

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Cuban-Americans in Miami protest new U.S. sanctions against Cuba

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 68/NO. 26 JULY 20, 2004

# Bosses are forced to rehire striking Utah coal miners

## UMWA announces breakthrough in union-organizing battle

‘On toward victory in union election in August,’ Utah miners say

BY ANNE CARROLL AND GUILLERMO ESQUIVEL

HUNTINGTON, Utah—In a major breakthrough for the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) organizing battle at the Co-Op mine here, the union received a draft settlement from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) that orders C.W. Mining Co. to reinstate all of the 75 miners who were illegally fired last September. With most of the Co-Op strikers back to work before mid-July, the chances increase that the UMWA will win the NLRB-mandated union election that will be held sometime in August, workers report.

On June 21, two bosses from the Co-Op mine hand delivered letters to the striking miners giving them an unconditional offer to return to work. The letter stated that workers must let the company know by July 6 if they are returning to their jobs and that they must report to work no later than July 12.

“It’s a victory: we won the right to go back  
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## NATO summit in Istanbul highlights conflicts among imperialist allies

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

At a June 28–29 NATO summit in Istanbul, Turkey, U.S. officials pressed the imperialist military alliance to expand its role internationally, including taking more responsibility for the U.S.-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Washington sought NATO’s commitment to help train the Iraqi military. It made limited progress, however, due to opposition by Paris and Berlin to having NATO troops on the ground in Iraq.

Differences also flared up when U.S. president George Bush pressed for the European Union to admit Turkey into membership. French president Jacques Chirac objected strongly to U.S. “meddling” in European affairs.

Washington did win agreement at the summit to expand the size and scope of NATO-led forces in Afghanistan. It also registered progress in the ongoing restructuring of the armed forces under NATO’s command to be able to deploy troops rapidly around the world.

As the NATO meeting opened, the U.S.-run occupation regime in Baghdad transferred the government to an Iraqi cabinet headed by Prime Minister Iyad Allawi, who was chosen by the outgoing regime. The transfer was organized two days earlier than the previously announced June 30 date in order to coincide with the opening of the Istanbul meeting, an effort designed  
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## Co-Op miners describe advance at Colorado event on Ludlow massacre

BY JESÚS ANDRADE AND DANIELLE LONDON

LUDLOW, Colorado—“Ninety years ago in April we had people die here,” said Bob Butero, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Region 4 director. “They were immigrants and worked in unsafe mines.

“I’d like to say that doesn’t happen in mines today. But in September 2003, miners struck in the small town of Huntington, Utah. They worked for between \$5.25 and \$7.00 an hour and under unsafe conditions. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled this week they were illegally fired.”

With these words, Butero opened the program at a UMWA-sponsored event here to mark the 90th anniversary of the Ludlow massacre. The ceremony was held June 27 at the Ludlow Massacre Memorial.

The monument is dedicated to the 21 miners and family members who were slaughtered during the April 20, 1914, assault by company thugs and state militia-men on a tent camp of coal miners on strike to win union recognition.

About 300 people, including UMWA members and Steelworkers from the region, participated in the event to pay their re-



Militant/Guillermo Esquivel

Above: June 27 meeting to commemorate 1914 massacre of striking miners in Ludlow, Colorado. Strikers from Co-Op mine in Utah were among speakers at UMWA-sponsored event. Inset, from left: strikers Celso Panduro and Bill Estrada, UMWA international executive board member Mike Dalpiaz, and UMWA Region 4 director Bob Butero. Portrait in back shows former UMWA president John L. Lewis.



spects to those who fought and died to build the miners’ union in the western coalfields and to hear about today’s battles.

Fred Lupo, UMWA District 22 president in Price, Utah, chaired the meeting and introduced a group of nine striking Utah miners. The strikers were received with a standing ovation.

Celso Panduro, one of the Co-Op strikers who is on the leadership committee of the UMWA strike, addressed the meeting in Spanish. Bill Estrada, another striker, translated.

“I want to thank Bob Butero and Roy Fernandez for the invitation to be part of  
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## Socialist Workers launch New York campaign

BY PAUL PEDERSON

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party has launched its statewide ticket in New York, and campaigners are reaching out to working people here with the socialist alternative in the 2004 elections. Soapboxing teams have begun hitting the streets in Manhattan’s Garment District, where the campaign center is located. They are leafletting, shaking hands, and exchanging political views with some of the tens of thousands of garment workers and others who stream through this industrial center each day.

“We are presenting something from  
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Militant/Argiris Malapanis (above); Eric Simpson (inset)  
SWP slate in 2004 elections in New York at campaign center in Manhattan’s Garment District June 30. From right, Martín Koppel for U.S. Senate, Dorothy Kolis for U.S. Congress in 16th C.D., Willie Cotton in 15th C.D., Millie Sánchez in 8th C.D., and presidential candidate Róger Calero. Vice-presidential candidate Arrin Hawkins, inset, right, was campaigning at entrance to Point Blank garment factory in Florida that day.

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# Kurdish parties threaten to quit Iraqi interim gov't

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Leaders of Kurdish parties in Iraq have threatened to withdraw from the U.S.-backed interim government if Baghdad nullifies a provision in the interim constitution that grants autonomy to provinces inhabited overwhelmingly by Kurds.

"If the leadership calls on us to withdraw from the government, then we will do so," said Nisreen Berwari, a Kurd who is the Public Works minister in the interim government, according to the June 9 *International Herald Tribune*. "All the struggles we made last year have been lost," she added.

Berwari was referring to the resolution crafted by Washington and London and approved June 8 by the United Nations Security Council. That resolution backed the handing over of sovereignty on June 30 from the U.S.-led occupying forces to the Iraqi interim government. But it did not endorse Iraq's interim constitution, known as the "transitional administrative law" and agreed to in March, which included a clause granting a measure of autonomy to the Kurdish areas.

This provision would effectively give the Kurdish parties a veto over ratification of a constitution, which can be blocked by a majority of any three provinces that oppose it. Kurds constitute a majority in three of the northern provinces. The clause would enable them to defeat any constitution that weakens Kurdish autonomy in the region.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)—the two main parties in the Kurdish areas of northern Iraq—have hitched the future of the Kurdish struggle to the wagon of U.S. imperialism. They backed the U.S.-led war to overthrow the Saddam Hussein regime and have gone to great lengths to assure Washington and Ankara that they have no intention of declaring a separate Kurdish state in northern Iraq. The current conflict, however, shows that whatever alliances the Kurdish leaders make with the occupation forces, the struggle for Kurdish

self-determination remains explosive and a threat to imperialism and to the bourgeois regimes in the region.

The *Tribune* reported that in a letter to U.S. president George Bush, Masoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, leaders of the KDP and PUK, respectively, said they would not participate in the central government in Baghdad, boycott upcoming elections, and bar Iraqi government officials from entering Kurdish provinces if the interim government makes any attempt to nullify the existing autonomy provision.

"Until now, we have not called for a separate Kurdistan, but if the Kurds' rights are not recognized, then we will take political measures that serve the interests of the Kurdish people," said Mulaha Bekhtiyar of the PUK, according to the Associated Press.

Washington refused to include any reference to Kurdish autonomy in the Security Council resolution. The U.S. government opposes the national aspirations of the Kurds, an oppressed nationality of an estimated 25 million people. In addition to Iraq, Kurds live in a territory that also includes parts of Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Armenia.

## Washington is worried

Top U.S. government officials flew to the Kurdish areas to try to assuage Kurdish leaders to stick with Washington, the conflict over the UN resolution notwithstanding.

In a June 17 press conference with Barzani in Irbil, northern Iraq, U.S. deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz said, "The United States stands firmly behind its Kurdish allies and feels the best bet for their future is in a united, democratic Iraq."

Following the meeting, Barzani described Wolfowitz as a "dear and close friend" and thanked Bush for the "great support" his administration has given to the Kurdish people.

Prior to this visit, Iraq's leading Shiite cleric, Ali al-Sistani, has made it clear he also opposed any inclusion of Kurdish autonomy in the UN resolution. Washington has sought the cleric's help in resolving



Reuters/STR

About 20,000 Kurds in the Turkish city of Diyarbakir June 13 celebrated the release from Turkish prisons of Leyla Zana and three other Kurdish leaders. Kurdish national liberation struggle remains explosive in the region, especially Iraq.

armed revolts by Shia groups like that led by Muqtada al-Sadr and his Mahdi Army in central and southern Iraq. In a letter to the UN Security Council, al-Sistani warned that any such reference in the resolution would be "an act against the will of the Iraqi people and will have dangerous results." Leaders of Shia parties, according to the *Tribune*, have repeatedly stated their intention to remove provisions for Kurdish autonomy from the constitution. Adil Abdul Mahdi, the interim government's finance minister and a leader of the one of Iraq's largest Shia-led political parties, said the autonomy provision must be removed, even at the risk of the Kurds leaving the government.

Despite statements by Kurdish leaders that they want to maintain a united Iraq, "popular sentiment for full independence appears to be rising," said an article in the May 19 *Wall Street Journal*. The article noted that 1.75 million Kurds, half of the Kurdish population in the northern region, recently signed a petition demanding a referendum on Kurdish independence.

Kurds have every reason to be concerned about moves against their limited autonomy. In the aftermath of the 1991 U.S.-led war against Iraq, the Kurdish people took advantage of the weakening of the Saddam Hussein regime to press their struggle forward. They held many villages and towns, including the major city of Kirkuk, for a week or more in March 1991. But Washington stood aside as Hussein sent helicopter gunships and heavy armor to crush the Kurdish revolt.

According to the June 20 *New York Times*, thousands of Kurds have begun a drive to reclaim land they were driven from by the Hussein regime in the 1980s. Under the ruling Baath party's "Arabization" campaign,

Hussein's troops destroyed thousands of Kurdish villages and forced Arabs from southern and central Iraq to resettle there. Karim Qadam told the *Times* that 10 years ago Hussein officials forced him to leave his home in the southern city of Diwaniya and move to an evacuated Kurdish village in the north. The regime provided him with "free" farmland. In recent weeks Kurds returned to retake the land. Qadam and his family were forced to move into a bombed out building in Baquba, northeast of Baghdad.

U.S. officials estimate that more than 100,000 Arabs have fled the Kurdish regions. Some 10,000 Kurds have gathered in sprawling camps outside Kirkuk and are demanding to be allowed to enter the city. Kurdish leaders are pressing to make the city, with its vast oil deposits, the Kurdish regional capital. And despite a prohibition in the Iraqi interim constitution, Kurdish government officials are setting up offices and exercising political authority in the newly settled areas, according to the *Times*.

## Kurdish struggle in Turkey, Syria

The Kurdish national liberation struggle is also alive in the Turkish areas bordering Iraq. Some 15 million Kurds live in Turkey.

An estimated 20,000 Kurds rallied in  
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## Publishing schedule

This is a two-week issue of the 'Militant.' The next issue, no. 27, dated July 27, will be mailed to readers July 15.

# THE MILITANT

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# NATO summit

Continued from front page

to influence the summit in Washington's favor.

The NATO meeting was preceded by a European Union summit held near Dublin, Ireland, that was attended by U.S. president George Bush. In a joint statement, heads of state at the gathering pledged the support of the EU powers for a NATO role in training the Iraqi armed forces.

After the Dublin meeting, Bush flew to Istanbul for the NATO summit, which was attended by 26 government leaders. Among them were British prime minister Anthony Blair, French president Jacques Chirac, and Chancellor Gerhard Schröder of Germany.

In announcing their decision to train Iraqi forces, all the governments present—including the French and German officials, who have been critical of the U.S.-led war on Iraq—went through the charade of claiming they were simply responding to the request by a sovereign government in Iraq.

Washington had initially pushed for NATO to deploy troops in Iraq to take over command of the occupation forces currently run by the Polish government, and setting up a NATO command in Iraq.

## French and German objections

The French and German leaders, however, said they would only agree to NATO coordinating military training programs. They also argued for conducting the training outside Iraq, allegedly for security reasons.

Chirac and Schröder insisted there would be no French or German soldiers sent to Iraq. French officials argued that any NATO troops in Iraq would be too closely identified with the U.S. forces. "I do not think that it is NATO's role to intervene in Iraq," the French president said.

On the first day of the summit, U.S.

secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld handed Bush a note from National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice informing Bush the transfer of state authority in Iraq had just been completed. "Let freedom reign!" wrote Bush on the note, during the meeting. Within hours, the exchange was splashed on the front pages of U.S. dailies and other media. The calculated move, however, did not do much toward accomplishing Washington's goals at the summit.

The final agreement was very limited: to begin training Iraqi officers at military schools in Rome and Oberammergau, Germany.

Leading up to and during the war, Paris and Berlin were critical of the timing of the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq and its domination by U.S. forces, arguing for a larger role for the United Nations. The conflict reflected the competing interests between the different imperialist powers, with the French and German rulers worried that in a U.S.-led war they would lose their lucrative trade connections with Iraq and political influence in the Mideast.

In another sharp exchange reflecting the competing interests between Washington and Paris, Chirac criticized the U.S. president for backing the Turkish government's bid to become a member of the European Union, which Paris opposes. Mentioning him by name, he said Bush "not only went too far but went into a domain which is not his own" by urging the EU to give Turkey a firm date to start entry talks.

Ankara has the second-largest military among NATO members, after Washington, and has sided largely with U.S. imperialism in world affairs.

In the end, the NATO leaders issued a joint statement offering "full cooperation to the new sovereign interim government as it seeks to strengthen internal security and prepare the way to national elections



Officials from German and Icelandic governments inspect NATO troops in Afghanistan during June transfer of command of the military section of Kabul's airport from Berlin to NATO. June 28-29 summit decided to boost troop strength from 6,500 to 10,000.

in 2005."

Chirac said, "The return of sovereignty to Iraq is in our view a necessary condition." The French rulers recognize that now they will have to deal with the new Iraqi administration if they are to regain trade relations and influence in that country, which they lost in the aftermath of the Anglo-American assault on Iraq.

At the Istanbul summit the 26 government leaders also agreed to expand the forces in Afghanistan under NATO's command from 6,500 to 10,000 troops. The reinforced units, currently limited to the capital city of Kabul and the northern city of Kunduz, would be deployed to five other northern cities. The rationalization for deploying additional soldiers was that they would provide security for September elections.

In addition, the summit agreed to transfer control of the occupation of Bosnia from the NATO "peacekeeping" force of 7,500

troops to an equal-size European Union force by the end of the year, and to set up permanent NATO diplomatic missions in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

## Progress in transformation of NATO

The most important gains registered by Washington at the Istanbul meeting were the ongoing steps toward transforming NATO into a more agile military alliance that can respond rapidly around the world.

The day before the opening of the summit, Rumsfeld announced at a news briefing in Istanbul that the NATO Response Force was up and running. He said it might be deployed for the upcoming Olympics in Athens, Greece, or for the September elections in Afghanistan.

In addition, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer announced that the imperialist alliance's new Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Defense Battalion, to be led by the Czech government, is now fully operational. The battalion, he said, is a "superb example of how NATO is transforming to deal with the new threats posed by weapons of mass destruction."

Scheffer also announced the opening of a state-of-the-art training center in Poland by the Allied Command Transformation. Headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia. The command is in charge of "standardization, training, concept development, and experimentation," according to the U.S. State Department.

Bush used his first trip to Turkey to strengthen relations with the government of that country, which had been strained during the imperialist war against Iraq. Last year, the Turkish parliament rejected a U.S. request to allow its troops to pass through the country for the invasion of Iraq in order to attack Baghdad from the north simultaneously with the southern invasion launched from Kuwait.

Bush took the occasion to praise the Turkish government as an "Islamic" country that meets with Washington's approval.

The visit by the U.S. president and NATO representatives was met with a protest by about 40,000 people. The Turkish government sealed off sections of Istanbul, flew fighter planes overhead, and deployed 23,000 police in the city's streets.

Meanwhile, in Iraq, Muqtada al-Sadr, a Shiite cleric whose Mahdi Army had clashed with occupation forces in April and May in southern and central Iraq, has now taken a conciliatory stance. In face of military blows by the U.S. occupiers and increasing political isolation, al-Sadr abandoned his insurgency. He condemned a wave of bombings in Iraq that took place leading up to the transfer of authority to the interim regime.

Al-Sadr has recognized the new U.S.-backed government and offered it military assistance. "The Mahdi Army is ready to cooperate actively and positively with honest elements among the Iraqi police and other patriotic forces, to partake in safeguarding government buildings and facilities, such as hospitals, electricity plants, water, fuel and oil refineries, and any other site that might be a target of terrorist attacks," said an order from the Mahdi Army distributed in the Sadr City district of Baghdad, the *Washington Post* reported June 26.

Earlier, after al-Sadr called on his followers to lay down their arms, Bush announced that Washington would not object to the inclusion of the Shiite cleric in the interim government in Baghdad.

# Kurds threaten to quit interim Iraqi gov't

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the newly settled areas, according to the *Times*.

The Kurdish national liberation struggle is also alive in the Turkish areas bordering Iraq. Some 15 million Kurds live in Turkey.

An estimated 20,000 Kurds rallied in Diyarbakir, the largest city in southeastern Turkey, to celebrate the release on June 9 of four Kurdish members of parliament who had been imprisoned for 10 years on charges of collaborating with the armed

Kurdish guerillas led by the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). The European court of human rights has also begun examining an appeal by PKK founder Abdullah Ocalan who was captured and imprisoned in 1999. The PKK was formed in the fall of 1978 by a group of young radical intellectuals at the university of Ankara who were attracted to Maoism.

Kurds danced in the streets of Diyarbakir and waved Kurdish flags and the traditional Kurdish colors of red, green, and yellow, according to an NBC broadcast.

# 1,500 strike Maytag in Iowa

BY JOE SWANSON

NEWTON, Iowa—Some 1,525 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 997 struck Maytag Corp. here June 10. The stoppage followed the refusal by the company, a manufacturer of home and commercial appliances, to budge on its demands for concessions that would greatly increase the cost of medical coverage to workers and cut pension benefits to retirees.

In addition to those working in the plant, the contract covers 700 workers on layoff and 2,000 retirees and surviving spouses.

"Maytag wants a pension plan that is tied to stock market shares through a 401(k) plan," said one striker at the picket line June 27. "After giving 27 years to a company that has made big profits, they want me to live out my life on a 'maybe,'" he said.

At the local union hall, Greg Christy, a member of Local 997's communications committee and a Maytag production worker for 20 years, said, "pensions and health care are big issues in the strike. The average seniority in the Newton plant is 14 years.

"Maytag wants to increase the payment of medical coverage onto the backs of workers that could cost as much as \$4,000 out of their pockets per year," he said.

Pat Teed, president of the UAW local, told the Newton *Daily News* that the "pension plan took a giant step backward" in the company's proposal. "The membership was upset with medical and drug benefits," he added.

With 19,500 employees worldwide, Maytag is the third-largest U.S. household appliance maker, behind Whirlpool and General

Electric. One week before the strike began, bosses at the Newton-based company announced a "restructuring" plan designed to save \$150 million a year and establish an 8 percent operating profit margin in the first quarter of 2005. As a first step, the company announced the elimination of 1,100 jobs from plants in eight cities. The 700 Local 997 members laid off in Newton are victims of an earlier "restructuring."

Newton is a city of 15,000 about 35 miles east of Des Moines. On the road into town, yard signs and shop windows declare solidarity with the strike. Union members say that food and other contributions are coming into the UAW hall for distribution to strikers.

The day this reporter joined the picket, nine members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1526 from Amana, Iowa, were visiting the strike to bring their local's support. The IAM local organizes more than 2,000 workers at a Amana refrigeration plant, which was purchased by Maytag in 2001. Shortly after the deal went through, IAM workers went on strike for 49 days against Maytag demands for a two-tier wage and health plan.

"Workers and their unions in the area have been very supportive from day one, and so have many of the smaller local businesses," said Greg Christy. The local's web site, [www.uaw997.org](http://www.uaw997.org), includes further information about the strike. The union is asking for messages of solidarity and contributions to be sent to UAW 997, 1813 1st Street 'N' Newton, Iowa 50208, Tel. (641) 792-5005.

# Cuban-Americans protest U.S. sanctions against Cuba

BY FEDERICO ARTEMIS AND NORTON SANDLER

MIAMI—Two separate car caravans of Cuban-Americans drove through Little Havana and Hialeah here June 19, honking their horns to protest the latest crackdown by the White House on travel to Cuba and new restrictions on sending remittances to relatives on the island.

Most of the cars had signs taped on them carrying slogans, including: “Bush, see you in November!” “Cubans, defend your right to travel to Cuba!” and, “Ileana, Diaz-Balarts, Martinez don’t have their families in Cuba, I do!” The latter sign referred to Republican members of the U.S. Congress Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Lincoln Diaz-Balart and his brother Mario Diaz-Balart, and Republican candidate for U.S. Senate Mel Martinez. All four are Cuban-American politicians from Florida who have backed the new sanctions against Cuba announced May 6 by U.S. president George Bush.

The measures add to Washington’s economic war on Cuba carried out by Democratic and Republican administrations alike for more than 40 years. They are designed to limit travel to Cuba and increase the financial pressure on the revolutionary government.

Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry told the *Miami Herald* in early June that Bush’s new sanctions will hurt “ordinary Cubans.” If elected president, Kerry said, he would pursue greater international condemnation as a way to bring down the Cuban government.

The two caravans totaling some 300 participants met at La Hermita de la Caridad church in Coconut Grove, where many attended an afternoon mass.

The protest was sponsored by Christian Women in Defense of the Cuban Family, José Martí Foundation, Alianza Martiana, and the Association of Workers in the Cuban Community (ATC). The latter two groups oppose Washington’s policies towards Cuba. The protest included many Cuban-Americans participating in their first protest action in this country.

About 40 people attended a meeting at the offices of Radio Miami the night before the protest. Alianza Martiana president Max Lesnik said one of the goals of the caravan was to pressure the Catholic Church in Miami to oppose the latest measures by the White House. The church has done so in Cuba, he said.

Representatives of organizations and individuals who spoke at the meeting said that the harsher restrictions that go into effect June 30 will further divide Cuban families and make it increasingly difficult to visit the island nation.

The next morning a group of more than 100 protesters assembled in a supermarket parking lot in preparation for a drive down Calle Ocho, or 8th Street, through the heart of Miami’s Little Havana. A slightly larger group assembled in Hialeah.

## Cross-section opposes sanctions

When asked what they thought about the new sanctions, a couple who came from Cuba six years ago and oppose the Cuban government headed by President Fidel Castro said, “These measures will effect regular Cubans.” They declined to give their names. Another participant who has lived for 23 years in the United States, said, “This is just a manipulation by Bush to get votes.” A woman added, “This is a violation of human rights. These measures won’t bring down any government.”

One counter-demonstrator showed up as the caravan started to leave the parking lot, shouting “Vendepatria!” (sellouts of your country). He was wearing a T-shirt of the organization Alpha 66—a counterrevolutionary group that has carried out armed assaults against Cuba. Alpha 66 is also responsible for attacks on individuals in the United States who support the Cuban Revolution or advocate normalization of relations with Cuba.

Many honked in support as the caravan wound its way through Little Havana.

Drivers and passengers in some passing

cars shouted hostile remarks at caravan participants. A few small groups on the street along the caravan route were also hostile to the action. Spanish-language TV Channel 23 later that evening repeatedly showed footage of a man attempting to rip a sign off one of the cars and another man throwing a rock at a passing car.

The Yoruba association, an Afro-Cuban religious organization, showed up at the head of the caravan from Hialeah with a Cuban flag waving from their large, colorfully decorated truck. T-shirts were handed out with the message on the back, “No political games with our families!”

Many caravan participants expressed support for Kerry. As they gathered after the caravan prior to entering the church in Coconut Grove, several chanted, “Cambio, cambio!” (change) and “Kerry, Kerry!”

The action reflected widespread anger and debate among Cuban-Americans here sparked by Washington’s new sanctions. The “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba,” appointed by Bush last October and headed by Secretary of State Colin Powell, submitted the proposals to the White House May 3. Bush announced his support for the measures three days later.

At the church where the caravan converged, Julia Lopez, who has lived in the U.S. for six years, told the *Militant* that the latest measures “are not just, they are dividing the family. The president is doing this to win votes. Law or no law, I’m going to Cuba. The president is making people break the law.”

Damian Diaz, who carried a poster with a picture of his 95-year-old mother, whom he visits annually to celebrate her birthday, said, “I’ll vote for Kerry—he’s not different from Bush but he’s in favor of travel. Bush is making Cubans vote against him.” Diaz said that because of the new regulations he won’t be eligible to travel to Cuba again until mid-2007.

Under the new strictures, travel to the island by those visiting family is limited to one visit every three years, as opposed to the previous limit of once per year. A family visit is also limited to a total of 14 days. Those who stay longer may be fined up to \$7,500.

Cash remittances sent to relatives on the island are now limited to immediate family members such as grandparents, parents, children, and spouses. Aunts, cousins, and other more distant relatives cannot receive such funds. In addition, any members of the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban government are prohibited from receiving

## Court says Ohio imam hid ‘ties to terrorism’

BY CAROLE LESNICK

CLEVELAND—Fawaz Damra, imam of the Islamic Center of Cleveland, was convicted in federal court June 17 on frame-up charges of “concealing his ties to terrorism” on immigration forms in 1994. The jury deliberated for just four hours before finding the Palestinian-born cleric guilty.

No witnesses were called for the defense during the two-day trial. Supporters of the imam attended court proceedings in the Akron courtroom. Damra remains free on bond until his sentencing, which has been set for September 9. He faces up to five years in prison and loss of his citizenship and deportation.

Attorneys for Damra said they will file post-trial motions to have the conviction tossed out on grounds of insufficient evidence. If the judge rejects the motions, they say they will appeal.

The government’s case focused on videotapes that allegedly show Damra raising money for the “Palestinian Islamic Jihad.” Defense attorneys said Damra is not a member of that group and noted that in 1991, the year the tapes were recorded, Islamic Jihad had not yet been placed on the State Department’s list of “terrorist” organizations.

Prosecutors used Jew-hating diatribes by



Militant/Federico Artemis

June 19 rally in Miami against new U.S. government restrictions on travel to Cuba and other sanctions. “Bush: don’t divide the Cuban family,” placard says.

these remittances. The sum travelers may carry to Cuba for their families is reduced from \$3,000 to \$300.

The amount a person can spend for living expenses while visiting a family member in Cuba is now reduced from \$164 to \$50 per day.

According to the new regulations, only one package a month can be sent to a household in Cuba from relatives in the United States. Until now, such packages could be sent monthly to several recipients in a household. In addition, packages can now be sent only to immediate family, not aunts, uncles, and cousins. The only items permitted in such shipments are food, medicines, medical supplies, vitamins, and “receive only” radio equipment. Shipments of clothing and hygiene items like soap and toothpaste are now prohibited.

The new rules, which the Office of Foreign Assets Controls has published in the Federal Registry, include eliminating the “fully-hosted” travel category, under which costs were covered or waived by groups in Cuba. Under previous regulations licensed travelers to Cuba could bring back with them up to \$100 of Cuban merchandise. This is now prohibited, except for informational materials. The amount of baggage permitted is limited to 44 pounds per authorized traveler.

## Varying views on Cuban Revolution

The June 19 protest received widespread coverage in the media, generating more discussion in workplaces in the area. At the Point Blank Body Armor plant in Oakland Park north of Miami, for example, several workers in the recently unionized factory are Cuban-Americans and hold a variety of views about the Cuban Revolution.

Irene Bolaños, a sewing machine operator at Point Blank, told co-workers, “These new measures don’t hurt Fidel Castro. They just hurt our families. I came here so that I could work and send money back to my kid in Cuba so he can have a better life. Why don’t they do

something that affects Fidel instead?”

Flor Amarilla, another worker there, responded to Bolaños. Referring to right-wing Cuban-American politicians like Diaz-Balart and Ross-Lehtinen, she said, “Those mafia scoundrels just want to go to Cuba after Fidel dies and try to get back the properties and businesses they lost. Bush, we’ve got to get him out of office.”

“The new restrictions are completely unjust,” said Virginia Salazar, a sewing machine operator and a leader of the struggle that led to the unionization of the factory. “Even though I can understand the reasons for some restrictions, these new restrictions on travel and on what you can send to your family are completely wrong.”

Lawrence Mikes, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Miami-Dade, issued a statement calling for unconditional opposition to the new regulations and explaining, “This is the latest step in Washington’s more than four-decades-long economic war against Cuba. These policies, designed to overthrow the revolution, have been implemented by Democratic and Republican party presidents alike with the bipartisan backing of the U.S. Senate and Congress.

“What the ruling rich in this country hate and will never accept is the fact that working people took power in that country away from the capitalists and run Cuba in their own interests. Wherever the SWP candidates campaign in the coming months, we will demand an end to Washington’s economic war against Cuba, the right to travel to Cuba free of U.S. government hassle and regulation, and the normalization of relations with the revolutionary government,” said Mikes.

With the deadline for the new measures about to go into effect, the U.S. State Department refused to allow flights to depart to Cuba from Miami International Airport on June 29. Dozen of individuals who had purchased tickets were left stranded. An angry crowd at the airport responded by chanting, “We want to travel! We want to travel to Cuba!”

Damra calling for a holy war against “the sons of monkeys and pigs, the Jews,” as one of their arguments in the conviction. The comments are recorded on videotape.

“I regret saying what I said in that tape because that is not what my faith teaches me, not what civilized society stands for,” Damra later said. But, he added, the remarks “remain protected speech under the First Amendment.”

Prosecutors also said that Damra hid his association in the late 1980s with the Alkifah Refugee Center in Brooklyn, New York, which the government claims was a precursor to al-Qaeda. The center, which recruited volunteers to fight against the Soviet army in Afghanistan in the ’80s, was backed at the time by the U.S. government. Defense attorneys said Damra had nothing to do with the center except to give the group a room in his mosque.

A spokesperson for the Ohio chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Jad Humeidan, told the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* that the jury was influenced by anti-Muslim sentiment since Sept. 11, 2001. “He’s a Muslim. He’s vocal. And he’s an active voice for Palestine,” Humeidan said. “That’s the main reason these charges were even brought. For anyone else, it’s a slap on the wrist.”

Haider Alawan, an elder at the mosque,

said “To us, he is not guilty. I’m stunned. I don’t think the jury focused on the broader picture of what was going on in the world at the time—the brutal occupation by Israel.” According to television coverage of the case, double the number of worshippers attended prayers at the Cleveland mosque on the Friday following the verdict to show their support for Damra, who conducted the service.

A June 21 editorial in the *Plain Dealer* echoed the government’s position. “The likelihood is that Damra will be shorn of most everything: position, honor, citizenship and freedom,” it said. “That may seem too harsh for those who continue to rally around him, but it’s a fair penalty for those who consort with terrorists and their ilk, no matter what their reasons.”

The *Plain Dealer* alleged June 19 that Damra has also been implicated in a money-laundering plot. The paper claimed the government has transcripts of phone calls recorded through wiretaps showing that Damra had a relationship with Sami Al-Arian, a Palestinian opponent of Israeli aggression living in the United States who was suspended from his teaching position at the University of South Florida in Tampa after the September 11 attacks, and framed up and imprisoned in February 2003. Al-Arian’s trial will take place next year.

# Event at Ludlow

Continued from front page

this commemoration of the 1914 massacre of fellow miners who were under the guns of the company," Panduro said. "I am one of the 75 miners unjustly fired on Sept. 22, 2003, by Co-Op. We were working for this company in unsafe working conditions with low pay and no benefits. After nine months on strike we continue to fight with the help of the UMWA, the Catholic Church, the PACE union, the National Union of Mineworkers of the United Kingdom, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, and many other labor organizations throughout the country.

"We find ourselves at a very decisive moment," Panduro continued. "Because of the support we've gained the NLRB told us verbally that the company illegally fired us. We have won the right to have a union election and now the company has been forced to give us our jobs back. They used to say they would never give us our jobs back. We're now discussing the best way to return to work so we can win our union."

The strikers said they received a letter in English and Spanish dated June 21 from managers of the Co-Op mine, which is owned by the Kingston family. "C.W. Mining Co. unconditionally offers you immediate and full reinstatement to your former job without prejudice to seniority or any other rights or privileges you previously enjoyed," the letter says. "To accept this unconditional offer, you must respond to C. W. Mining company, as soon as possible or no later than July 6, 2004, and be on the payroll and back at work no later than July 12, 2004.

"C.W. Mining Company has removed from its files any reference there might have been to any disciplinary action against you arising out of the September 2003 labor dispute and any such action will not be used against you in any way."

## Marching back to work united

Panduro said the strikers will march together to the mine along with supporters the day they report back to work to show the company that the miners remain united and strong.

"But we're also facing an obstacle in the upcoming election—the company union, which has bosses as members," said Panduro. "We have been fighting to get rid of this fake union but the NLRB still rec-

ognizes it, even though it only represents the bosses.

"We have the dates of July 20-22 for a hearing on who will be eligible to vote. The UMWA and the miners, Co-Op, and the NLRB will be part of this meeting. Now we have to pressure the NLRB not to allow Kingston family members or the management to vote. The election may be in August. That's why today we're here asking for your support. This is not only our fight but the fight of all miners who have a common goal," concluded Panduro, to applause.

Mike Dalpiaz, UMWA international executive board member and the union's western regional representative, was the keynote speaker. He announced that the Co-Op strikers will be returning to the job because the NLRB has put down in writing its ruling that the miners were fired illegally. "On July 6, we're going to be at the entrance of that coal mine," he said. "We're going to march to that mine and go back to work!"

Dalpiaz also made special mention of Patti Salazar, president of UMWA Local 8935. The local organizes nurses and hospital workers at the Mt. San Rafael hospital in Trinidad, Colorado. Salazar, a former underground coal miner, Melody Albreski, and four other nurses led a fight for the union at the hospital in the summer of 2000. They won the union election in December of that year and strengthened that victory in the early part of 2001 by winning a closed shop election. The nurses, Salazar said, "chose the UMWA because they were willing to organize the hospital wall to wall. I knew Bob Butero from high school and the UMWA is a well known union in the area." The local voted June 28 to approve their second contract, which includes an across-the-board pay raise.

The nine striking Co-Op miners who made the 10-hour journey from Huntington, Utah, displayed photos of their strike activities next to boards of black and white photographs of Ludlow coal miners in 1914 set up by the event organizers.

"I'm very impressed," said Berthila León, one of the nine strikers from Utah, referring to the Ludlow event. "I ate with an older lady who told me she was born at the camp and whose father was a coal miner during those times. She told me what they lived through. I'd like to know more about their history."

Bob Butero reported on the progress of the project to rebuild the Ludlow Memorial. "The labor community has raised \$80,000



Militant/Guillermo Esquivel

**Co-Op miners gather June 19 at the hall of retired miners UMWA Local 9958 in Sunnyside, Utah, with members of that local and of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 23 from Tacoma, Washington. Sitting in front, from left: James Weddington, ILWU Local 23, and Bill Preston and Mel Stevenson, UMWA Local 9958. Holding the picture is Farrand Green of Local 23.**

to repair the statues of a man, woman, and child," he said. The monument that depicts a miner and a woman with a child in her arms was beheaded in 2003. "Since 1918 the memorial had stood unguarded and unprotected," Butero said. The statue will be rededicated next year for the 91st anniversary commemoration, after painstaking work to rebuild the statue using granite from the original quarry it was built from. Butero thanked the many UMWA locals that took part in preparing the memorial site for the rebuilding project, making special mention of UMWA retirees Local 9856.

Alex "Wolf" Gerardo, a retiree with Local 9856 who has worked in area mines for 20 years before they shut down about 15 years ago, said, "I want to go to Huntington July 6. We've got to support them." Gerardo said he was on strike in 1985-86 for 19 months at Wyoming Fuel. The mine was located 23 miles west of Trinidad.

## The Ludlow massacre

Paul Mendrick, secretary-treasurer of the Colorado AFL-CIO, explained the struggle 90 years ago leading up to the Ludlow massacre. "Nine thousand miners walked out on Sept. 23, 1913, protesting wages of \$1.68 a day," he said. After facing years of deplorable working conditions and the refusal of Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and its owner, John D. Rockefeller Jr., to negotiate, the coal miners voted to strike for union recognition. Their demands included

a 10 percent increase in tonnage rates; the eight-hour day; payment of all narrow and dead work; election of check-weighmen by the miners; and the right to shop at stores and obtain housing not controlled by the company.

The Ludlow massacre took place on the morning of April 20, 1914, when state militiamen and hired company thugs took positions in the hillside overlooking the tent colony of the strikers and exploded two dynamite bombs. The miners, remembering the Forbs tent colony attack on Oct. 17, 1913, that ended in the killing of one miner and a boy being shot nine times, took positions in the arroyos nearby. A 12-hour battle followed and resulted in the death of one boy and two miners at the hands of the company.

Many of the miners, women, and children failed to escape the attack and hid in the cellars and trenches dug under the tent colony offering some protection from indiscriminant shooting at the miners' settlement. Upon orders from their officers the militiamen poured coal oil on the tents and set them on fire. Eleven children and two women died from the arson. A total of 21 workers and family members died in the brutal assault.

As word spread of the massacre, miners, with arms in hand, marched on Ludlow to avenge the deaths of the women, children, and miners. A 10-day rebellion ensued and ended when federal cavalry troops, called by President Woodrow Wilson, arrived on April 30 to put down the miners.

The strike ended Dec. 10, 1914, after 15 months of bitter battles. The miners decided to return to work without union recognition.

Photo displays of the Ludlow strike were shown throughout the monument area. The photos showed the armed defense the miners had organized to take on the company, the notorious Baldwin-Felts detective agency, and the state militia. Photos of Mother Jones, who played a major role helping to organize the union in the coal fields throughout the country during the late 19th early 20th centuries, were also on display. Many of the participants also took a tour of the memorial and the cellar where the bodies of the women and children were found.

Vic Padilla, USWA Local 2102 financial secretary, presented a \$500 donation from the local for the Ludlow memorial reconstruction fund.

Other locals present or acknowledged at the event were UMWA Locals 6417 and 7949 from Raton, New Mexico, and Local 8622 from Helper, Utah.

# Miners: 'On toward victory in union election'

Continued from front page

to work," said striker Domingo Olivias. "All the work we've done up to this point puts us in a good position to win the UMWA inside the mine. We hope the miners who are already working inside will be with us."

"Rather than reporting separately, we will all march together to the mine on July 6 and let the Co-Op bosses know we are coming back united," said Bill Estrada, one of the strike leaders. "We are inviting all strike supporters to Huntington to march with us that day and celebrate. Fifteen retired UMWA members were the first to tell us they will be there. We look forward to doing everything possible to win the union election in August."

On Sept. 22, 2003, 75 coal miners were fired from their jobs at the Co-Op mine, owned by C.W. Mining. They were fired because they had contacted the UMWA about getting a union organized at the mine. The miners were being paid between \$5.15 and \$7.00 an hour with no benefits.

A company union has existed at the mine for many years. Workers have submitted evidence that the officers of this "union" are bosses and are related to the Kingstons, the wealthy family that owns the mine.

The strikers report that the settlement agreement from the NLRB clearly states that any type of intimidation or harassment of pro-union miners by the Co-Op management is illegal. The document states that the agreement must be visibly posted at the mine for 60 days.

This is important because this is what led to the wholesale firings last September, workers say. Prior to that date, the miners had been talking to UMWA organizers about how to get a real union organized at the mine. Bosses began harassing and suspending the miners for this activity. They

had cornered miners alone underground and questioned them about "the meetings they were having with the UMWA."

The bosses also tried to disrupt a meeting the strikers had organized outside the mine, and had threatened workers, most of whom are immigrants from Mexico, with sending the immigration police after them. When they learned of the company threats, the strikers changed the time and location of that meeting. When the miners returned to Huntington after their gathering, they say they saw the bosses standing in front of the old location waiting for the meeting to begin.

The settlement explicitly prohibits any of these practices, workers say. It states that the employers must refrain even from watching the workers, or from giving them the impression they are being watched, while participating in union activities.

On Sept. 23, 2003, the UMWA filed charges with the NLRB stating that all 75 miners were fired illegally for union activity. The national labor board upheld the charge in its ruling.

The NLRB made the decision nine months into the workers' strike, which has continued to win broader support in the labor movement throughout the country.

The miners also reported that the draft settlement includes a back pay order, the exact details of which are being negotiated and may be settled in court. The settlement reportedly states that employees have the right to pursue any legal claims they may have against the company because of loss of wages or other benefits.

Strikers said that as soon as they received the news, they began contacting all the miners who were fired. Many of the miners had taken jobs in other cities and are in the process of driving very long distances back to

Huntington by July 6. A striker who went to Idaho and has been working in the potato fields for several months, for example, informed the strike leadership committee he plans to be back.

Other strikers have gotten jobs at other mines in the Utah area, and a number have indicated they will return to Co-Op.

The NLRB has set a hearing for July 20-22 in Price, Utah, to determine who will be eligible to vote and the time and place of the union election.

After the strikers and their supporters march to the mine office on July 6, everyone plans to meet at the town hall in Huntington for food, refreshments, and a celebration.

For more information, contact the UMWA office in Price at (435) 637-2037 or (435) 650-2019.

Solidarity messages to be read at the rally can be faxed to the UMWA at (435) 637-9456.

## Longshoremen visit Utah miners

BY ANNE CARROLL

PRICE, Utah—Two members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), James Weddington and Farrand Green, came to Utah June 18-19 to get a first-hand account of the nine-month-long strike of the Co-Op miners in Huntington. Following a presentation to the June 10 meeting of ILWU Local 23 in Tacoma, Washington, by two Co-Op strikers on a labor tour in the area, the longshore local voted to send two members to Utah.

When the union brothers arrived and greeted the strikers, they handed them a check for more than \$2,000. ILWU Local 23 had voted to make a \$1,000 contribu-

tion. A few days before Weddington and Green left for Utah, the local organized a barbeque that raised additional funds for the strike.

The first day they were here they attended the AFL-CIO state convention in Salt Lake City along with five Co-Op strikers. On June 19, Weddington and Green were welcomed at a gathering at the hall of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 9958, in Sunnyside, Utah. The retirees local has been one of the strongest backers of the Co-Op strikers. Hot coffee and homemade cinnamon rolls were waiting for everyone as the 15 Co-Op strikers and four

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# SWP presidential candidate tours Iowa

BY KEVIN DWIRE

DES MOINES, Iowa—"Today the Iowa Socialist Workers Party campaign went over our goal in petitioning to get the working-class alternative on the ballot in this state," Mary Martin announced at a June 26 campaign barbecue here.

"We gathered more than 2,600 signatures to put Róger Calero and Arrin Hawkins on the presidential ballot and 2,700 signatures for Edwin Fruit, our candidate for U.S. Senate." That was well above the requirement of 1,500 signatures each, she noted.

Calero, who took part in the event, joined supporters in campaigning that weekend, which capped a five-week petitioning effort. The presidential candidate and his running mate Hawkins have kicked off a national tour, visiting cities across the country where socialist candidates in those areas have been campaigning.

Fruit, a production worker at the Tyson Foods slaughtering plant in Perry, Iowa, and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1149, told those at the barbecue that the socialist campaign is part of the bubbling resistance among militant-minded workers and farmers in the region.

"Our campaign champions the fights by workers like those on strike at Maytag and by meat packers in this region who are standing up to the bosses' assaults on our living and working conditions," he said. Workers at Maytag, members of the United Auto Workers in nearby Newton, are on strike against the appliance manufacturer's takeback demands around health insurance and pensions (see article on page 3).

Lisa Rottach, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in Nebraska, told about a recent campaign trip to northwest Iowa and eastern Nebraska. She spoke with UFCW members at Tyson Foods in Cherokee, Iowa, who recently voted down a concession contract, and with meat packers from the Tyson plant in Dakota City, Nebraska, who said the bosses want concessions in the upcoming contract negotiations.

"At the heart of the Socialist Workers Party campaign is support to workers who are fighting to organize unions," Calero said. "We call for defending the labor movement from the bipartisan assault on workers' rights."

He noted that the National Labor Relations Board, a supposedly neutral federal agency, is currently moving to eliminate the "card check" agreement that requires a company to recognize a union if the majority of workers sign union membership cards.

Calero pointed to a series of articles in the *Des Moines Register* exposing how Iowa officials are using female inmates from the

Mitchellville prison to staff the state liquor distribution warehouse, paying them 37 cents an hour for a 10-hour day. They brag that it will "save taxpayers" \$1.5 million over the next two years.

"Our campaign demands that all those behind bars be paid wages for their labor, that the federal minimum wage be doubled, and that it apply to prisoners as well," said Calero.

Two workers from the Tyson plant in Perry who attended the campaign event wanted to discuss how to strengthen their union to fight the bosses' productivity drive. Last June the company increased the number of hogs processed in the plant from 6,700 to 7,000 in the same eight-hour day.

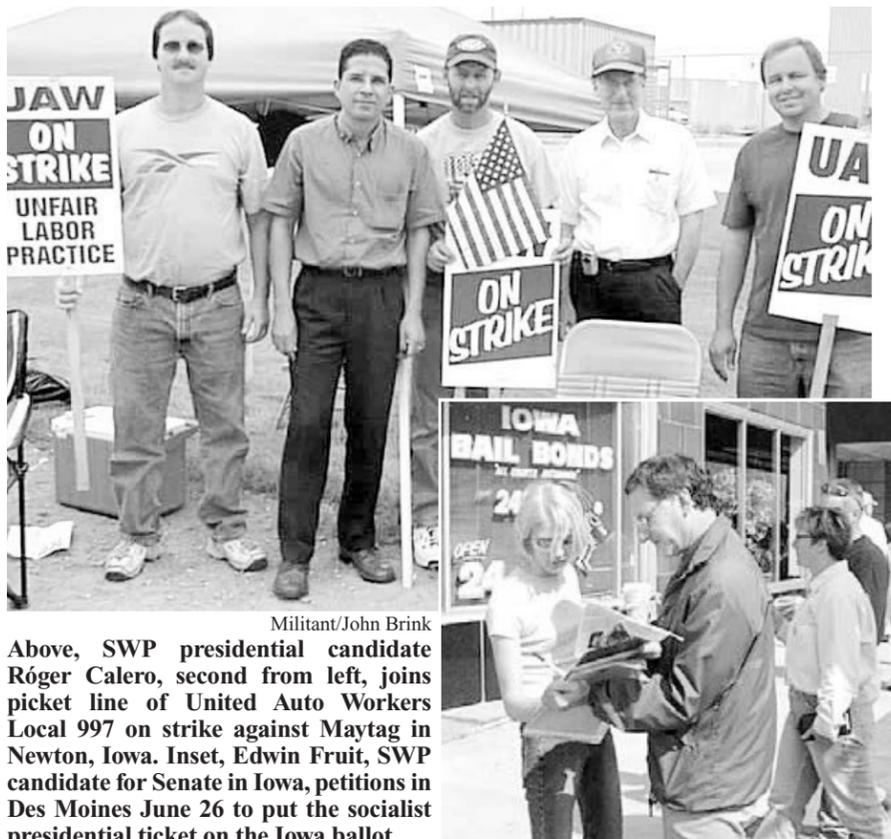
Rigoberto Aguilar, who served as a union shop steward at that plant for some time, said the bosses get away with jacking up the line speed, claiming it is not barred by the terms of the contract, and threaten anyone who speaks up.

Calero cited the example of workers who have used their collective strength to make some gains, like that of garment workers at the Point Blank factory in South Florida who recently won their first union contract.

"We need to learn to use our collective strength," said Aguilar. "This discussion has given me a better idea about what is needed."

Calero visited the UAW picket lines at the Maytag plant on June 27. One of the strikers said he was a hog farmer who was forced off the farm when his banker told him he "couldn't make a go of it."

Many farmers in Iowa face a similar situation. Net farm income in Iowa averaged \$19,000 per farm in 2002—down nearly \$4,400 from the previous year. At the end of 2002, average farm indebtedness in Iowa was \$152,000, with commercial banks hold-



Militant/John Brink

Above, SWP presidential candidate Róger Calero, second from left, joins picket line of United Auto Workers Local 997 on strike against Maytag in Newton, Iowa. Inset, Edwin Fruit, SWP candidate for Senate in Iowa, petitions in Des Moines June 26 to put the socialist presidential ticket on the Iowa ballot.

ing almost half that amount. Since then the number of hog farms in Iowa has decreased by 100, while the number of farms with more than 1,000 head increased by 200. Calero said the Socialist Workers campaign calls for an end to farm foreclosures and for government-funded cheap credit and price supports to guarantee working farmers a secure living.

During a visit to the Tyson plant in Perry, a Sudanese-born worker asked Calero how a small revolutionary party in the United States can grow and have an impact in workers' struggles. Calero showed him a copy of the book *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs and explained the role played by class-conscious vanguard workers when they are part of struggles as they occur and are prepared beforehand.

On June 28, a television interview with Calero by Channel 13, an NBC affiliate, was shown on the evening news. Calero was also interviewed by two weekly Spanish-language papers distributed in central Iowa, *El Enfoque* and *El Latino*.

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## Socialists file for ballot status in Utah, Vermont

BY PAT MILLER

SALT LAKE CITY—"Definitely." That's how one young woman responded when asked to sign a petition to put the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidates on the ballot in Utah. "There are no choices for working people, I'll definitely sign."

Supporters of the socialist ticket of Róger Calero for president and Arrin Hawkins for vice president collected 1,575 signatures over the June 26–27 weekend. Twenty campaigners collected substantially more than the state's requirement of 1,000 signatures to put the socialists on the ballot. An additional 170 people signed the petition June 27 at a farmers market in Salt Lake City to bring

the total number of signers to 1,745.

Some 250 people signed to put the socialists on the ballot in Magna, a community adjacent to the giant Kennecott Copper Mine just outside of Salt Lake City. Another 90 signed petitions in Price, a town in the heart of the coal mining region of Utah. A coal miner at the nearby Dugout mine, who recently subscribed to the socialist campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, was approached by petitioners at a local grocery store in Price. "Socialist candidates, I've got no problem with that, where do I sign?" he said.

Many working people were eager to discuss the socialists' stand on the war against Iraq, even if they did not agree with the

demand that imperialist troops should be withdrawn immediately. "I was in Afghanistan, and I agree we should get out of Iraq, but we can't get out right away," said one young former soldier who signed the petition and bought a copy of the *Militant*. He and his wife said they would read the paper and consider the socialists' views.

In Salt Lake, campaign supporters helped to coordinate the successful effort, providing campaigners with a place to stay, hosting a barbecue, and contributing funds to print flyers, petitions, and to meet the \$500 filing fee that the state requires. Volunteers from throughout the West helped campaign over the June 26–27 weekend.

## Socialist Workers launch N.Y. campaign

Continued from front page

a different direction from all the other candidates in the elections," said Martin Koppel, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in New York. "We offer a fighting, working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, which are the twin parties of the bosses—the parties of imperialist war, depression, and exploitation."

In addition to the nationwide slate of Róger Calero for president and Arrin Hawkins for vice president, Koppel is joined on the socialist ticket in New York by three congressional candidates. Millie Sánchez, 29, is running for U.S. Congress in the 8th District, which includes Manhattan's Garment District, a seat currently held by Democrat Jerrold Nadler. Willie Cotton, 26, is running in the 15th C.D. in Upper Manhattan and Harlem, a position held by Democrat Charles Rangel. Dorothy Kolis, 53, is running in the 16th C.D. in the Bronx, a seat held by Democrat José Serrano.

"Our campaign stands with workers who are fighting to defend their unions or to bring the union in where they work," Koppel told those who were listening as he soapboxed on a busy Garment District street on a Thursday afternoon. "We join with the workers at Garden Manor Farms, who have won a victory to organize the plant and are now on strike

to win a contract." The Garden Manor plant is located at the Hunts Point meat market in the Bronx (see article on page 10).

Volunteers put up a new "Socialist Workers 2004 Campaign" sign in the display window of the campaign center. The socialists are using their election campaign to get books and pamphlets in the hands of workers and farmers that explain how capitalism works and the lessons working people can draw from 150 years of struggle of the working-class movement. The campaign center offers a wealth of such literature.

"Two billion people worldwide, especially in rural areas in semicolonial nations, have no access to electricity today," said Cotton. "This is the result of imperialist oppression and exploitation. Bringing this third of humanity out of darkness is essential for closing the gap between city and countryside. It's essential for defeating hunger and disease and raising the cultural level, especially in the rural areas.

"There is no way to build a movement that can lead workers and farmers to take political power and join the struggle for socialism without a program to bring electrification and development to nations oppressed by imperialism," Cotton said.

"That's why a central axis of the Socialist Workers campaign is to oppose the offensive

by the imperialist powers to prevent semicolonial countries from developing various forms of energy, including nuclear power—an offensive finance capital is waging under the banner of 'nonproliferation.'"

Socialists attended a June 22 public forum in Harlem on the unemployment crisis. Cotton joined in the discussion and explained some of the proposals of the socialist campaign. Unemployment needs to be addressed not simply as a New York issue but as an international working-class question, he said. The most effective way to unite working people in a struggle that has the power to win, he said, is through a fight by the labor movement to create jobs for all by cutting the workweek to 30 hours without a cut in pay. He also called for launching a massive public works program, and canceling the foreign debt of Third World countries.

On June 25, Socialist Workers vice presidential candidate Arrin Hawkins joined several thousand construction workers at a Midtown Manhattan rally where the unionists had a large inflatable rat to draw attention to their fight against "rat" employers.

Cotton spoke on June 26 at a peace rally in Burlington, Vermont. He was there to join in the party's effort to gather signatures to put Calero and Hawkins on the ballot.

# Socialist Workers Party holds convention

Delegates chart course on socialist workers' growing responsibilities as part of labor resistance

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

OBERLIN, Ohio—Coming out of the Socialist Workers Party convention, held here June 10-12, hundreds of socialist workers and young socialists returned home to step up campaigning for the Socialist Workers candidates around the country—both local slates and the presidential ticket of Róger Calero for president and Arrin Hawkins for vice president.

They have begun soapboxing in workers districts, joining union picket lines, campaigning at factory gates, and petitioning in several states—from Mississippi to Utah—to put the working-class alternative on the ballot. They are getting revolutionary literature into the hands of working people and youth who seek ways to oppose the imperialist rulers' drive to wars abroad and brutal offensive against workers and farmers at home.

As they campaign, socialist workers are acting to respond to the new opportunities and responsibilities they have today to deepen their work as union builders and organizers alongside other workers—from the western coalfields to packinghouses in the Midwest to garment and textile plants.

Acting along these lines was at the heart of the deliberations of the delegates to the 42nd SWP convention.

Some 400 people attended the convention, which was the culmination of three months of discussion in party branches. The delegates elected by the branches discussed and adopted a convention platform outlining a political course of action for the party. They also elected a new National Committee. Convention sessions were translated simultaneously into Spanish and French for guests observing the proceedings.

The platform included two reports, titled "Putting Trade Union Work Back at the Center of Fraction Work" and "This Is a Moment When the Organization Question Is the Central Political Question." Parts of these documents will be published in upcoming issues of the Marxist magazine *New International*, along with others adopted by the 2002 party convention.

*New International* no. 12, scheduled for publication this fall, will be titled "Our Program Starts with the World." Its companion volume, *NI* no. 13, will feature "Capitalism's long hot winter has begun." This document is based on the political report adopted by the 2002 SWP convention, and was part of the platform the delegates adopted at the June party convention. Parallel issues of the Spanish-language *Nueva Internacional* and *Nouvelle Internationale* in French will also be produced.

Members of the Communist Leagues and Young Socialists in Australia, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom took part in the gathering. Their representatives contributed to the convention deliberations as well as the classes and other activities that took place in conjunction with the convention.

## Working-class resistance

A report to the delegates titled, "The organization of western coal begins," presented by Róger Calero, opened the convention. It centered on the expanding labor support for the nine-month battle for union representation being waged by striking workers at the Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah, and the impact of this struggle on miners and other workers throughout the West (see front-page coverage).

During the discussion Chris Hoepfner, a delegate from Seattle, explained how socialist workers there supported and helped build a labor tour for two striking miners in the Pacific Northwest, which overlapped with most of the convention and was initiated and sponsored by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (see last week's *Militant*).

In a report to convention delegates, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes highlighted a quote from a *Militant* news article on the Utah miners' battle that stated, "Miners in the West see the potential for a victory at the Co-Op mine as a spur to other UMWA organizing efforts in mines they work at or know about. Discussion about the Co-Op mine strike continues to bubble among miners in the region."



Militant/Eric Simpson (Above and inset Waters), Dave Wulp (inset Calero and Barnes)

**Delegates from branches and organizing committees of the Socialist Workers Party voted on reports and documents presented to the party's 42nd Constitutional Convention in Oberlin, Ohio, June 10-12. Inset left to right, Róger Calero, Jack Barnes, and Mary-Alice Waters, who presented the three main reports approved by the delegates.**

Barnes noted that the sentence should be amended to add "and among other workers such as those at Wal-Mart," referring to descriptions by one of the delegates from Price, Utah, about the impact of this fight on broader layers of workers in the area including those at Wal-Mart stores.

In his report, Calero also pointed to union-organizing struggles brewing among packinghouse workers in the Midwest and elsewhere.

These struggles, he said, sharply underscore the increased responsibility that all socialist workers have today to work shoulder-to-shoulder with fellow workers to strengthen their unions or, in plants that are not organized, to help get the union in.

The political report by Jack Barnes and discussion by the delegates addressed many issues that confront the working class and its allies worldwide—from the conflicts deepened by the imperialist occupation of Iraq; to Washington's transformation of its military and its deployment abroad and the interlinked domestic "security" measures directed against the rights and political space of working people in the United States; to the inexorably deepening economic crisis.

## Use of party's books, pamphlets

Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the SWP National Committee, reported on "The transformation of the use and production of the party's books and pamphlets." She pointed to the progress that the communist movement has made in recent months in confidently using its political propaganda tools to reach working people. One success was the campaign to double the number of new *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscribers this spring. It was followed by a campaign—as part of actively building the April 25 march on Washington to defend a woman's right to choose abortion—to sell books that explain the roots of women's oppression and that point to a revolutionary working-class road forward. A total of 2,500 books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press, specially discounted as an incentive, were sold in the months of March and April.

During the discussion one delegate noted the increase in sales of these books in Iran. Such titles are also making their way into parts of Iraq for the first time, he said.

The convention delegates voted to launch a campaign to increase sales of Pathfinder books and pamphlets by 10 percent in the second half of 2004 compared to the first

half of the year.

The increased thirst for and confidence in using these political weapons was reflected in sales at the convention itself: nearly 300 books and pamphlets were sold for a total exceeding \$3,000. Top sellers were the new edition of *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs with 38 copies sold, the new edition of *The Stalin School of Falsification* with all 19 copies available sold out, and *Trotsky on the Jewish Question* and Abram Leon's *On the Jewish Question*, with 14 and 10 copies respectively.

A representative of the Revolutionary Socialist Nucleus of Paraguay, who participated in the convention, gave greetings on behalf of his organization. A message from Dagoberto Rodríguez, first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., was read to the gathering.

More than anything else, the convention was marked by delegates' experiences and sober realization of the opportunities and responsibilities they carry as part of the fighting working-class resistance to the social and economic consequences of the imperialist world that is coming into being.

Discussion on many of the main themes of the convention continued in several classes. The topics included "The Changing Face of U.S. Politics and the Struggle for Black Liberation"; "Jew Hatred, Trotsky-Baiting, and 'Conspiracies'"; "Women's Liberation

and the Line of March of the Working Class," and "Lessons for Program and Strategy Today from Forthcoming Book on the Third Congress of the Communist International."

The convention closed with a summary report by Barnes and the election of the party's National Committee, followed later that evening with a closing program.

## Campaigning for socialist ticket

The final meeting heard presentations by Calero and Hawkins, whose nominations as SWP candidates for U.S. president and vice president had been ratified by the convention delegates. Nicole Sarmiento, a Young Socialist in Miami and the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Florida, and other speakers described their initial experiences in campaigning for the working-class alternative and plans for getting the socialist candidates on the ballot in a dozen states across the country.

Speakers included *Militant* editor Arrigis Malapanis; leaders of the Communist Leagues in Canada and Sweden; and John Pines, who had attended the first international preparatory meeting in Brasilia, Brazil, for the World Festival of Youth and Students scheduled for August 5-13, 2005, in Caracas, Venezuela. He said the most important preparation for the festival is to join efforts to defend Venezuela against Washington's threats of intervention.

Ruth Cheney, a member of the San Francisco-based steering committee of the Printing Project, spoke on the work of more than 250 volunteers around the world who help produce Pathfinder books, including formatting text, proofreading, preparing graphics, and checking indexes. She explained that, to a large extent because of the increasing sales of books this spring, a number of Pathfinder titles have gone out of stock. She said the volunteers have taken steps to ensure that a steady stream of books will be back into print.

Scott Breen, a member of the committee based in Seattle that organizes the collection of all party supporters' monthly financial contributions to the SWP, reported that they are on course to meet their goal of raising \$315,000 and had won 23 new contributors over the past months.

The meeting launched a special fund appeal for the Socialist Workers Party election campaign. Those present contributed or pledged more than \$51,000. The fund-raising appeal will run through August 1.

The day after the convention, volunteers in the Printing Project held several workshops on aspects of their work. The Young Socialists held a meeting for all its members and youth interested in the YS. Their discussion focused on campaigning for the SWP candidates, which will be the main axis of the work of the Young Socialists through the fall.



Militant/Eric Simpson

**Left, browsing literature tables at SWP convention. The 300 Pathfinder books and pamphlets purchased showed thirst for using these political weapons. Below, class on "Jew-Hatred, Trotsky-Baiting and 'Conspiracies'" sparked interest in what's behind this phenomenon today.**

Militant/Dave Wulp



# Cuba: first socialist revolution in the Americas

Below are excerpts from *The Second Declaration of Havana*, one of Pathfinder's books of the month for June. Fidel Castro read the declaration to a rally of one million in Havana on Feb. 4, 1962. It was approved by acclamation. The declaration was issued in direct response to a sharp escalation in attacks on the revolution by its number one enemy—U.S. imperialism.

A few days earlier, on Washington's orders, Cuba had been expelled from the Organization of American States (OAS). The OAS had also called on governments in the hemisphere to cut all economic and diplomatic ties with the Caribbean nation. On February 3, the day before the rally where the declaration was read, Washington had instituted an embargo on U.S. trade with Cuba, a policy that remains in place



Bohemia

In February 1962, in workplaces like this throughout the island, Cuban workers signed the Second Declaration of Havana.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

today, more than 40 years later.

The Cuban government translated the declaration into the world's major languages and distributed it throughout the globe. Havana also urged all supporters of the Cuban Revolution in Latin America to distribute it widely among workers, peasants, students, and others. Pathfinder's edition also contains the first declaration of Havana issued Sept. 2, 1960, in response to the U.S. government-inspired censure of Cuba by members of the OAS because of the Cuban government's refusal to reject aid from the Soviet Union and China. Copy-

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From the people of Cuba to the peoples of the Americas and the world: On May 18, 1895, on the eve of his death from a Spanish bullet through the heart, José Martí, apostle of our independence, wrote in an unfinished letter to his friend Manuel Mercado:

"Now I am able to write... I am in danger each day now of giving my life for my country and for my duty... of preventing the United States, as Cuba obtains her independence, from extending its control over the Antilles and consequently falling with that much more force upon our countries of America. Whatever I have done till now, and whatever I shall do, has been with that aim..."

"The nations most vitally concerned in preventing Cuba from becoming the opening round in the annexation of the countries of Our America by the rough and brutal North that scorns them—something that must be prevented, and which we are preventing with our blood—are being hindered by public and lesser commitments

from openly supporting and joining in this sacrifice, which is being made for their immediate benefit.

"I have lived within the monster and know its insides; and my sling is the sling of David."

In 1895 Martí had already pointed out the danger hovering over the Americas and called imperialism by its name: imperialism. He pointed out to the people of Latin America that more than anyone, they had a stake in seeing to it that Cuba did not succumb to the greed of the Yankees, scornful of the peoples of Latin America. And with his own blood, shed for Cuba and Latin America, he wrote the words that posthumously, in homage to his memory, the people of Cuba place at the top of this declaration.

Sixty-seven years have passed. Puerto Rico was converted into a colony and is still a colony loaded with military bases. Cuba also fell into the clutches of imperialism, whose troops occupied our territory. The Platt Amendment was imposed on our first constitution, as a humiliating clause that sanctioned the odious right of foreign intervention. Our riches passed into their hands, our history was falsified, our govern-

ment and our politics were entirely molded in the interests of the overseers. The nation was subjected to sixty years of political, economic, and cultural suffocation.

But Cuba rose up. Cuba was able to redeem itself from the bastard tutelage. Cuba broke the chains that tied its fortunes to those of the imperial oppressor, redeemed its riches, reclaimed its culture, and unfurled its banner of Free Territory and People of the Americas.

Now the United States will never again be able to use Cuba's strength against the Americas. Conversely, the United States, dominating the majority of the other Latin American states, is attempting to use the strength of the Americas against Cuba.

The history of Cuba is but the history of Latin America. The history of Latin America is but the history of Asia, Africa, and Oceania. And the history of all these peoples is but the history of the most pitiless and cruel exploitation by imperialism throughout the world.

At the end of the last and the beginning of the present century a handful of economically developed nations had finished partitioning the world among themselves, subjecting to their economic and political domination two-thirds of humanity, which was thus forced to work for the ruling classes of the economically advanced capitalist countries.

The historical circumstances that permitted a high level of industrial development to certain European countries and the United States of America placed them in a position to subject the rest of the world to their domination and exploitation.

What were the compelling motives behind the expansion of the industrial powers? Were they for reasons of morality and civilizing, as they claim? No, the reasons were economic.

From the discovery of America, which hurled the European conquerors across the seas to occupy and exploit the lands and inhabitants of other continents, the fundamental motive for their conduct was the desire for riches. The discovery of America itself was carried out in search of shorter routes to the Orient, whose goods were highly paid for in Europe.

A new social class, the merchants and the producers of manufactured articles for commerce, arose from the womb of the feudal society of lords and serfs in the decline of the Middle Ages.

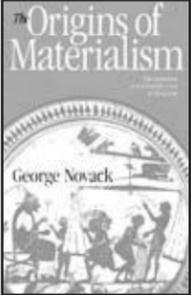
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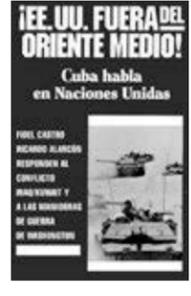



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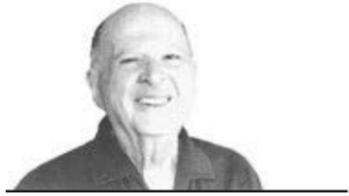
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**Law and order**—“Salt Lake City, Utah—Attorney General Mark Shurtleff won’t prosecute polygamist policemen in Hildale.



But he wants Utah to remove their law enforcement certification.... An investigation determined that seven of Hildale’s 13 officers were

practicing polygamists, which is illegal in Utah.”—*USA Today*.

**Cuba, 90 miles and a world away**—FLORIDA—“Monroe County is ready to open a safe zone for homeless people in the Florida Keys this month [when hurricanes hit]. But county officials say the facility on Stock Island next to a jail doesn’t have enough space. The center offers sleeping space for up to 130 people. About 800 of the county’s 17,000 homeless stay in nearby Key West.”—News item.

**The proud society**—A University of Pittsburgh study found

that nearly half the city’s Black households have no vehicles. And it may be added, damn little public transportation.

**Serving the public**—Enron, the record-breaking energy swindlers, got a lot of media with the tapes of foul-mouthed employees chortling about ripping off “those poor grandmothers.” But media coverage was scant on the fact that, along with Enron, the Justice Department tried to prevent release of the tapes.

**A corporate character**—Now a convicted felon girding for an 18-

month term, Andrew Wiederhorn headed a currently extinct high-risk loan company based in Portland, Oregon. Wiederhorn pleaded guilty on two counts. He admitted paying bribes to a chap in a company that loaned him regularly needed cash. And, also, he confirmed filing a phony income tax return. Wiederhorn was also ordered to repay an ill-gotten \$2 million, plus a \$25,000 fine.

Happily, a subsidiary he had created said it would pay his salary while in the slammer, as well as a leave-of-absence check to pay the \$2 million restitution and the \$25,000 fine.

**Out of our league**—If our cat got lost, we’d certainly do whatever we could to find her. But we couldn’t match a family in posh Beverly Hills.

In a classified ad for the return of their cat they offered a \$3,000 reward.

**Quick, call la migra**—In Nevada’s Lake Tahoe Basin, there’s been a practice of shipping “marauding” bears out of the area, leaving them in spots 100 miles or more away. Over five years, eight were deported. But, a study found, within a week each was back in Tahoe.

## 1964 murder of Black rights fighters under review

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS AND SUSAN LAMONT

PHILADELPHIA, Mississippi—Nearly 600 people gathered at the Neshoba County Coliseum here June 20 to commemorate the deaths of three civil rights workers killed by the Ku Klux Klan in 1964. James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner were in their early 20s when they were murdered outside this town. No state charges have ever been filed in their deaths and no one was ever prosecuted for their murders.

The meeting—“Recognition, Resolution, Redemption: Uniting for Justice”—was called by the Philadelphia Coalition, a group of 30 people in the town who are calling to have the murders reinvestigated.

Those present at the meeting included veterans of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer campaign, former members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), residents of Neshoba County, high school and college students, and many others.

Speakers at the program included Mississippi governor Haley Barbour, Philadelphia mayor Rayburn Waddell, Leroy Clemons, president of the Neshoba County NAACP, and Jim Prince, editor of the Neshoba Democrat. On stage and in the audience were members of the Chaney and Goodman families.

A resolution adopted by the coalition reads, “We state candidly and with deep regret that some of our own citizens, including local and state law enforcement officers, were involved in the planning and execution

of these murders. We are also cognizant of the shameful involvement and interference of state government, including actions of the state Sovereignty Commission, in thwarting justice in this case.”

A resolution passed at the end of May by Philadelphia’s local government noted with regret “that history will record that the authorities did not make a good faith effort” to ensure that justice was done in 1964.

In early June Mississippi attorney general James Hood announced that he is personally interviewing potential witnesses in the 1964 murder. Hood has asked the U.S. Justice Department to also get involved in the reinvestigation.

“There are some out there who I believe have information that they’ve yet to reveal,” he said. Among the evidence under review are informant files compiled by the FBI in 1964, which were not made available to state prosecutors at the time of the murders.

The three civil rights workers were murdered in Neshoba County, Mississippi, on June 21 of that year. Along with other young fighters for Black rights, they had volunteered for the “Freedom Summer” voter registration drive in this state.

In mid-June, Chaney and Schwerner traveled from Mississippi to Oxford, Ohio, to participate in a Freedom Summer training session. On June 16 Klansmen assaulted members of the Mt. Zion church, looking for Chaney and Schwerner. Later that evening they burned the church to the ground.

Informed of the attack, Chaney and Schwerner, joined by the new volunteer



From left: Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner—three civil rights workers murdered in 1964 by Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia, Mississippi.

Goodman, immediately drove south to investigate and offer solace to the church members.

On June 21, the three young activists drove to Philadelphia from Meridian and visited members of the Mt. Zion congregation. On the way back through town they were pulled over by a sheriff’s deputy, who charged Chaney with speeding and held Schwerner and Goodman on suspicion of burning the Mt. Zion church.

Later that night the three were beaten and shot. Their bodies were found 44 days later in an earthen dam.

Seven members of the Ku Klux Klan were convicted of federal civil rights violations in the deaths and sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to 10 years. The state never brought murder charges, and none of those convicted served more than six years.

The move to reopen this case comes shortly after the Justice Department an-

nounced that it was also reinvestigating the 1955 murder of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Black youth beaten to death by racists in the Mississippi Delta.

Ellie J. Dahmer from Hattiesburg came to the meeting because she was “very much concerned that the investigation be reopened.” Her husband, Vernon Dahmer, who had been president of the NAACP in Forest County, Mississippi, was killed when the Ku Klux Klan firebombed his house in 1966. His killer was not convicted until 1998.

Patsy McWilliams, 50, a librarian who has lived in Philadelphia all her life, recalled learning of the murders as a little girl. “Among the Black people,” she said, “everyone was very quiet, very still. No one would talk about what happened. Things have changed now, but we still have a long way to go. The Klan is not as active as they used to be, but they haven’t totally disappeared either.”

## Catholic University bans NAACP chapter for backing right to choose

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The administration of the Catholic University of America here has denied campus recognition to a Youth and Colleges chapter of the NAACP because of the civil rights group’s support for a woman’s right to choose abortion. In February, for the first time in its history, the NAACP board of directors went on record in support of choice and backed the April 25 March for Women’s Lives here, which drew nearly a million participants.

Some 60 people, mostly members of the NAACP youth group, rallied June 4 in front of the university. William Jawando, a graduate law student, told protesters that more than 30 students on the campus had signed up to join the NAACP youth chapter. He noted that the administration stalled on making a decision regarding the status of the group until the school session was over. He said that he had received more than 200 e-mail messages of support from students.

In addition to their opposition to the NAACP’s defense of a woman’s right to choose, Jawando said, university officials argued that the group should be denied recognition because there are two other campus organizations that involve Black students.

“It is the height of insensitivity for them to say there are already two organizations on the campus representing Black students,” Jawando said, drawing boos of condemnation against campus officials. School administrators also told Jawando that the NAACP’s support for abortion rights “would not be consistent with the mission of the university or the Roman Catholic Church.”

“We made it clear we are not starting a

chapter of Planned Parenthood,” Jawando said. “Our business is civil rights.”

The NAACP youth leader said the student group would continue to fight for its rights on the campus and will seek the support of other student groups. “We will rally for as long and as often as it takes—and if necessary we will take legal action against the school administration,” Jawando said.

Jawando was joined in the rally by NAACP president Kweisi Mfume. “This is blatant discrimination in its most naked form,” Mfume said. He noted that the NAACP has youth chapters at prominent Catholic-run universities, which include Georgetown, Trinity, Fordham, and St. Johns.

“Jim Crow Sr. is dead,” said Mfume, referring to the system of racial segregation in the South that was ended by the civil rights movement in the 1950s and ’60s. “But Jim Crow Jr. is alive and well at Catholic University.”

Catholic University president Rev. David M. O’Connell met with Mfume on June 16, according to the *Washington Post*. In the meeting O’Connell reiterated the administration’s view that there are already two campus groups representing Black students at the campus and that the NAACP’s support of the April 25 abortion rights march runs counter to the university’s mission and to church doctrine. But O’Connell agreed to reconsider the decision to bar the civil rights youth group when students return to the campus this fall, the *Post* reported.

Jawando said NAACP supporters do not want further delays and are planning 90 days of “picketing and protest” to press for reversing the ban.

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



July 13, 1979

More than 50,000 persons gathered at a June 29 Tehran rally sponsored by the People’s Fedayeen organization.

The rally, which was held to honor guerrillas killed in the struggle against the shah, demanded the release of the more than forty Fedayeen now in prison. A speaker also condemned the jailing of nine members of the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) who have been held without charges in Ahwaz for a month.

In addition to the nine HKS members arrested in late May and early June for their support to the struggle of the Arabs of Khuzestan for their rights, seven more HKS members were arrested in Ahwaz on June 23 while circulating petitions calling for the release of the first prisoners.

A June 24 press conference protesting their arrest and demanding the release of all sixteen HKS members was widely reported in Iran.

The news conference also called for the release of the oil workers council leaders under arrest and the Fedayeen prisoners.

Sheikh Ezzedin Hoseini, the recognized leader of the Kurdish people, has added his voice to those protesting the arrests.

Prominent members of the Writers Association also issued a statement calling the jailings “a serious attack on the achievements of our revolution, on freedom of political parties, freedom of expression, freedom of writers, and freedom of assembly.”



July 12, 1954

Indo-Chinese fighters in the French sponsored Vietnamese army are deserting to the freedom-seeking Vietminh in the Red River delta area. According to the July 3 *Christian Science Monitor*, whole units are “disappearing overnight from the French lines... and going over to the Communists.”

The decision of the Vietnamese soldiers to desert is further proof that the overwhelming majority of the Indo-Chinese people support the struggle for national independence led by the Vietminh. The “deserters” are draftees who are taking advantage of the French retreat to the Delta to unite with their own people.

According to the *Monitor*, “Unofficial reports reaching Singapore describe the desertions as reaching an almost uncountable rate.... Analysts here are no longer able to keep accurate records of the Vietnamese strength in the delta. The belief is that the French are no longer particularly concerned about these mass defections... (They) are no longer placing reliance on Vietnamese troops to assist in the defense of important positions.”

The retreat of the French forces in the delta, combined with French indifference to the Vietnamese desertions would indicate that an agreement to partition Indo-China had already been reached between the Mendes-France government and the Stalinists.

# Workers' right to organize

Defend workers' right to organize!

Defend the labor movement from the assaults by the bosses and the twin parties of big business—the Democrats and Republicans!

These are demands that workers and farmers should make their own. Their immediacy is highlighted both by the avalanche of employer assaults on wages, benefits, and working conditions and the working-class resistance to this offensive.

The recent decision by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to review, and possibly eliminate, the “card check” procedure for union certification—the latest of many antilabor rulings by this government board—speaks volumes about the need to back these demands.

Declining profit rates worldwide are intensifying capitalist competition for markets, sources of raw materials, and domination of low-wage “export platforms” in the oppressed nations. Many capitalists are slashing prices to the point of near bankruptcy to push their rivals to the wall. At the same time, the bosses are trying to put the entire burden of the crisis of their system on the backs of working people. They are carrying out unrelenting warfare—sometimes open, sometimes disguised—against the livelihood, the health and safety, and the very humanity of the working class.

The employers keep pushing to cut wages and benefits. They are expanding overtime work, as well as part-time and “temporary” jobs with low pay and no benefits. They are intensifying speedup, increasing differentiation among employees hired for the same jobs, and raising the eligibility requirements for pensions. Throughout the imperialist world, the ruling families are conducting a fierce assault on the social wage—the elementary, government-funded social security programs the working class has fought for and won in order to safeguard the class as a whole by protecting the most vulnerable.

That's why the bosses are stepping up their efforts to curb the liberties that workers need to organize to resist this onslaught and fight for livable wages and job conditions. Organizing a union is among the most elementary of these rights. The recent NLRB ruling puts

more obstacles in the way of workers trying to use their strength, which lies in their numbers and their ability to band together to defend their interests, in order to push back the exploiters.

In these struggles the government is not neutral. Its function is to serve one class—the ruling billionaire families—against another class, ours. The employers also have two parties—the Democrats and Republicans, who *jointly* enforce the interests of the bosses.

As a government agency, the NLRB serves as a tool of the bosses—just like labor mediators and the courts. For example, the NLRB ties up workers in red tape to delay union elections for years and to intervene in labor disputes on the side of the bosses. Dependence on the good graces of the NLRB is always a dangerous trap. The lessons of the past 150 years of the working-class movement show that the only way working people have been able to make gains, and not lose them, is by relying on our own collective strength and capacities.

Pro-Democratic Party politicians argue that the problem is the 3-2 Republican majority on the national labor board, and that the solution is to rally working people to “defeat Bush”—that is, to vote for John Kerry. But the Democrats have had a similar, if not worse, record, from President James Carter who invoked the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley Act against the United Mine Workers of America in 1978, to William “end welfare as we know it” Clinton.

The only way to reverse the attack on the card-check process and other antilabor NLRB rulings is to mobilize working people independently of the NLRB, the courts, or big-business politicians.

When workers organize effectively for these goals, they can force—and have forced—the NLRB to issue rulings that register what working people have already conquered on the picket line and through mobilizing labor solidarity. A case in point is the breakthrough in the UMWA organizing battle in Utah. These coal miners are pointing the way forward in the defense of the labor movement by showing miners throughout the West, and thousands of other workers, that *si se puede*: we can fight to win!

# Bronx meat packers win strike

BY PABLO MARQUEZ

BRONX, New York—Workers at Garden Manor Farms won their first union contract June 28. The workers had walked off the job four days earlier at the Hunts Point meat market here to demand a contract.

“We want health benefits, we want to be more secure, we want a contract,” said Abraham Hernández, 41, a butcher for four years at the plant, in explaining why he joined the strike. He proudly described the May 4 victory when Garden Manor workers voted 17 to 4 in favor of joining United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 342.

Garden Manor is a beef processing plant that produces top rounds, ground beef, and hamburger patties and is part of the Hunts Point Cooperative, New York City's largest meat market.

A one-week strike last July to protest company efforts to stall the certification election, after a majority of workers had signed cards to join the union, succeeded in getting an election scheduled in August 2003. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) subsequently invalidated that election because of numerous irregularities, including the company's prevention of some eligible workers from casting a vote.

On May 28, the NLRB rejected the company's objections to the May 4 election and certified UFCW Local 342 as the bargaining unit for “all full-time and regular part-time butchers, grinders, helpers and packers” at Garden Manor. Until the strike the company had refused to negotiate with the union for a contract.

Hernández and others explained that the top pay rate for butchers at Garden Manor is around \$11 per hour, compared to union shops where butchers earn up to \$16 an hour for similar work.

The pickets were successful in turning away meat delivery and UPS trucks, including trucks from Boar's Head, a big customer for Garden Manor.

The workers said only three pallets of meat went out the first day of the strike, compared to 20 to 25 on a full production day. They also said the walkout hit the company especially hard because it was timed to start on the eve of the high-demand July 4 weekend. Slightly less than half of the 35 workers in the plant remained on the job during the strike.

A big topic of discussion on the picket line was the large number of “temporary” workers the bosses hire through an agency that pays them only the minimum wage of \$5.15 an hour. Most of these workers remained inside the plant as the picketing was established around a picnic table across the street from the loading dock. “It's not that they don't listen to what we tell them,” said Mario Preciado, one of the unionists. “The company tells them that our description of the working conditions—like the case of Alfonso, who has worked here 13 years and

gets only one week of vacation—is just ‘union tactics.’” Preciado, 21, has worked at Garden Manor for two and a half years. He joined the effort to bring the UFCW into the plant a year ago.

Other workers on the picket line also noted that some of the “temps” have worked in the plant for a couple of years.

In addition to wages, working conditions, and health benefits, several workers explained that being treated with dignity is also an issue in the fight.

“No one is going back to work,” emphasized Preciado during the walkout. “We have gotten to know each other well in the year since the fight started. We are butchers. But we are human too.”

Workers from Mosner, Schuster, Fancy Food, Market Distributors, Rosen, and other plants at Hunts Point dropped by to join the picket line and express their support.

In addition to the picket line outside the plant, the union deployed a group of strikers to stand at the main gate of the market and pass out flyers in English and Spanish. “We are on an unfair labor practice strike,” the flyer said. “We voted to join the union of our choice, UFCW Local 342. We won the right to representation by Local 342 and we are asking for your support in our struggle.” The flyer asked the public and company customers to “not carry products from Garden Manor Farms or sell products to Garden Manor Farms until this employer agrees to respect our rights and agrees to follow the law.”

Being able to field strikers at the main gate enabled the workers to be more visible and reach out to more people with information on their struggle. Strikers reported a very friendly response from truckers and workers at other shops at Hunts Point. One worker at a nonunion shop, who asked that his name not be used, said he favored a union victory at Garden Manor. “That's what we need too, a union,” he said. “At my shop if you say ‘union’ too often, you're out the door.”

“Our fight will have an impact on these companies that are fighting against the union,” said Robert Roman, one of the unionists. “Word is going to get out to these companies that all their dirty tricks won't stop workers from fighting for the union. My advice is: fight for what you believe in, don't be afraid!”

# NLRB rulings create obstacles to unionization

BY RÓGER CALERO

The National Labor Relations Board, the government agency that oversees union elections and the implementation of labor laws, decided June 9 to review a challenge to a 40-year-old process that allows union recognition in workplaces where the majority of the workers have signed union authorization cards and the employer agrees to forego a secret-ballot election and recognize the union.

The decision, taken in a 3-2 vote by the five-member national labor board, indicates that the NLRB may overturn this long-standing practice. The “card-check recognition” enables workers to bypass the lengthy election process set by the NLRB, which often takes years. Its elimination would be an additional tool for the bosses to undermine the right of workers to organize unions, many in the labor movement say.

“In cases where a ballot is necessary, employers can delay elections and bargaining for up to five years,” said Larry Cohen, vice president of the Communications Workers of America, at a May 29 meeting in Washington, D.C., the union reported.

A Cornell University study found that 75 percent of employers hire anti-union “consultants” to help them fight organizing drives, and 92 percent of the bosses require mandatory employee attendance at meetings where they present their anti-union message, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported June 12.

A decision by the NLRB against “card-check” agreements would also allow bosses to seek immediate decertification, forcing workers at a newly unionized site to return to the election process rather than bargain for a contract. Current board policy bars a decertification election until a “reasonable period of time,” at least a year, to allow bargaining on a contract.

The union officialdom has largely relied on “card-checking” agreements to slow down the steady decline in the number of unionized workers as a substitute for mobilizing the entire labor movement to back union-organizing efforts. Overall union membership in the United States has dropped from 20 percent in 1983 to 13 percent last year.

At the same time, workers in many cases have used “card-checking” as a speedier process to organize a union. The AFL-CIO reports that as many as 550,000 new union members have been won this way in recent years.

The NLRB decided to review the card-checking procedure based on complaints in three cases that had been dismissed by regional labor boards. Earlier this year, the NLRB agreed to hear a complaint about the use of card-check at Metaldyne Corp., an auto parts supplier, in Plymouth, Michigan. In June it combined that with a similar complaint at the Upper Sandusky plant of Dana Corp., where a majority of workers had signed cards for representation by the United Auto Workers. The third case involves workers who sought to be represented by the United Steelworkers of America at a Cequent Towing Products plant in Goshen, Indiana.

In all three cases, the employers had agreed to recognize the respective unions without a union election. The challenges were brought by anti-union employees organized and represented by the Springfield, Virginia-based National Right to Work Legal Foundation, a group that opposes what it calls “compulsory unionism.” The plaintiffs have asked the NLRB to authorize decertification elections.

In another antilabor ruling, the labor board decided in early June that workers in a nonunion workplace are not entitled to have a co-worker accompany them when they are called into a meeting with the bosses. The NLRB recognizes this right for unionized workers, but employers violate it widely in many union shops.



Picket line at Garden Manor during successful strike for union contract

Militant

# Frame-up 'terror trial' of N.Y. lawyer starts

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

NEW YORK—The trial on charges of "providing material support for terrorist activity" against attorney Lynne Stewart began here June 22. An earlier indictment for aiding a "terrorist" organization by "conspiring" to help a defendant was thrown out last July by the judge in the case.

In a threat to freedom of the press, the government has also issued subpoenas to four reporters to testify in the trial. The prosecution plans to use their articles on Stewart's activities as an attorney and her "world view" as evidence against her. All the news agencies involved are fighting the subpoenas. In a June 18 pretrial hearing lawyers for the reporters' news organizations and Stewart's defense called for U.S. District Judge John Koeltl to quash the subpoenas. Koeltl deferred a decision on the issue until further into the trial, which is expected to go on for months.

Federal prosecutor Christopher Morvillo told the jury in his opening statement in the trial that Stewart "used her status as a lawyer as a cloak to smuggle messages into and out of prison," allowing her client to "incite terrorism."

Stewart, 64, is the attorney for Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who was convicted on frame-up charges of conspiracy to bomb the World Trade Center in 1993 and attack other city landmarks. In January 1996 he was sentenced to life in prison plus 65 years, and is being held at a maximum-security prison in Florence, Colorado.

Charged along with Stewart are Mohammed Yousry, an Arabic interpreter, and Ahmed Abdel Sattar, a paralegal to Abdel-Rahman.

On April 9, 2002, U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft personally announced the charges, claiming Stewart had violated the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, passed under the administration of William Clinton.

Stewart is also being charged with violation of Special Administrative Measures (SAMs) that Washington has imposed on Abdel-Rahman in its effort to dehumanize and break the cleric. These measures include restrictions on his access to mail, telephones, and visitors, and a prohibition on his speaking to the media.

By issuing subpoenas to reporters, the government is attempting "to use the media as an instrument of prosecutorial policy," said Michael Tigar, Stewart's attorney.

The subpoenas were issued to Esmat Salaheddin, a Reuters news agency reporter based in Cairo, Egypt; Joseph Fried of the *New York Times*; George Packer, a freelance reporter who has written for the *Times* magazine; and Patricia Hurtado of *New York Newsday*.

At the pretrial hearing prosecutor Anthony Barkow said, "Salaheddin is eyewitness and earwitness to the commission of a crime," and that Packer and Fried

are "earwitnesses to very powerful, very clear evidence of Ms. Stewart's support of terrorism and violence." Barkow claimed that the reporters' interviews with Stewart would prove that her stated support for revolutionary movements laid the basis for her "providing material support for terrorism."

Newspaper articles alone cannot be used as evidence because they are regarded as hearsay. The government is trying to force the reporters to affirm the quotations in their articles in order to establish the content of Stewart's "world view."

George Freeman, a lawyer for the *Times*, said that Fried and Packer are protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution from testifying even about information that is not confidential.

David Shultz, representing three of the reporters who have been subpoenaed, told the judge that if forced to testify their neutrality as reporters would be compromised. "Sources are going to be reluctant to talk to reporters if they realize everything they say to a reporter can be compelled and used against them in a court of law," he said. He pointed out that the article by Fried had been written in 1995, years before the crimes Stewart is charged with having committed.

Tigar told the judge that the government's effort to establish Stewart's "world view" were irrelevant and too broad to have any meaning in the case. He said Stewart has agreed to testify at the trial, making it unnecessary for the introduction of any other sources of evidence on her political opinions.

The judge left the subpoenas in place, and reserved the right to rule on their validity until later in the trial.

Communication between Stewart and her client, Abdel-Rahman, had been the subject of government wiretaps for more than two years. Since October 2001 the Justice Department has been allowed to conduct surveillance of people in custody with their lawyers without judicial oversight.

In the pretrial hearing the prosecutor stated that "intercepted calls are the backbone of the government case." The testimony of the reporters is needed, he stated, because it will provide "more credible evidence" than "the thousands and thousands of hours of intercepted calls" compiled by the government of Stewart acting as a defense attorney.



New York attorney Lynne Stewart, accused by Washington of aiding 'terrorism,' speaks to the press June 22 outside federal court in Manhattan.

## Longshoremen visit striking Utah miners

Continued from page 5

retired miners and their spouses arrived to welcome their ILWU union brothers.

After everyone gathered around four large tables, strike leader Jesús Salazar explained the latest developments in the UMWA union-organizing battle and thanked the ILWU for its consistent support to the Co-Op strike. Over \$15,000 was raised during the two-day tour of ILWU locals and other unions in the Pacific Northwest. Strike leader Bill Estrada had just returned from speaking June 17 at an ILWU Local 10 meeting in San Francisco, where he was given a \$5,000 contribution for the strike.

Farrand and Weddington asked a number of questions to get a better understanding of the strike. Bill Preston, recording secretary of Local 9958, explained the importance of the Co-Op strike for the other miners in the area. "I'm a retired miner with a good pension," he said. "All of the mines around here were UMWA. The first time we tried to organize in Sunnyside, in 1922, the union was not prepared. On the first day the miners and their families were kicked out of their houses. The miners fought hard, but lost. Then in 1934 after another strike, the first UMWA contract was signed."

Several retired miners pointed out that all of the coal mines in Utah except one are nonunion now.

Getting the UMWA recognized at Co-

Op would strengthen the union in this area. "That's why our fight is your fight," said Preston. "I'm proud of you guys. If we can win this it will give a little courage to the guys who work at the nonunion mines."

Pointing to the local's charter on the wall, Preston said, "You see that the charter has a drape over it. When one of our members dies, we put a drape over it. We are an old local. Many of our members have died. That's why I want to see these guys win. I thought the union was dying until the Co-Op strike."

After the discussion, Bob Fivecoat, a member of UMWA 9958, took Farrand and Weddington to see the "machine gun house." Just outside Sunnyside, on a mountain top, lie the remnants of a shack from which company thugs aimed a machine gun at striking miners and their families who were living in tents below. The workers had been kicked out of company housing because they had walked out for the union. Fivecoat said that all of the miners were immigrants—Greeks, Italians, and Mexicans.

That evening the ILWU brothers were invited to a fiesta that was attended by many Co-Op strikers, their families, and other miners in the area. Weddington and Farrand, who are both Black, spoke with a number of strikers about the history of the longshore workers' union. "What makes the ILWU a strong union is that we have a master contract," said Farrand. "All of the ILWU members up and down the West Coast have the same contract. In our last contract strike in 2002 everyone struck together."

Before he started working on the docks, Weddington said, he was a merchant seaman. Several Co-Op strikers listened intently to Weddington's description of his experiences with racism. In 1948 he was part of a strike of merchant seaman. "We were on strike, we were all united both Black and white. And when we were came back to the United States we came on barges. On these barges a rope separated the Blacks and the whites. This hurt me a lot because we were just on strike together and united. But

because of the racism in the United States we were separated before we came back into the country," Weddington said.

### Solidarity from rail union

This kind of solidarity for the Co-Op miners is expanding, as the strikers continue to reach out to the labor movement.

On June 22, strikers Jesús Salazar, Bill Estrada, Berthila León, and Umberto Miranda drove more than 10 hours to attend a United Transportation Union (UTU) regional conference in Reno, Nevada. They got there that evening in time for a conference buffet dinner.

The next day the miners were invited to set up a table at the entrance of the lobby with information on their strike, a display of photos and letters of support, and a bucket for money. In the morning the miners had received \$200 in donations, but during lunch UTU officials made an announcement about the strike and the miners were introduced from the floor to a standing ovation. Over the next three hours many people came by dropping money in the bucket and asking about the strike. The miners collected a total of \$2,100 before they left that afternoon.

A UTU officer from Salt Lake told the miners that members of his local support the fight and wanted to know when more help is needed. He said that UTU members in his local who work on Union Pacific trains take coal from a Kingston-owned load-out located between Price and Huntington. He left his name and phone number.

Most people at the conference were learning about the strike for the first time, but donated generously. A reporter for the UTU magazine took pictures of the miners staffing the table and left his card. Two other local union officers said they would organize their locals to send money to the miners' strike account.

For more information on the Co-Op strike, or to make a donation, write to: UMWA District 22, 525 East 100 South, Price, Utah 84501. Earmark checks to the "Co-Op Miners Fund."

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Stop the Deportations! Legal Status for Immigrants!** Panel of activists in defense of immigrants' rights. Fri., July 9. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2901 W 59th St. Tel: (773) 737-1190.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has begun** Speaker: Lisa Rottach, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress. Fri., July 9. Reception, 5:30 p.m.; program, 6 p.m. *Perk Ave. Café* at 1107 Park Ave. Tel (402) 319-2608.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**The Struggle to Electrify the World and the Stakes for Building a Fighting Alliance of Workers and Farmers** Speakers: Dan Fein, SWP; Millie Sánchez, Young Socialists. Fri., July 9. Dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 307 W. 36th St. (north elevator) 10th fl. Tel (212) 629-6649.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Marxism and Terrorism** Speaker: Carole Lesnick, SWP. Fri., July 9, 7:30 p.m. 11018 Lorain Ave. Tel (216) 688-1190.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**What's Behind Jew-Hatred and the "Neo-con" Conspiracy Claims?** Speaker: Ben Whitmore. Fri., July 9, 7:30 p.m. 619 W. 8th St., Donation: \$5. Tel (713) 869-6550.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**The Conflict over Electricity** Speaker: Laura Garza. Fri., July 9, 7 p.m. 12 Bennington St. 2nd Floor Tel (617) 569-9169.

### NEW ZEALAND

#### Christchurch

**Cuban Story.** Unique documentary footage from the Cuban Revolution. Fri., July 9, 7 p.m. *Gloucester Arcade*, 129 Gloucester St. Tel: 365-6055

## —CALENDAR—

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Meet the D.C. Socialist Workers Party candidates** Sun., July 4, 2-5 p.m. *RSVP for directions and more information. All you can eat: \$10. Tel (202) 722-1315.*

## —LETTERS—

### LaRouchites in Sweden

I read your article about U.S. fascist Lyndon LaRouche (*Militant* no. 24) with great interest. The fact is that supporters of this man and his ideas are active in Sweden. They've been seen with book tables at the campus of Stockholm University as well as the city center, with the American flag and banners that say things like "LaRouche for President"; "Bush and Cheney can be stopped"; and "Continue the American Revolution." The activists, mostly young people, seem to be of Swedish, Norwegian, and American origin. They've also been driving around in the city in a little red car with loudspeakers playing classical music.

Until now I haven't really understood who they are and what they want, but after reading your article it makes perfect sense. But I still can't explain what they hope to gain from their presence in Sweden. (Hopefully nothing.)

Per Leander  
Stockholm, Sweden

**The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.**

**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.**

# European Union adopts constitution

## Summit registers advances for Anglo-American bloc over rivals in Berlin, Paris

BY JANE CRAYFORD

LONDON—The European Union (EU) adopted a constitution June 18 during a two-day summit in Brussels. Before going into effect, the document must be ratified by every member state within two years, either by the respective parliaments or in a referendum. The governments of 10 countries—Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom (UK)—have already signaled their intention of holding referendums. The rejection of the constitution by a single member state would leave it dead in the water.

Whether or not the EU charter is finally ratified, however, its adoption was a victory for London against its chief EU rivals—Paris and Berlin. It registered progress for the Anglo-American imperialist bloc in world politics.

This was the first EU summit since the May 1 accession into the EU of 10 new member states, mainly from Eastern Europe. These governments have largely aligned themselves with London and Washington—in what U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld has described as the “new Europe”—as they seek to defend their interests against the weight of the Franco-German bloc, which is built around the two main capitalist powers in the EU.

UK prime minister Anthony Blair described the adoption of the constitution as “truly historic.”

UK foreign secretary Jack Straw said

the treaty satisfied London’s demand to maintain the right of his and other governments to veto proposals on issues such as economic policy and military and foreign affairs, and to opt out of majority decisions on cross-border criminal matters and social security for immigrants.

These concessions reflected the impact of London’s special relationship with Washington, on the one hand, combined with the opposition of many states, including the bulk of the new members, to a Franco-German-dominated EU, on the other. Washington remains a major “European” power due both to its world political and military weight and to its huge, and growing, investments and trade with EU countries.

Because of their historic dominance in the EU, the French and German governments have backed what is known as a more “federalist” stance: expanding the EU’s—that is, their—influence over political and economic decision-making by the other member states. The last EU summit in December collapsed after the governments of Poland and Spain refused to accept a proposed formula for “qualified majority voting.” Paris and Berlin had proposed at the time that a simple majority of 13 of the 25 EU members would have to vote in favor of a motion for it to be adopted, the catch being that the majority must also include states equaling at least 60 percent of the EU’s population. Madrid and Warsaw argued vehemently that such a procedure would give larger countries such as Germany, with a population as large

as Spain and Poland combined, even greater voting weight.

At the most recent summit, the Polish and Spanish governments accepted a revised formula: a majority now is constituted by 15 member states representing at least 65 percent of the EU’s population. “This makes it easier for Poland and Spain to block laws they do not like, but stops the big three doing it alone,” said the June 26 *Economist*. An editorial in the Spanish daily *El País* opined that the agreement is “not as bad as we could have reasonably feared.”

The biggest concession the French and German rulers made, however, was to accept London’s demand to limit the sphere of “qualified majority voting” through safeguarding the UK rulers’ vetoes and opt-outs.

London also won its battle to ensure that the new Charter of Fundamental Rights, which is part of the constitution, does not override national laws on key issues such as employment legislation. Digby Jones, who is director-general of the Confederation of British Industry and supports Britain’s fuller integration into the EU, described as “very worrying” the possibility that workers and trade unions would be able to challenge employers under the charter using the European Court. “Pro-integrationist decisions by the European Court of Justice in the fields of tax and labour law remain a serious threat to UK competitiveness,” he said.

“The days of French and German domination are over,” stated BBC News political

editor Andrew Marr. “That post-war idea of a Europe moulded in the interests of France and French interests, and funded by a compliant Germany, is now as jumpingly alive as the Holy Roman Empire.” He called the outcome of the June EU summit “a triumph of British obstinacy.”

The media in France complained about “British blackmail” and lamented British news headlines like “France’s new Waterloo.” The French daily *Libération* challenged President Jacques Chirac’s assertion that the constitution had not been spoiled by too many concessions. Why, asked the paper’s Jean Quatremer, do the “most Euro-sceptic nations,” such as Britain, Spain and Poland, seem to be happiest with the outcome?

Opposition is growing in some French ruling circles to maintaining the alliance with Berlin as the axis of foreign policy. Current finance minister Nicolas Sarkozy—who is rising in French bourgeois politics, having won Chirac’s consent for his candidacy to become president of the ruling party—is one such example. Sarkozy has expressed his dissatisfaction with the Franco-German bloc, calling for new French alliances in the expanded European Union, possibly forging a Paris-London-Madrid axis. Sarkozy recently backed a bailout for ailing French industrial giant Alstom at the expense of the German company Siemens. He did not join the opposition to Washington’s assault and occupation of Iraq and he has sided with criticisms by Washington and Tel Aviv of Paris’s foreign policy in the Middle East.

The government of the Irish Republic facilitated concessions to the UK at the expense of Paris and Bonn through the rotating EU presidency, which it held. Along with Paris and Berlin, Dublin had opposed the timing of the Anglo-American assault on Iraq last year. But the recent accomplishments of U.S. imperialism on a world scale, especially in the Middle East, and changes to the EU’s Common Agricultural Policy and the accession of the new member states—which will be competing for EU grants—have strengthened the hand of London and Washington for influence over Dublin.

The Anglo-American bloc also scored a victory in the final nomination for the new EU Commission president. Until now, the EU had a six-month rotating presidency. The new president will have a two-and-a-half year term. The June summit failed to select a president as the British and Franco-German blocs clashed over competing nominations. By the end of June, Paris and Berlin indicated they would lift their veto on appointing to the post Portugal’s prime minister, Jose Manuel Durao Barroso. The British *Daily Telegraph* described him as a “free-market reformer with close ties to the United States.” “There would be a smile on my face if he (Barroso) was the candidate to emerge,” said UK foreign secretary Jack Straw. Barroso backed the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and hosted the pre-war Azores summit of imperialist powers.

Not all British capitalist politicians have welcomed the latest EU developments. The Conservative Party attacked the new EU constitution stating it would try to renegotiate it. A Vote No campaign has already built a war chest of millions of pounds and has gained big-business backers. A number of Labour Party members of parliament have launched “Labour against a Superstate.”

A week before the EU summit, low turnout for voting in the June 10 European Union elections was the trend in almost all EU member states. This reflected the widespread belief that the EU parliament will have little, if any, influence on most important questions in any country, and the growing discontent among working people toward the main capitalist parties in face of deteriorating living standards and working conditions.

*Jonathan Silberman contributed to this article.*

## Latin America: 25 years of deepening crisis

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Over the past 25 years Latin America has experienced the lowest rate of economic growth of any period in the past century, including the Great Depression, according to a report published in the June 15 issue of *BusinessWeek*.

Per capita income in the region grew by only 11 percent in the 1980s and ’90s, compared to 80 percent in the previous 20 years, the business magazine reports. The past five years have been particularly devastating, registering a gain of barely 1 percent, according to the International Monetary Fund.

In the decade since the North American Free Trade Agreement was signed—an agreement touted as a great boon to the Mexican economy—Mexico has seen less than 1 percent annual growth in per capita Gross Domestic Product. That is one quarter of what was achieved in the decades prior to 1980.

In Brazil, Latin America’s most industrialized country and former showcase of capitalist “success” in the region, the economy grew from 1980 to 2000 at less than an eighth of the rate in the previous 20-year period. In 2003 Brazil’s economy shrank.

“Amazing, isn’t it?” *BusinessWeek* writer Mark Weisbrot writes. “One would think that after 25 years of reforms—opening up to international trade and investment, privatization of state-owned enterprises, enforcing budget and monetary discipline, and other measures that have caused quite a bit of pain and dislocation to the region’s citizens—these countries would have something to show for it.”

These “reforms” are part of the offensive by Washington and other industrialized powers to open up Latin America to greater penetration by imperialist capital. Such measures include slashing tariffs that Latin American and Caribbean governments have instituted in an attempt to protect their domestic industries from a flood of cheap imported commodities from imperialist countries.

Privatization has meant the sell-off of state-owned companies to capitalist owners, who have laid off workers, slashed



Bus drivers lead demonstration in La Paz, Bolivia, April 22 against rising fuel prices, and the government’s moves to sign a deal with Argentina for Bolivia’s natural gas.

wages and benefits, assaulted unions, and jacked up utility rates, while channeling the profits to bank accounts in New York, London, Paris and other centers of finance capital.

What Weisbrot euphemistically calls “enforcing budgetary and monetary discipline” refers to demands by the most powerful industrialized creditor states that governments of semicolonial nations squeeze more and more out of workers and farmers to ensure that debt payments to the imperialists are met.

Over the last two decades, unprecedented wealth has been siphoned out of the treasuries of the nations of Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific into the coffers of the world’s wealthiest families in North America, Japan, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. Between 1980 and 1997, the foreign debt of semicolonial countries nearly quadrupled from \$600 billion to \$2.1 trillion, which is more than one-third of their gross domestic product.

The product of this predatory drive—which the *BusinessWeek* writer and other

spokespeople for the wealthy rulers have found so “amazing”—has been an economic and social nightmare for hundreds of millions of workers and farmers throughout Latin America.

Even the dismal figures for economic growth hide the real depth of the crisis. Peru, which has the most impressive growth rate in Latin America—about 4 percent annually since 2001—is facing explosive conditions, as struggles by workers and farmers erupt in response to the consequences of the economic crisis and the government’s efforts to solve it at the expense of working people. Despite a 5.2 percent growth rate in 2002, half of the country’s 27 million inhabitants live below the government-defined poverty line and the official jobless rate is 10 percent.

Peru has recently been shaken by a series of social explosions, including in the rural town of Ilave in the south, where a large crowd of Indian peasants assaulted and killed the mayor in April. Similar explosions have taken place in Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile.