ran on a "no concessions" platform. Today the miners want to see that promise kept.

At the UMWA convention the Trumka leadership won adoption of the "selective strike" tactic. This allows the union president to call for a strike against one or more of the coal companies, rather than shutting down all of them as the union did in the last two strikes. If a selective strike is called, other union members will continue to work and pay into an assistance fund for striking miners.

Joan Radin, a UMWA member in southern West Virginia explained that in District 17 a new layer of local union leadership has come forward from the ranks as part of the "ousting Church" dynamic that also led to the Trumka slate's victory. Some of these new young leaders have been won to the selective strike concept. But many miners, she said, still question the wisdom of abandoning the union's "no contract, no work," tradition.

Kathy Mickells, a UMWA member in Pennsylvania District 4, explained that in her area many miners express confidence in the Trumka leadership and are prepared to give the selective strike a chance. "That doesn't mean the questioning stops," she noted. The real discussion in the union, she said, is broader than over the selective strike; it is about how to fight back and win.

Moriarity explained that socialist miners in Utah tell their fellow union members, "we won't win anything without a fight."

Continued on Page 14

Special sale offer

Labor history — lessons for today

Special offer:
\$20 for all four volumes
(25 percent off list price)

In the 1930s Midwest Teamsters built a powerful union based on class solidarity and rank-and-file control of union affairs. Farrell Dobbs, one of the central union leaders and a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote these books to tell how they did it.

Teamster Rebellion, 192 pp. \$5.95
Teamster Power, 255 pp. \$6.95
Teamster Politics, 256 pp. \$6.95
Teamster Bureaucracy, 304 pp. \$6.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Offer available only by mail. Include 75 cents for postage and handling. Offer expires September 1.

Yesterday's downtrodden of Nicaragua speak out on their revolution



Nicaraguan peasants at ceremony to turn confiscated land over to families organized into cooperatives. "Before, we were kept down by the rich. Now we are free."

The following article describes how the Nicaraguan revolution has transformed the lives of peasants in that country. It is based on interviews with members of a northern Nicaragua Sandinista Agricultural Cooperative, where the land is held in common and the work is done collectively.

These cooperatives are one of the fruits of the revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed tyrant Anastasio Somoza in 1979. For this reason, the cooperatives have been a target of the counterrevolutionary mercenaries (*contras*) armed by Washington to try to overthrow the revolution.

The article tells in the peasants' own words what the revolution has meant for them, and why the *contras* are failing in their war to return Nicaragua to Somoza-style dictatorship. It is taken from the June 28 issue of *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

BY MARÍA FLÓREZ-ESTRADA

EL CAIRO, Madriz Province, Nicaragua — Cándida Azucena Rivera dreamed for the first time five years ago. Before the revolution, even dreaming was an inaccessible privilege.

To be the owner of a piece of land; to be sure that you can feed your children every day; to see that people are in solidarity with you and doctors are at hand to heal your children; to learn to read and write; even more, to feel free and have dignity — these are the dreams that little by little the revolution awoke in the heart of this humble peasant from Las Segovias.

Now Cándida is the financial secretary of the Sandinista Agricultural Cooperative (CAS) called El Cairo and owns, together with 14 other *compañeros* 380 manzanas of land [1 manzana = 1.73 acres] and 180 head of cattle. She herself vaccinates dozens of children like her own because she is part of a health brigade. To her amazement, peoples' actors reveal to her her own identity in a social drama about women of a town called Cuá. These things have convinced her that it is possible to make dreams come true.

This is what we defend

Nevertheless, her case is not an isolated one. It is representative of the way in which the revolution has transformed the lives of the eight peasant families who make up this cooperative and of tens of thousands more throughout Nicaragua.

"Since the agrarian reform gave us our

land titles, we live peacefully, because we have work and financing. Before we had no place to work, and it's a lie that they were going to give us financing. If you didn't own property, they wouldn't give you anything. Now we have all this and the optimism to plant as much as each one can. No one is giving us orders. And now may God see fit to keep the *contras* away."

The eyes of Cándida look like wells that hold centuries of loneliness and hard work as she relates the story of this settlement, accompanied by Betulia Cerna Lagos, a 20-year-old woman and the production secretary of the CAS.

Yes, it's still uncommon to find women peasants performing leadership tasks in an agricultural unit. It was even more extraordinary to discover that three members of the executive board of this one are women: those in charge of finances, production, and education.

José Cerna Lagos, a 36-year-old peasant, explained why they had decided on this division of labor. Along with everything else, they took into account that it would not be convenient to put the women to work in the cornfields. On the other hand, if the women took on the organizational duties, the men could dedicate themselves even more to the land.

Sent to Cuba by the revolution

"In spite of the fact that they had only a low level of schooling, they have carried out their responsibilities well," added José. He was able to raise his own cultural level, thanks to the revolution, which sent him to Cuba for three months to learn about agrarian cooperation and leadership.

This was of immeasurable value for a man whose destiny up until 1979 was to work land that belonged to others and to pay the rent with half the product of his labor — without the least possibility of dreaming about a better future for his family.

"Five years ago we planted with digging sticks in the poor lands of the hills and we knew nothing of manure or fertilizers. What we produced was minimal, not like here," he explained.

Nevertheless, to get to this point was not easy. Accustomed to live and work individually, these families had to overcome the difficulties of adapting to the big changes brought about in their lives.

Before, most of the families lived in settlements located near the border with Honduras, like Cacaúl and Santa Emilia, which they had to abandon due to the constant Somozaist military aggressions.

The choice of El Cairo, located 12 miles north of Somoto and, at one end, merely 1.8 miles from the border, was not accidental. It was the result of studies and projections by the revolutionary government for the strategic development of Region 1.

21 settlements like El Cairo

Iván Bellorín, the member of the regional government responsible for settlements, defined these plans as "territorial placements of the population as a function of production, in the most productive lands." In the case of these CAS units, the projection is for the self-sufficiency of the population and the development of a dairy herd, since the land is most appropriate for this activity.

Nevertheless, in the beginning stages of this plan, the members of the cooperative could not fully supply themselves, nor would the small number of men have been able to defend what they had built in the event of a mercenary attack.

On the other hand, dozens of peasant families who inhabit the heights of San José de Cusmapa, southwest of Somoto, still find themselves settled on marginal lands that are not very fertile and are vulnerable to enemy action.

The solution was clear: in unity there is strength, trite as the saying is.

The Unit of Special Projects of the regional government is pushing forward 21 settlements of this type in all of Region 1 (Madriz, Estelí, and Nueva Segovia provinces). It conceived the idea of moving to El Cairo 50 more families who would be distributed over an area of four manzanas set aside for houses and social facilities (school, dining room for children, storage and distribution center for consumer and production goods, health post, etc.).

Building their own houses

The construction of the first 25 houses, each in an area of 57.6 square yards, has already begun. The Unit of Special Projects provides the materials: lumber, cement, zinc, and tools, as well as a carpenter. His responsibility is not only to supervise so that the work is done right, but also to train the members of the CAS to do work in the future without his help.

The work on the houses is done by members of the cooperative themselves. In this case, on their own initiative, they also made the bricks to complete their new homes.

Santos Marcio Olivera Vásquez is one of the *compañeros* assigned to building the new houses. With his trowel, this peasant was fortifying the foundation of a building with cement while he explained the significance the revolution has in his life.

"Before there was no financing because they didn't listen to the poor. Before they kept us submerged; we were kept down by the rich. Now we are free, we have all kinds of freedom." Pointing to his rifle a few feet away, he added, "now that we are armed, they can't drive us away like they did in Santa Emilia. There we had a cooperative and the *contras* destroyed it all."

All for the poor

In addition to the land, a fundamental conquest for the peasants of the country has been, according to their own evaluation, access to bank financing.

The last loan which Cándida arranged with the branch of the National Development Bank was for 88,000 córdobas, [1 córdoba = 10 cents] on June 20.

With this money they financed the preparation and sowing of one manzana of yuca and one of sugar cane to assure feed for the cattle. These crops are in addition to 10 manzanas of beans and 15 of corn, which they had planted for consumption by the families. And they improved defenses and bought pesticide to fumigate against the insect plagues that commonly appear.

"We've already paid our old debts," said the financial secretary with evident pride. She said that the CAS plans to gradually extend the area of cultivation, to add 80 head to the herd and to begin a family veg-

etable garden in a few days with a new loan.

"We the women are going to work this garden," adds Petulia, the production secretary. Since vegetables must be grown a certain way, however, they'll receive help from SINAFORP [a branch of the ministry of agriculture].

Health, education, and the children

The 39 children who inhabit El Cairo at this time receive a balanced diet, which in the past wasn't possible. Every week INSSBI [the social security and welfare ministry] provides meat and chicken as well as vegetables in what constitutes an extension of the children's dining room of the settlement "Hermanos Martínez."

A doctor visits them every month, since the closest health post is still too far for the mothers and children to walk to.

A new road is being finished by MICONS [the ministry of construction] to facilitate the shipment of milk and surpluses of basic grains, with an eye toward supplying this region.

The children's school is taught by a teacher who is also a coordinator of the CEP [the adult education program]. Due to the long distance, she arrives from Somoto on Monday and stays in El Cairo until the following Friday.

Now no one humiliates us

There is, nevertheless, another fundamental conquest of the peasants that is only felt when you hear confessions like the one Cándida made.

One day she met two women internationalists, a Mexican and a German who were working with the INSSBI program. The *compañeras* shared experiences with her for a few days until a friendship began to develop. "Not even in my dreams had it crossed my mind that I could talk with a Mexican and German," says Cándida.

She also remembers that when she was a child in Somoto, she was entrusted with the job of bringing clean clothes to a man named Efraín Díaz, apparently the director of a school.

When the man opened the door of his house and saw the poor girl, he slammed the door in her face saying she was "dirty" his house.

Cándida never forgot the humiliation. She says, "Now we go where we never went before, and if someone says something, we know how to answer."


And speaking about the elections coming up, she recalls what the voting was like in Cacaúl during the Somoza era, which she suffered under for 27 years.

A National Guard corporal threateningly told them that everyone in the village more than 15 years old had to register. She was 16 when she received her first nacatamal [meat pie], three córdobas, and a drink for voting.

"I ate the nacatamal. In the voting booth I put crosses in both spaces, the one with the red flag of the Liberal Party and the one with the green flag of the Conservatives," she says mischievously.

She adds, "Now we are free, we know good from bad, we look at what we've achieved and we know what side we're on."

Petulia, who hasn't voted yet, gives her opinion. "Now I'm hoping to give my first vote to the revolution."



BARRICADA INTERNACIONAL

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

Send check or money order to:
Barricada Internacional
Apdo. No. 576
Managua, Nicaragua.

Nicaragua expels ten priests for counterrevolutionary acts

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government expelled 10 foreign priests from the country July 9 in the wake of a counterrevolutionary provocation led by Miguel Obando y Bravo, Catholic Archbishop of Managua.

The government revoked the priests' residence permits because they "have violated the laws of our country . . . and have participated in plans that seek to provoke a

Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leader Tomás Borge announced July 17 that the FSLN's candidate for president in the November national elections will be Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the junta of Nicaragua's government. The FSLN candidate for vice-president will be junta member Sergio Ramírez.

confrontation between the Sandinista People's Revolution and the Catholic church," explained a brief communiqué.

The expulsion came only hours after Obando and more than two dozen other Catholic priests staged an illegal march in support of a proven terrorist, Luis Amado Peña.

The demonstration had been publicized through the U.S. government's Voice of America radio station; the CIA-sponsored "Radio 15 de Septiembre," which broadcasts from Honduras; and homilies in Catholic churches here the previous Sunday. Nevertheless, the march was very small, with more reporters than demonstrators in attendance.

In addition to the priests, participants included leaders of the Democratic Coordinating Committee, a coalition of capitalist parties, right-wing unions, and bosses' organizations that still function legally.

The march went from a church to a seminary where Peña, who is also a Catholic priest, is confined. Obando and the other priests made a public display of hugging Father Peña and then said mass together with him.

During the mass, Obando denounced the charges against Peña as a Sandinista "plot." He also proclaimed his solidarity with Peña, saying, "He is not alone. He has his brother priests and believers who have

Crooked propaganda from 'La Prensa'

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — How crookedly enemies of the Nicaraguan revolution fabricate anti-Sandinista propaganda is shown by the case of the capitalist daily *La Prensa*.

Outside of Nicaragua, the story being told is that the paper isn't publishing because the government won't allow it to print news about the expulsion of the priests.

That's a lie.

The truth is *La Prensa* stopped circulating on July 7, two days before the counterrevolutionary provocations that led to the expulsion of the 10 priests.

On July 6 *La Prensa* had warned that there might be "anomalies" in the paper's circulation due to "a restructuring of the routes of distribution."

A hint of the kind of "restructuring" under way was given by a three-inch display ad in the classified section that offered jobs delivering *La Prensa* to subscribers. The ad was headlined: "Urgent, urgent, urgent!"

The fact is that the workers who deliver *La Prensa* are on strike for higher pay and against a vindictive firing. Although the weekend and Monday editions were printed, subscribers didn't receive them.

The workers say that on Tuesday, July 10, the day following the expulsion of the priests, management decided not to print the paper because it wasn't being distributed. The censorship charge was fabricated to cover up the real reason for the decision and to make propaganda internationally.

La Prensa is a paper you can count on. Even when it doesn't print, it lies.

— J.G.P.

accompanied him the whole time."

The government had appealed to Catholic officials to call off the march. Under a two-year-old state of emergency decreed in response to the U.S. war against Nicaragua, political street demonstrations are illegal, although indoor rallies are not.

Although the demonstration was against the law, Sandinista police did not take any action against it. Instead, police say they "withdrew to a prudent distance to avoid the risk of being provoked." During the march some people shouted openly counterrevolutionary slogans, including one of the main slogans of the CIA-backed Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN): "Christ yesterday, Christ today, Christ always." The FDN is the main counterrevolutionary group carrying out military attacks on Nicaragua.

The formal pretext for the provocative demonstration was the situation of Father Peña, who is awaiting trial for counterrevolutionary activities. Sandinista police caught Peña red-handed while he was trying to deliver bombs and explosives to another member of the FDN.

To show what was involved was not religious persecution, on June 20 Sandinista authorities made public lengthy videotapes produced with hidden cameras. They show Father Peña receiving weapons, explosives, and instructions on how to use them. They also show Father Peña advocating the assassination of leaders of the Sandinista

National Liberation Front and the holding of provocative street demonstrations that would result in people getting killed.

Despite the overwhelming and irrefutable evidence against Peña, the revolutionary government decided to treat him with extreme leniency. Father Peña wasn't even detained for questioning; instead, the government asked church officials to relieve him of his normal functions.

However, the Catholic church hierarchy — especially Archbishop Obando — responded provocatively, claiming that Peña had somehow been framed up. They refused to reassign him, forcing the government to order Peña to stay confined to a seminary. Even so, government officials reiterated their intention to neither jail Peña nor expel him from the country, although they announced that he would be brought to trial for his crimes.

Government leaders have explained they had several reasons for proceeding in this way. First, they wanted the people of Nicaragua to judge the evidence against Peña objectively, without emotional appeals about a priest being imprisoned getting in the way.

Second, they wanted to avoid giving propaganda weapons to the Reagan administration, which would depict the jailing of the priest as a case of religious persecution.

Nevertheless, Sandinista leaders publicly and repeatedly warned that the Peña case did not set a precedent; further illegal

Sandinista's message to U.S. people



Militant/Michael Baumann

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega

Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, sent a message to the U.S. Congress and people of the United States on July 4. The message commemorated the anniversary of the independence of the United States from British colonial rule and explained how the Nicaraguan revolution is also a struggle for national independence and sovereignty.

"The current North American administration is trying by all means to put an end to our effort to build a true democracy in freedom and in defense of the national sovereignty and self-determination of the peoples," said Ortega.

"Violating the principles that were born with the Declaration of Independence 208 years ago, the government of the United States does violence to international law, makes illegal use of force and spreads terror, destruction, and death inside our borders.

"Nicaragua, a country respectful of in-



Barricada

Textile workers in Managua demonstrate outside church of Father Peña, protesting his involvement in terrorist network for CIA.

acts would be met with the full force of the law. As one top official put it only two days before Obando's provocative demonstration, "We are willing to confront the counterrevolution no matter what clothing it cloaks itself in."

Mason hails fifth anniversary of revolution

Continued from front page

economic and social foundations of their oppression. What a far cry from the United States, where women are not even equal under the Constitution!

The chains of racist oppression borne by your people under imperialist domination have been smashed. In doing so, you have struck a blow against racism everywhere and for the human dignity of all the oppressed — from Harlem to South Africa. The culture and aspirations of all the Nicaraguan people, once treated as the slaves of the U.S. corporations and their local lieutenants, have now blossomed. Equal rights exist for all the peoples of your country: Indian, Black, and Hispanic.

The freedom and rights you have won through struggle set an example for those fighting for social justice all over the world, from El Salvador, to Guatemala, to Palestine, to the United States. I personally witnessed the impact of your revolution when I was in Ireland recently and joined in demonstrations there to protest the U.S. war against Nicaragua and El Salvador.

These gains you have won have come at the cost of thousands of lives of the sons and daughters of the revolution, who have selflessly shed their blood to defend the in-

dependence and sovereignty of their country.

The escalating U.S. aggression against Nicaragua is promoted by the twin parties of imperialism in Washington, the Democrats and Republicans. They want to crush the example of the Sandinista revolution, an example that is spreading. The U.S. government is arming mercenaries to attack your territory, rape, kill, and destroy the economic gains you have won. Washington plants mines in your waters. It flies the planes to supply the terrorist *contras*. It maintains thousands of U.S. troops right across your border in Honduras and is preparing to use those troops directly against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people.

The reason Washington is so openly waging this war is because its paid mercenaries are being defeated by the Nicaraguan people, who want no return to life as it was under Somoza. The terrorists have been unable to take a single town or village, thanks to the mobilization of the armed workers and peasants of your country.

The immoral, racist, and illegal character of the U.S. war has become increasingly clear to the working people of the United States. A growing number of union-

ists, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, and others have visited your country and seen for themselves what your revolution is all about. Major U.S. unions have gone on record against Washington's aggression. It is my hope to help further this process by spreading the truth about your revolution to as many U.S. workers and farmers as I can reach through my campaign.

I pledge upon my return to the United States to actively help other Central America solidarity activists to organize and mobilize working people in protests against U.S. intervention in your country. I am convinced that a broad, united movement against that intervention — involving labor, Blacks, Latinos, youth, women, farmers, and others — can and must be built.

I am equally convinced that the workers and peasants of Nicaragua will defeat the U.S. aggression, in the spirit of Gen. Augusto César Sandino, who drove the U.S. Marines out of Nicaragua earlier in this century.

Nicaragua will win — and your victory will be a victory for the working people of the United States and the rest of the world.

U.S. Hands off Nicaragua!
¡No pasarán!

Jackson campaign: no step forward

National Black United Front, other activists face big questions in

Continued from front page

It's in building solidarity with the Grenada revolution, however, that NBUF is doing some of its most outstanding work. Since March 1979, when Grenadian workers and farmers ousted U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy and installed the People's Revolutionary Government headed by Maurice Bishop, NBUF has been supporting this revolution. It organized tours to Grenada, distributed literature on the accomplishments of the revolution, and helped organize protests and other activities against U.S. threats against the Grenada revolution.

In October 1983 Grenada's revolutionary government was overthrown in a military coup led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. Prime Minister Bishop and other central leaders of the revolution were executed and the entire country placed under military rule. Coard's treacherous betrayal of the revolution paved the way for the U.S. invasion of the Caribbean island on Oct. 25, 1983.

NBUF was among the first organizations to protest the U.S. invasion. It helped organize demonstrations, public meetings, and other activities demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Grenada.

Today, NBUF leaders continue to speak out against the U.S. occupation of Grenada and in defense of the Grenada revolution, explaining its gains and achievements. One of the ways the organization does this is by participating in the campaign to widely distribute *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, published by Pathfinder Press.

Lessons of Grenada

The chief lesson of the Grenada revolution is what can be accomplished when workers and farmers take political power away from the capitalist class and put it into their own hands.

Cutting unemployment from 50 to 12 percent, providing free dental and medical care, guaranteeing secondary school education, advancing industrial and agricultural production — these achievements, and the many others made in the four and a half years of the revolution, were the result of Grenadian working people having a government that intervened on their behalf in the day-to-day struggle with the employers.

Blacks and other working people in this country need the same kind of government — a workers and farmers government. We should have as our strategic goal crushing the political rule of the employers and taking the governmental reins into our own hands. This perspective should guide us in our fight for full equality for Blacks and women, and against the capitalist exploitation of all working people.

It took massive struggles by the Grenadian people to win such a government. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada came to power, not through elec-

tions, but through a revolutionary uprising of Grenadian workers and farmers.

The same will be true in the United States.

NBUF and many other U.S. supporters of the Grenada revolution, however, take a different approach. While supporting the revolutionary overthrow of imperialist rule in Grenada, these forces argue that that perspective isn't realistic for the United States — at least not now.

Instead, they argue that those fighting for social change here must settle for pressuring the U.S. rulers to grant reforms that can improve the situation of oppressed and exploited people. The struggle for Black rights, in their view, is reduced to trying to force the employers and their parties — the Democrats and Republicans — to be more "responsive" to the needs of the Black community.

But a strategy that focuses on pressuring this or that capitalist politician or party miseducate the working class. Reforms, which are important victories for our class, aren't won through electing "responsive" capitalist politicians, nor through pressuring "unresponsive" ones, but through mass struggles.

The key bargaining chip for those who adhere to a reformist or liberal strategy for defending Black rights — as opposed to a revolutionary one — is the votes of Blacks. Turning out these votes and selling them to the most "responsive" bidder is seen as an effective way to win more Black political representation and other Black rights.

This position is held by the leadership of virtually every Black organization in the country — from radical ones such as NBUF to civil rights groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League.

Their view mirrors that of the trade union movement officialdom, which pushes a procapitalist perspective. The unions include the most organized and powerful layer of the working class. The labor officialdom's refusal to organize a political fight against the employers and break with the capitalist parties sets back the struggles of all oppressed and exploited people. The union officials' leadership default is the major reason the bosses and their two parties maintain a political deathgrip on the Black nationality.

Jackson campaign

"The Jackson campaign," Jitu Weusi recently told *Big Red*, a Black newspaper published in Brooklyn, "is important in that it shows people around the world that there are political forces in America other than those of Reagan and his supporters."

Weusi is a national spokesperson for NBUF. He and other NBUF leaders point to the Jackson campaign as a step forward in the fight for Black rights. While recognizing that Jackson won't win the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, Weusi told *Big Red* that "Winning means registering more people to vote and forging a longterm process of political mobilization."

This argument is raised by almost all Jackson supporters. Hasn't Jackson's campaign shaken up the Democratic Party? Hasn't Jackson's campaign mobilized millions of Blacks and others? Hasn't his campaign put the fight for Black rights at the center of U.S. politics? Hasn't he done the same with the issue of U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean? Didn't Jackson's recent trip to Central America and Cuba show that he's an opponent of U.S. imperialism?

Isn't the bottom line that Jackson's presidential bid was a *progressive step forward* in U.S. politics?

The answer to all these questions is no. The anger and combativity of Blacks and other workers is increasing under the blows of the U.S. employers' offensive against



October 1983 Brooklyn, New York, protest against U.S. invasion of Grenada. National position to U.S. occupation of Grenada, whose revolution holds rich lessons for U.S.

our standard of living and hard-won rights. The auto workers strike against AP Parts in Toledo, the year-long copper miners strike in Arizona, and the increased strike activity in general are examples of this ferment.

This sentiment finds a distorted reflection in the Jackson campaign. Jackson wasn't the initiator of the growing working-class ferment, but part of the warped expression of it in the Democratic Party.

Let's take a concrete look at the questions raised by Jackson supporters and see what the Democratic Party hopeful's campaign actually represents.

Democratic Party shakeup

What's shaking up the Democratic Party isn't the Jackson campaign, but the unfolding capitalist crisis. As Blacks and other working people fight back to defend their interests against the employers' attacks, some in the ruling-class parties seek to place themselves at the head of this development.

But to do so, they must at least give lip-service to a broad social program that pretends to answer the wide range of questions facing working people. Jackson's radical-sounding liberal program is different than Mondale's or Hart's positions. He calls for cuts in Washington's military budget, a public works program to provide jobs, and no U.S. military intervention in Central America or the Caribbean.

But these positions are in the framework of fundamental agreement on the need for a "strong defense." In his proposed amendment to the Democratic Party's platform, Jackson says, "Defense is not at issue; we spend far more than what is required for a strong defense. By eliminating wasteful procurement policies and unnecessary weapons systems, by cutting back on our interventionary forces..." substantial reductions in the military budget can be made.

In other words, cut the "fat" out of the military budget, while keeping a massive array of firepower to defend U.S. employers' interests the world over. On the need to defend the "national security" of the U.S. rulers, Jackson has no disagreement with either of the two capitalist parties. Jackson's program is aimed at *improving* capitalism rather than ending it.

The overwhelming majority of Blacks and many white and Latino workers voted for Jackson because they supported this liberal program.

Moreover, they — especially Blacks — believed that although Jackson wouldn't win the Democratic nomination, voting for him in the primaries would win more political representation for Blacks and other workers.

Jackson's campaign did convince millions of Blacks and other working people to vote for the first time. "If there were no Jesse Jackson," New York City Clerk David Dinkins told *Big Red*, "the Democratic Party would have to invent one in order to get people to vote."

Adjustments in two-party system

But was the decision to vote for a capitalist politician an advance in the political consciousness of workers? No way. Not voting for either the Democratic or Republican parties — no matter who their candidates are — at least can reflect an elementary understanding that the two capitalist parties have nothing to offer working people.

The capitalist parties are living organisms. They adapt and change. Decades of struggle by Blacks and other supporters of civil rights have had a big impact on U.S. society. Racism is weaker today because of gains by Blacks. But inequality still exists. For the rulers to undermine motion toward independent Black and working-class political action, they constantly make adjustments in their two-party system.

The Democratic Party in particular was opened to more Black middle-class layers in the 1960s. This led to more Blacks being elected to public office. Though more limited, this also occurred with the Republican Party. Many Black militants were coopted by the system and made *less* political. They became advocates of "working through the system."

Likewise, the struggle for women's rights, which enjoys wide support among working people, has changed society. That Jackson could wage such an impressive campaign and Rep. Geraldine Ferraro become the Democratic Party's vice-presidential nominee are distorted reflections of the big changes that have occurred in U.S. society over the last 20 years.

These adjustments in the two-party set up, however, only show that the bosses' parties are quite capable of accommodating Black and working-class ferment today within the capitalist electoral framework.

Working people are searching for a way

Reading on the Black struggle

The National Black Independent Political Party

An Important Step Forward for Blacks and Other American Workers

Education for Socialists publication by Nan Bailey, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren. 32 pages, \$1.25.

Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

The struggle to break with the Democratic and Republican parties 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50.

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

vanguard in fight for Black equality

drawing balance sheet of Jackson's presidential bid



Militant/Lou Howort

Black United Front helped organize op-
working people.

to win more political influence. Unfortunately, this sentiment is trapped in the over-flexible two-party system. Jackson has been boasting lately that his campaign helped *prevent* this sentiment from finding any expression in a third party. At the Democratic Party convention Jackson backed the Mondale-Ferraro ticket, calling on Blacks to defeat Reagan at all costs.

Defends capitalist rule

Jackson has made it clear on many occasions that he supports and would defend the capitalist system if elected. He simply wants to make some reforms. His "moral offensive" in the diplomatic arena should be seen in this light.

The *Militant* strongly denounced the racist attacks on Jackson for his trips to Syria, Central America, and Cuba. One aspect of the employers' attacks on Jackson's diplomatic freelancing is an attempt to bury the idea that Blacks and other working people should be involved in determining U.S. foreign policy.

But defending Jackson's right to be involved in foreign policy matters doesn't mean you should support his foreign policy goals.

Take his Syria trip last January. Amidst all the imperialist hoopla about the Syrian armed forces holding Lt. Robert Goodman as a prisoner of war, Jackson traveled to Syria to seek the Navy flier's release. Jackson's aim was to show that he could accomplish through negotiations the same objectives the Reagan administration was pursuing through bombs and bullets. Goodman, remember, was part of an imperialist military intervention in the Middle East.

Like Reagan, Jackson wants to see a proimperialist regime in Lebanon. He differs with Reagan on how to achieve this goal.

Trip to Cuba, Central America

Jackson's Central American and Cuban trip was made for much the same reason. Jackson opposes the advance of the socialist revolution in this hemisphere. Unlike Reagan, however, Jackson argues that the way to stop this advance is through adopting social reforms to alleviate the unemployment, poverty, repression, hunger, and other economic and social misery that cause revolution.

Far from alleviating these problems, however, U.S. imperialist domination of

the region — which is supported by both the Democratic and Republican parties — intensifies the poverty and injustice.

Jackson's discussions with revolutionary leaders in El Salvador and Nicaragua and with Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro took place in this proimperialist framework. From Jackson's viewpoint, these were discussions with the enemy, with the aim of neutralizing them.

Jackson's Central American and Cuban trip allowed many U.S. working people to learn a little more of the truth about the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. But that fact must be separated from Jackson's goal in making the trip, which was to buttress his case that he's a more apt negotiator for U.S. imperialism.

While traveling in the region, Jackson made demagogic praises of Castro, Che Guevara, and the Nicaraguan revolutionary leaders. Yet, upon returning to the United States, Jackson lyingly charged that the Cuban government was partially responsible for the war in Central America.

The Cuban and Central American revolutionaries, however, had a different goal in mind. Castro told journalists that he had invited Jackson to Cuba as a gesture of friendship toward the people of the United States — particularly those suffering racial discrimination. The Cuban leaders have tried to have a dialogue with both the Reagan administration and that of Pres. James Carter before it.

The revolutionary leaders of Nicaragua and Cuba were able to utilize Jackson's visit to get out the truth about their revolutions to U.S. working people.

Border march

Jackson stated his established views when he led about 2,000 people in a July 2 "Rainbow Coalition for Peace" campaign march from San Ysidro, California, across the Mexico border. During the rally, according to the *San Diego Union*, Jackson called on both the United States and Cuba to remove all military troops from Central America.

But Cuba has no troops in Central America. This lie is part of the imperialist propaganda campaign aimed at trying to convince working people that the deepening war in Central America is the result of Cuban intervention.

The truth, of course, is that the U.S. government has *thousands* of troops in Honduras, shores up a brutal dictatorship in El Salvador, and is waging a war of terror against the Nicaraguan people and government through U.S.-organized mercenaries. U.S. workers should be aiming all our fire at Washington, demanding that it get out of Central America now.

Trip to Soviet Union

Now, Jackson says he plans to visit the Soviet Union to try to win the freedom of exiled physicist Andrei Sakharov. In addition, he told those at the July 2 border march, "I am quite concerned about the issue of the freedom of Soviet Jewry. I think it's very important and one of the vital issues of our day."

Draped in a cloak of moral "righteousness," Jackson is actually attempting to drum up support for Washington's anti-Soviet campaign — which is the chief ideological justification for the U.S. war in Central America.

Jackson bared his proemployer stance in another way at the border march. "We will not rest until we end the Simpson-Mazzoli bill and secure the Roybal alternative," said Jackson.

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill is a racist, anti-immigrant, antilabor measure that has been adopted in both houses of the Congress. The bill is now in conference committee to make the two versions compatible before Congress votes its final approval.

Rep. Edward Roybal, a California Democrat, has proposed a substitute bill, which he purports eliminates some of the worst features of Simpson-Mazzoli.

But it has the same aim — restricting the ability of workers in developing countries to come here to find work and escape what are oftentimes U.S.-backed dictatorships.

The Roybal bill calls for stricter enforcement of federal wage, hour, health, and safety laws — not to ensure greater protection for the undocumented, but to discourage bosses from hiring them.

In addition, the Roybal bill calls for more federal funding to expand the border patrol — the armed cops of the brutal Immigration and Naturalization Service.

'Democratic' imperialism

Jackson supports an imperialist United States — but with a "human" face. "What Jackson is saying," explains Mel Mason, 1984 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, "is that the same system that has given us racism and war can somehow be made to give us racial harmony and peace."

"But the employer-government drive against workers' wages and working conditions is a bipartisan campaign. It's both the Democratic and Republican parties that have voted to finance the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua. These parties continue U.S. backing for the military dictatorship in El Salvador."

"The increased cop terror against the Black community in Miami and other cities is being directed by both capitalist parties."

"In fact, every time Blacks rise up to defend our interests," notes Mason, "we face, not only the racist employing class, but its government and the Democratic and Republican parties as well. We can't wage an effective fight against the capitalist assault on working people locked up inside their parties. Blacks and other workers need to organize our struggle independent of the capitalist class and its two parties."

"We must struggle against the employers, their government, and their parties. To do anything else means *subordinating* the interests of Blacks and other workers to the profit needs of the U.S. ruling class, which, among other things, thrives on racist oppression."

Jackson, and other liberals such as Chicago's Democratic mayor, Harold Washington, have been successful so far in helping the Democratic Party to adapt in order to accommodate growing Black discontent.

Black party's perspective

Nevertheless, there's a 20-year-long history of struggle for independent Black political action that continues to find organizational expression. Despite all the obsta-

cles, despite the current Black misleaders' collaboration with the employers, a small vanguard layer has adopted a different view.

This fact can best be seen with the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). The NBIPP program is based on the last 20 years of experience of the Black community and is an historic conquest. It codifies an independent working-class perspective and should be studied by all Black, Latino, trade union, and women's rights activists.

NBIPP's charter outlines the need for an anticapitalist line of march for the fight for Black equality. The struggle for Black rights, explains the charter, entails fighting against capitalism and imperialism. Ultimately, this means overturning the capitalist economic system. As the NBIPP program explains, the party "aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people."

The charter points out that the Democrats and Republicans serve the interests of the employers, who control those parties lock, stock, and barrel. The NBIPP program projects building a party that does serve the interests of Blacks.

This stance is an example for the entire labor movement. The unions should form their own party — a labor party.

As mentioned earlier, the Grenada revolution is a shining example of the path that Blacks and other U.S. working people must take to end capitalist exploitation and oppression here. We must organize ourselves independently of the employers' parties and government and mobilize ourselves in struggle against them. Our aim should be to wrest political power from their hands and use it in our own interests.

Jackson's Democratic presidential campaign, like all capitalist election campaigns, didn't help push this perspective forward. It was an obstacle to it and a diversion from it.

Who gets elected president this November won't alter the plight of Blacks and other working people, but struggle will. The key task facing NBUP activists and others fighting for social change is to organize and mobilize working people in a fightback against the employers' attacks. Continuing this fightback and leading it in the direction of a popular revolution that places U.S. workers and farmers in political power is the course we must take.

Only such uncompromising struggle against capitalist rule can win Black rights.



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

Part of crowd at first anniversary celebration of Grenada revolution, held in St. George's, Grenada, March 13, 1980. Independent organization and mobilization of Grenadian workers and farmers put revolutionary government in power.



Militant photos by Diane Wang

Above, Ho Chi Minh City youth club, and right, rush hour downtown. Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon, bears the scars of 20 years of U.S. occupation. Although it has newer buildings and more developed infrastructure than Hanoi in the north, the people still suffer a higher rate of illiteracy, unemployment, and other social problems.

Transforming Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh City

Reunification crucial to building new society in south

BY DIANE WANG

Ho Chi Minh City in southern Vietnam still seems like a different world from Hanoi in the north, even though the country was reunified in 1976.

Known as Saigon until the 1975 liberation, Ho Chi Minh City is a metropolis almost twice the size of Hanoi. Most buildings seem to date from the 1950s and 1960s, rather than the 1930s and 1940s, like Hanoi's.

Motorbikes whine through the crowded streets in Ho Chi Minh City, maneuvering between pedicabs and cyclists. In the north you still see ox-carts among the throngs of quiet bicycles pumping through Hanoi.

Vendors sell pastries and loaves of bread on street corners in the south. In the north, people never developed such an appetite for bread.

Ho Chi Minh City's markets sell blue jeans and other consumer goods sent by overseas Vietnamese. There are name-brand labels from the United States, Japan, and Western Europe. In the north, there are fewer luxuries for sale. Most goods are made in Vietnam or imported from the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

But aside from glamour, some luxuries, and mechanization, the south lags far behind the north in everyday necessities.

Teenagers in the south still look younger than their actual age, their growth stunted by the undernourishment of the early 1970s. In the north children look healthier; they are taller than their parents.

The south only finished its adult literacy campaign in 1978. In the north, though people's clothing may be old and plain, they are highly educated.

Women in the south who work must find a relative to care for their children during the day. In the north child care is widely available.

At night, strolling in Hanoi, you feel secure and need worry only about missing your step in the dim street lighting. In Ho Chi Minh City tour guides warn you to be wary of pickpockets.

'End point'

Beneath these apparent differences lie two fundamental contrasts.

First, cities in northern Vietnam were constant targets of bombing during the U.S. war. For decades the government was forced to devote its resources to liberating the country rather than on economic development. Southern Vietnam remained desperately poor under French and U.S. domination, but the imperialist occupiers did pour substantial wealth into the capital city of Saigon.

Second, for two decades after the 1954 division of Vietnam by the Geneva Agreement, the north developed as a truly independent country, with a government run by the workers and peasants with a planned economy that took care of people's needs despite the war. Southern Vietnam con-

tinued under the heel of U.S. imperialism. All of Vietnam suffered from the U.S. war, but they had two different experiences, two opposite paths of development.

"This is the end point. Ho Chi Minh City was the place where 30 years of war came to an end. The most complex problems finally wound up here," Vu Hac Bong told the *Militant* last March. Bong is the city's director of foreign relations.

"There were 500,000 soldiers of the old Thieu regime here. There were hundreds of thousands of prostitutes and drug addicts, orphans and hooligans," he said.

But, Bong continued, "the really serious problem is that this had become a consumers city under the U.S. occupation, with little or no production going on." Most jobs depended on servicing the mammoth apparatus of the U.S. occupation forces.

The city had become swollen with war refugees. In the countryside "strategic hamlets" and "pacification programs" meant that 9,000 out of 15,000 villages were raided. Chemical spraying destroyed more than 40 percent of the forests in the south. Some 24 million acres of land were bombed, much of it repeatedly. People fled the countryside.

In cities like Saigon there was little work. Families lived on the streets. While parents sold cigarettes or fixed bicycles, many daughters ended up as prostitutes.

When liberation finally came, south Vietnam had some 3 million unemployed.

"After the war we had so many unthinkable difficulties," Bong said. "It takes time to solve these big problems. We never expected to solve them in six months."

"Why? Because our economy is still a small-scale economy and ours is still a country of agriculture."

"Now there still is unemployment. We lack energy, electricity, and raw materials. Our productivity is not high. But we have solved many problems."

Big potential

Ho Chi Minh City has a basis on which to build. The U.S. occupation left behind not only giant problems, but also an infrastructure of roads, buildings, and factories that could be turned to the use of the people, once there was a government with that goal.

"We have to turn this into a producing city," Bong said. "In the last 10 years we have dealt with this problem."

Today Ho Chi Minh City has an industrial work force of about a half million people working in factories or handicraft workshops. There are 30,000 skilled workers.

The city's industries account for 40 percent of Vietnam's national factory output. Last year Ho Chi Minh City exported more than \$40 million of goods. Two-thirds of the export profits go to develop the country as a whole, with one-third returning to the local administration to further build the city.

Bong said the city is also looking forward to developing industrial crops such as rubber, coconut, jute, and sugar cane in the neighboring countryside. The city will thus expand its contribution to Vietnam's exports even more.

"If we improve our exports we will have more raw materials," Bong explained. "The more we export, the more the state will profit, as well as local people."

How has Ho Chi Minh City been able to begin making progress?

The reunification of Vietnam and international solidarity have been crucial to the progress, Bong said. "Besides, the people here are hard-working and intelligent," he added.

Vietnam has pursued a number of measures to make Ho Chi Minh City and the south more productive, to provide jobs, and to improve the standard of living.

One step has been to encourage and help people move back into the countryside where there is work to be done. To this end, new economic zones have been set up.

Capitalist sector remains

In the city, Bong explained, "capitalists are encouraged to continue production, but under state direction. We are not encouraging them to open restaurants or shops with luxury items. We encourage them to invest in producing necessary products. So some are doing this and are allowed to continue."

The private sector accounts for about 15 percent of production in Ho Chi Minh City, Bong said. Capitalist factory owners are closely regulated by Vietnam's labor laws protecting workers, by the contracts they negotiate with the state to market their products, and by taxes. But they are allowed to operate and make a profit.

In addition, Vietnam has opened some factories that are under the joint ownership of the state and private capitalists. The capitalists are assured a fixed monthly return for their investment. The factory is managed by a board of directors with state, capitalist, and trade union representatives.

Many other jobs are provided through handicraft cooperatives being organized with help from the state. Now, in addition to about 300 factories and industrial establishments operating in the city, another 2,000 handicraft workshops are producing lacquerware, furniture, clothing — a variety of products.

Vendors and private merchants

All these projects have helped reduce unemployment. Recently Vietnam's deputy chairperson in charge of economic planning told journalists that Vietnam has 1 million unemployed people, most of them in the south. Out of a total population of nearly 60 million, and in comparison with the huge 1975 figures in the south, this is quite an improvement.

"Now our biggest problem is to improve the living standard," Bong said. That re-

quires overall economic development. It also requires the development of greater state control over commerce and trade.

According to some estimates, private traders still control a majority of the market for food and other consumer items in the south. This means private merchants can hoard goods, speculate, and drive up prices.

"We have made some progress in the field of circulation and distribution of goods," Bong said, "while in other ways we have not done so well."

"Frankly," Bong said, "we still have far more people having to make a living as vendors selling food or cigarettes, fruit refreshments, even clothing, than we would like." He said Vietnam cannot yet provide and distribute the necessities these dealers sell, nor can it yet provide alternative employment. So the government lets these small vendors operate.

The big speculators, however, are a different matter.

"What we have done well is to have assured the rice supply," Bong said. "We have 2,000 rice-selling shops run by the state now, so the price of rice has stabilized in the last two years."

"In other fields we have not done as well, so the prices are up and down. We can solve the problem in the next few years, but it takes time."

There are periodic crackdowns on those who hoard and speculate. But in the long run, Bong explained, it is impossible to simply outlaw private trade by decree. Instead, Vietnam must rely on politically winning people to support the state trade and planned economy. Even more, it must develop the economy enough to apply economic leverage and undercut the merchants' trade by providing better goods at lower cost.

"The most important thing is that we have to solve the problem flexibly, not crudely," Bong said.

Role of mass organizations

Vietnam relies on the various mass organizations for help in solving the problem. For example, Bong explained, "the progress made in stabilizing the price of rice is thanks to the participation of the Women's Union."

The government in Ho Chi Minh City was not able to set up a huge distribution apparatus to compete with the private traders right away. So the local Women's Union set up consumers cooperatives, buying rice in the countryside and selling it in the city. Their prices favored the peasants and workers, underselling the merchants.

Nguyen Ngoc Dung, deputy chairperson of the Fatherland Front, discussed the problems of handling the speculators.

The Fatherland Front unites the various mass organizations. It includes the women's and youth organizations, trade unions, artist and professional societies,

Continued on next page

González meets Dominican peasant leaders

Continued from Page 5

time, promising some concessions. The MCI considers this a victory.

"But we are preparing a plan of struggle to make the government fulfill the agreement it signed," de León added.

One of the MCI leaders pointed out that "the government has unleashed a fierce persecution against the leadership to try to destroy our organization, because of the strength and progressive character the MCI has taken on."

But the Independent Peasants' Movement continues to lead peasants in struggles for their rights. It played a central role in the uprising in April, where Dominican workers and farmers mobilized in the streets demanding that the government reject the economic austerity program imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Whole rural communities throughout the country carried out *paros* — general shutdowns of all activity — as part of the rebellion.

These actions were important, as trade union activists remarked to González, because they showed an increased collaboration between the organizations of workers and those of small farmers.

Peasant women organize

One development that has greatly strengthened the peasant movement is the recent upsurge among peasant women. Around 1,000 local organizations of women have sprung up around the country, with over 20,000 active members.

Peasant women mobilized demanding better roads, hospitals, and schools; better prices for farm products; and an end to the imperialist austerity measures. Thousands of farm women participated in a March against Hunger in the capital on March 4. And some 4,000 peasant women marched through the city of San Cristóbal on International Women's Day chanting slogans against the IMF and in support of women's rights.

Women are also playing a role in the broadening internationalist perspectives of the Dominican peasant movement. In Santo Domingo, González met a peasant leader named Eufemia. They talked for a while about the surge of activities her organization was involved in. Eufemia remembered meeting González the year before in Managua, Nicaragua, at an international women's conference for peace and against U.S. intervention in Central America, where they were both delegates.

González also had a chance to go to the scene of an important peasant struggle near the city of San Francisco de Macorís. She was invited there by the Dominican Left Front (FID), which includes the Socialist Bloc, the Dominican Communist Party, and the Dominican Workers Party.

The government had stepped up its raids against working-class leaders, so the public meeting for González planned by the FID had to be changed to an hour-long live interview on Radio Progreso, one of the most popular stations in this agricultural region. A number of FID activists attended and asked González questions about the situation facing workers and farmers in the United States.

González explained the attacks by the capitalist rulers on U.S. working people. "Small farmers," she pointed out, "are also being squeezed by the big bankers and

their instrument, the Farmers Home Administration. That's the IMF that U.S. farmers face." The Socialist Workers campaign, she said, would promote solidarity with the workers and farmers of the Dominican Republic among U.S. working people.

Fight against evictions

Among those listening to González on the air were small farmers at the nearby

Aguayo farm, where 253 families are fighting an eviction attempt by big landowners.

FID leaders took the U.S. socialist candidate to the house of Ramón Cruz Escalástico, a leader of the Orlando Martínez Peasant Association. He explained to her that the government had been forced to give the land to the peasants in 1978. Now a High Land Court had ruled in favor of returning the property to the former owner and expelling the families. But they

weren't about to give up so easily.

González accompanied Cruz Escalástico to another house where a meeting of peasant women and men had just broken up. When asked what they had discussed, Braulio Cruz, another leader of the association, spoke up. The decision by all the families, he said, was to assert their due right to the land they had worked.

"They will have to carry us out of here feet first," he declared.

Transforming Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh City

Continued from preceding page

the Red Cross, Buddhist and Catholic groups.

From the beginning, Dung explained, the Fatherland Front and its organizations tried to educate about how the private traders lowered everyone's living standards.

At first, she said, people bought from the traffickers. Then the customers would sometimes buy goods with a false label. Or they would see how the prices went up. "After years, people learn from their own experience that they are victims of the traffickers, and so they fight back."

"We win the struggle step by step through the awareness of the people who have paid the price of their own experience."

As a result, Dung said, "the private market forces are growing weaker, and our forces are growing stronger day by day." The most encouraging evidence came during the last celebration of Tet, Vietnam's new year. Tet is usually accompanied by a flurry of commercial activity and inflation. But unlike previous years, there was not a huge jump in prices following Tet this year, showing that the state distribution of goods has grown.

Big transformation under way

"We have a big transformation going on in our country now," Dung explained. "The government, the party carry on the transformation by way of *administration*. The task of the Fatherland Front and all the mass organizations is to carry it out through *education*."

"Especially because people in the south lived under 20 years of American occupation, the anticommunism was very strong. So one of the most important tasks has been to explain the revolution," she said.

The Fatherland Front has done that through several campaigns. Along with the campaign against the traffickers, the Front has organized communities or groups to deal with other problems.

"For a few years the state operated too slowly to fill people's needs, because of the lack of materials, energy, and resources," Dung explained. So now Vietnam organizes communities to cooperate with the government in self-help projects. "In a particular city ward, for example, we can help people to build an electrical or water supply by mobilizing their own resources," Dung said.

"Or we can improve neighborhood security," she continued. "Hooligans were terrible after the U.S. corruption and the state of poverty left behind."

"The people themselves have to help and educate. That is better than jails. We



Militant/Diane Wang

Market in Cholon section of Ho Chi Minh City.

mobilize people against these social ills and get people to draw more and more closely together, make ties between people from the old and new regimes, between people from the north and south."

Work on common projects, everyday experiences, educational campaigns all help consolidate the real reunification of Vietnam and the socialist transformation in the south.

Modern, civilized center

Contrary to what the big-business press in the United States portrays, the aim of the Vietnamese government is not to impose austerity and poverty on Ho Chi Minh

City, to somehow "punish" it for having been the capital of the old puppet regime. Instead, Vietnam plans to develop it, both economically and culturally, so that its people can contribute to improving living standards throughout the country.

Speaking at the third congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party organization in Ho Chi Minh City last November, the party's general secretary Le Duan explained the goal:

"We should strive to make of Ho Chi Minh City, in a not-too-distant future, a socialist city with a modern industrial-agricultural economy and advanced culture and science — a civilized, modern city of high standing in Southeast Asia."

China launches new attacks on Vietnam

BY WILL REISSNER

In recent weeks the three countries of Indochina — Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea — have come under increased military and political attack from Peking, Washington, and U.S. allies in Southeast Asia.

On July 12, Chinese troops attacked points in Vietnam's Ha Tuyen province. Chinese troops have also moved right up to the Vietnamese border in other areas.

Peking, which sent 600,000 troops into Vietnam in 1979 in direct collusion with Washington, has escalated tensions along its border with Vietnam since April, when President Reagan visited China.

Chinese troops have also massed along China's border with Laos.

While Peking applies military pressure on the northern borders of the Indochinese countries, Thailand's government is doing the same on their western borders.

In June, just after Thailand's commander-in-chief visited China, Thai troops occupied three villages in Laos, where they remain dug in.

The Thai government also provides support to rightist guerrillas operating against Kampuchea from Thai bases.

At a Singapore press conference on July 10, Secretary of State George Shultz ruled out any improvement in U.S. relations with Vietnam while stressing Washington's "good working relationship with China."

U.S. officials also indicated Washington will increase its \$10 million annual aid to the rightist guerrillas fighting the Kampuchean government.

A July 2 meeting of the foreign ministers of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam urged

the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) — Thailand, the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia — to agree to an immediate dialogue with the three governments of Indochina in order to ease tensions between the two groups and "bring about durable peace and stability in Southeast Asia without foreign intervention."

The Indochinese foreign ministers also reaffirmed their desire "to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."



Special offer to 'Militant' readers

Major resolutions & reports from 1979 World Congress of Fourth International

Just \$2 — regularly \$4.95

This special supplement to *Intercontinental Press* contains key documents from the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International, as well as a major introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. The collection focuses on many political questions being discussed by revolutionists today. Included are resolutions and reports on the world political situation, the turn to industry and tasks of

the Fourth International, the Nicaraguan revolution, women's liberation, working-class strategy before and after the conquest of political power, youth work, Latin America, Indochina, and Europe. Several documents aren't available in print anywhere else.

To order, send \$2 to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Rightist LaRouche intervenes in Toledo Sun Oil strike

BY TOMMYE WIESE

TOLEDO, Ohio — Striking oil workers here were recently the target of a campaign by ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche and his agents. LaRouche's outfit chose Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-912, which is on strike against Sun Oil Co., for a disruption effort.

This was an important experience for our local. As the class polarization in society deepens under the lash of the employers' attacks on working people, there will be more attacks like this one by rightists against the union movement.

Push presidential ticket

LaRouche's agents appeared in Toledo in force just before the May 8 Democratic primary, pushing LaRouche's presidential campaign and that of Carol Winter, a local candidate.

Winter and her aides distributed thousands of leaflets with the heading, "Boycott Sunoco." Besides containing much inaccurate information about the strike, the leaflet urged the public to support the strike by obtaining boycott materials from "Strike Support Headquarters." The phone numbers given were all numbers of LaRouche candidates and supporters. The Toledo number is that of Winter's home phone.

The leaflet also called for a rally downtown, which turned out to be a LaRouche campaign rally. Supporters of the strike were urged to attend. At this rally, according to the local daily, the *Toledo Blade*, Winter "called for a boycott of Sun Oil Co. products," making no mention of the fact that the boycott was being organized by the union.

Serious legal problems

Boycott activities are subject to many legal restrictions. The union has carefully organized these activities, and participants are briefed on ways to be effective without making themselves and the union victims of lawsuits. Unauthorized boycott activities, such as those proposed by Winter, could pose serious legal problems for the union and discredit its legitimate boycott.

LaRouche's outfit, in all its various forms, has been denounced by several international unions and the AFL-CIO top officials, and for good reasons. LaRouche's ultrarightist views have thrown his group into conflict with the labor movement on fundamental issues, and his disruptive tactics have served to warn the labor movement about the real intent of his operation: to destroy the unions.

One example of LaRouche's antilabor campaign was the role played by the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) — a group led by LaRouche — in the 1974 United Steelworkers strike against Dow Chemical Corp. in Midland, Michigan.

Five thousand workers struck for improvements in their cost-of-living clause,

pensions, and insurance plan. Police escorted scabs across the picket line, brutally clubbing union pickets as they went. The NCLC printed and distributed a leaflet attacking the leaders of the union as "CIA agents" and blaming them for the violence instead of the company.

The same year the NCLC also attacked national strikes of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Mine Workers, as well as mass protests of independent truckers.

In York, Pennsylvania, a group of union leaders who had rejected the overtures of LaRouche agents found themselves smeared as "fascists." LaRouche attempted to sue the unionists for excluding his supporters from a meeting. The union leaders and their families received obscene and threatening phone calls.

Racist, antiwoman outfit

In addition to its insidious union-busting activities, the LaRouche forces have campaigned in support of many reactionary causes.

They have waged attacks on civil rights actions, including the struggle to desegregate public schools in Boston and other cities.

In their newspaper, *New Solidarity*, and in leaflets, they have often labeled Black and Puerto Rican activists as "cannibals," "jungle bunnies," "zombies," "faggots," and "rapists."

The LaRouche cult is on a warpath against the right of women to choose whether or not to have abortions, and they spew anti-Semitic propaganda as well. They have aggressively campaigned in support of deadly nuclear power. Their organization has established warm ties with various police agencies.

LaRouche proposes a political alliance inside the Democratic Party between farmers, labor, and industrial entrepreneurs. He tries to convince working people to side with the industrial capitalists against the bankers. This is the same demagoguery that was used by Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini before they took power and was the stock-in-trade of U.S. fascists in the 1930s.

The notion that workers and farmers should join forces with industrial entrepre-

neurs against the big bankers is a calculated cover-up of the irreconcilable class conflict between wage workers and exploited farmers on one hand and both banking and industrial profiteers — like the owners of Sun Oil — on the other.

Workers and farmers, who, with their labor, produce the great wealth of this country, do not share a "harmony of interests" with those who profit from this wealth. It's through the independent struggle of working people — like our local's strike — against the ruling rich that we can make gains. Allying with our class enemies against Blacks, Latinos, women, and other workers, as LaRouche proposes, is a dead end.

The LaRouche campaign's overtures to the OCAW strikers received no support from the union, and the union didn't authorize LaRouche's decision to call itself "Strike Support Headquarters" or to publish boycott materials. Their attempt to use the authority of our struggle to further their political ambitions was dishonest and self-serving, and cannot be considered support to our strike.

A letter to this effect was sent to the LaRouche campaign by the union, with copies to the union lawyers. The news media and Toledo's top union leaders were also notified. The LaRouche campaign supporters were barred from the union hall.

All activities in support of this strike are being coordinated by the union and its elected leadership. The union welcomes statements of support, financial aid, and ideas for activities from all who have a sincere interest in helping our union to win its struggle.

'LaRouche is a fascist'

In an article in the local OCAW newsletter, Local Pres. Ron Rinna wrote: "We must beware of those individuals or organizations that pass themselves off as our friends, but are bent on destroying us, those that would use us as a means to their own ends. One such group is the Lyndon LaRouche campaign and their people. Lyndon LaRouche is a fascist. . . . He is a racist, sexist, and a proponent of discrimination on the basis of religion. He is dangerous, and is not to be taken as a political looney."



Militant OCAW member on picket line at Sun Oil in Toledo. LaRouche forces tried to disrupt strike.

In their "Boycott Sunoco" leaflet, the LaRouche campaign states that the strike is being supported by, among others, "patriotic entrepreneurs."

True, the strike has received donations from many small businesses in the area, such as doughnut shops and groceries. This support is appreciated by the strikers and will be remembered. However, this is not what LaRouche means. He is referring to the owners of the big corporations: the magnates of the oil, steel, auto, and other industries. Not one of these people have indicated support for our strike and we don't expect them to.

The bosses at Sun Oil have asked our union for unreasonable concessions and provoked our strike. At the AP Parts plant here, employers have decided to try to crush the United Auto Workers, setting up a police cordon around the plant to protect their scabs. Interstate, a major trucking firm, simply closed down operations in response to a Teamster strike, throwing hundreds out of work.

LaRouche notwithstanding, no "entrepreneurs," patriotic or otherwise, have come forward to stand with the striking workers of Toledo. And they won't, because their profits are at stake. The employers will defend their "right" to ever-increasing profits with antiworker propaganda, court injunctions, armed police, and whatever else it takes. They can count on LaRouche to help them out.

Tommye Wiese is a striking Sun Oil worker, and member of OCAW Local 7-912.

Contract confrontation coming in the mines

Continued from Page 7

The meeting agreed that this is the heart of the matter. No single tactic will defeat the operators' drive.

Solidarity vital

Precisely because of the powerful forces arrayed against the miners, the maximum solidarity from all working people will be vital to the UMWA. Here too, the meeting agreed, U.S. miners should borrow a page from their British union brothers.

Solidarity from other working people was absolutely essential in the UMWA's 111-day 1977-78 strike. The miners were able to hold out, rejecting two takeback contracts along the way, in part because workers, farmers, Blacks, and others came to their defense.

Other working people were inspired by the miners' fight. When the union appealed for support, many were willing to give it. The miners strike became a rallying cry for all who wanted to fight back.

The same dynamic can make a big difference this time around, the socialist miners agreed. They see one of their key tasks as advancing the discussion about this in the UMWA. The more the organization of solidarity is viewed as a central goal of the union, the more effective the fight can be. In turn, a successful, militant struggle by the miners can inspire and encourage all working people.

Most of the participants in the Pittsburgh meeting had recently attended the sixth national women miners conference held in Charleston, West Virginia, June 22-24 (see the July 13 issue of the *Militant* for a

full report). A special point on the agenda of the Pittsburgh meeting took up an evaluation of that important gathering, and the significance of the fight for women's rights and the growing leadership role of women in the UMWA.

Miners who attended the Charleston conference saw it as an important contribution to the union's preparation for the con-

tract fight. A process of discussion and preparation has been developing in the ranks for months. The rank-and-file union control miners have won and exercised will remain a key tool in the coming fight. This leads socialists to focus their attention on the militant ranks of the union.

Marxist tendency

As miners go through the expected battle, the most conscious advanced fighters can become more open to a Marxist perspective. As they go through the struggle alongside other miners, the socialists agreed they should step up their discussions and explanations about the British miners strike, and the revolutionary struggles of workers and farmers in Central America. The opportunities are growing, they believe, to win more miners to support these struggles and to view extending solidarity to them as part of the same fight U.S. miners are waging.

The Pittsburgh meeting agreed that sales of the *Militant*, both to UMWA members at mine portals, as well as in coalfield towns, and aggressive use of the Socialist Workers Party 1984 election campaigns, are key to winning miners to an internationalist view and to a socialist perspective.

Kipp Dawson, a Pennsylvania miner, reported that four members of her local are reading the Pathfinder Press book, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. This book contains speeches by Grenada's former prime minister. This interest in the lessons of the Grenada revolution, Dawson observed, points to other opportunities to introduce socialist ideas to fighting miners over the next months.



Subscribe to Intercontinental Press

Intercontinental Press carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to the Middle East to Central America — than we have room to put in the *Militant*.

In our opinion you can't afford to be without *Intercontinental Press*.

Enclosed is ☐ \$12.50 for six months. ☐ \$25 for one year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to Intercontinental Press 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Lawyer backs SWP in fight for legal fees

Blasts attempt to use court to destroy 'legitimate political organization'

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — "I am writing to bring to your attention an important legal battle now underway in federal court here in Los Angeles." So begins a letter being circulated by attorney William Smith (the text of the letter is reprinted below).

The letter concerns the latest stage in the Socialist Workers Party's battle against a disruption lawsuit filed by Los Angeles County lawyer Alan Gelfand.

In 1979, Gelfand was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party because he filed court papers in the SWP's suit against government spying where he accused the party of being a front for the FBI. Gelfand then sued the SWP, claiming that the government's agents that he alleged run the party had violated his rights by expelling him.

Gelfand demanded in Federal District Court here that Judge Mariana Pfalzer reinstate him into SWP membership and remove the elected leadership of the SWP.

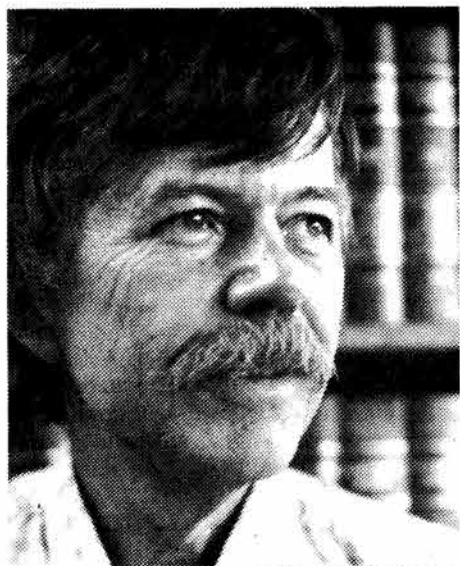
The suit was organized and financed by the London-based Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and its U.S. affiliate, the Workers League. Gelfand's lawsuit is part of the WRP's worldwide slander and disruption campaign to smear the SWP as an FBI front.

Serious attack on democratic rights

The fact that Pfalzer agreed to hear the case was a serious attack on democratic rights. By accepting the case, Pfalzer was setting a precedent that it's okay for the government to violate the constitutional right to freedom of association by intervening in the internal affairs of voluntary political organizations, including to determine who their membership and leadership will be.

Despite repeated efforts by the SWP to get the case thrown out of court, Pfalzer persisted and allowed Gelfand and his lawyers, from the Fisher & Moest firm, to continue harassing the party and draining its resources as well as those of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing publicity and fundraising for the case.

At the end of the trial, which took place in March 1983, under pressure from a growing number of supporters of democratic rights who protested against this courtroom outrage, Pfalzer was forced to admit that Gelfand's case had no merit, and



Militant/Della Rossa

Attorney William Smith (left) is urging support for SWP's fight against disruption suit. Right, Political Rights Defense Fund rally last March in New York. Rallies such as this across country were part of broad and successful campaign in defense of rights of SWP.



Militant/Lou Howort

that Gelfand never produced a shred of evidence to prove his charges.

To deter such future disruption efforts against the SWP and other working-class organizations, the SWP is demanding that the judge make Fisher & Moest pay the attorneys' fees and other legal expenses of the SWP defendants. The SWP's attorney in this case is David Epstein, a partner in the well-known law firm here headed by Ben Margolis and John McTernan, two veteran fighters against government witch-hunters and frame-ups.

The hearing on the issue of attorneys' fees was held last October, yet Pfalzer has still refused to rule on the case.

Letter urges support

Attorney William Smith sent a letter to a list of lawyers he knows, both here and around the country, urging their support for the SWP's fight to make Fisher & Moest pay for their role in this disruption campaign.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Smith discussed why he issued the appeal.

Even though the Gelfand case, as it became known, had been in the courts for years, Smith had not heard of it until he read over some materials about the case last fall.

After reading about it, Smith said, "I immediately spotted the issues. I saw what had happened.

"I didn't really need to read the other side. I was familiar with the other group.

"I knew the SWP had been the victim of some outlandish conduct."

Smith was immediately inclined to take a stand.

"I have the philosophy that political groups should work together as closely as possible in their common interest.

"You should never take a sectarian position when a group of individuals is the victim of outrageous conduct."

Not long after this, Smith first spoke out publicly on the Gelfand case. It was at a rally on the eve of Judge Pfalzer's hearing on the request that Gelfand and his lawyers be held responsible for the socialists' legal fees.

Smith is one of a small but essential breed: attorneys who have decided to devote their skills to defending authentic victims of the class that runs the courts.

'Not naive about what courts represent'

"I've never been naive about what the courts represent in this society," he said.

Smith's area of expertise is military law. Since the Vietnam War, he's been among the leading antidraft attorneys in the United States. Today his clients come from the workers who fill the ranks of the armed forces.

As head of the Selective Service Law Panel of Los Angeles, which began as a project of the National Lawyers Guild, Smith has been the central coordinator of the legal fight on a national scale to block the reimposition of the draft.

'Bad faith'

If Smith represents one breed of attorney, the law firm hired by Gelfand represents another. Its offices are situated in a plush area of the city, near Beverly Hills.

Fisher & Moest advertises itself as a First Amendment firm. But a look at their list of clients reveals a peculiar notion of whose rights need defending.

Like Gelfand, they have in common their ability to pay and pay well. The right-wing followers of the fabulously wealthy Rev. Sun Myung Moon are prominent among them.

Fisher & Moest's masquerade as civil rights lawyers has fooled some.

"I don't believe that just because a lawyer calls himself a left or civil libertarian lawyer that every case they bring should be supported," Smith said. "Or that they are always right. Or that they should not be punished for acting in bad faith. These people acted in bad faith."

Legally, the "bad faith" issue is crucial now. The judge is being asked to rule that Fisher & Moest acted in bad faith.

"I can't believe for a moment, not for a moment, that this law firm believed in the justification for what they were doing — unless they were just totally crazy."

Smith added, "It's a sophistry to maintain that you can't make a fundamental judgement about that — that you can't dis-

tinguish bad faith from good faith.

"Others on the left have got to understand the significance of this case," Smith said. "They've got to come to the defense of the party."

Others have faced related attacks through the courts. "Police are always looking for ways to bring lawsuits against left political groups. Mostly they've failed," Smith said. He also cited the NAACP in the South, which has been forced to pour huge sums into fighting off racist legal offensives.

A good example

Smith's initiative is an example that should be followed by other supporters of democratic rights.

Getting out the word about this case and the stakes involved; adding your name to the list of supporters of the fight for attorneys' fees; and donating as generously as possible to PRDF's efforts are important.

Support messages and tax-deductible contributions can be sent to PRDF at: P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made payable to PRDF, Inc.

Anti-apartheid fighter battles deportation from United States

BY MARLA PUZISS

BALTIMORE — Supporters of Mankeko Mahlangu-Ngcobo, a member of the African National Congress (ANC) who is fighting deportation from the United States, held a press conference here on June 22. The ANC is fighting against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Speaking at the press conference were Mahlangu-Ngcobo's lawyer, Judy Jacobson; Nathaniel Hoff, Maryland State Teachers Association (MSTA); Rev. Mamie Williams, pastor of Centennial United Methodist Church; State Sen. Nathan Irby; Rodney Orange, NAACP; and Ken Morgan, local cochairperson of the National Black Independent Political Party and spokesperson for the defense committee.

Hoff explained that the MSTA constitution opposes apartheid and calls on U.S. corporations to divest their holdings in South Africa.

The MSTA has circulated petitions against the deportation of Mahlangu-Ngcobo and has collected thousands of signatures. Orange expressed the support of both the local and national NAACP for Mahlangu-Ngcobo's struggle.

Morgan read a statement on behalf of the defense committee explaining that the U.S. government supports racism "from Johannesburg to South Carolina," and pointed to the similar problems of Haitian refugees in obtaining political asylum in the United States.

Messages of support can be sent to the Mankeko Mahlangu-Ngcobo Defense Committee, % Rev. Mamie Williams, Centennial United Methodist Church, 1029 E. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21202.

SWP case: 'important legal battle'

The following letter was sent by Los Angeles attorney William Smith to lawyers he knows, urging them to support the Socialist Workers Party fight against a disruption lawsuit filed by Alan Gelfand (see story elsewhere on page).

I am writing to bring to your attention an important legal battle now underway in federal court here in Los Angeles. Chances are you may not have heard of it. And even if you have, if you are like I was, your reaction may have been to dismiss it as irrelevant. Or simply another unimportant struggle between sectarian groups. But I decided to take the time to look more deeply into this case. As I did I became convinced there are some very significant issues at stake.

This case dates back to 1979, when a Los Angeles attorney tried to enter an unsolicited friend of the court brief in the widely-publicized Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying and harassment then being heard in New York. The attorney, Alan Gelfand, claimed FBI and CIA agents controlled the party. When the judge rejected his provocative bid, and he was expelled from the SWP, he filed suit here asking that the alleged agents be removed and that he be reinstated into membership.

On the surface it sounds ludicrous. But Gelfand had behind him some very powerful backers. Armed with seemingly unlimited funds, he was able to use the power of the court in an attempt to destroy a legitimate political organization. A group with less resources would have been destroyed.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars had to be raised for legal fees, transportation, and related expenses. Over 40 days were spent in depositions alone.

After refusing to throw the case out, Judge Mariana Pfalzer allowed it to come to trial last year. At its conclusion, she was compelled to rule the obvious. In her words, "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing." But the damage had already been done. Now Judge Pfalzer is weighing arguments asking reimbursement for attorney's fees. In my opinion justice will not be served until a favorable ruling comes down on behalf of the SWP in this matter.

An unusual aspect of this is that attorneys for the SWP are asking that both Gelfand and the law firm representing him be held liable for the fees. While Gelfand was able to afford high-priced lawyers with a Century City address — the firm of Fisher and Moest — he has now arranged to present himself as virtually penniless.

Are lawyers who would take on such a case — designed only to disrupt or destroy a political group — to be held responsible for their actions? I believe this case presents an excellent opportunity to raise the question of the responsibilities of lawyers in bad faith or frivolous litigation. In my opinion, the arguments on behalf of the SWP are fully justified.

I am now asking you to do as I did and consider the facts of this case. I am persuaded that if you do you will also lend your support to the SWP and Political Rights Defense Fund in their efforts to secure justice.

Pay up and shut up — A Lakewood, Ohio, woman paid her income tax, adding a note protesting the share for the military. She was fined \$500. An Atlanta-area woman paid, but protested, a \$35



Harry Ring

tax on an income of less than \$3,000. The IRS fined her more than \$500 and grabbed the \$140.06 in her bank account, plus slapping a lien on her home. More than 5,000 taxpayers have been

belted with such fines under a congressional statute barring "frivolous" returns. A fed conceded the cited examples may have been overzealous.

The diagnostic dot — Richard Mandel, head of a firm that audits hospital bills, is astonished by the number of errors that turn up. "You'd be amazed how many times the decimal point is put in the wrong place," he said. "The remarkable thing is that it is always too far to the right."

Deliberate speed — Leaders of the Chattanooga-based Cumberland Presbyterian Church have agreed to include an antislavery statement in the official church

creed, paving the way for reunification with a Black group, which split in 1869. Church officials estimate 1992 as the reunification date.

All systems go — "The hurdles to higher-quality weapons are formidable. For one thing, the Pentagon's new inspection system does not always work. Good quality-control experts are hard to come by, and they sometimes are less than diligent, even quitting to join the companies they have been inspecting." — A Pentagon spokesman.

The Ashman Cometh — MIT prez Paul Gray insists there's a future for nuclear engineers, albeit

not right now. The immediate problem is "public disenchantment" with nuclear power. "There is," he confides, "a large element of irrationality about the public's attitude." However, he assures, future nuke plants will "rise like a phoenix from ashes of the past."

The Stanko saga (con't) — Henry Stanko of the Stanko meat processing plant near Denver, has agreed to turn state's evidence against his cousin Rudolph Stanko in Nebraska. The Stankos are major purveyors of ground beef to the federal school lunch program and numerous state and local hospitals and prisons. The meat includes rodent droppings and other similar nutrients. The feds have

been on the case since the Stanko plants were spotlighted on TV.

Wear your lead BVDs — "On your summer vacation this year, why not take in an atomic energy center? Seriously. . . . Many of the facilities are also educational and recreational centers. . . . The one for visitors at Three Mile Island is, understandably, one of the most popular. . . . A sortie to a nuclear electricity information center should help dispel some of the fears about nuclear power." — Editorial in the Indianapolis *Star*.

Personal note — For the numerous morale-boosting, medically therapeutic get-well messages, *muchas gracias*.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: A Threat To All Workers. Speakers: Bill Tamayo, chair, Committee to Combat Simpson-Mazzoli; Marti Cano, immigration counselor for Hispanic Affairs Oakland Diocese; Raúl González, member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 534-1242.

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.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

U.S. Troops Out of Grenada! A class series on history of Grenada based on *Maurice Bishop Speaks*: "The Class Struggle in Grenada and the Caribbean" and "Imperialism is not invincible." Sun., July 22, 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals SE. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Looking for Solutions to Unemployment, Racism, and War? Why the U.S. Is at War Against Nicaragua. A Young Socialist Alliance class series. Tues., July 24, 6:30 p.m. 4850 N College. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

Vietnam and Kampuchea: an eyewitness report

A slide show and presentation by Diane Wang

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

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

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Why Working People Should Oppose the Anti-immigration Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. Speakers: Peggy Kreiner, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in 3rd C.D.; Myra González, student at Spencerian College. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Will U.S. Elections End the War in Central America? Speakers: Laura Garza, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee and Youth Coordinator for Socialist Workers 1984 Campaign; Signe Martell, recently returned from Nicaragua; others. Sun., July 22, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Blacks in the Americas: Community Rally in Solidarity With the Cuban and Nicaraguan People. Speakers: Nicaraguan representative; Alimenta Bishop, mother of Maurice Bishop, slain prime minister of Grenada; others. Sun., July 22, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Medgar Evers College, 1150 Carroll St. Ausp: Caribbean Coalition.

Manhattan

Israeli Elections. Wed., July 25, 7 p.m. 777 UN Plaza. Ausp: Nov. 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 535-6900.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Truth About Cuba: 25 Years of the Cuban Revolution. Slide show and presentation by Meryl Lynn Farber, member of Teamsters Local 391 and Young Socialist Alliance, visited Cuba in 1980. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 301 S Elm St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

After Five Years of Struggle Nicaragua

Wants Peace. Speakers: Luis Méndez, member of diplomatic corps of Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C.; Larry Gossett, director Central Area Motivation Program; Dr. Giovanni Costigan, professor emeritus of literature at University of Washington. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. Bloedel Hall, 1245 10th Ave. E. Ausp: El Centro de la Raza. For more information call (206) 329-2974.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

British Coal Miners Strike. Speaker: Dave Ferguson, U.S. coal miner recently returned from Britain; film, *Harlan County U.S.A.* Preceded by dinner and refreshments. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 21, 6 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Ferraro no advance for women

Continued from front page

striking British coal miners and the thousands of women who are backing them as they wage a fierce battle against austerity and the employers' offensive.

To the degree that Ferraro's candidacy succeeds in convincing women and working people that the two-party system really does represent them, the struggle of women and other exploited and oppressed groups is set back.

Ferraro's candidacy is being used to cover up the class divisions in this society. Both the Democratic and Republican parties stand on the bankers and big businessmen's side of that class line. The interests of the working-class and its allies among the oppressed — Blacks, Latinos, women, and family farmers — lie on the opposite side.

Ferraro's candidacy is also being used to refurbish the myth of the "American dream." The nomination of a woman from an immigrant background, she says, shows "that in America anything is possible if you work for it."

As a woman worker, a Puerto Rican, and a unionist, I know first-hand what a lie this is.

Ferraro herself is a slumlord and former prosecutor who pretends to be a champion of the working class while voting for austerity budgets.

Ferraro is an opponent of busing for school desegregation. She voted against the racist, antilabor, anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill because it wasn't

harsh enough in its treatment of immigrant workers.

Ferraro calls for a "strong and ready military establishment" and for "strengthened conventional forces, improved readiness, and a prudent, balanced, and unquestioned nuclear deterrent force."

She expressed her confidence that with the Democratic Party's military policy, "the 'American century' will not be cut short."

I support every effort to cut short the 'American century' — the rule of U.S. imperialism that is responsible for the misery and oppression of millions of people throughout the world.

My campaign looks to the example being set by women in Cuba and Nicaragua, and the struggling women and men of El Salvador, who are fighting to follow their example.

It is precisely the murderous U.S. "conventional" and nuclear forces, which Ferraro wants to strengthen still further, that are being used in a criminal attempt to drown in blood these shining examples of how to end oppression and exploitation.

Women are winning their liberation in Cuba and Nicaragua because of massive struggles by workers and farmers, which overthrew the exploiters and instituted rule by the exploited and oppressed. It's this road, which a massive, fighting women's liberation movement will be a key component of, that women in the United States can and should emulate.

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.

CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

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

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

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

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

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

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

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O.

Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 767 S. State. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

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

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

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

'We are fighting for our future'

10,000 British miners and supporters march and rally in Manchester

BY KATHY MICKELLS
AND DAVE FERGUSON

MANCHESTER, England — "The NUM is heading for the greatest industrial victory in the post-war history of Great Britain.

"With government policies in a state of industrial siege — and financial mayhem growing by the day — both Coal Board and government are on the rack.

"Solidarity action and financial support is being stepped up dramatically by members of the public and the unions. People in all walks of life sense that victory is in the air."

So begins the lead article in *The Miner*, official organ of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Manchester Day of Action

This optimism was evident in the Manchester Trade Union Council Day of Action demonstration on July 13.

To chants of "Here we go! Here we go!" and "We will win! We will win!" 10,000 striking British coal miners and their supporters marched through the streets here.

Led by the banner of the Agcroft Wives Support Group the militant crowd made its way to the Free Trade Union Hall for a rally with NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill, Labor Party Member of Parliament (MP) Tony Benn, and others.

These "days of action" have become an important show of support for the miners strike. On these days, other unions strike for part or all of the day, or donate a designated sum from their day's earnings to the NUM. Marches and rallies are also held.

The Manchester Day of Action took place as strike action escalated across the country. On July 8 the dock workers union went on strike over British government attempts to move cargo in violation of union work rules. The dock strike is seen by every miner as a big advance in the kind of solidarity needed to win their battle against the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The dock strike has stopped the vast majority of freight movement and disrupted some passenger service through the ports.

The mine and dock strikes are precipitating a crisis of confidence among the ruling rich. The past days have seen a rapid rise in interest rates, a decline in the value of the British pound sterling, and rapid fluctuation in the stock market the likes of which

have not been seen since 1974 when an earlier miners strike forced the Conservative government of then-Prime Minister Edward Heath to resign.

'Honor contract with working class'

At the Manchester rally, Scargill pointed to the importance of solidarity by dockers and rail workers who have refused to move coal. "We have not seen solidarity like this since the 1972 and '74 strikes. If other workers and their leaderships were like the rail workers and dock workers, we would have already won this strike.

"To the steelworkers leadership, Bill Sims [national steel union president], we say, you should honor your contract with the working class and the trade union movement. There is one rule in the trade union movement when one of us is fighting in an industrial dispute, you don't cross a picket line."

The steel union officialdom has refused to honor the miners' call to stop processing coal into steel. The miners, their wives, and their supporters have responded by organizing massive picket lines at the steel works and wharves to stop the movement of coal by scab truck drivers.

'A struggle for our future'

In a passionate appeal to other workers handling coal Scargill stated, "As workers we can't be misled by the immediate gains, you have to think that the job being threatened is yours, the pit closed is yours. This is a struggle for our future. There isn't a price you can offer a man and woman to sell the job of their sons and daughters." Calling on other workers to join in strike action Scargill said, "We demand your physical industrial action.

"We have had over 4,000 arrested, 1,300 injured, and two have died," he continued. "Two have been killed fighting for their right to work. From the moment this happened, to those in the power and electrical industry I say to you, not a one of you should have gone to work."

Violence baiting of young fighters

Much has been made by the media about violence on the picket lines. The big-business press continually condemns "the shenanigans of hooligans," trying to place the blame for the violence on the young rebels who are fighting for their jobs and human dignity. But the fact is that strike-

want rail workers and miners out [on strike] at the same time. That is general knowledge among rail workers and that is why we are supporting the strike."

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is "nothing but a criminal" for what she is doing to the miners, Stone told me. "She wants us pushed back to the Victorian Age," he said. "But we cannot have bloody millionaires running this country!"

Stone is proud of the solidarity the rail workers have extended to the miners, but he knows the battle is not yet over. The government remains determined to break the strike.

"We in the NUR have stopped coal from going into the Llanwern steel plant," Stone explained. "But trucks of up to 150 in a convoy are going in 3 to 4 times a day." Each convoy carries the equivalent of one trainload.

"The government has lifted the speed limits for these trucks," said Stone. It is spending hundreds of thousands of pounds a day on this one effort to break the strike. "Much more than settling with the miners would cost," adds Stone. "But the Transport and General Workers Union [which organizes many truckers] will stop that soon I hope," Stone told me.

"If the miners lose, we all lose," said Stone. He urged me to tell U.S. rail workers that the NUR's motto is "workers of the world unite." That slogan "has never been as important as it is today," he said.

Joe Swanson is a longtime member of the United Transportation Union.



G.M. Cookson

British women are in forefront of miners' battle. Strike has become a social struggle in defense of interests of all British working people.

breaking action by thousands of cops is the real source of the violence.

Scargill answered the charges saying he "would not be a party to condemning those magnificent young men that are fighting for their lives and futures."

He told of a young delegate at the NUM's recent national conference who said, "When the chant goes up, 'Here we go! Here we go!' what we are really saying is 'Here I am!' We are proclaiming our dignity and rights as human beings."

At the very beginning of the rally banners were placed at the front of the stage. In the center stood the NUM banner. Placed on one side was the Agcroft strikers' banner. The crowd broke into tumultuous applause as the women placed their banner on the opposite side.

Women are playing a central role in this strike. From organizing food kitchens to organizing picket lines, the miners' wives, mothers, sisters, and friends have been key to stopping the shipment of coal and swaying public opinion to support the miners.

Scargill captured the feeling in the coal fields when he said, "women have recognized the power that belongs to them and they've taken their rightful place alongside of the men."

Added Labor MP Tony Benn, "Wom-

en have discovered the powers that will carry them forward to full rights for women in this country."

One of the main chants in the coal fields is "Maggie, Maggie, Maggie. Out! Out! Out!" Benn observed that the miners' struggle is against more than Thatcher and her puppets on the National Coal Board.

Thatcherism and capitalism

"What is wrong in Britain," he stated, "isn't Thatcherism, but capitalism. It isn't the individual — Thatcher — but this system that is based on profits. We need to build a socialist and democratic society, so that those who create the wealth own and control it."

The speakers and the audience of workers seemed confident that the miners are on the road to victory. But the battle is not yet over. The stakes are still high. It is clear that the mine workers are in the forefront of the fight for the future of the British working class — and working people the world over.

Kathy Mickells is a miner employed by U.S. Steel in Pennsylvania. Dave Ferguson is a miner at Kitt Energy in West Virginia. Both are members of the United Mine Workers of America.

British miners reaffirm nat'l strike

Continued from front page

and file a degree of loyalty, commitment and dedication to principal that has roused admiration around the world." He paid particular tribute to the young miners and their wives.

Delegates gave a prolonged standing ovation to train drivers' leader Ray Buckton, who gave greetings to the conference. Miners gave glowing tributes and messages of solidarity to the dockers and seafarers who have backed the strike with their own strike action against government attacks.

The miners' resolve to bring the government to its knees was hardened by a blatant intervention into the union by the High Court on the eve of the conference. Following an appeal from a group of scab miners in Nottinghamshire, the High Court ruled that the NUM's special conference could not pass rule changes that would allow a uniform national system of disciplining NUM members who break union rules.

This rule change had been in preparation for the last two years and delegates were

concerned not to delay its implementation further. They want to be able to deal with scabs who have crossed their picket lines. So the conference defied the court injunction and passed the rule change by 2 to 1. "I am not in contempt of my miners," said Scargill, tossing the court decision aside, "that is the important thing." He added, "Through the police, the judiciary, [and] the social security system, the full weight of the state is being brought to bear upon us in an attempt to break this strike."

But with the mounting support of unionists from other industries in Britain, and with the government and economy in crisis, delegates at the conference returned to the picket lines with renewed confidence. The NUM journal headlined its conference report with: "The cracks are showing," next to a cartoon of a crumbling statue of Thatcher. It is with this confidence that NUM representatives resumed talks with the Coal Board on July 18.

Subscribe to
the Militant

Why British rail workers back miners

BY JOE SWANSON

SOUTH WALES, Britain — Before traveling to Britain, I had heard a lot about the growing solidarity among working people here for the coal miners strike. As a U.S. railroad worker I was particularly interested in finding out what the British railroad unions were doing to help. From what I saw, the U.S. rail unions can learn a lot from our brothers and sisters in Britain.

I talked to Les Stone, the local secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) in Cardiff, South Wales. "We aren't hauling any coal," he told me, "and we won't take coke into the steel mills."

Stone has been a rail worker since 1941. "As a railroad man I depend on the miners," he explained. "Ninety percent of all goods hauled are coke, coal, and steel." He sees his union's support for the miners strike as basic working-class solidarity. The NUR, he told me, has contributed £50,000 [£1 = U.S. \$1.30] and the union that organizes the train drivers has donated another £5,000.

The government's job-cutting plans aren't aimed only at miners in the nationalized coal industry, Stone explained. In 1983 the British government wanted to impose a "productivity" agreement on the railroad. They intended to bring many train crews in the yards down to one person. This would have eliminated many jobs.

"The government gave up when the NUR fought it," said Stone. "The government didn't push it because they didn't

\$17 million more for Somozaists

Cloaked in a smokescreen of fraud and deception, Washington is moving ahead step by step in its resolute war against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions.

On July 17, it was disclosed that Washington has sent the aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy* into the waters off the eastern coast of Nicaragua.

An 85,000-ton warship, the *Kennedy* carries 85 bomber and fighter planes.

Its last assignment was in Washington's offshore aggression against Lebanon.

Brass hats and politicians from the repressive regimes in El Salvador and Honduras are among those who have been invited aboard to watch the bombers and fighter planes practice doing their number.

Meanwhile, there is further confirmation of what a hoax was perpetrated by Congress in June, when it didn't pass a bill for more funds to the CIA-led mercenaries attacking Nicaragua. Democratic leader Thomas O'Neill declared the vote "should bring to a close U.S. support for the war in Nicaragua."

But the vote was a cover-up for the bipartisan escalation of the war. The latest voyage of the *John F. Kennedy* is one example.

Now, it seems, "private" sources are chipping in to help Washington's war.

Right-wing U.S. outfits are shipping "relief" to Sal-

vadoran and Nicaraguan "refugees." Totalling an estimated \$17 million so far, the "relief" consists of boots, uniforms, food, and medicine for the Salvadoran government forces and for the Nicaraguan *contras*, as the U.S.-backed invaders are called. This gives the CIA \$17 million more for weapons, ammunition, etc.

Participants in the "relief" effort include such extreme rightists as the Christian Broadcasting Network and *Soldier of Fortune*, a magazine by and for mercenaries.

How do they deliver \$17 million worth of supplies to Central America?

Simple. By U.S. military carriers.

The material is stored at military bases around the country and shipped south by Navy ships and planes.

But perhaps some of the food and medicine is for legitimate civilian relief?

Not according to the Pro-America Education Foundation, which is asking for medical supplies from pharmaceutical firms. Their solicitation letter explains they're "joining forces to raise medical supplies for the Central Americans battling Communist aggression."

Soldier of Fortune's "civilian" medical aid includes emergency medical training for the crews of Salvadoran government gunboats.

All of this without a peep of protest from the Democrats and Republicans in Congress, who supposedly ended the war a few weeks ago.

Solidarity with Salvador unions

A wave of labor protests, including major strikes, has hit El Salvador (see page 6). The U.S. big-business media has consciously blacked out this news. It remains preoccupied with promoting the lie that the cause of human rights and democracy is on the march under the leadership of the U.S.-installed Salvadoran president, José Napoleón Duarte.

The action of Salvadoran workers tells a different story. Unionists are stepping up the fight against the anti-labor policies of Duarte's repressive government. Radio stations controlled by the freedom fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have hailed the struggles of these workers and the important victories they have scored.

Now is the time to increase efforts to extend solidarity to these heroic workers. The U.S. labor movement should take the lead, but all who oppose U.S. intervention in Central America can respond. An important beginning will be to get the truth out about the situation facing Salvadoran workers.

The Salvadoran unionists, like all those who are fighting for freedom in El Salvador, continue to do so under conditions of harsh repression. The death squads continue to operate, and many unionists and other fighters remain locked in the regime's prisons where they are victims of torture and inhuman conditions.

Recently the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador called attention to this fact. The committee includes 21 interna-

tional officers of U.S. unions. It has called for renewed efforts to win the release of 10 leaders of the Salvadoran Union of Hydroelectrical Workers of the Lempa River (STECEL) who have been jailed in El Salvador's notorious Mariona prison for four years, after leading a nationwide strike protesting repression against their union and others. The STECEL leaders have been starved and beaten, and their families threatened with death.

A May 2, 1984, letter signed by Jack Sheinkman, committee cochair and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Secretary-Treasurer, urges U.S. unionists to pressure the U.S. and Salvadoran governments to win the release of the STECEL leaders.

The May convention of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the fifth largest AFL-CIO union, voted to oppose "all direct or indirect U.S. military intervention in Central America, including aid to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries and the CIA campaign of economic destabilization of Nicaragua."

The adoption of these positions was the result of determined efforts by SEIU convention delegates. By the last day of the gathering, some 275 delegates were wearing "U.S. Out of El Salvador" buttons. Two local SEIU officers who had recently visited Central America presented a slide show on their trips to an audience of 75 delegates.

The SEIU convention action should be emulated by other unionists.

Step up solidarity with the working people of Central America!

U.S. excludes Sinn Féin leader

Determined to prevent working people in this country from learning the truth about the Irish freedom struggle, the State Department has denied a visa to Gerry Adams, a prominent Irish freedom fighter.

Adams is a central leader of Sinn Féin, the principal political party fighting for an independent, socialist Ireland. He was recently elected to the British Parliament by partisans of Irish freedom in Belfast, capital of British-occupied Northern Ireland.

Adams had been invited here to address the national convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the largest Irish-American organization in this country.

The pretext for the July 9 denial of a visa to Adams was that Sinn Féin supports "terrorism." How? By standing in political solidarity with the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which opposes the British occupation forces in Ireland's northern six counties.

Surely there is plenty of terrorism in Northern Ireland. But responsibility for that terrorism rests, not with the IRA, but with the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London.

Its heavily armed troops remain garrisoned in Northern Ireland to perpetuate British imperialist rule. Those hated occupation forces are the instigators of the bloodshed.

Republican and Democratic administrations alike have frequently barred visitors whose political views they decided should not be heard by the people of this country — especially those who oppose U.S. wars abroad. Washington's immigration policy is an extension of its foreign policy.

Recently, Tomás Borge, a central leader of the Nicara-

guan government, was denied a visa even though he had been invited to lecture here by several major educational institutions.

Earlier, the door was slammed shut on Rubén Zamora, a leader of the liberation forces in El Salvador.

Gabriel García Márquez, one of the most distinguished literary figures in the Americas, has also been excluded. García Márquez is a partisan of the Cuban revolution and an opponent of imperialism.

Occasionally — but not very often — some rabid right-winger is denied a visa to show the government is "even-handed" in its exclusionary policy.

The naked hypocrisy of that posture was indicated with the recent granting of a visa to Roberto d'Aubuisson, the Salvadoran right-wing killer. His visa came shortly after his gang unsuccessfully plotted the assassination of the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador.

Gerry Adams made a cogent point on the denial of his visa. "This comes as no surprise," he observed, "given the military ties between Margaret Thatcher's and Ronald Reagan's governments."

The State Department exclusion of Adams was sharply assailed by the inviting organization, the Ancient Order of Hibernians. It branded the action "a miscarriage of justice and a mockery of democratic values."

For sure. Such political exclusion is a two-sided weapon. It denies the people of this country the right to hear views from abroad. And that, in turn, is used to buttress the drive to curb the expression of antiwar and other domestic dissenting views.

SWP ran woman V-P in 1948 on first national ticket

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

While 1984 may be the first year in which a U.S. capitalist political party has nominated a female vice-presidential candidate, it is by no means the first time a woman has run for this office.

The Socialist Workers Party has a long tradition of calling upon women fighters to lead its national election campaigns. This began in 1948, the first year the SWP fielded a presidential ticket. Farrell Dobbs, the SWP presidential candidate, was joined by vice-presidential

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

candidate Grace Carlson. Like Dobbs, Carlson had been imprisoned during World War II as one of the 18 defendants framed-up in the Minneapolis Smith Act case for opposition to that imperialist war and support for labor's right to speak out against it.

In the following three presidential campaigns, Dobbs' running mate was Myra Tanner Weiss. In 1972 the SWP nominated Linda Jenness as the party's first female presidential candidate. In 1976 and 1980, Willie Mae Reid, a Black woman fighter, and Matilde Zimmermann, were SWP vice-presidential candidates. In the current election, Puerto Rican feminist Andrea González is the socialist candidate for that office.

The SWP's nomination of women for public office, on the national and local level, is a recognition of the fact that women fighters are among the leaders of important social struggles — including the fight for the liberation of women.

What has been most important about the SWP candidates, both women and men, has been the program and strategy they have campaigned for. Unlike Geraldine Ferraro and other Democratic and Republican candidates, male and female, SWP candidates have consistently urged working people to rely on their own power to fight for their own interests.

The SWP's 1948 campaign set a good example. The July 12, 1948, issue of the *Militant* announced in a front page headline reporting on Dobbs and Carlson's nomination, that the socialist candidates "Call for a workers and farmers government as the only answer to Wall Street war-makers."

The same *Militant* carried the national election platform of the Dobbs-Carlson campaign. It pointed to imperialist war as the number one danger facing working people. It demanded: "Withdraw all troops from foreign soil! For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! . . . Full solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of workers and farmers in all lands."

The SWP candidates called for an end to all forms of racist discrimination. They opposed the attacks on the democratic rights of the labor movement such as the Taft-Hartley Act, which had just been passed by Democrats and Republicans in Congress. They urged, "Wipe out discriminatory immigration policies and open the doors of the U.S. to refugees."

"Millions of women," the platform explained, "bear the burden of a double oppression. Exploited and abused just as all workers, they are also discriminated against, and often denied jobs in industry as well as having the burden of the home thrust upon them."

Later in 1948 an article in the *Militant* put forward a political explanation of the fight for women's rights that retains its full validity today.

"The solving of the problem of women's rights is similar to the problem of winning emancipation for other oppressed sections of the population. It can only be done by women organizing themselves to fight for their rights and aligning themselves with the great progressive movements in our society. Women — like the oppressed Negro people and minority groups — must certainly get into politics to win their rights. But no more than other oppressed groupings can they win these rights by supporting the parties of capitalism. Women can emerge as a political force only by working for the creation of a new political party of the working people, representing and responsive to their interests."

In her speech accepting the SWP nomination, broadcast on national radio, Carlson addressed herself to the fight against racist oppression and explained that the fight for Black rights "does not mean merely voting at election time. . . . It also means action — organized protest by groups, organizations, and whole communities."

The SWP explained that its election platform, addressed to all working people, was much more than a set of electoral proposals. Rather " . . . it is also a program of action to unite and guide the struggles of the workers on a year-round basis. Its effectiveness depends . . . on the extent to which it receives support from the masses in their daily struggles in the factories, in the unions, etc. Its aim is to organize and mobilize the working people for the part they are destined to play in the march to a better world."

Ky. unionists organize support for Toledo UAW

BY BOB QUIGLEY

Workers at the Bendix truck parts plant in Frankfort, Kentucky, have been following the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14 strike against AP Parts in Toledo, Ohio, with great interest.

When the strike was first reported on the national news, with accounts of the May 21 cop attack on a mass

subscribing to the *Militant*. The *Militant* would be brought into work each week and left on work benches where different workers could come by and read about the strike and other issues. People were impressed by the *Militant*'s honest coverage of the strike.

Because of a united resistance to Bendix's concession contract, the company was forced to back down and a contract without forced overtime was signed at the beginning of June.

A layer of workers here remained interested in carrying out a solidarity campaign with the AP Parts strikers. After talking to UAW members in Toledo, we asked them to send us strike support buttons.

Money collected for the buttons goes into a strike fund. A short fact sheet, entitled "Would you like this to happen to you?" was printed, and supporters told workers about the strike and collected donations for the buttons.

The response was very encouraging, with more than 100 buttons being distributed in this plant of less than 550. Many workers could be seen wearing their AP Parts Strike buttons along with their own union button. The suggested donation for the button was \$1, but several supporters contributed more. One shop steward started to

take the buttons around personally to get donations.

"The most important thing is to get people aware of what the companies are trying to do to the unions and to try to get people to stick together to fight back against union-busting. Many people don't think that what happens in Toledo affects us here in Frankfort, but it does," explained one of the strike supporters.

From the beginning of this campaign supporters of the UAW strikers sought to involve the Allied Industrial Workers. Union officials were very cooperative and now more buttons have been ordered for distribution by the shop stewards.

The workers who started this campaign are very happy with the results. Hundreds of workers in Frankfort, Kentucky, now know about this important strike by the UAW in Toledo. Workers were given a chance to respond to this union-busting campaign, and they responded enthusiastically.

Unionists in other cities can get these buttons by writing to UAW Local 14, 5411 Jackman, Toledo, Ohio, 43613.

Bob Quigley works at Bendix in Frankfort, Kentucky, and is a member of the Allied Industrial Workers.

UNION TALK

picket line, some workers here immediately saw that the Toledo strike was important to their own struggle against a concession contract.

The Allied Industrial Workers at Bendix was being offered a new contract that included forced overtime and other changes in the work rules. Forced overtime would mean that the company could lay off some workers and force the rest to work long hours. Many thought the company wanted to force a strike to bust the union, so they were very interested in the union-busting campaign by AP Parts.

A few workers started to follow the strike regularly by

Nicaragua: 'now we're encouraged to lead unions'

This week's "Women in Revolt" is a guest column by Lee Martindale. Martindale is on the editorial board of *Perspectiva Mundial* and traveled to Nicaragua last November on a tour sponsored by *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* Tours.

On the wall of the workers' cafeteria at the TEXNICA plant in Nicaragua's capital city of Managua hangs a large wooden sign with a quote from Lenin: "The proletariat cannot achieve full freedom without winning complete freedom for women."

During the Nicaraguan people's war of liberation, which defeated the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anas-

tasio Somoza in 1979, the plant was sacked, bombed, and burned. Subsequently, a handful of workers began on their own to fix it up and get it running. By November 1983, when I visited with a tour group of U.S. workers, the plant employed 1,200 workers and produced 23,000 yards of cloth a day.

One-third of the workers are women. Several of the women who met with us on behalf of the union's executive board explained how, as a result of Nicaragua's revolution, they were winning their freedom as women and as workers.

The plant has a store which distributes basic food products at fixed prices. There's a free clinic with three nurses and two doctors on staff — a gynecologist as well as a general practitioner.

Women who don't have someone to look after their children in the evenings are put on days until they can work it out. In the future, the union plans to set up a Child Development Center in the plant, which will be open 24 hours a day.

Pregnant women are given light duty and put on days, and they get two months paid maternity leave before and after the birth of their children.

One of the women explained: "We were never allowed before to participate in making decisions. Now we're encouraged to become part of the union leadership." Decisions about production at the state-owned plant are made jointly by the administration and the union. AMNLAE, the Nicaraguan women's organization, has a chapter in the plant and a representative on the union's executive board.

Women won the leading role they play in Nicaragua in the course of the struggle against Somoza, and in the constant struggle since 1979 to rebuild the country and defend their gains from the U.S. government's economic, political, and military aggression.

The women at TEXNICA also play an important role in these efforts. Workers guard the plant against sabotage or attack before and after their shifts. Women in the plant have been motivated to take on jobs that have tradition-

ally been done by men in order to help in the production and defense efforts.

One hundred eighty-nine women from the plant are members of the Sandinista Peoples Militias. Eighteen are in the reserve battalions of the army, and some had been mobilized to go to the front. The women also participate in public health brigades and the work of their neighborhood defense committees.

Meeting these women gave us a glimpse in action of what AMNLAE leader Magda Enriquez described on her U.S. tour in February: "For us, this is the practice of democracy. When we the women decide we need a hospital to deal with specific gynecological problems, and we get that hospital, we are practicing democracy."

"When we are able to vaccinate 200,000 children over a weekend and eradicate whooping cough, measles, and polio for the last two years using volunteers, we are building democracy. When the people teach the people how to read and write, we are building democracy."

This is what the U.S. war against Nicaragua is out to destroy.

To take just one example: the attacks by counterrevolutionaries armed, organized, and financed by Washington have destroyed 17 health centers. Fifteen health workers have been killed, 11 wounded, and 13 kidnapped.

We need to defend the gains of our Nicaraguan sisters by building solidarity with Nicaragua and opposition to the U.S. war there. In addition, we should follow their example — by leading the fight in this country to replace the government of the imperialists with a government of workers and farmers. That's how we'll win our liberation, too.



WOMEN IN REVOLT

Pat Grogan

One-third of the workers are women. Several of the

LETTERS

57th mine death

[Louise Armstrong is a laid-off coal miner from U.S. Steel's Morton mine in West Virginia.]

He had a warm sense of humor. He helped me conquer the shuttle car.

"You can do it," he'd say. Never hinted at doubts. And then he'd watch out for me.

"How many buggies did you get?" he'd shout as I dumped coal onto the belt line. He'd carefully check out any mechanical failure; tried for weeks to get me a headlight one time. He didn't want anyone hurt.

He never wanted to work in the mines. He was an auto mechanic, had his own garage and helped out some of the guys on layoff, fixing their trucks or putting them to work.

Working in the mines was simply a practical matter. He had a family to support and the garage just didn't make ends meet.

Reminds me of something my mining school teacher said before I ever went underground.

"There was a saying in the mines when I was younger. It tells you how the coal operators think. It went like this: 'Kill a mule, buy another one; kill a man, hire another one.'"

Some people think those days are past; they couldn't be more wrong.

Jerry, age 37, U.S. Steel mine electrician, was killed last week underground. He was pinned by a buggy he was repairing. The 57th mine fatality in 1984.

Jerry was the best kind of union brother.

I'll be thinking of him when the national coal contract expires this fall.

No more backward steps!

Louise Armstrong
Charleston, West Virginia

Gould on eugenics

The July *Natural History* magazine has a refreshing and materialist analysis of the eugenics movement (for compulsory sterilization) by Stephen Jay Gould.

He points out that by the 1930s more than 30 states had passed laws allowing forced sterilizations of people under the state's care for "crimes" of alcoholism, drug addiction, blindness, deafness, and social and sexual "deviation."

In 1927 the Supreme Court upheld the famous Virginia sterilization bill in the case of *Buck vs. Bell*. This was a blatantly anti-woman and anti-working-class ruling. Tens of thousands of working people were forcibly sterilized, many for being "tramps and paupers." It was used against immigrants in particular, as well as "lewd and immoral" women. Gould refutes, through

thorough statistical evidence, the lunacy of the "three generations of imbeciles" theory that was used to justify sterilization. This issue resurfaced in 1980 when it was revealed that the Lynchburg, Virginia, hospital, which had sterilized Carrie Buck, had performed a total of more than 4,000 sterilizations as late as up to 1972.

Gould's article is fascinating and should be read in light of recent antiwoman and antiworker legislation coming from the capitalist courts.

Mark Friedman
Toledo, Ohio

Soldier of Fortune

My eye was recently caught by a colorful magazine with a banner headline, "Grenada: One We Won." The magazine, *Soldier of Fortune* (SOF), turns out to be a self-proclaimed fighter against communism and a cheerleader for the Pentagon, right-wing dictatorships, and mercenaries.

Inside was an article entitled the "Grenada Papers: SOF Scores Intelligence Coup."

The so-called intelligence coup was a bust. The supposedly secret information had been common knowledge, at least to anyone with the slightest familiarity with the Caribbean and the recent history of Grenada. Yes, the Point Salines Interna-

tional Airport was being built with the help of Cubans.

Yes, all types of aid agreements, including military, had been negotiated and signed by the government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

And yes, many people from around the world, including the United States, were living in Grenada and working in various capacities to build a new, free Grenada.

The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada never tried to hide its association with other nations and political movements.

Every issue of the *Free West Indian*, the former national newspaper of Grenada, contained articles about the activities in Grenada that solidarized with the struggle in El Salvador, the African liberation movements, and the revolutions in Nicaragua and Cuba.

Opposition to the invasion really bothered these hoodlums.

While the editorial in *Soldier of Fortune* cheers for more invasions, specifically in Nicaragua and Cuba, the Pentagon knows only a bloodletting on the scale of Vietnam or greater is what awaits the American military intervention.

Clearly this would be unacceptable to the American people. And of course every opponent of these

war policies must constantly remind the Reagan administration that they will indeed not tolerate a single soldier, not a single cent for an American inspired war in the Caribbean or Central America.

Steve Beumer
Detroit, Michigan

Correction

In last week's *Militant* the photo caption accompanying the article "U.S. socialist candidate addresses Dominican unionists" contained an error. The general secretary of the Dominican General Workers Federation was misidentified. His name is Julio de Peña Valdez.

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

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

49,500 workers strike N.Y. hospitals

BY GERRY KERR

NEW YORK CITY — Chanting "No contract, no work," "They say giveback — we say fightback," and "Hey, hey, hey — 1199 is here to stay," 46,000 members of District 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Workers Union took to the streets here on July 13. Picket lines went up at 27 of New York City's private hospitals and three nursing homes in the face of an 11th hour contract offer by management that union Pres. Doris Turner characterized as "an insult."

The strikers were joined July 16 by workers at three Long Island hospitals and 11 more nursing homes, bringing the total number of workers involved to 49,500. The majority of strikers are Blacks, Latinos, and women. In some hospitals, registered nurses have joined the pickets with a sympathy strike of their own, refusing to work 12-hour days as strikebreakers.

The workers represented by District 1199 had remained on the job without a contract since June 30. The strikers are demanding a wage increase of 10 percent per year for the next two years and every other weekend off for all hospital and health care workers covered by the proposed contract.

The union represents most of the "non-medical" employees — orderlies, laundry workers, maintenance people, clerical workers, X-ray and lab technicians, and others who staff the private hospitals and nursing homes.

Although the big-business media has made much of the relative handful of social workers with masters degrees belonging to the union who can earn up to \$33,962 per year, the vast majority do not receive anywhere near that amount. Dishwashers, for example, are paid \$7.33 per hour. Having every other weekend off has been a goal of hospital and nursing home workers here for many years.

Instead of conducting serious negotiations with the union bargaining committee, the hospitals and nursing homes spent months stockpiling supplies and drawing up emergency plans so they could present a facade of "business as usual" during a strike.

Faced with the union's July 13 strike deadline, the hospital and nursing home owners finally came out with an offer that was virtually certain to be rejected: a 4 percent wage increase, which wouldn't take effect until October with a second 4 percent increase in October 1985.

Negotiators for the hospitals and nursing homes refused to take up in a serious way the workers' demand for every other weekend off, claiming instead that a



Striking hospital workers picketing in New York. Union is fighting for 10 percent pay hike and every other weekend off.

guaranteed total of 26 weekends off per year, with scheduling in the hands of management, was adequate. The chief negotiator for the hospitals and nursing homes smugly proclaimed that the wage offer is "reasonable by any standard."

But according to union spokespersons, since the wage increase proposed by management wouldn't take effect until October, coupled with some givebacks hidden in the proposal, the net effect would be a wage increase of barely more than 2 percent above the old contract. Said union president Turner, "The offer was so insulting, given the fact that the managers already have taken what they want from the top and are now simply trying to balance what's left on the backs of our workers."

At the St. Luke's-Roosevelt hospital complex in Manhattan, for example, hand-lettered signs reading "2% don't pay the rent" expressed the workers' bitterness.

Having provoked the strike in the first place, thus jeopardizing the care of 22,000 patients — approximately 5,000 of whom are elderly nursing home residents needing constant attention — the hospital and nursing home bosses are attempting to shift the blame for jeopardizing patients onto the backs of the hospital and health care workers.

The bosses are getting plenty of help in their effort from the city's big-business media and from the office of New York State Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo.

News accounts of the strike routinely in-

clude the claim that the institutions involved, while private, are non-profit. This is a distortion of the facts. The profits made are siphoned off through lucrative salaries for the top hospital administrators, and fabulous profits to the drug companies and manufacturers of hi-tech medical equipment and other supplies. The hospitals are also an essential source of income for private physicians, whose fees seem to be limited only by what the traffic will bear.

During the weekend of July 14-15, the *New York Times* carried cheery "business as usual" stories with photographs of hospital and nursing home supervisory personnel supposedly happy to be working 12 hour a day ladling food and mopping floors out of an alleged concern for the patients. Since it is precisely the members of District 1199 who do the vast bulk of this work in the hospitals and nursing homes, it certainly is not possible for the relatively small number of supervisory people to adequately care for the patients and attend to all the other essential work required.

On Monday July 16, as additional health care establishments were struck, the tone grew more somber. While New York Governor Cuomo was delivering the keynote address at the convention of the Democratic Party in San Francisco, Lt. Gov. Alfred DelBello, acting on Cuomo's behalf, was hinting ominously that the state might have to intervene if the strike went on for a "week or more." Using concern for the patients as a pretext, the state might attempt to force the hospital and health care workers back on the job and break the strike.

This strike and the state government's response exposes the real point of the Reagan administration and top Democrats' fake campaign to contain health care costs in this country. It has nothing to do with enabling working people and their families to obtain decent health care in the absence of any national health insurance at a time when medical costs are soaring. Rather, the employers and their government want to increase the medical industry's profits by pushing down the living standards of medical workers.

If the striking hospital and health care workers are defeated, the city and state government and other employers here will surely step up their antiunion attacks. The entire labor movement must rally in support of the strikers and give them maximum solidarity.

Gerry Kerr is a member of the Transport Workers Union Local 100, and the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's 11th C.D.

Coalition hits Md., D.C. antiabortion bombings

BY MARLA PUZISS
AND CAROL CONRADI

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A bomb exploded at the Annapolis, Maryland, Planned Parenthood Clinic early in the morning of July 7. Two people were in the building at the time, but were not injured.

The blast tore a four-foot-square hole in the front of the building and hurled tons of brick hundreds of feet into the street. Nearby windows shattered and cars as far as 450 feet from the clinic were damaged.

This attack came just three days after the July 4 bombing at the National Abortion Federation headquarters in Washington, D.C.

"It is most distressing that this recent violent act is only the latest in a long series of similar attacks against those of us who provide abortion services and who have exercised the constitutional right to receive them," said David John Andrews, executive vice-president of Planned Parenthood of America.

In a statement issued June 6, Andrews announced that Planned Parenthood has joined with other organizations to launch a

program to stop the wave of vandalism, death threats, and firebombings of abortion clinics that are "designed to frighten women away from the exercise of their constitutional rights to privacy and freedom of choice."

"We must not stand idle," Andrews said, "while extremists continue their illegal attacks on abortion services."

Andrews urged a congressional investigation of the attacks.

On Friday, July 13, the Coalition for the Safety of Abortion Clinics held a press conference in Washington, D.C. The coalition, which was formed in response to the July 4 bombing, brings together more than 22 organizations, including local chapters of the National Black United Front; Planned Parenthood; the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); the National Organization for Women; and various other women's, civil rights, and community organizations.

The press conference opened with D.C. City Councilwoman Betty Ann Kane who denounced the attack. Kane is one of the sponsors of a resolution in the city council

condemning the violence and demanding a federal investigation of the bombings.

Also appearing at the press conference was Carolyn Gullatt, associate director of the D.C.-area YWCA, who read a statement in support of the coalition from D.C. Mayor Marion Barry.

Leslie Watkins, executive director of the local ACLU, made the comparison between abortion clinic violence and the racist attacks he witnessed as a civil rights worker in the South in the 1960s and '70s. "I've seen them both," he said, "and there's no difference between bombing an abortion clinic or a Sunday school church in Birmingham." He too called for a federal investigation.

The Coalition announced plans to hold future meetings to demand the federal government intervene to safeguard the right of women to obtain safe, legal abortions.

Joey Rothenberg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Maryland's 7th C.D., issued a statement condemning the bombings. Rothenberg pointed to the government's bipartisan attacks on women's rights, saying that these

"encourage and fuel right-wing violence against women."

"The government's lack of response to the right-wing terror," she said, "has given the green light to those forces willing to use violence to obstruct a woman's right to choose abortion."

A July 14 gathering of supporters of the socialist campaign sent the following message to the Annapolis office of Planned Parenthood:

"Supporters of the socialist campaign, petitioning to put the presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González on the ballot in the District of Columbia, condemn the recent wave of terrorist bombings directed against abortion-related facilities. The socialist candidates solidarize with all defenders of women's rights who oppose these right-wing attacks. Our candidates are running on a platform that calls for full social, political, and economic rights for women — including the right to a safe, legal abortion."

"Supporters of the socialist campaign will actively participate in the newly formed Coalition for the Safety of Abortion Clinics to answer these terrorist attacks."