

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

POLISH STRIKERS: 'We must be masters of the factories'



Strikers at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Their militancy, confidence, and democratic organization set example for workers of world. ^{UPI}

By Ernest Harsch

AUG. 27—The massive workers' upsurge in Poland continues to gain momentum, spreading across the country and forcing the government to retreat.

From the Baltic port cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot, and Szczecin, the strike has expanded to encompass some 250,000 workers.

"In Lodz today, municipal workers walked off their jobs," reported an August 26 dispatch in the *New York Times*. "In Wroclaw seven factories were struck. A rubber plant in Olsztyn closed, as did a truck factory in Rzeszow. Transport workers also went on strike in Koszalin."

Times correspondent John Darnton reported a "mood of victory" at strike coordinating committee headquarters at Gdansk's Lenin shipyard.

"Soon we may have delegates here from all over the country," one workers' leader declared.

On August 25, the government met the workers' demand that telephone links be restored between the Gdansk-Gdynia region and the rest of Poland.

In an August 24 speech before a meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (the Communist Party), party chief Edward Gierek claimed, "We are making basic shifts in party and government policy." He offered the strikers some significant concessions.

The official Central Trade Union
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Revolutionary Grenada appeals for solidarity

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Militant/Diane Wang

Poland: example for U.S. workers

The boldness of the Polish workers' strike wave has captured the imagination of U.S. workers. It's no wonder.

Workers in this country, under unrelenting attack by the government and big business, have suffered a steady decline in living standards. Each day inflation eats up more of our paychecks, more social services are cut, and employers demand ever larger "givebacks" as the price of keeping a job.

But in Poland each day brings new reports of success for the workers and concessions by the government. With their militancy and self-confidence, with their democratic organization, with their rejection of divide-and-conquer schemes, the Polish strikers set a powerful example.

The Newport News shipyard in Virginia, where workers won a union contract this year after a long battle, is one place there is a strong feeling of solidarity with the Polish fighters. "Just think if our strike had gone that far," remarked one unionist there, "we could have forced Governor Dalton to resign."

In Seattle, 111 members of Machinists District 751 at the huge Boeing plant signed a petition this week listing the demands of the strikers and pledging full support.

At the Tarrytown, New York, General Motors plant, a statement by Reba Williams Dixon, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, was distributed. Campaign supporters in the plant report overwhelming sentiment for the Polish strikers.

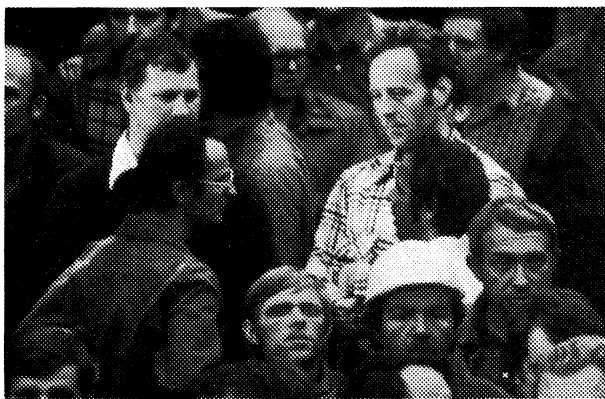
One auto worker who had just returned from a visit to her home in Poland said she thought the regime made concessions "because the army in Poland just won't fight against these strikers."

There should be more such efforts to spread the news about Poland and voice support for the strikers.

Statements by Socialist Workers candidates, public forums, and sales of the *Militant* are good ways to begin.

Labor officials in the United States are keeping a wary eye on the Polish events.

Thomas Gleason, president of the Interna-



tional Longshoremen's Association, ordered union members not to handle goods to or from Poland. This is no first for the ILA tops. They've also ordered boycotts against revolutionary Iran and against the Soviet Union.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, has appealed to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to join the ILA action.

The boycott of Poland is no act of union solidarity. There has been no request from the Polish workers' organizations for any boycott of goods or interference with trade. This is in contrast to Black workers' organizations in South Africa and workers' groups in Chile which have asked for sanctions against those dictatorial regimes—requests which the AFL-CIO tops ignore.

The boycott of Poland just extends Gleason and Kirkland's policy of supporting U.S. imperialism abroad. It's the same anticommunist policy that led them to support the Vietnam war and now draft registration, and that has the AFL-CIO officialdom helping to prop up a blood-soaked military junta in El Salvador.

The U.S. labor bureaucrats say they seek to further "free" trade unionism around the world. But that lie is exposed by the heavy hand they use to prevent democratic rank-and-file control inside AFL-CIO unions. The gangster-ridden ILA officialdom is notorious for the brutal means it uses to block the kind of free union elections that Polish workers want.

What the AFL-CIO tops are opposed to in Poland is the fact that capitalism has been abolished there. And since the Polish workers have made it quite clear that they don't want capitalism back, they are among the targets of the Gleason-Kirkland boycott.

Polish workers know that capitalism kept Poland poor, undeveloped, and war-torn. The

overthrow of capitalism brought the vast expansion of industry, jobs, education, and health care. The Polish revolution made the mines, shipyards, and factories public property instead of the property of profit-hungry capitalists.

The Polish workers have gained a profound confidence that they have the right and the know-how to be "the real masters of the factories," to solve the problems of society as a whole.

Imagine the response of Gleason and Kirkland if this brand of unionism caught on among American workers!

Other union officials have been heard from too. Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, released a statement expressing the UAW's "admiration and moral support" for the Polish strikers. He goes on to claim that "unlike strikers in the democratic countries, Polish workers and their rank and file leaders face not only economic deprivation but government repression and probable jail sentences."

As though strikers in this country haven't suffered violence and bloody repression from our "democratic" capitalist government right down to today!

Fraser might well be asked, why aren't workers here making the kind of gains that the Polish workers are? Why has the UAW been unable to stop plant shutdowns or keep 300,000 UAW members from losing their jobs? Why have the gains of four decades of struggle been signed away to "save" Chrysler?

Fraser never even hints that the militant fight of the Polish workers may hold some lessons for our struggle right here.

Instead, evidently speaking in his capacity as a Chrysler board member, Fraser says he can "sympathize with the plight" of Polish authorities.

Millions of American workers are rooting for the Polish strikers. The hypocritical gestures of the top labor bureaucrats are insignificant compared to the lessons of the class struggle being played out in Poland.

We should organize solidarity with our Polish brothers and sisters. *And we should learn from them.* They are teaching a simple, all-important lesson.

Workers don't need the bosses!

We don't need the bureaucrats!

We, too, can be masters of the factories!

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Steelworkers convention

Union leaders offer no answers for layoffs and plant closings. Pages 18-19.

1,300 socialists meet

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New hearing for Gary Tyler

After six years in jail, Louisiana Black youth has new chance for freedom. Page 6.

The Militant

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Workers democracy in action

Polish strikers are "not against the socialist system," says Lech Walesa, head of the strike committee at the Gdansk shipyard.

"We don't want to change the socialist ownership of the means of production, but we want to be the real masters of the factories.

"We were promised that many times before. We have now decided to demand it by strike. . . .

"We want free, independent, self-managing unions," insists Walesa, who has emerged as the main spokesperson for the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot.

The workers democracy that Walesa is talking about is evident in the way the strike is being organized by democratically elected committees.

Rank-and-file control is further strengthened by holding negotiations in public.

When discussions between the

government and strike leaders opened again August 26, a *New York Times* dispatch from Gdansk reported: "The proceedings . . . were broadcast over the shipyard's public-address system so that every word was heard by thousands of workers lounging

outside, by 800 delegates from more than 400 strikebound factories inside, and by an expanding corps of foreign reporters."

This democratic procedure is in sharp contrast to the secrecy preferred by Polish officials—



Negotiations at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk are broadcast over public-address system to thousands of workers. This democratic procedure puts muscle of ranks squarely behind their elected negotiators.

and by the bosses and top union bureaucrats in this country.

The *Times* was troubled by the open talks. It complained that by broadcasting the session Walesa and other leaders "locked themselves into militant positions."

It added that the government negotiator, "listening to a thunder of applause from workers outside, trod lightly."

Statements by the worker delegates voiced their pent-up anger at bureaucratic misrule, their growing self-confidence, and the scope of what they are fighting for. The *Times* dispatch continued:

"Speaking often of their patriotism, the workers said that workers knew best what was wrong with the country and how to save it. Their discourses, complete with figures and statistics, took on the character of exposés as they talked of waste and inefficiency."

... upsurge spreads across Poland

Continued from front page

Council, Gierek said, should hold new elections in all factories, with secret ballots and an unlimited number of candidates.

If actually carried out, this would mark a major shift in trade-union policy.

The strikers, who are opposed to Poland's existing union structure, which is bureaucratically controlled, have been demanding the right to establish their own unions free from all government and party control.

Gierek also announced the dismissal of Prime Minister Edward Babiuch and several other top government, party, and union officials who had been especially vocal in denouncing the strikers. It was the biggest government shake-up in ten years.

A day earlier, the Gierek regime also agreed to meet directly with the workers' joint strike committees—after having adamantly refused to recognize their authority for more than a week.

Even more significantly, Gierek has

been forced to admit that the strikers have real grievances. In his speech, he acknowledged the existence of "social discontent" and "growing irregularities" and admitted that the party had made grave mistakes.

A week earlier he also admitted some of the failings of the official union apparatus, claiming that he took "a critical view of its bureaucracy and distance from the masses."

The Polish workers, however, are demanding much more than the bureaucratic regime is yet willing to concede. They are demanding significant economic gains and the granting of basic democratic rights.

Upon first hearing Gierek's speech, strike leaders remained skeptical. Speaking before a crowd of 2,000 workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Lech Walesa, the chairman of the Interfactory Strike Committee for the region, stated, "These changes were a victory for us." But he added, "It's a patching up of holes. We want something new."

"Only free trade unions can make us happy, can give us a victory. The government will not be able to cheat us—we do not give it that opportunity."

Anna Walentynowicz, another member of the strike committee, told the workers, "We have to continue our struggle."

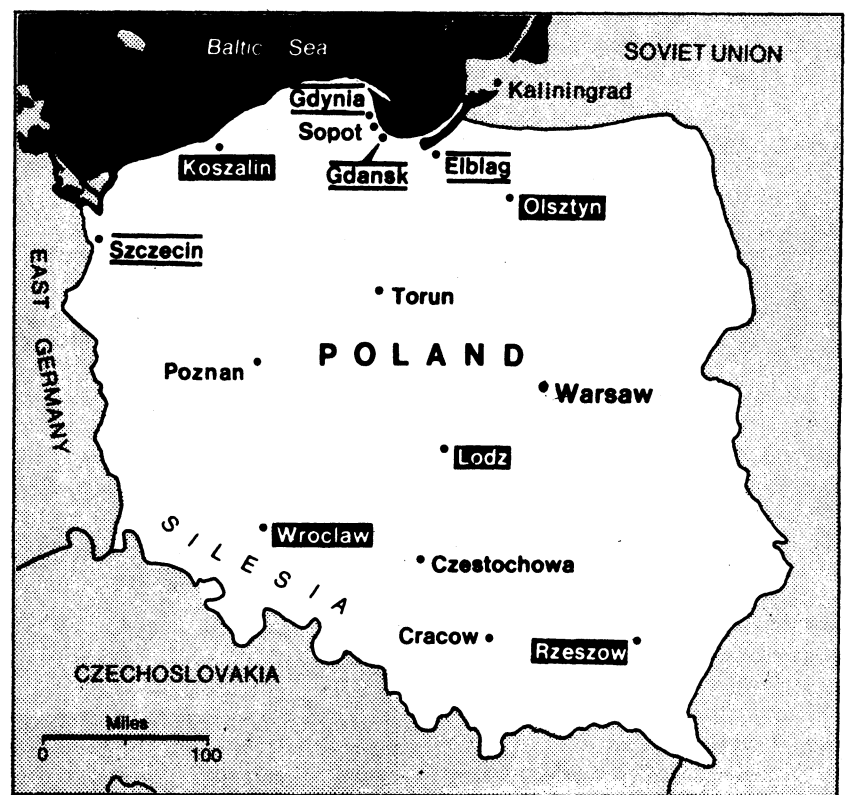
A mighty upsurge

Gierek's decision to back down followed the failure of his various attempts to divide and intimidate the workers.

In an effort to break the solidarity of the strikers, government negotiators initially attempted to arrange settlements on a factory-by-factory basis, while spurning the joint strike committees that were coordinating the strikes and formulating the workers' demands. The workers stood firm, and refused to go along with this ploy.

The powerful Roman Catholic Church attempted to give Gierek a hand, calling on workers to return to their jobs. In an August 22 statement, it claimed that "prolonged stoppages" were "against the good of society." Although many of the strikers are practicing Catholics, the plea went unheeded.

Government and party officials also used the threat of possible Soviet intervention to try to intimidate the strikers, although there has been no hint of such intervention from Moscow to date.



Strike wave began in Gdansk-Gdynia region and has spread to cities around the country shown in black panels.

And although Gierek refrained from any mass repression against the strikers, police did detain a number of prominent dissidents who were allied with the workers, including Jacek Kuron, a central figure in the Committee for Social Self-Defense, the KOR.

All this failed to have much of an impact, reflecting the tremendous social power of the workers' upsurge, the best organized and most massive one in Poland since the end of World War II.

Within a little more than a week after the Lenin Shipyard workers first walked off their jobs on August 14, strikes and factory occupations had spread throughout the three neighboring Baltic Coast cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot, involving well over 150,000 workers and shutting down some 400 factories, enterprises, and cooperatives.

Bypassing the official trade unions, the workers elected their own strike committees to negotiate their demands. The thirteen-member Interfactory Strike Committee was elected to coordinate the activities of the strikers throughout the area.

A similar joint committee was established in the western port city of Szczecin, representing about 100 factories and 50,000 strikers.

Periodic walkouts have hit the giant

Lenin steel mill at Nowa Huta, near Krakow. Thousands of workers in various enterprises have also struck in Elblag, Torun, Krakow, Plock, Slupsk, and other cities.

This most recent strike wave has been even more massive than the two that hit the country in July in response to sharp increases in the price of meat.

How strike began

The August 14 walkout at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was sparked by an attempt by the management to dismiss Anna Walentynowicz, a crane operator who had participated in the 1970 and 1976 labor upsurges and who had been part of the small workers' delegation that met with Communist Party chief Edward Gierek during the 1976 strike.

The management claimed that she was dismissed for disciplinary reasons. Walentynowicz charged that it was in retaliation for her political activism. Shortly after the announcement of her dismissal, leaflets appeared at the shipyard explaining her case.

At 6:00 a.m. on August 14, workers at two of the shops in the shipyard walked away from their machines, bearing placards with her name. Banners went up in the yard.

Lech Walesa, a labor activist and

Continued on page 22

International solidarity

"The attitude of the strikers here appears to be hardening every day that the crisis continues, and they feel increasingly confident of their strength," reported *Washington Post* correspondent Michael Dobbs in an August 26 dispatch from Gdansk.

"Today, in emotional scenes at strike headquarters at the Lenin Shipyard, they received pledges of support from trade unionists in France, Norway, and several other Western countries."

Dobbs reported that a delegate from the 1.3 million member French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) came to the shipyard in person to hand over a \$2,500 donation to strike leader Lech Walesa. He was applauded loudly when he shouted in French, "Long live the Polish workers' struggle."

Walesa declared, "If they don't negotiate with us properly soon, we may quickly become an international strike committee."

Court hearing slated

Calif. socialists press fight against ballot

By Sara Gates

OAKLAND—The Socialist Workers Party has been ruled off the California ballot. A court hearing seeking reversal of this illegal decision is slated for early September.

The Communist Party presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Angela Davis was also denied ballot status with the same fake argument of "too few valid signatures" on nominating petitions.

To qualify for the ballot, parties other than the Democrats and Republicans, must obtain the signatures of 101,000 registered voters. The SWP filed 153,000 for its presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann and 139,000 for George Johnson, its senatorial candidate.

The Communist Party filed more than 133,000 for its ticket.

Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the San Diego area 43rd District, was also declared disqualified for the ballot.

Friedman's opponent in the race is Thomas Metzger, the Ku Klux Klanner who is the Democratic Party candidate. Metzger had no problem qualifying for the ballot.

In a statement issued here, SWP senatorial nominee George Johnson scored the Democratic administration of Gov. Edmund Brown for its political victimization of the Socialist Workers and Communist Parties. He called upon labor, Black, women's, and civil liberties groups to protest Brown's action.

SWP campaign workers have found



substantial evidence of illegal tampering with their petitions by election officials, and this is being extensively documented for the court action.

The party will be represented by the

noted civil rights attorney Howard Moore.

With only five percent of the submitted signatures checked for validity, there is much evidence of flagrant

tampering with the so-called random sampling method employed.

And, in a number of cases, blank lines were counted as "not registered!"

William Yee, an attorney for the secretary of state's office, was quoted in the August 22 San Diego Union as actually justifying this. Blank spaces, he asserted, must be counted as invalid signatures. Besides, he admonished, the spaces should not have been left unfilled.

In addition, crossed out names were also counted as "not registered."

This raw decision by the Brown administration, and the SWP court challenge in response to it, has been given media coverage around the state.

The August 20 San Francisco Chronicle quoted SWP campaign director Jeff Mackler as charging, "We found a systematic attempt in every single one of the five biggest counties to keep us off the ballot, and that was politically motivated. We've been ripped off, legally, mechanically and technically."

The August 14 Hayward Daily Review reported the SWP charges and added: "Alameda County Registrar of Voters Jim Riggs admitted there were mistakes in verifying petitions in his county. He said he is not only looking into why they occurred, but also is having the petitions rechecked."

But, despite this show of objectivity, Riggs also advised the paper he did not believe the number of valid signatures would "rise substantially" as a result of his efforts.

The August 22 San Diego Union

S.F. Black weekly spotlights SWP ballot fight

The 'Sun Reporter,' San Francisco's leading Black weekly, carried a story in its issue of August 21 about the fight of the California Socialist Workers Party for a place on the state ballot. It appeared before the state officially notified the SWP it would not certify its petitions. The following is the text of the article.

By Peter Magnani

The Socialist Workers Party has sued to get its candidates placed on the November ballot in California.

In a complaint against various state and county officials filed late last week, the party charges that illegal procedures were used to keep them in the dark about whether they had qualified for a place on the ballot, and that signers of their qualifying petitions had been improperly invalidated.

The suit is scheduled for a superior court hearing in San Francisco this

weekend.

The party filed more than 157,000 signatures in fourteen California counties, about 52,000 more than they needed to place their candidates for president and vice-president on the ballot. Additional petitions were filed in some counties on behalf of Socialist Workers Party candidates for other offices.

Under California law, county registrars have to notify petitioners how many signatures are valid and how many invalid within ten days of the filing of the signatures. But the SWP suit alleges that the party has not yet been notified in any of the counties in which they filed even though it's been more than a month since they turned in their petitions.

The deadline for qualifying for the November ballot is September 3. Party spokesmen said they filed early in order to make use of the ten-day rule and launch a drive for additional sig-

natures if the registrars indicated they needed to.

According to Jeff Mackler, the party's California campaign director, county registrars have been ignoring the ten-day rule because they have been expecting the state legislature to change the law. However, the law was never changed so the state and county are acting illegally, the SWP suit charges.

The suit also points to some surprising irregularities in the signature verification process which Mackler says indicates that state and county officials may be purposely trying to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot.

In Alameda County, for example, the registrar's office numbered signatures on the petitions it received out of order and wherever the numerical order is broken the signature in that spot is marked invalid.

Leading SWP members speculate that some had looked for invalid signatures and then readjusted the numbers to fit.

The numbers in question are important because they are randomly selected by a state computer and sent to the registrars for sample validation.

Under a new state law, registrars only check the validity of a random sample of five percent of the signatures turned in rather than going through the entire petition.

Other questionable practices discovered by SWP workers are outright mistakes in the registrars handling of the petitions, invalidated signatures on the basis of incorrect addresses when the signers are clearly bone fide registered voters who have moved since the last election, and using computer and miniaturized records rather than original registration sheets to validate signatures.

Taken as a whole, the suit charges that the number of signatures improperly invalidated would be more than

enough to put the party well over the top in qualifying for the November ballot.

The Socialist Workers Party boasts that it was on the ballot in the largest number of states of any third party during the 1976 elections.

In California in that year, the party says its petition drive turned out to have gathered about 70 percent valid signatures whereas, looking over various county records this year, SWP workers say they are only being credited with thirty to forty percent validity.

That, they say, is improbable considering their past record and the care with which petition gatherers ascertain whether the signers are actually registered to vote, which they must be in order to be counted.

Party members say they were particularly careful this year in San Diego County where they are trying to run a candidate for Congress against Democratic candidate Daniel [Thomas] Metzger, an avowed Ku Klux Klan leader.

In fact, Mackler blames the Democrats for causing trouble for the SWP because "they are afraid of our ideas."

He says the Democrats are "a party in crisis" with "a discredited presidential candidate" of their own and that "they don't want any alternative ideas on the ballot at a time when they're running scared themselves."

Mackler says the Democrats "are the party of war, poverty and racism."

He says he thinks they may be feeling political pressure from groups like organized labor that are fed up with the lack of progress under Democratic administrations.

"We have no doubt they would stoop to anything to stop our party," Mackler said, suggesting that the Democrats who control the governor's office and the office of the secretary of state in California might be conspiring to keep the SWP off the ballot.

'People's World' reports suit

OAKLAND—Striking a welcome note of solidarity, the August 16 issue of the People's World reported the suit of the California Socialist Workers Party against the efforts of Gov. Edmund Brown's administration to keep it off the state ballot.

A West Coast weekly associated with the Communist Party, the People's World reported the SWP ballot fight the week that it announced nominating petitions had been filed for the CP's presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Angela Davis. It was before the CP was notified that it too had been denied its place on the ballot.

Reporting that the SWP had filed 152,000 signatures for its ticket, the PW added:

"Meanwhile, the Socialist Workers Party this week filed suit against the state charging massive violations in the ballot certification process.

"In a press statement, SWP Senate candidate George Johnson charged 'illegal and arbitrary use' of random sampling to count signatures, 'illegal disqualification of registered voters, refusal to allow access to prima facie documents to check validity,' and violation of the ten-day deadline of notification of validation.

"SWP leaders blasted the Democratic leadership of California for maneuvering to block the placement of independent candidates on the ballot."

exclusion

reported the SWP charges as made by senatorial candidate George Johnson and congressional nominee Mark Friedman.

The paper also ran a denial by county registrar Ray Ortiz to an asserted statement by Friedman that he

A national protest is needed against the moves by the Democratic party machine to exclude the Socialist Workers Party from the California ballot. Letters and telegrams should be sent to Gov. Edmund Brown, State Capitol, Sacramento, Ca. 95814, Secretary of State March Fong Eu, 1230 J Street, Sacramento, Ca. 95814. Copies should be sent to SWP, 2864 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, Ca. 94609.

was in agreement with the SWP suit. The paper added that Ortiz "conceded, however, that he told Friedman some of the procedures used in the 5 percent sampling method in validating signatures might need to be reevaluated."

"What I did say," Ortiz said, "was that I was surprised that no one had yet sued over the use of this system."

LOS ANGELES—The first of several meetings in the state to protest the attempted exclusion of the Socialist Workers Party from the ballot will be held here Saturday evening, September 6. It will be held at the SWP campaign headquarters, 2211 North Broadway.

Among those speaking will be SWP congressional candidate Mark Friedman, Chuck Verrill, an antidraft activist, and Al Belmontez, president of United Auto Workers Local 216 at the General Motors Southgate plant.

A number of prominent figures in the Los Angeles area have protested the moves to keep the SWP off the ballot. Among these are Ramona Ripston, director of the Southern California ACLU; Howard Friedman, executive secretary of Service Employees International Union, Local 99; Steve Coony, general manager of SEIU Local 660; and Dr. Isidore Ziferstein, a staunch and longtime supporter of progressive causes.

By Judy White

SAN DIEGO—The Democrats may be a bit embarrassed that their candidate for Congress here is a leader of the Ku Klux Klan. But they did nothing to prevent this racist from winning their party nomination, and they have moved vigorously to bar his socialist opponent from the ballot.

This charge was made by Socialist Workers congressional nominee Mark Friedman at a press conference here August 21. Friedman was joined by George Johnson, the party's senatorial nominee.

As elsewhere in the state, significant evidence has already been found here of illegal handling of the SWP petitions.

With 11,000 signatures needed to qualify for the congressional race, Friedman's backers filed some 18,000 in his behalf. Yet on the basis of an alleged random sample, officials here asserted there are not enough valid names.

Campaign supporters told of going to the registrar's office and checking a batch of 400 which assertedly contained a preposterously low validity rate of 29 percent, according to the 5 percent "random" check.

Checking out 220 of these names with the incomplete records made available to them, they were able to establish a validity rate of better than 70 percent, more than enough to qualify.

New York petitioning

SWP, YSA gain new supporters

By Cliff Connor

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party is making rapid progress in the petition drive to put its candidates on the state ballot. Andrew Pulley is running for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

In the first nine days of petitioning, more than 24,000 signatures were obtained for the presidential slate, as well as Victor Nieto, New York nominee for U.S. senator.

At an August 24 Harlem street rally for Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe, 300 people signed for the socialist ticket.

Campaigners are also already near, or beyond, the signature requirement to place three congressional candidates on the ballot.

These are Keith Jones and Reba Williams Dixon in the New York City area's 14th and 19th congressional districts, and Patricia Mayberry in the Albany area's 29th district.

Vice-presidential nominee Matilde Zimmermann joined the petition drive here this past Saturday, campaigning and gathering signatures in Harlem and in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district.

A veteran campaigner, she was enthused by the continuing growth of interest in socialist ideas.

As she talked with one young Puerto Rican, it was apparent why she felt this way.

It turned out he was a Vietnam veteran who had learned a valuable lesson about the American military.

"Whenever the government thinks people in other countries are getting too big for their britches," he observed, "they send in the CIA and the army."

He also noted that in Harlem, political promises never result in material gains for ordinary people, but in Cuba the Castro government has succeeded in building schools and hospitals, "even out in the woods."

During the week, socialist shipyard workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard signed up more than a hundred of their co-workers outside the gate after their shift.

Socialist workers are also meeting more co-workers as a result of the campaign activity. One Chicano sailor, on a ship in drydock at the yard, joined Brooklyn petitioners on Saturday.

Socialist auto workers at the General Motors Tarrytown plant have also obtained more than a hundred signatures from co-workers.

Wells Todd, an assembler on night shift, petitioned during shift change.

"Workers from day shift that I hadn't met before signed," he said. "They hate Reagan and Carter, so they like seeing another choice."

With New York's big Caribbean population, petitioners have met Grenadians, Jamaicans, Dominicans, Bahamians, Trinidadians, Haitians and others who are excluded from participating in U.S. elections but are intensely interested in Washington's policy toward the Caribbean. Many of these have expressed interest in learning more about the SWP and working with it.

In Brooklyn, petitioners invited people to a class offering an introduction to socialist ideas. Among those attending were a Dominican, a Bahamian and a Trinidadian.

During the first two weeks of the petition drive, six people have joined the New York Young Socialist Alliance. Of these, three are Dominicans.

Fake petition count challenged in Texas

By Rich Finkel

HOUSTON—The secretary of state has denied ballot status to the Texas Socialist Workers Party. This decision was immediately protested by the SWP which is preparing a legal challenge to the ruling.

The party submitted 38,453 signatures on nominating petitions, far exceeding the 23,698 required.

The state's ruling was based on a check of only 389 signatures of the total submitted!

On the basis of this miniscule "random sample," officials claimed that only 48 percent of the signatures submitted were valid. The signatures of 38,000 Texans were not even examined.

John Sarge, SWP candidate for state railroad commissioner, assailed the

decision as a blatant act of political discrimination.

He charged that the move to exclude the SWP stemmed from the fact that the party was "the only one representing the needs of working people."

He urged that protests be sent to Gov. William Clements, Capitol Station, Austin, Texas 78711, and to Secretary of State George W. Strake at the same address.

SAN ANTONIO—The Socialist Workers Party held well-covered news conferences here and in Austin August 25 protesting its exclusion from the state ballot.

In Austin, railroad commissioner candidate John Sarge was joined at a capitol grounds protest by Leah Sher-

man, the party's nominee for Congress in Dallas' fifth district.

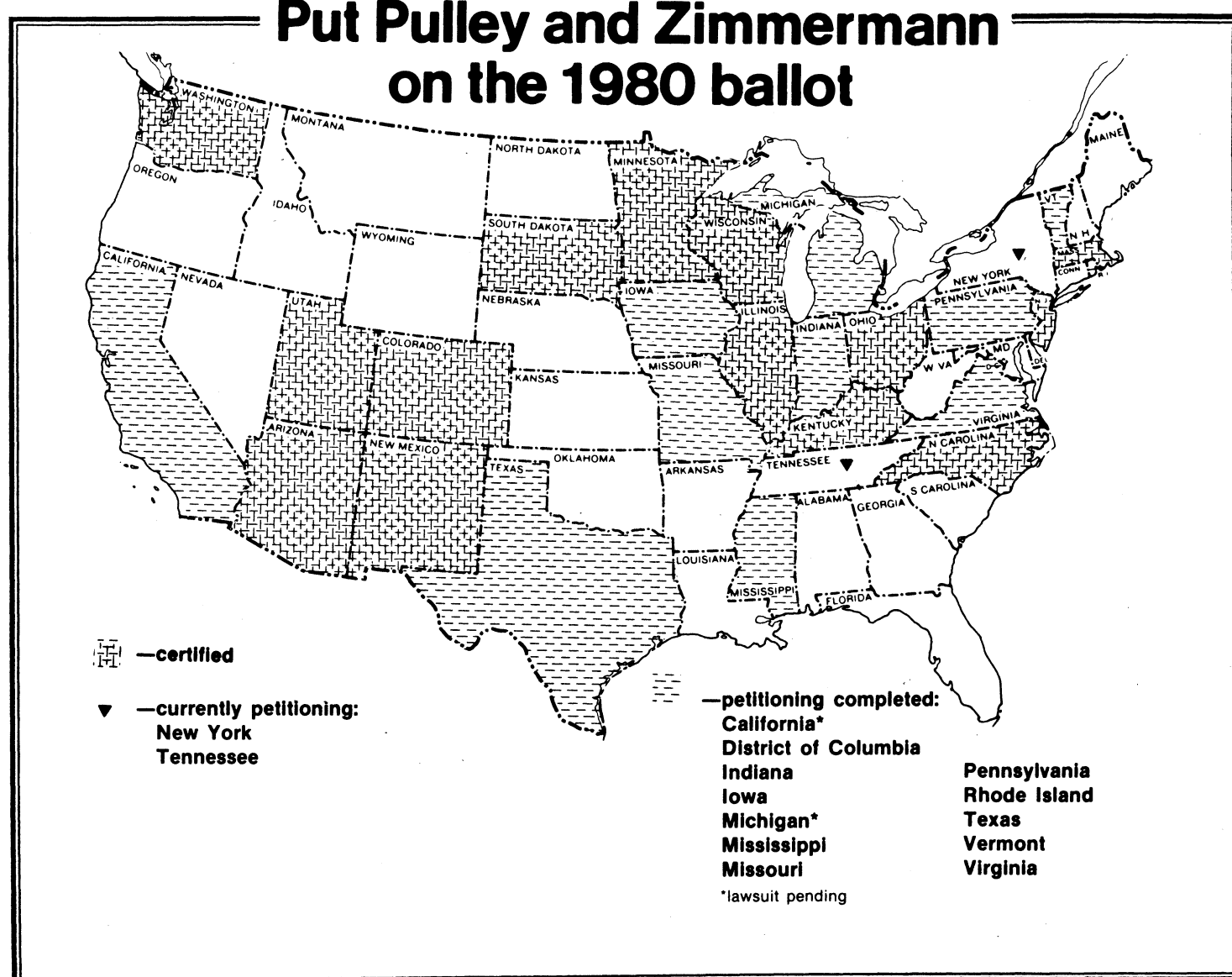
Austin's daily paper and local TV station reported the protest.

Here in San Antonio, extensive coverage was given the news conference.

Both of the city's dailies reported it, as well as three TV and several radio stations.

Campaign chairperson Steve Marshall told the media, "The secretary of state isn't concerned with the technicalities of our petition. He just doesn't want a party on the ballot that's running a steelworker for president and an oil worker for railroad commissioner. A party that's against the draft, against nuclear energy and weapons, that's for the Equal Rights Amendment and for nationalization of the oil industry."

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



Six years in jail for frame-up

Court orders new hearing for Gary Tyler

By Jane Van Deusen

NEW ORLEANS—Gary Tyler, a young Black man who has spent the past six years in jail for a crime he did not commit, will receive a new hearing.

The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled July 24 that Tyler's conviction was unconstitutional and ordered a hearing that could lead to a new trial.

Tyler was framed up on charges of killing a white youth during a racist mob attack on a school bus carrying Black high school students. Tried by an all-white jury and convicted of first-degree murder on November 18, 1975, Tyler was put on death row at the

Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola.

Tyler's frame-up began October 7, 1974.

As the bus carrying Tyler and other Black students left Destrehan High School in St. Charles Parish, it was surrounded by a brick-and-bottle-throwing white mob. Spotting a white man in the crowd with a shotgun, the students ducked under the seats for cover. A shot rang out and thirteen-year-old Timothy Weber fell dead.

Forcing Black students to lie on the ground, the police searched them and the bus for three hours.

During a second search at the police station, women were forced to strip and several men were beaten. No one from the white mob was arrested or searched.

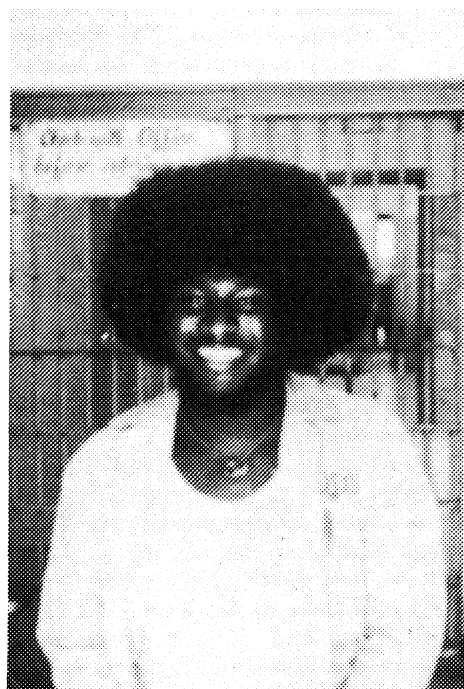
Tyler protested the cop harassment. For this he was arrested for "disturbing the peace."

Police severely beat Tyler trying to get him to admit seeing the person who fired the shot. He was later charged for the murder of Weber.

Natalie Blanks, one of sixty-five students on the bus, was the only witness against Tyler.

Since the initial trial, Blanks has recanted her testimony. In 1976, she testified at an appeal for a new trial that police and prosecutors coerced her into lying and admitted that she had not seen anyone fire a gun.

No fingerprints were found on the



Gary Tyler at Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola, Louisiana.

gun allegedly used in the murder. Since then the gun has been "lost."

Because Tyler was a juvenile at the time of the trial, he could be tried for first-degree murder only if it could be proven there was intent to kill or do great bodily harm to more than one person. One person claimed that his shoulder was grazed by the same bullet that killed Weber.

Trial Judge Ruche Marino informed

the jury that they must presume Tyler intended to kill two people.

The jury deliberated only two hours before agreeing on a guilty verdict, and Judge Marino imposed the death penalty.

Tyler's death sentence was vacated in 1976 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled Louisiana's death penalty unconstitutional. He was given life imprisonment without parole, probation, or suspension of sentence for twenty years.

Tyler's fight for freedom won broad national and international support. Rallies, marches, and meetings have been organized during the past six years.

The case has gone through many appeals and lost. But the recent appeals court decision offers a new opportunity to prove Tyler's innocence.

The court said that Judge Marino's instructions to the jury were unconstitutional and denied Tyler a fair trial. The court, however, raised the question of why Tyler's attorney did not object to the judge's actions.

Jack Williams, Tyler's attorney during the first trial, has testified he did not know the judge's charge was illegal.

If the court agrees, a new trial will be granted.

If Tyler is retried, the prosecution will be without a witness and a murder weapon.

Funds needed

"We want to thank everyone who's helped Gary," Juanita Tyler, Gary Tyler's mother and head of his defense committee, told the *Militant*. "He's so happy with the new prospects for freedom."

She also has asked for his supporters to write Gary and to contribute toward his legal expenses.

Send letters to: Gary Tyler, #84156, Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, Louisiana 70712.

Send contributions to: Gary Tyler Defense Fund, c/o Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird Lane, Destrehan, Louisiana 70047.

N.C. governor reveals plan to spy on radicals

By Steve Craine

GREENSBORO, N.C.—North Carolina Governor James Hunt announced August 21 that he is introducing legislation giving the state a free hand to infiltrate "radical" groups with undercover agents.

Hunt's pretext was several protests staged recently by members of the Communist Workers Party. CWP supporters—who saw five of their number gunned down November 3 by Klan and Nazi Party members now getting kid glove treatment in a Greensboro court—have done nothing more than shout at the governor at one press conference and throw eggs at him and some fellow politicians.

It is these expressions of frustrated anger, not the murder of peaceful anti-Klan demonstrators by an organized racist gang, that is drawing the governor's fire.

Hunt claims that his legislation, which is being prepared by the Department of Crime Control, would not violate political dissenters. "We're not going to do anything to them," he said. "We're just going to find out what they're going to do to us."

But as Leon White, director of the Commission for Radical Justice in Raleigh, pointed out, "the governor's plan allows him to define which groups are 'violent' and which are 'non-violent'. The governor's main concern is to know what's going on in any group that opposes him politically," White said.

The governor's move coincides with efforts to use the trial of the Klan and Nazi murderers as a pretext for prosecuting more CWP members. The prosecution attempted to call Thomas Conrad Clark, a CWP member who was wounded at the November 3 anti-Klan rally, to the stand.

The prosecution knows that the CWP, which regards the trial as a farce aimed at getting the Nazis and Klan off the hook, has stated that its members won't testify. On August 21, Long signed an order that Clark be

arrested and held without bond until he appears in court.

Hunt's proposal concretizes his suggestion after the November 3 killings that infiltration of "wild and crazy groups" by federal and state cops would prevent such violence. He named not only the Klan and Nazis, but "communists, socialists, and anti-nuclear groups" as targets.

Recent revelations of the role of the cop agents in the KKK-Nazi murders show that such infiltration certainly won't be used to stop racist violence—exactly the opposite.

Despite the inside information that at least two government agents had about the racist plans on November 3, no cops were on the scene until after the shooting was over. In fact, the two cops helped the KKKers and Nazis plan the attack.

Bernard Butkovitch, a full-time agent for the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms was assigned to join the Winston-Salem branch of the Nazi party in the summer of 1979. He participated in the founding meeting of the "United Racist Front" in September and in Nazi planning meetings on November 1 and 2.

Police claim he gave them no information on what was discussed. Nazis who are now standing trial claim Butkovitch offered to teach them how to make bombs and illegal automatic weapons. They also accuse Butkovitch of encouraging them to carry guns to the November 3 rally. He did not show up on the morning of November 3.

The other informer who has been exposed is Edward Dawson, a former FBI agent who has been active in the Greensboro Ku Klux Klan for fifteen years. Klan sources state that he was instrumental in making arrangements to bring Klanners from around the state to Greensboro on November 3. Police admit he gave them information as late as one hour before the shooting, but they claim his information was

misleading.

Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, denounced Hunt's infiltration scheme. "Governor Hunt insists his

informers will be used to prevent violence. But the events in Greensboro, like the whole history of government infiltration, has been to promote racist, antilabor violence."

Racists hit Cleveland Latinos

By Lynda Joyce

CLEVELAND—During recent weeks, a bombing and two incidents of arson here have gutted or caused extensive damage to three major institutions in the Hispanic community.

In addition, the largest community social services organization serving Hispanics—the Spanish American Committee for a Better Community—has been plagued by repeated bomb threats. Swastikas have been painted on walls and residents on the Westside have been subjected to racist harassment.

In response to these attacks, a community meeting was organized August 17 by the Hispanic Coalition. Nearly eighty people gathered at the San Juan Bautista Church to discuss the incidents and a plan of action.

Raul Vega, executive director of the Spanish-American Committee, explained that the police bomb squad instructed him to search for any bombs and if he found something, they would come to the scene.

Jose Peña, editor of *Ecos de Cleveland*, the city's Spanish-language weekly, pointed to the recent success the Socialist Workers Party had in forcing the city to provide police protection. The Hispanic community should get the same response, he said.

He was referring to the repeated threats local Nazis had made against the July 26 SWP campaign rally here. The socialists organized



Militant/Lynda Joyce

Several buildings like one above have been targets of racist firebombings.

a broadly endorsed public defense campaign, placing demands for protection on the city government. The Nazis didn't show up at the rally.

SWP senatorial candidate John Powers received a loud round of applause at the August 17 meeting as he expressed outrage at the attacks and pledged his campaign's support for community demands.

At a news conference August 20, Mayor Voinovich announced the city would try to arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of the racist attacks.

'Cops treat us like animals'

Behind the Black rebellion in Wichita

By Bob Kutchko and Izabella Listopad

WICHITA, Kan.—Combine police brutality, high unemployment, and racist discrimination with an isolated Midwestern industrial city and you get Wichita, Kansas.

Although it has not hit the headlines like Miami and Chattanooga, the Black community here has also been fighting back against the years of injustice.

Most of the Black residents are segregated into the northeast area—hence the name, Northeast Task Force, a community organization formed in 1978 to respond to police violence.

"It seems like every time there's a disturbance in the northeast area, there's a whole lot of policemen," says Lucius Woodard, vice-president of the task force.

"They've got to come in with their riot hats, their billy clubs, their artillery, and make a big scene out of nothing. A lot of people get hurt, and it seems like we always get blamed for it," he told the *Militant*.

Linda Parks, another long-time activist and task force's operations director, adds, "They come over here like they're coming to kill us. They come here in herds like buffalo, treat us like

animals, and then they get up in the air because we retaliate."

Most recently, on the evening of July 19, police entered the Family Game Room recreation center seeking to remove so-called troublemakers.

A crowd of 700 Black youths quickly gathered, shouting "Miami, Miami!" They threw rocks and bottles and distributed free gasoline from a nearby service station. Police escalated the situation by using tear gas.

Three months earlier, on April 22, more than sixty persons were treated for injuries and twenty-four arrested during a similar cop-inspired incident. It began with the attempted arrest, without a warrant, of Kaylan Pruitt.

Failing to find Pruitt, the cops proceeded to throw his brother through the window of a laundromat. Newspaper accounts confirm that more than 300 cops, assisted by a police helicopter dropping tear gas bombs, confronted a crowd of 200 Blacks. As an additional intimidation, military personnel at nearby McConnell Air Force Base were put on alert.

The task force immediately held a news conference blasting the unprovoked show of force by police, and demanded the resignation of Police Chief Richard LaMunyon.

The U.S. Department of Justice and the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights were forced to announce intentions to investigate the conduct of the police force.

Chief LaMunyon's response? "We don't need any outsiders to deal with a local problem." He said he would not cooperate with any investigations unless so ordered by the courts. Thus far no official investigation has issued any harsh condemnation or significant recommendations concerning police brutality.

But the record of violence is there for anyone willing to look.

Visit Sam Adams' fish market and he will tell you how he was led from his shop back in 1966, handcuffed, beaten, and arrested by four cops for no reason. Adams suffered permanent injury to one eye and has a police record for the incident.

Freda White was shot down in her home by police who later could not produce the knife they say she brandished.

In 1979, nineteen-year-old Bobby Jacobs was murdered by police who fired high-powered rifles, indiscriminately spraying two houses across the street.

Why was Jacobs, who had never had

a police record, gunned down? Woodard summed up the incident: "They killed an innocent guy they thought had broken into an abandoned community action building."

Having survived an arrest is no guarantee of safety for the Black and the poor. More than one prisoner has "committed suicide" in police custody.

A year ago the office of the Northeast Task force was firebombed. Since then, assistance funds to that organization have been cut off. And police continue to roam the northeast part of town.

A modern industrial city, Wichita is the home of major aircraft-related concerns such as Boeing, Learjet, and Cessna. But recent layoffs have hit Black workers the hardest.

Speaking of job opportunities for Blacks, who comprise 40,000 of the city's 273,000 residents, Linda Parks commented, "They aren't going to let the teenagers get a job. And those of us who do have jobs, they try and put us in a position where we better not say anything. It is a deliberate set-up. We are deliberately neglected."

Parks was recently fired from her job for reasons which supposedly had nothing to do with her willingness to speak out against injustices.

Colo. Chicanos protest police murder of youths

By Greg Hollenbeck

LONGMONT, Colo.—Racist cops killed two Chicano youths here August 14. The angry Chicano community responded with a rally of 150 people August 17 and a meeting of 500 protesters August 18. Six hundred attended the funeral on August 20.

Participants in the August 18 meeting, at which city officials were confronted, said it was the largest protest action in the history of Longmont.

Longmont, a seemingly peaceful town of 25,000, has a long history of racist abuse of Chicanos. It's reputed to house the largest chapter of the John Birch Society in the state.

Chicanos tell how systematic discrimination against them begins in the schools, where they are generally pushed out by age sixteen.

Jobs are hard to find. Police harassment is frequent. At night, Chicanos have the choice of staying indoors or risking arrest. Or their lives.

Jeff Cordova and Juan Luis Garcia were both twenty-one-years old. Cordova was recently discharged after three years in the army's airborne division. He was a paratrooper and received a citation for his service in the Panama Canal Zone.

Garcia was remembered as a person who would go out of his way to help out a friend. Both young men were unemployed.



Six hundred attend August 20 funeral of Jeff Cordova and Juan Luis Garcia, gunned down by a Longmont, Colorado cop.

Cordova and Garcia left their homes at 10:30 p.m. on August 16 to go to a wedding reception for Cordova's brother. At 10:51 p.m., according to District Attorney Alex Hunter, the unarmed youths were shot and killed by police officer Glen Herner. Garcia was shot in the chest and Cordova in the back.

Cordova and Garcia had been in a car with friends Bruce Hammer and Dorothy Martinez and driver Ralph Grimaldo. According to Grimaldo, they passed Herner, who had pulled another car over. Hammer shouted something as they drove by.

A few blocks later, Herner pulled them over. After calling for "reinforcements," another cop, John Davis, arrived. Moments later, after the youths had told the cops they were not armed, Herner shot and killed Garcia and Cordova.

The official coverup began immediately. Undisclosed "sources" told reporters the vehicle the youths were driving was speeding. A knife was supposedly found next to Cordova's body. (Later it was found to belong to a fire fighter who tried to revive Cordova.)

"Sources" said the car was searched for weapons, that the youths used a police flashlight as a weapon, that one

of them grabbed the officer's nightstick. The district attorney said the cop stopped the youths because he thought they "were doing something he thought warranted him to stop the car."

Chicano leaders called a meeting and 500 angry Chicanos came from Longmont, and also from Pueblo, Brighton, Greeley, Denver, and as far

away as San Luis Valley in the opposite corner of the state.

At first city officials tried to have a closed-door meeting with several representatives from the Chicano community. But the militancy of the crowd forced them to back down.

Victor Vela demanded of the so-called director of public safety, "What do you call the shooting last week?"

The crowd shouted, "Murder!"

The director replied, "I have no answer."

Ben Cordova, who recently chaired a countywide task force on problems facing youth, then spoke. He said that in Longmont arrests among Hispanics are three to four times greater than those of Anglos. "I refuse to believe that Chicanos are three to four times as criminally inclined as Anglos," he said. His call for a citizen's review board was applauded.

The mayor was denounced for an anti-Chicano memo to the city government issued the morning after the shooting. The memo declared that "last night's incident" requires a "hard crackdown on frivolous behavior on Main Street. . . . We must emphasize Main Street is not a social center."

The meeting ended when the city agreed to have weekly meetings, open to the public, with community leaders and to appoint a Hispanic to act as liaison with the community.

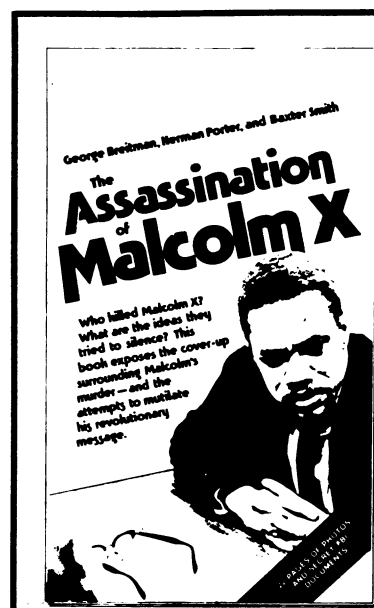
Hines out on bail

BIRMINGHAM—Tommy Lee Hines, a young mentally retarded Black man who was framed-up and convicted in 1978 for raping a white woman, was released August 25 on \$10,000 bond from an Alabama state mental hospital.

Hines' conviction was overturned in March by the Alabama Circuit Court of Appeals and by the state supreme court in June.

The courts ruled that Hines was mentally incapable of understanding his constitutional rights before confessing to police on the rape charge.

Hines' lawyer, Oscar Adams, Jr., filed for his release because he was being held illegally.



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Interview with Grenada's Maurice Bishop



Militant photos
by Jerry Hunnicutt
**Military was on parade as
Grenadians celebrated
first anniversary of their
revolution in March of this
year.**

'Our quarrel is with imperialism'

At the end of the Windward Islands in the Caribbean lies Grenada, a country of 110,000 people whose revolution of a year ago is having a political impact throughout the region.

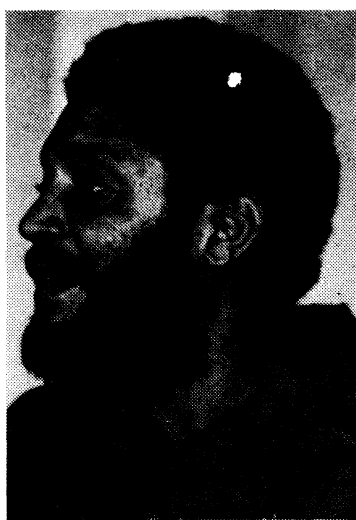
On March 13, 1979, a popular insurrection led by the New Jewel Movement toppled the repressive regime of Eric Gairy and established the People's Revolutionary Government.

Almost immediately, the new government instituted social measures that provided jobs, increased wages, improved and expanded health care, and implemented a literacy program.

The government eliminated taxes for the lowest-income people and increased taxes on big companies. More than a fifth of the 1980 budget will be allocated for health and education.

Mobilizing workers and small farmers, the PRG has greatly expanded their rights. The Trade Union Recognition Act compels employers to recognize any union that has the support of 50 percent of the workers they employ. Unionization of urban workers has increased from 30 percent under the Gairy dictatorship to 80 percent today. Agricultural Workers Councils have been organized on government and private estates across the island.

Although a small country, Grenada's revolutionary developments are affecting the rest of the Caribbean islands and are of special significance here. Grenadians are Black



MAURICE BISHOP

and English-speaking. Thousands of Grenadians—as well as other West Indians—live and work in the United States.

The U.S. government has been hostile to the Grenadian revolution from the start. The Carter administration threatened Grenada for establishing relations with Cuba and has provided a haven for Gairy to organize right-wing mercenary forces to invade the island.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, conducted a week-long fact-finding and solidarity tour of Grenada during July.

"My tour of Grenada offers the opportunity to use my campaign to tell the facts about the revolution there," Pulley declared. "It is particularly important now, because of the U.S. war threats against the Caribbean, that the truth be told to working people and the Black community here about Grenada and the great strides the Grenadian people are making."

Pulley, along with Steve Clark, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, and Diane Wang, a steelworker and member of the Socialist Workers Party, conducted the following interview with Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop July 15 in the capital city of St. George's.

Andrew Pulley. What can supporters of the Grenadian revolution, antiwar activists, and Black activists in the United States do regarding the U.S. government's war drive and slander against Grenada? How can we help combat that?

Maurice Bishop. I think there are a number of areas. Certainly the question of mobilizing the population, particularly the Blacks, the deprived minorities, progressive forces, the working class, around the importance of world peace and détente. There might be some concrete ways of getting that message across. Certainly, for example, using the Vietnam experience and what it has meant concretely for people—not only for those who died, but those who are now permanently crippled or those who have come back war heroes but still cannot find jobs.

Secondly, I think it is very important to try to organize around one or two key slogans that could dramatize and really focus in a very concrete and spectacular way on this war drive. What I'm getting at is this, for example.

Everybody knows, but most people cannot quite articulate, that the reasons for war, the reasons for any war-mongering right now, have to do essentially with the developing crisis in international capitalism. The economic problems in the United States even more so.

Witness the \$142 billion defense budget or whatever it is. Fifty million dollars cut back on school lunch programs. The retrenchment, the general cutback in social expenditures.

Yet at the same time, it is equally clear that while they are cutting back in those areas, they are stepping up on defense spending. And inciting the countries of NATO, for example, to do likewise.

Now it seems to us that it should be possible to get that message across in a concrete way. To point out that really what the war drive is all about is a means of the transnational corporations, the elite in America, to try to revive their super profits, which have been falling so dramatically. And the best way always of doing that is by getting a war economy moving—step up spending in armaments, step up spending in the area of the military generally.

So the slogan, for example, that makes the point: "We don't want a war. General Motors wants a war. Let General Motors go and fight." I'm saying that it should be possible to step up that kind of message in a very concrete way so that people can understand.

Because I get a feeling—certainly the last time I was in America—last year at the United Nations—that this war-mongering was beginning to seep through to the population in general to some extent. I wasn't there long enough, I didn't speak to enough people or to an especially wide cross-section to be sure that what I'm saying is right. But certainly listening to the radio, watching the television shows, and just talking to people here and there, that impression came across very strongly.

I don't think there's any need for that to happen in the United States. I certainly feel that a carefully worked-out program aimed at getting the message across that war is *not* in the interests of the American masses, that it's really only a very tiny minority who wants this war, essentially for economic reasons. Therefore, if they want the war, let them go and fight the war. Why should we go and die for them? It's not helping us.

Third, I think precisely what your party and your newspaper have been doing, and we certainly appreciate it. Focusing on the actual reality in the region and the efforts being made by progressive and revolutionary countries to try to get a better life for their people. And doing it in as concrete a way as they can, in terms of focusing on the basic needs of the population—jobs, health, housing, food, clothing. The concrete attempts to bring these about and therefore the developing perception in the minds of the Caribbean masses that this really is a way to measure progress. Not in terms of how many industries you have or how many hotels you have when the profits are going to a very tiny elite, but in terms of what benefits are truly getting to the masses.

Getting across the point, too, that there is absolutely no doubt that for all of us in the Caribbean who are trying to develop new paths and new processes, our concern is not with America. We have no axe to grind. All we want is to be able to live in peace. To have the opportunity to develop our own processes free from all forms of outside interference, from intimidation, from threats of invasion, from task forces and Solid Shields and whatnot. That's really all that the people of our region are asking—that it is our right to do as we wish in our own countries.

I think, as I said, that your party and your paper have certainly been making an important contribution there. And that, to us, is one very, very key area—continuing that work.

Grenada-U.S. friendship

The fourth thing I can think of would be the question of Grenada-U.S. friendships, Cuba-U.S. friendships, Nicaragua-U.S. friendships—these societies, which exist in the case of the three particular countries I've named.

For Grenada, it's a fairly recent development, but it has begun to spread. It's gotten to the West Coast now. And I know there are plans for pushing it further along. The importance is getting, not necessarily progressive, but democratic forces in America to join organizations like that, so that they get an opportunity of learning at first hand what is really happening and give themselves the opportunity of being able to see the

other side and being able to understand what the views of the people in these countries are. So that they would get a different point of view and would not have to have to continue to be saturated by the official American propaganda.

Because, again, one of the things that struck me when I was in America—I hadn't been there in two or three years—was the extent to which the news is censored, the way it's focused. If that's really all people get exposed to—the stuff you see in the *New York Times*, what you see on all the different channels and on the radio—you really have no possibility of developing a different point of view. Because it's all just aimed at pushing their point of view.

And these are the same people who talk of the free press, the right to have independent views so that everybody gets to hear what's happening. I mean, I can't think of a more unfree press, a

We really have been having that from day one. Obviously the aim of that is to wreck the tourists coming here, in particular. To make tourists generally afraid to come to the country. And they are really pushing that very viciously over the past sixteen months.

Within the first few weeks, they were saying that we had cut down the forests in the middle of the island, in the Grand Etang region, and had missiles aimed at neighboring islands. Then there was another story saying that we had burrowed all the earth from under the island and established pontoons and a U-2 base so that the Soviets could attack. Another one said that there was a Soviet naval base on the offshore island of Carriacou.

Obviously that kind of propaganda cannot affect our people. The island is so small that in a quarter of a second everybody knows that it's a joke and a lie. But on people outside of the coun-

As you know, they have been moving more and more now to the third leg of that system of destabilization, the violent destabilization, and more particularly to assassinations and straight terror. All of this is predictable.

'Come see for yourself'

We would certainly see it as important for Black Americans to come down to Grenada, for the rest of Americans generally to come, members of the American working class, American working people in general to come to our country to *see for themselves*. We feel that in the final analysis that is the best proof. Don't wait and listen to the propaganda. Come down and see.

I just opened the Caricom [Caribbean Community] ministers of health conference a while back this morning. In talking to a few of the ministers right after the opening, they were all pointing out that they can't believe that they are in Grenada when they consider the propaganda that they were hearing on *all* of the radio stations, that they were reading in *all* of the national newspapers over the past few months.

One sister from Barbados was saying that two weeks ago she heard on the radio station in Barbados a report that said that the Cuban construction workers at the airport are all walking around in full jungle fatigues with AK-47's on their backs, and that government ministers are likewise walking around that way. That children eight, nine, ten, years old walk around carrying guns in the streets. That children are going to school with guns in their hands. That there was a civil war going on in the country. That a barricade had been established in one part of the island near the airport, and people were saying they would not lift the barricade until all the Cubans were sent back home and all detainees released.

Of course, all of these are figments of the imagination. And this sister from Barbados was just so glad that she was able to come herself.

So one of our main slogans has been, "Come to see for yourself." We really think that's very important. The extent to which more and more people can have the opportunity to come down and judge for themselves. We feel that's one of the very best ways of countering these attempts at propaganda destabilization.

Steve Clark. What has been the response of the U.S. government to your government's request for extradition procedures for Eric Gairy?

Gairy extradition

Bishop. That has had a varied history. In the first few weeks and months before we even formally applied for the extradition, they were all giving the impression, the U.S. embassy people in Barbados, that it's a formality, a very simple matter and so forth. Then, of course, they told us that we should get down to the formal aspects of it—prepare the warrants, and the back-up witnesses, proofs, and whatnot. We did all of that.

By November, we got a written communication from them, saying that the papers were in order. No problem. Then by January they came back saying that they had discovered the papers were not in order. There is some more information they want.

In between all of that [U.S. Ambassador] Sally Shelton comes to Grenada last December, at our invitation, and her line was that America didn't want Gairy. So, we pointed out that, well then, *we* want Gairy. American doesn't want Gairy. Gairy is saying he is coming back tomorrow morning. So what's the problem. Let him come. [Laughs.]

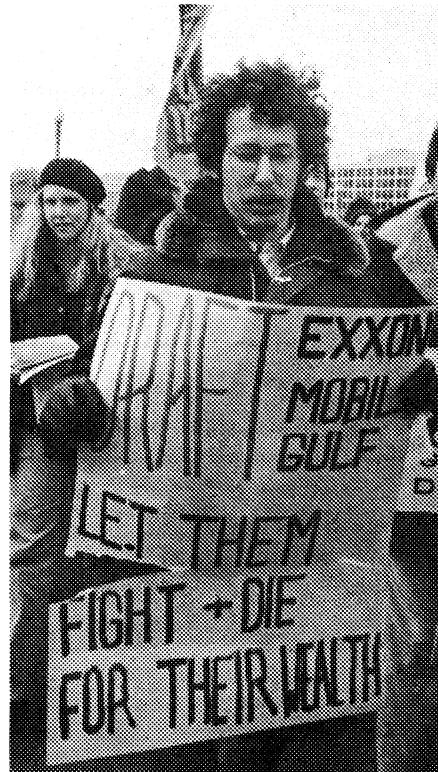
Of course, she had no answer to that. Because obviously what was going on was just the usual hypocrisy.

More recently, in the last two or three months, they have come out publicly for the first time—not publicly, but privately to our ambassa-

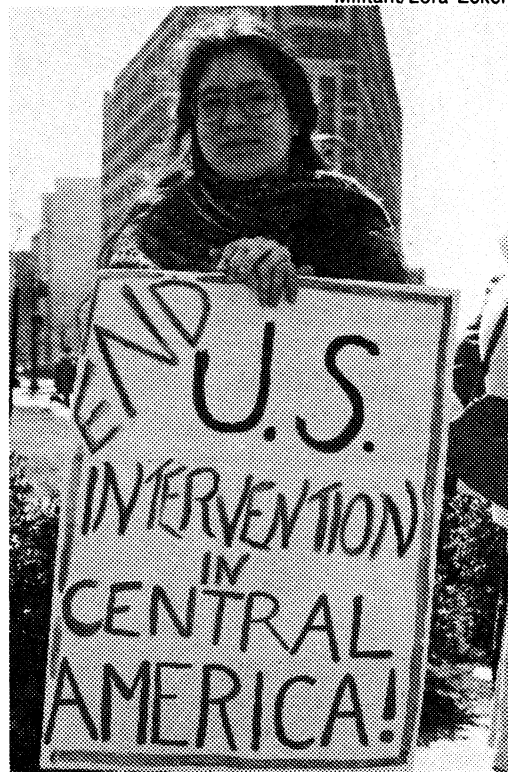
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Militant/Lora Eckert



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Michael Baumann

1971 anti-Vietnam war protest, top. Antidraft, antiwar actions nearly a decade later, above, began with more awareness of role of big business.

more unfree media than the American media.

Pulley. One big lie that they are perpetrating right now in the United States is that Grenada is an armed camp where every single person walks around with carbines and, therefore, if you fear for your safety, you should not go there as a tourist. The truth is that we see more people armed in a two-block area of Chicago, especially policemen, than I've seen here. Do you have anything to say about this line of propaganda?

The other line is that the new international airport that you are building here is simply a military base.

What do you have to say regarding more Black people and other Americans coming down here just to see for themselves what's happening here?

Destabilization

Bishop. On the first question, the question of everybody walking around with guns, the island being an armed camp, civil commotion, civil war, barricades, the rest of it. Obviously that is part of the whole attempt at propaganda destabilization.

try, it can obviously have an effect. And has had some impact.

It's the same with this new line about the island being an armed camp. That's just the latest round of propaganda destabilization. We've had a lot of it. They have of course been linking that to economic destabilization—attempts at wrecking the economy.

To go back to tourism again, there are two recent examples that you might find interesting. In February a hotel owner here, the owner of a hotel called the Calabash, received a letter from one of the travel agents in New York saying that the people who were booked to come down had cancelled out because the travel agency had been advised by the State Department that Grenada was off bounds. We published that letter. The U.S. embassy, of course, denied it.

More recently still, someone did a survey for us in the Washington, D.C. area, and they discovered that of the twenty-five travel agencies *nineteen* advised against coming to Grenada, arguing that it was unsafe, the usual stuff.

So that economic destabilization has certainly continued.

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dor—saying that they have lifted all surveillance—on Gairy—something that they kept saying that they were doing to some extent within their limited resources and whatnot. And that, so far as they were concerned, the Gairy question was a dead letter.

So it has now come to the point where they have admitted openly that they are not going to bother with our request for extradition.

Carter harbors Eric Gairy

Obviously, this is going to be one of the main stumbling blocks to having any kind of reasonable relations with the United States. Because it is not possible to accept that any country, and one that deems itself to be a friendly country, has the right to harbor fugitives from justice from our country—criminals, people who are using the territory of this other country to incite aggression against our country, to actively plan counterrevolution, to plan for mercenary invasion and all that sort of thing.

Therefore, that certainly is going to be one of the major stumbling blocks to the development of any reasonable relations.

Clark. Going back to a point you made earlier. One of the slogans that very quickly has developed into probably the most popular antidraft slogan is, "We won't fight for Exxon." This relates most directly to the war dangers in the Middle East rather than in the Caribbean. But it shows the beginning development among these activists, who are the backbone of the growing antidraft movement, of a consciousness of the cause of war. In the early stages of the Vietnam War, there were many antiwar activists who thought this was just simply a mistake on the part of the U.S. policymakers. It took quite a while into the war before the consciousness of the role of big business, the consciousness that the war was being fought for a specific reason in the interests of a tiny handful, began to develop. But that's there now right at the beginning of this new fight.

Bishop. That's fantastic.

Clark. We think that another very positive thing in terms of mobilizing solidarity not only with Grenada but with Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Cuban revolution, and against the CIA destabilization efforts in Jamaica, is the fact that Grenada is the first revolution of this power and scope in an English-speaking country with a largely Black population. So it makes it much easier for at least that segment—which is a large and important segment of the American population—to identify with the revolutions in the Caribbean and Central America.

Example for U.S. Blacks

Bishop. I agree fully. I have absolutely no doubt that one of the major factors responsible for all of the aggression and hostility against the revolution in Grenada being shown by the United States government is precisely the fact that they recognize that being a small Black country, with a large Black population, and as you say English-speaking, that it becomes a lot easier for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities in the United States to identify with our goals and our aspirations. And that *must* be a real problem for them. It must be.

Because what you have in America with the Black situation is already a situation of great oppression. And they have not been able to find any solutions by the usual methods of political prisoners and continued shootings of people, like happened in Miami recently. And to have added to that the example of a Grenada-type revolution must be a frightening thing for them—particularly since they see this place as being in their backyard. And they understand only too well that more and more Blacks are going to hear about Grenada, about what we are trying to do. Many of them are going



'Our greatest achievement is the community mobilization, community involvement, community participation.'

to join any movement that is opposed to trying to turn back our revolution.

I think your point is a key one. Extremely important.

Radio Free Grenada

Pulley. I'm looking forward to being able to pick up Radio Free Grenada soon in Miami.

It will be a very powerful development when its beam is strengthened, especially for the English-speaking Caribbean, of course, but also for the average person in the United States, in order to help refute all the lies. The American people are already suspicious of anything the government says about anything. Their first thought is whether the government is lying.

The more people discover that just out-and-out lies are being told about Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba, the more the U.S. government will have a tremendous problem trying to get away with its war drive. As people in the Black movement become aware of what your government and country is up against, they will be outraged. Because they will see it as a racist injustice, just as they have seen with regard to Haitians, the Haitian immigrants.

It was largely pressure from the Black community that forced Carter to change, at least in words, his discriminatory double-standard toward Cuban and Haitian immigrants.

A similar consciousness can be developed with regard to this revolution, the more that Black leaders, activists, and others are aware of it.

Clark. What are some of the gains of the revolution over the past year and four months that you are most pleased

with? And what are the biggest challenges that you see ahead in terms of social programs and economic development and reconstruction?

Bishop. Answering that question is not the easiest thing, because people's perspectives on that really differ very dramatically.

If you went out into the countryside and you spoke to an elderly sister, her response to a question like that might be something like, "I feel free. I feel good. I feel like a Grenadian for the first time." Intangible things.

Community mobilization

As for those of us in the party and government, our view is that the greatest single achievement, the thing that we are happiest about, is the community mobilization, community involvement, community participation. That has really impressed us most.

I can tell you, over and over again, month after month, we keep saying, "It can't continue." [Laughs.] And then month after month, you make a call and people still come out.

When the rains came in November last year, it did us tremendous damage, more than \$50 million¹ worth of damage to the economy, twenty-three inches in one month. Before those rains came, there were some weekends when we'd have 85 percent of the villages around Grenada involved in community efforts. That's an extraordinary development. I tell you that in other English-speaking Caribbean countries, I don't think they'd get 2

percent of villages to be involved. And I'm not saying this in a boastful way, I'm saying it in a factual way.

In January, we closed down the schools for two weeks so as to hold seminars for all the teachers to talk about the work-study approach, curriculum reform, and so on. And during those two weeks, we asked people to organize themselves to repair, repaint, refurbish all the schools, because they were in disastrous condition. And sixty-six primary schools got refurbished and repainted in that two-week period as a result of that drive, saving the country a tremendous amount of money. Really quite extraordinary.

We see it also in the area of the village health committees that are emerging as part of our drive to move toward a primary health system. Our aim is that doctors, nurses, paramedics, and technicians working as teams will go out into the country and bring medical attention to people where they live and where they need the attention.

The disproportion in the health budget is really quite staggering. In 1978, the last year of Gairy, 70 percent of the health budget was spent on the three hospitals in Grenada and Carriacou. Those three hospitals, in turn, attended to about 25 percent of the sick. But under Gairy only 30 percent of the health budget was spent in trying to keep together the thirty-five health centers and medical clinics around the country where the people actually went for attention.

If you understand the situation in this country in terms of poverty, in terms of the high cost of transportation, in terms of the inaccessibility of many of these health centers and

1. One East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$1.00.

medical clinics, then you can see the problem. People are sick, but they really cannot move. Even if they manage to go once, they cannot return two days later and so forth.

Health care

So we see the primary health system as being key. And getting the masses involved in that through village health committees, where they do a number of things. One, involve themselves in public health education. Two, deal with overhangings, deal with unblocking drains, which is one of the main problems with mosquitos outdoors, which means yellow fever and so on.

Third, monitoring the *quality* of health care they receive. Because doctors, naturally, came out of the system of 350 years of colonial oppression and thirty years of Gairy's misrule and neocolonialism. Their education system was preparing a tiny elite and one that was not dedicated to service but to dollar bills and to migrating as fast as they could. And even when they stayed here, they either moved into private practice altogether or insisted on their right, while being paid out of taxpayers' money, to practice privately at the same time, using hospital facilities to do so.

Now that kind of doctor is not going to join up as part of any medical team of nurses, paramedics, and technicians. So it's a real problem getting that struggle, that program going. We have been able to make some limited impact, but we have a long way to go. But we're sure it can be developed because of the community involvement and a new sense of oneness and unity in the country.

Concrete benefits

The other way I think we can look at the question you asked is to try to identify a little more concretely and specifically some of the actual benefits that have come to the people. More jobs, for example, 2,500 in the first year. That has made a very small dent really in the overall unemployment rate of 50 percent, which we inherited. But obviously it has made a difference. It has helped, reduced it to about 35 percent.

Secondly, in the area of education. Before the revolution, the last year of Gairy, three students went away on university scholarships in 1978. One of the three was Gairy's daughter. After the revolution, in the first six months, 109 scholarships, 109 people are able to go abroad to study.

We've been able to reduce secondary school fees from \$37 a term to \$12 a term. Next year, we intend to make it entirely free.

We have been able to increase greatly the number of scholarships in the secondary schools so that more children can get in.

We have started a breakfast and lunch feeding program in the schools so that those children who are too poor or are unable to return home for lunch will be able to keep themselves together—while your government is cutting it out.

In the area of health likewise. We inherited a situation where there were eighteen doctors working in the government service—virtually all of them concentrated in the hospitals, one or two moving around the clinics, but mostly doing a few hours every week, once a week for a few hours.

And in the first six months again, we were able to get seventeen new doctors to come to Grenada. In other words virtually the same figure as we had before were added to the system. And that has made an enormous difference in the quality and quantity of health care available.

As you know, twelve of these seventeen doctors and dentists came from Cuba on loan to us and that, of course, has been an extremely important contribution, one of many they have made to the revolution.

So you have jobs, you have education, you have health. You also have the question of struggling with the infrastructure. Pipe-borne water has been greatly increased with the open-

ing of the new Mardigras water project, and several others are about to be completed. That should ensure water for the whole of St. George's. There are pipes in some parts of St. George's that have not seen water for four and five years—not days or weeks, but literally four and five years, just rusted up.

We've been struggling with new feeder roads, opening the forests, for example, to get timber. Right now Grenada supplies something like 4 percent of our overall timber needs locally, when there's a lot of forest land just going idle. Without doing any great amount, just cutting a feeder road, not even paving it, just enough for a vehicle to get in using four-wheel drive, buying a sawmill for \$20,000, that's all. And doing this now, we expect that in five years, we will be able to supply 90 percent of our timber needs.

There's a lot of little, relatively small things that overall have made quite an impact. These are some of the achievements.

Dependent economy

In terms of the challenges. In a situation like ours, given our inheritance and dependent economy, we have an economy that was accustomed to looking outward for solutions never inwards toward our own needs and problems. We have a country that was misruled for so many years under colonialism and today continues to be exploited by imperialism. The inheritance, the legacy of not just waste and corruption, but of the lack of physical amenities, is really quite frightening. Three hundred and fifty years of British colonialism, for example, gave us *one* public secondary school. That's all they could build in 350 years! The other eleven were built by the churches.

When you come into that sort of situation, you obviously have to set yourself goals and targets for the revolution.

As you know, this year in Grenada is the year of education and production. And the two main things involved would be the CPE [Centre for Popular Education] and the land reform program.

The land reform commission has been established and is laying the basis for eventual agrarian reform. At this point we are mainly trying to identify the idle *lands* in the country, and to see how many of the idle *hands* are willing to work in cooperatives, so as to bring about that marriage.

Clark. And that also involves the development of a fishing industry?

Bishop. Right.

Clark. What are some of the main political features of the Grenadian revolution?

Three pillars

Bishop. I would say that there are three main pillars of the revolution.

First, the organization and mobiliza-

tion of the masses. That is very key. To always try to fully involve the masses in whatever we are trying to do, to keep them fully involved, to ensure that they understand what the problems are and where we are trying to go.

Secondly, the question of national security and defense—consolidation in those areas.

Thirdly, the question of building a sound national economy and bringing more benefits to the people, improving the quality of their lives.

Those to us are the three key pillars. And we believe that all three have to be worked on at the same time. We cannot afford to let any drop or lag behind.

In any revolutionary situation, in any progressive situation, the question of finding the right mix between the people of the country is key. The people without the guns, after all, is Allende, and we know what happened to Allende. The guns without the people, on the other hand, is Pinochet, and we know what will happen to Pinochet.

So it's a question of striking that balance, ensuring that our people understand the importance of being ready to defend our country from external attack, understand why it is that imperialism *must* attack us—why it is, therefore, that assassinations, terrorism, destabilization, mercenary invasions, *must* be a part of their agenda.

That's something that is not as easy as it sounds in our context. Generally speaking, the historical tradition of the English-speaking Caribbean has not been one of a great deal of state violence, or other forms of violence really against the people. It's much easier, I think, for people in Latin America, for example, to understand these realities.

Secondly, remembering the way we took power. While there was a long history of repression by the state, by Gairy, in the days leading up to the revolution, to some extent the people themselves were not really involved in receiving that violence on a personal level.

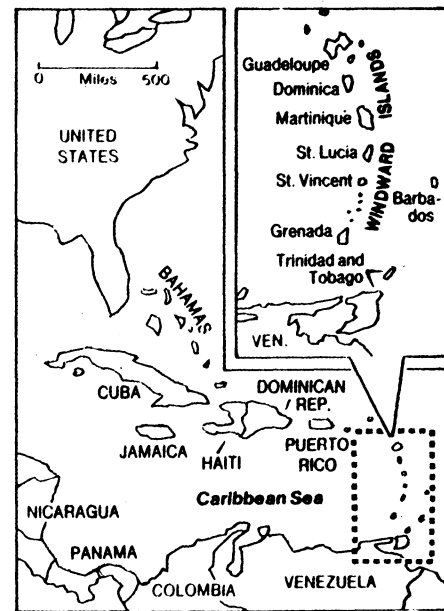
We don't have, in other words, a situation let's say of Nicaragua, where since 1935 people have been fighting with arms in hand from time to time to try to unseat the various Somozas.

Or a situation like Cuba. The Platt Amendment in 1902 and the constant struggle since then, year after year, the years in the Sierra Maestra. You didn't have that kind of situation here.

The people's consciousness, in other words, did not come out of that objective situation that makes it fairly easy for them to understand what is possible at the hands of imperialism.

In addition, we didn't have the situation that the Cubans and Nicaraguans had, where there is a whole lot of land tied up in the latifundias, in the hands of one or two big exploiters, that you can take and just hand over, making easier the objective basis of proceeding on the subjective level. That is not our situation.

You talk about a big landowner in Grenada, you're talking about somebody with seventy-five acres of land.



So we have had right from day one this tremendous difficulty of getting across to our people, getting them to internalize in their bellies, the fact that we *are* going to be attacked, the fact that economic destabilization *is* going to continue, that the propaganda war *will* continue, that they *are* going to move eventually to assassinations and to mercenary invasions. The objective conditions for getting that message across were not there from before. People did not have that period of socialization, and therefore internalizing this was not the easiest thing.

To that extent, the recent [June 19] events, unfortunate as they are in terms of loss of life, have gone a long way towards helping to raise consciousness. Because people are now able to say, "Right. From day one the comrades were talking about that." They now see that on June 19, even while [the terrorists] moved to wipe out the entire leadership, they did it in such a way that it didn't matter that hundreds of innocent women and children could get wiped out at the same time.

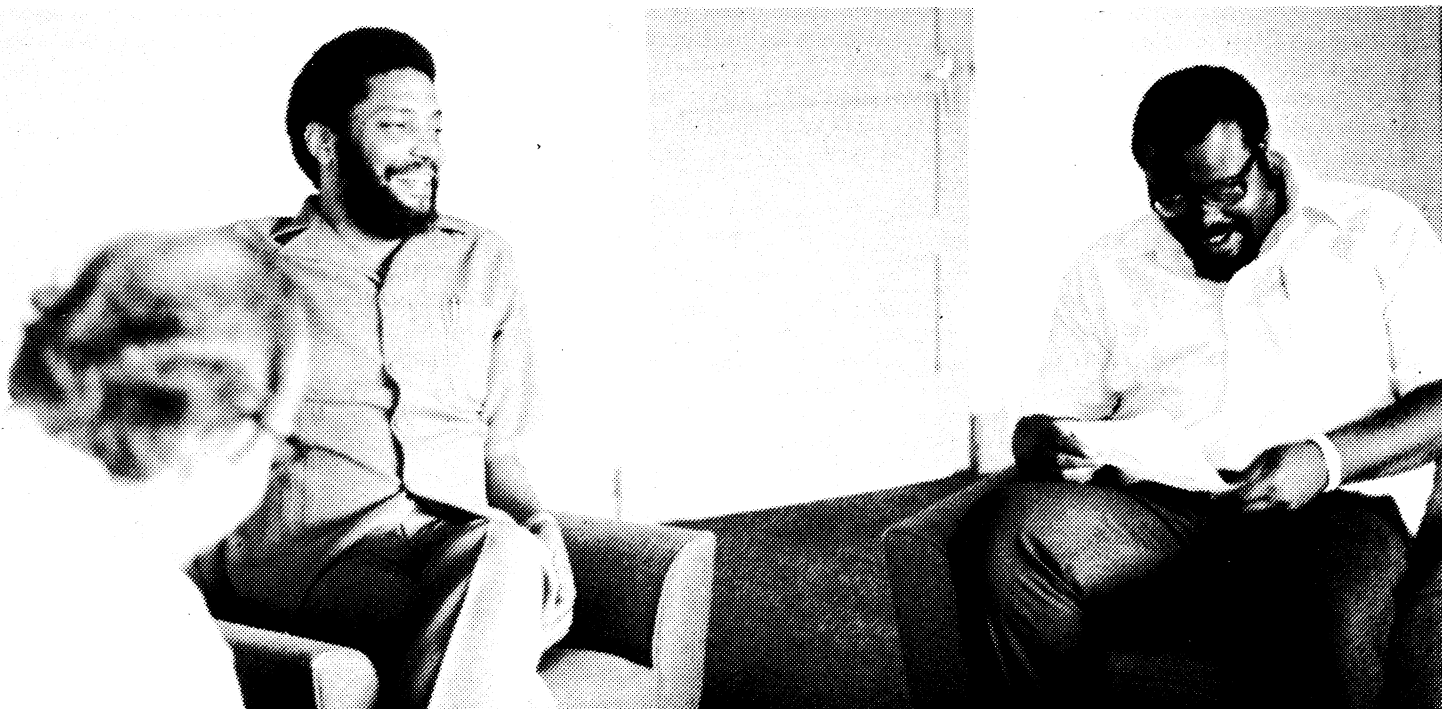
That has made a qualitative difference in the people's perception of what imperialism, what counterrevolution really means.

From that point of view, it has been an extremely important experience. That certainly is one of the biggest challenges that we face, trying to get that across, trying to get our people to understand that we need to remain constantly alert, *constantly* vigilant. To understand that the threats are not there in theory, but are there in practice. We have to be ready and prepared to meet that.

You read about Allende, and you know that three months before September 11, 1973, was the last attempt on his life. So that last assassination attempt was a prelude to an actual coup. So we make the point that, in much the same way, an assassination attempt here can easily be a prelude to a mercenary invasion.

What imperialism is admitting now by moving to terror tactics and moving toward assassination attempts is that

Continued on next page



Clark, Bishop, and Pulley during interview.

Militant/Diane Wang

Continued from preceding page

they have failed. Because all the attempts to build a popular base [for counterrevolution] have failed. Their attempts to push Winston Whyte and his so-called UPP—the United People's Party. The attempts to revive Herbert Blaize and his GNP [Grenada National Party], when the masses literally ran them off the streets; they didn't want to hear what they were saying. The attempts to use the *Torchlight*,² the local media, to try to assist them in their propaganda in much the same way as they used *El Mercurio* in Chile or the *Gleaner* in Jamaica.

The attempts to try to find a popular base, using elements in the country who are trying to exploit genuine objective grievances of the masses. In other words, conditions are bad. There is a lot of unemployment. There is a lot of poverty. They get these people, therefore, to try to incite strikes, to try to whip up sections of the population around issues that are pressing issues, that we are concerned about, that we are trying to do something about. But making them at the same time feel that revolution is like instant coffee; you just throw it in a cup and it comes out presto. That you can negate 350 years of British colonialism and thirty years of imperialism and neocolonialism overnight.

A new civilization

That is really what they have been trying to do, and they failed miserably. Even their attempts to isolate us in the region, that has been a massive failure, notwithstanding all the adverse propaganda against Grenada. While undoubtedly several governments are hostile—they didn't need propaganda to become hostile; they were hostile from day one—the masses in the Caribbean understand well what we're trying to do. They understand that this is a genuine process. That we are really trying to build a new process that may become a new civilization, that could have tremendous relevance as a model to their own lives.

And therefore they have not been put off, and imperialism has seen that. They have seen, too, that their attempts at economic sabotage have not bitten deep enough, partly because America is our number seven trading partner. We get virtually nothing from America in terms of our shops and stores. So they have had problems crippling us in that way.

The only option left was to move to the top of the pyramid. At the top, of course, is the terror, is the assassination, is the mercenary invasions. And I think that's one of the major challenges—getting our people to understand that. Certainly in the last four weeks, that message has gotten across a lot more quickly.

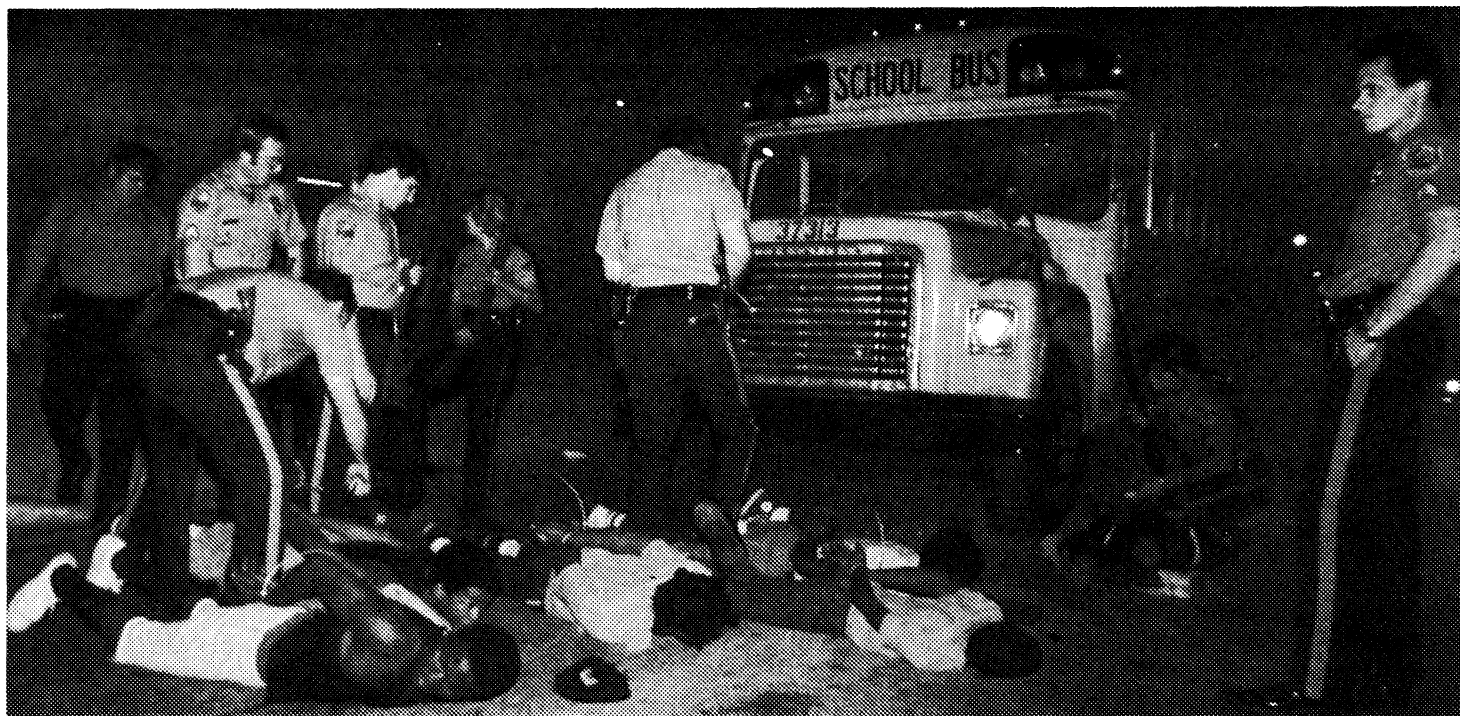
People now see the importance, for example, of joining the militia in larger numbers. The original figures relatively speaking were small; you were talking about the vanguard really in the militia. Now quite a few more thousand have joined up.

People now begin to get a deeper appreciation and understanding that really the PRA [People's Revolutionary Army] and the small militia that we had at first cannot seriously defend the country in a situation of all-out attack. That we can really only do that through a people's war, to be able to fight on that front. So that when the mercenaries are passing and they look at what appear to be innocent children and women bathing in a river, as they get going they get a bullet in their back. I think our masses are getting to understand that better now.

Recent events

And a lot of that consciousness has certainly come as a result of recent events, and not just in Grenada. There are the assassinations of Archbishop [Oscar Arnulfo] Romero in El Salvador and Walter Rodney in Guyana; the

2. The *Torchlight* was a right-wing capitalist newspaper opposed to the revolution.



'What you have in America with Blacks is a situation of great oppression. . . . More and more Blacks are going to hear about Grenada, and many are going to join any movement opposed to trying to turn back our revolution.'

destruction of the Eventide old people's home by fire in Jamaica on exactly the fourth anniversary of the similar destruction of Orange Lane in 1976³; the recent attempt on [Prime Minister Michael] Manley's life and the coup d'état attempt over there. And then, of course, in Grenada, the June 19 bombing coming right after the April 26 plot.⁴

When you think of it, after just fifteen months, four plots—the October plot, the November plot,⁵ April 26 plot, and a few weeks later, June 19. And in each of the plots, what is central is wiping out the leadership. So I think we are beginning to get that clarity a bit more now, and that certainly has been a very important development from our point of view.

At this point, our feeling very strongly is that what is happening in Grenada is really part of a regional plan that imperialism has devised for dealing with progressive forces and revolutionary processes in the region. It's more than regional, it's clearly worldwide—the attempts to roll back the Afghanistan revolution, the continued search for bases in that area, the question of Iran and the attempts to invade that country a few months ago, the military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area, the floating arsenal at Diego Garcia.

And in our own region, Carter's task force last year, Solid Shield '80 this year, artificial Cuban crisis in Peru, artificial crisis in Nicaragua over the two members of the junta who resigned, continuing destabilization attempts in Jamaica. The pattern is quite clear.

Cuba in the vanguard

We feel that there are a series of concentric circles that imperialism has drawn up.

Into their first circle they have certainly put Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada as being the key countries to get at.

Cuba for obvious reasons. It is obviously the vanguard in this region.

3. In May 1976, at a time of U.S.-backed destabilization efforts against the Jamaican regime, fifty armed men attacked a tenement section in central Kingston that was a stronghold of Michael Manley's People's National Party. They set fire to it, killing ten persons. Four years later, in May 1980, a similar fire was set at the Eventide nursing home in Kingston, killing 144 elderly women.

4. In late April 1980, Kennedy Budhlall—an opponent of the revolution and a large-scale marijuana trader—was arrested along with several others for planning to overthrow the government on April 26. The

Nicaragua because of its tremendous importance for Central America. Everybody in Central America wants to be a Sandinista. It's a massive problem there for them.

Grenada because of our powerful potential example for the English-speaking Caribbean countries, and indeed for the French- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries. So that's their first circle.

In the second circle we believe they have countries like Jamaica, Guyana, St. Lucia, Surinam, El Salvador. Countries where either there have been positive developments on the anti-imperialist front, or where there have been important attempts at building new structures for the people and bringing new benefits, or where there are important progressive forces in opposition or in power who are determined to bring about these changes.

Or where, as in the case of El Salvador, there is an ongoing national liberation struggle that clearly will not be settled in any reformist way. All attempts at reformism in El Salvador must fail.

Their third circle, therefore, will be aimed largely at all progressive forces, individually and collectively, whether in or out of office. That would explain, for example, the Rodney slaying or the Archbishop Romero slaying. They understand the potential that the left-progressive forces in the region have, and they are determined to crush that potential, using assassinations.

So it's an extremely dangerous period for us in this region.

Artificial Cuba crisis

Clark. The U.S. propaganda around the Cuban emigrants has backfired on Carter, especially following the opening of the port of Mariel, the massive anti-imperialist marches in Cuba, and the racist treatment of the Cubans in the United States. What was the impact here in the Caribbean?

Bishop. Was it in the *Militant* that I saw the Fidel interview with Lee Lockwood from way back in 1965? Did you repeat that in the paper? [See April 18, 1980, *Militant*.] That I found to be an extremely important interview, partic-

plotters had several supporters at one army camp.

5. In late October and early November 1979, a number of counterrevolutionaries were arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the government, including Winston Whyte, former head of the right-wing United People's Party; Rupert Japal of the bourgeois Grenada National Party; and Wilton De Ravinere, a former police corporal.

ularly as it was fifteen years old, in tracing the history of this whole emigration question.

It was really quite succinct, the way Fidel put it. Pointing out that from the word *go* it was an artificial crisis being created. That people, of course, when they were able to leave freely were leaving freely, nobody was blocking them. It became more convenient eventually for the Americans to force them to escape and then treat them as heroes, so that they can get propaganda out of it.

It was really quite an important article, coming at the time it did, especially as it was done such a long time ago.

That propaganda has really done damage, there's no question about it, in the English Caribbean. Given that there's all this talk about "boat people running from Communism" and so forth. I think a lot of the Caribbean masses have had difficulty in comprehending what is really happening and putting it in a full context.

Because what's the reality? If any of those islands had America's doors opened tomorrow morning, there would be six people left on the island. That's the reality. But they make this song and dance.

The imperialist-controlled media have the resources, they have the skills, everything else. We find that there has been a marked improvement in imperialist propaganda throughout 1980 on virtually every issue. First of all, the speed with which they respond and the amount of ammunition they throw into it has been quite extraordinary.

U.S. propaganda

Consider Afghanistan, in December of last year. Just think of the speed with which they moved and how quick that propaganda built up and therefore how difficult it was to combat and counter it.

But really on every issue. Within seconds of the bomb attack here in Queen's Park, the United States embassy in Bridgetown [Barbados] was already sending reports out. Interestingly, their first reports were saying that members of the leadership had been killed. Very interesting. We want to know, how did they know that?

Or take Iran, the question of these fifty-three hostages. Again, the speed they moved on that question, and the amount of support they were able to muster, made it difficult for people to put it in a full context in terms of the twenty-seven years of oppression under the shah, armed by American guns, and the very deep feelings of indignation as a result of all that by the people of Iran. The feeling that if

America is harboring this man, then what is required?

But even more fundamentally, the fact that you have a situation like in South Africa, where there are millions of Blacks being kept as hostages. Yet here they are making so much fuss about fifty-three hostages. Millions of African hostages, imprisoned in a system of apartheid. That's not important. You never hear talk of sanctions about that, but they want sanctions for fifty-three.

It's difficult, because they come over with this powerful emotive line. They put it in the context of the need for international security of all embassies. And it leads many democratic, even some progressive countries to take a firm position against—without ever putting it in any kind of context.

Pulley. One thing that has hurt the imperialists in their drive against Iran has been the attitudes of a good number of the parents of some hostages. Many have come out against the U.S. raid, against the sanctions. A majority favor what Carter is doing, but it's certainly a large number who are vocal and are opposed to it.

They're having a rough time. They've been forced to back away from what was the case at the time of the raid in April, when it looked like imminent war. Everything blew up in their face.

Bishop. The OPEC countries came out with a very strong statement in the last two days. Really good news. I think it was the day before yesterday. Threatening an oil boycott.

Clark: Fidel had urged that in his May Day speech.

Bishop: That's right. That was a first-class speech. It really came over powerfully. What was important to me about that whole trip was the very, very close feelings between the Cuban people and their leader. That was extraordinary. It took Fidel about ten minutes before he could open his mouth. Everytime he tried to say something, the people just kept going again. I really found that extraordinary, because you're talking about a million and a quarter people or whatever it was.

And at the end, their tremendous discipline was another eye opener. Whole waves of people moved to the left while others stood still, moved to the right while others stood still. Then the front rows moved out by a few hundred thousand, the back rows by a few hundred thousand. Whole waves of

people, left and right, left and right, no pushing. And in ten or fifteen minutes, that square was empty. An extraordinary manifestation of discipline.

Diane Wang. Even the *New York Times* had to comment on that. They wrote with a great deal of consternation about that rally. They had to admit not only the enthusiasm, but the discipline.

Bishop. Yes, it was so striking. You would have had to write your article on the plane before you got there really—which they do sometimes.

Afghanistan

Clark. The lies on Afghanistan are often particularly outlandish because it is so geographically remote. The media at one point recently were reporting that an army of 20,000 guerrillas—they always call them "Muslim freedom fighters," failing to point out that there are Muslims on both sides—were surrounding Kabul. But then a few days later, if you turned to the bottom of a remote page, you noticed a little item saying the story turned out not to be true.

One of the things we try to do with the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* is simply to counteract the barrage of lies, just to keep reminding people that the capitalist press will stoop to outright deception. Lenin said that they often tell the truth in the little things so that they can lie in the big ones.

Bishop. On the Afghanistan question, we have been pointing out here in Grenada that what we are really concerned with there was the April 1978 revolution, not so much the December 1979 events. And in the intervening eighteen months, what was happening—in terms of the attempts at destabilization, the armed attacks from Pakistan and elsewhere, the plans of imperialism. And that what requires solidarity and support, therefore, is the right of the people of Afghanistan to build their revolution. And people can relate to that over here, because they see it happening to us too. They know we can have a similar type problem.

Clark. One last question. What would you like to say to working people in the United States? To the Black community in the United States? What message would you like us to take back?

Bishop. First of all, we would like to stress something that imperialism has been trying to use as a means of

dividing and ruling—and that is that we have absolutely no quarrel with the American people. We have nothing at all against the people of America as a people.

Our quarrel is with the system of imperialism. Our quarrel, therefore, is with the American establishment and all its various manifestations—whether it's through the presidency or National Security Council or the State Department or the CIA or the powerful business lobby or the powerful media or whatever. That is who our quarrel is with. And particularly insofar as that establishment seeks to support by violence the right of their transnational corporations to continue to exploit and rape our resources. That is what our quarrel is with.

After all, more Americans come to our country every year than the entire population of Grenada—140,000 came by ship last year, and I'm not talking about those who came for stay-overs.

So that is not our quarrel and we want to make that clear. Because imperialism has been doing its best to try to sow all sorts of confusion in that area.

'Internationalist duty'

Likewise, when you come to the question of the Blacks and other oppressed minorities in America, obviously we have a particularly close feeling, given our own cultural background and our own history. There is a very close sense of cultural identity, which the people of Grenada automatically feel for American Blacks and which we have no doubt is reciprocated by the American Black community.

Because our own struggle is internationalist, we have over the years been giving our fullest support to all international causes that demand such support. We see that as our internationalist duty.

Since the revolution, we have continued in that vein. We were the first country in the Western Hemisphere to recognize the Polisario Front; the second country in the world to recognize the provisional junta in Nicaragua on May 23 last year, fully three weeks before they finally won their victory; our open and consistent support to the PLO, for Puerto Rican independence, and so forth. That is our position.

And therefore we see the importance of progressive forces worldwide joining together. We see that struggle as being one struggle, indivisible. And what happens in Grenada, we recognize its importance for all struggles around the world. And therefore we're willing to support any of the struggles around the world. And we feel that on that basis, the progressive forces and demo-

cratic forces in America ought to give their support to our revolution also.

American workers

We certainly place a great deal of importance on the activity, the potential, and the possibilities for the American working-class movement. Both in terms of mobilizing and organizing to stop any draft movement, and in terms of the potential of doing mortal damage to the international capitalist and imperialist system from within the belly of the main imperialist power on earth.

And thirdly, in terms of the great possibilities for expressing solidarity with the revolutionary struggles around the world. Something they have done before and can do again. For example, mobilizing and organizing themselves to refuse to load ships heading for particular areas.

So, our basic message would be to get across this sense: That what we are struggling against is the system of imperialism. That we have the greatest respect for the people of America. That we feel a particularly close affinity to American Blacks and other oppressed minorities, to the working-class movement in America, toward progressive forces in America. That we certainly are willing to extend our solidarity with them in their struggles, and we certainly would hope that they would extend their own solidarity to us in our struggle.

Finally, our message would be: We would love to see them. We believe that it is very important that instead of reading the propaganda that is being circulated in America, they should come out to Grenada, come out to Cuba, come out to Nicaragua, and see for themselves. So that they can understand what is happening and as a result be in a better position to appreciate what is going on in this part of the world.

Let me add just one final thing. That is to say that we, without intending to be disrespectful, would very strongly recommend to the Black movement in America the importance of developing the firmest and closest links with the white working-class movement and the white progressive movement. Our feeling certainly is that in order to win that struggle inside of America, it's extremely important that all progressive forces get together and wage a consistent fight against the real enemy. Don't spend time fighting each other, debating trivialities. That's something I think is important and that I would like to get across in the message.

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—Maurice Bishop,
Prime Minister of Grenada



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Socialist conference links str of workers in U. S., worldwide

By Fred Feldman

Wendy Lyons, a member of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, opened the last day of the week-long Socialist Educational and Activists Conference by declaring, "Something fundamental has happened here this week. We are a stronger and more self-confident party."

"There are some radicals who won't be able to understand this confidence. After all, Reagan is ahead in the polls. A Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan is the Democratic Party's candidate for a congressional seat in California. And the economic squeeze on working people keeps tightening."

"But our confidence is based on working-class realism. It doesn't assume any fast, easy gains for our party. It doesn't assume that there won't be more setbacks suffered by the working class in this country."

"But what we're inspired by is real. The workers and farmers are on the march in this hemisphere: Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua. What Fidel called the 'three giants rising up on the doorstep of imperialism.' El Salvador is fighting to follow their example. And the sleeping giant—the American working class—is part of this process and is beginning to wake up."

During the week of August 2-9, the 1,300 participants in the Oberlin, Ohio, conference—for the most part workers in auto, rail, steel, aerospace, mining, electrical, oil, garment, and other industries—deepened their understanding of the consequences of the political and economic weakening of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad. They analyzed the increasingly favorable relationship of forces faced by imperialism's main foe, the working class.

Beneath surface appearance

This involved probing beneath the surface appearance of American politics. It meant putting aside the distorted picture as it is presented in the capitalist newspapers and TV news-

casts, at the Republican and Democratic Party conventions, in stacked opinion polls, and by middle-class radicals, and by coming to grips with the big changes taking place in the views and outlook of American working people.

Those who attended left with a deeper understanding of the decisive fact that the more favorable relationship of class forces in the world is not limited to Asia, Africa, and Latin America—where the biggest gains are being scored today—but has its heart right here.

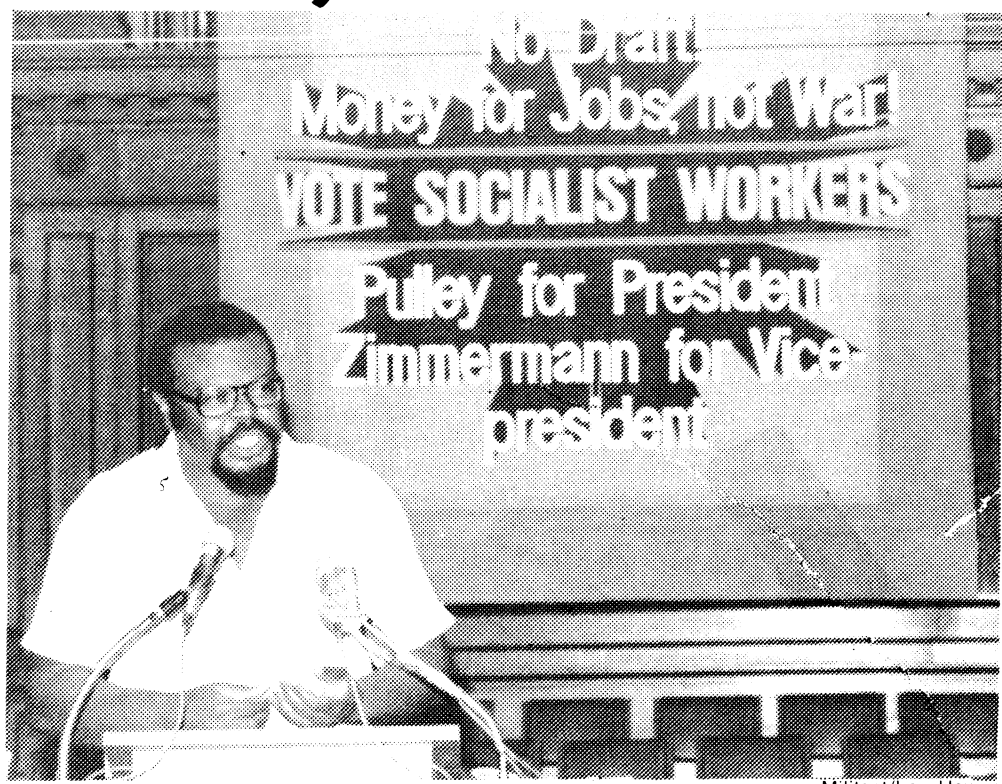
"The United States is not just situated in an increasingly revolutionary world, but basically different from that surrounding world," said SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, in one of the major talks given during the week. "Our tasks are not limited to learning how to relate to an increasingly explosive class-polarized world, *out there*. We are an *integral part* of that world."

"What we are seeing, what we are living through, and have the opportunity to participate in, is not just the crisis and breakup of the imperialist system of domination that came in with the twentieth century, but a crisis of capitalism and capitalist rule."

"In the 1980s revolutionary perspectives are the only realistic perspectives throughout the world and right here at home."

It is the *weakness* of their position that has forced the U.S. rulers to launch attacks on the living standards and rights of American working people. They have had to try to improve the competitive position of U.S. big business at our expense. They have had to try to con us into providing cannon fodder for new Vietnam wars—in Central America, the Caribbean, or the Persian Gulf.

This offensive makes life more difficult for all American working people. It is spurring radically changed thinking and growing militancy. Without these changes in the minds of workers, Washington would have been able to



Militant/Lou Howart

'The socialist campaign says to young people, don't register. Draft registration is immoral, illegal, and downright unconstitutional. Let's tell the militarists, the Carters and Reagans, where to go.'—Andrew Pulley

bring much more of this country's vast military power to bear against the revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Looking for answers

In a talk on socialist tactics and strategy in the unions, SWP Political Committee member Tom Leonard noted one manifestation of the changes—confusion and a search for answers.

"The position a worker takes one day may not be his or her position the next. . . . The cause of the confusion

and contradictions that workers often express today is that the attacks coming down on them do not correspond to what they have been taught to believe about American society. That is what they are confused about. This confusion means they are looking for fresh answers."

The confidence and enthusiasm generated by the conference took shape in the course of a packed schedule of major talks, educational series, workshops, meetings of union members, as well as concerts, films, sports, dancing and other recreation.

Young Socialist Alliance m

By Vivian Sahrer

More than 250 members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the revolutionary socialist youth organization, attended the 1980 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference.

Inspired by the youth of Nicaragua and Grenada, who were the leaders and shock troops of their revolutions, YSA members spent the week in study and discussion, organizing to be better, bolder fighters for a socialist revolution in the United States.

The YSA has been growing in recent months. In New York City twenty-five young people, half of them Spanish-speaking, have joined since January. Nationally the YSA has won more than 100 new members in the last five months and an additional twenty-two joined during the conference.

Many of these new members first heard about the YSA through the campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

Winning new supporters to the campaign has been the YSA's top priority during the last year. Members spent many weeks traveling across the country petitioning to get Socialist Workers Party candidates on the election ballots in over twenty states.

They met opponents of nuclear power, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment, and thousands of unem-



Militant/Lou Howart

JIM SPRAU: 'We're growing because people see us as fighters.'

ployed youth who are looking for real solutions to their problems.

Many of these young people recognized the YSA as an organization of serious, dedicated people who know how to organize and they wanted to become part of it.

Joining the YSA

Two of these new members were featured speakers at the Socialist Workers Party campaign rally during the conference. Jim Sprau, organizer of

the Cedar Falls, Iowa, YSA—one of the newest and fastest growing chapters—explained why he and four others joined the YSA in January.

"The original five members, including myself, who formed the YSA in Cedar Falls included a rail worker, two teachers, and two university students," Sprau said.

"We had a discussion group and were reading the *Militant*. And we'd been involved in a coalition to aid Nicaragua in our community. But we reached a point where we felt like we weren't active enough, not involved enough."

"So when January rolled around and we heard that Andrew Pulley was going to be speaking in Des Moines we decided to go down and listen to him."

After talking with Pulley, the five joined the YSA. Since that time ten more young people introduced to the YSA through the campaign have joined the chapter.

"I think the reason that we've been able to experience this growth in Iowa is that the people we meet and work with see us as fighters," Sprau commented.

"And this campaign addresses itself vividly to what we fight for. We are against the draft, we are against nuclear power, we are against the layoffs,



Militant/Anne Teesdale

JOHN WOOD: 'I identify more with Grenadian workers than with ruling class of this country.'

and we are for women's and minorities' rights."

No to draft

New YSA member John Wood, a Baltimore dock worker, told the rally that he joined after working in his high school antidraft committee.

"Jimmy Carter was hoping 98 percent of us would register. I didn't. I was part of hundreds of thousands,

Struggles

le

The gathering was dominated by three themes.

First is the deepening of the radicalization of the American workers and the spreading roots of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in the struggles and unions of industrial workers. This has put the YSA and SWP in touch and in tune with the thinking of our class, especially the youth.

Where the media and the politicians incessantly harp on the theme that the American people are moving to the right, socialist workers are in a position to know that what is actually taking place is a sharpening political polarization along class lines.

Second are the revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada, which brought to power political parties that look to the socialist revolution in Cuba and to its leadership.

The fact that working-class leaders committed to defending the interests of the workers and peasants, and to advancing the world socialist revolution now hold power in three countries in our hemisphere is a fact of historic importance. It provides the biggest opening in decades for establishing deeper collaboration and closer ties among revolutionary Marxists on a world scale. And it provides workers around the world with three outstanding examples of what the working class in power can accomplish, even in countries with very limited resources.

Third is the deepening of the Marxist education of SWP and YSA members. Experience as participants in the new struggles of workers at home and abroad is impelling socialists to go back to the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

'Hell no, we won't go!'

The draft registration fiasco was examined at the conference—as it is being examined by Washington and Wall Street—as an important test of strength between the employers and their government on one side and



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

'In the 1980s, revolutionary perspectives are the only realistic perspectives throughout the world and right here at home.'

working people on the other. The mass antidraft sentiment clearly demonstrates the complete interdependence between the struggles of workers and farmers abroad and at home.

"For the last ten months every capitalist newspaper and politician, whether liberal, conservative, or reactionary, has been telling us that the American working people are clamoring for military action against Iran," noted SWP leader Malik Miah, who opened the conference with an evaluation of the world political situation.

"The have told us that the American people are demanding draft registration to show 'our' will to fight 'Soviet expansionism.' That we want to be prepared to strike against Cuba, or at others trying to follow Cuba's revolutionary example.

"Well, finally the young workers, students, and farmers had their chance to demonstrate support for the military. And what happened? They stayed away in droves from the post offices! And many of those who did register agreed with the protestors who chanted, 'Hell no, we won't go! We won't die for Texaco!'

"The imperialists call this antiwar, antidraft, and antimilitarist sentiment the 'Vietnam syndrome.' We call it another big step toward political class consciousness for the working class. We call it a body blow to the imperialist capacity to make war against El Salvador, Grenada, Afghanistan, or anybody else.

"The capitalists hate it. We love it. The debacle of the rulers' attempt so far to get American youth to accept the draft epitomizes the social crisis of American imperialism today, a world crisis for the whole system of imperialist domination."

Solidarity with El Salvador

Miah stressed that the U.S. rulers are continuing to try to create the political climate that would make it possible for them to use their military force against popular revolutions. A prime target today is El Salvador.

"Imperialism does not want to add El Salvador to its losses. That is why Washington is backing the brutal military/Christian Democratic junta to the hilt.

"Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba

have pledged their solidarity with the Salvadoran revolutionists, proclaiming that an attack on El Salvador is an attack on them. Tonight, we in the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance reaffirm our pledge of complete solidarity with our brothers and sisters in El Salvador—and in revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada."

Another expression of working-class resistance and radicalization was cited by Maceo Dixon, a member of the Political Committee, who spoke on "The Black Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution." Dixon noted that, although you wouldn't know it from the news media, this has been a long, hot summer in the Black communities of America. Nine rebellions, powered by the anger and fighting spirit of Black youth, have taken place in America's cities—the largest such wave since 1968.

Dixon described the explosion of Black protest in Miami as the biggest demonstration against the draft and for jobs that has occurred in this country so far.

Continued on next page

Workers fall action plans

probably millions, who said, 'We'll let this one go by.' And even those of us who did register made it clear to Washington that we registered under protest," Wood said.

"The SWP campaign means a lot to those of us who are registration age. Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann joined the YSA around the time of the anti-Vietnam war movement.

"Pulley was in the army during the Vietnam war. In fact, he was in the stockade. I feel pretty confident that if he were president, I wouldn't have to worry about registration. I wouldn't have to worry about a draft. I wouldn't have to worry about an imperialist war."

He added, "Earlier this week we heard Liam James, a dock worker from Grenada, speak about their revolution. I identify with him a lot more than I do with the ruling class of this country. And rather than fight against him, I would rather fight with him against the ruling class of this country."

Upcoming activities

In the campaign workshop, Kara Obradović, national secretary of the YSA, presented plans for stepped up campaign work in the fall.

The YSA is launching an ambitious sales drive of the *Young Socialist*



Militant/Stu Singer

Kara Obradovic, YSA national secretary, presented plans for stepped-up campaigning, speaking tours, national teams, and sales of 'Young Socialist.'

newspaper. Goals of 3,500 copies have been set for the September and October issues, and another 3,500 of the combined November/December issue.

The YSA will participate in national campaign teams to places like Miami,

Love Canal, Youngstown, and Harrisburg. In addition, they are sponsoring tours of four YSA leaders who will travel to sixteen cities between September and the end of October.

Building the antidraft struggle was the focus of a second workshop. Paul Mailhot, YSA national organizational secretary, pointed out to the 150 workshop participants that "stopping the draft will be an outstanding contribution towards protecting revolutionary Grenada and Nicaragua and the revolutionary fighters in El Salvador from the hands of U.S. imperialism.

"The registration results are a resounding victory for us. Far from being 'cured' of the antiwar sentiment generated by the Vietnam war, the rate of registration this time was lower than at any time during the war.

"The government's claim that they need ninety days to tabulate results is just a bare-faced stalling tactic. They are planning their next move, debating whether to prosecute nonregistrants.

"More young people will be encouraged by the registration fiasco to join the fight against the draft. We want to reach out to them.

"We know there is more labor support for the antidraft movement than during the entire course of the Vietnam

war. We should go back to our unions, talk to our co-workers, and bring them to actions like the October 12-18 antidraft activities being sponsored by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft.

"Working with solidarity committees to aid Nicaragua and defend the Salvadoran revolutionary struggle will be a powerful aid to the antidraft struggle. It will bring into focus where the danger of intervention is directed and where the draftee army is slated to be utilized.

"We want to work with women's groups, civil rights organizations, with those who registered and those who didn't. We want to make it clear to the government that we are going to stand together until all plans for a draft are abandoned."

YSA convention

On December 27-30, the YSA will hold its twenty-first national convention in Indianapolis, Indiana. Hundreds of activists from every part of the country will gather to evaluate activities of the past year and make plans for 1981.

The convention will include workshops, reports, and panel discussions. Workshops for union members and introductory sessions for new members will be organized.

Continued from preceding page

A striking aspect of these rebellions, which stand in contrast to those of the 1960s, is that many more white working people are in sympathy with the grievances of the Black community. Most saw the acquittal of the cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie in Miami as outrageous.

Each of these events showed American workers to be powerful allies of the peoples fighting for liberation around the world. By saying no to war and the draft, by fighting back against joblessness, police brutality, and racist discrimination, American workers are tying the hands of the deadly enemy of humanity.

Epoch of socialist revolution

But it was the opening of the process of socialist revolution in Nicaragua and Grenada that played the biggest role in deepening confidence and firing enthusiasm among the socialist workers who attended the conference. The victories of Nicaragua and Grenada, in an area that Washington has long regarded as its private preserve, was a powerful confirmation that we live in an epoch of socialist revolutions.

'By saying no to war and the draft, by fighting back against joblessness, police brutality and racist discrimination, American workers are tying the hands of U.S. imperialism, the deadly enemy of humanity.'

The Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions have exceptional importance for revolutionaries in the United States and around the world.

These are headed by revolutionary leaderships, consciously and systematically fighting for the interests of the workers and poor farmers. They stand in sharp contrast to the bureaucratic castes that rule in the Soviet Union and China. These ruling groups, just like our own labor bureaucrats, seek to preserve their own privileged positions by maintaining dictatorial regimes, and negotiating backroom deals with the capitalists against the workers' interests.

Referring to the victories in Grenada and in Nicaragua, Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, and a member of the SWP Political Committee, said, "Our revolution, our current is expanding. There are today a growing number of revolutionists who, like us, trace their continuity to Marx and Engels and Lenin. Who try, as best they are able, to absorb and apply every lesson of the class struggle from 1848 on."

Constructing new society

Waters stressed the capacities shown by these leaderships in meeting the challenge of being able "to mobilize and organize millions of oppressed and exploited to march forward in the construction of a new social order. To use governmental power to mobilize the class strength of the workers and peasants and direct it against the onslaught of imperialism and its domestic lackeys. To change social consciousness and lay the foundations of a new economic order. To remain a bulwark of the world revolution and to subordinate all else to that."

Waters described the efforts of the Nicaraguan government to try to get the remaining capitalists to invest their capital, and to utilize managers, technicians, and others who possess vitally needed skills but are not partisans of the revolution to help in reconstructing the country. At the same time the Sandinistas have moved steadily to broaden workers' control in all fields, to strengthen the unions, and to deepen the mobilization of the workers and peasants, women and youth. She explained that the Bolsheviks, after the October Revolution in Russia, confronted many of the same problems and attempted to deal with them in similar ways.

Like the Bolsheviks after the Rus-

sian Revolution, the proletarian internationalist leaderships of the Cuban, Grenadian, and Nicaraguan revolutions provide a beacon for revolutionary workers around the world. The impact of the revolutions in the Caribbean and Central America is not limited to Latin America alone, or even to the semicolonial world.

This, as Jack Barnes pointed out in his talk on "Marxism and the Class Struggle Today," is the kind of opportunity that the Fourth International—the World Party of Socialist Revolution—was founded in 1938 to prepare for.

Model for U.S. workers

Barnes stressed that what the governments and working people of these countries are doing is a model for American workers to emulate. "Compared to the United States, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are economically backward. But they are wonderful examples for us, nevertheless. Lenin kept saying, tell the workers in the West they should do it like we did in Russia. Only they'll do it a lot better.

"There are hundreds of thousands of young workers here in the United

States who at least would listen to the idea that what they have done in Cuba and what they are doing in Nicaragua and Grenada about unemployment, inflation, education, health care, housing, the attitude toward other people around the world, racism, women's oppression—should be done here. And we can do it better here."

From Grenada to Zimbabwe, and from Miami to Warsaw, the new advances of the world revolution are characterized by the decisive role of the working class.

This fact, and the experiences that revolutionary workers are having in the mines, mills, and factories, is producing a hunger to study the basic writings of Marx and Engels.

At the conference, this was shown by the overflow attendance at classes ranging from sessions on the *Communist Manifesto* and the Paris Commune, to discussions of the contributions that Marx and Engels made to the development of the American workers' movement.

Many of the classes were given by graduates of the first session of the SWP leadership school, who studied the origins and development of Marxism.

Marxism & class struggle

These classes developed the theme that Marxism is not a set of ideas or theories constructed by brilliant individuals, but the lessons of the struggles of the working class itself.

Marx and Engels did not discover the class struggle. It was apparent to many thinking people in their day. But they showed how the development of the working class and the line of march of its struggle leads inexorably toward the establishment of a workers government and the construction of socialism. They pointed to this line of march as the only road out of the ruin brought by declining capitalism.

The interest generated by these classes was indicated by the sale of close to \$25,000 worth of literature. The sight of young people walking away from the literature tables balancing stacks of books by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky was a common one.

The revolutionary perspectives for the United States that were discussed at the conference are not shared by everyone. The changes that have been occurring within the working class have been ignored by a big part of the generation of student activists who

took part in the civil rights and anti-war struggles of the 1960s.

Jack Barnes cited the case of Jerry Rubin, a one time flamboyant figure in the anti-Vietnam War movement who has recently surfaced as a Wall Street stockbroker.

In an article about his conversion, Rubin explained, "As the '80s dawned I found myself getting bored with the mobility and the personal freedom that I had cherished for the last twenty years. . . . In the United States our radical dream of transforming the system had floundered and virtually disappeared. . . . Politics and rebellion distinguished the '60s. The search for self characterized the spirit of the '70s. Money and financial interest will capture the passion of the '80s."

"Let's make capitalism work for everyone," Rubin concluded.

Barnes commented:

"Nothing could capture better the differences between what happens to classes at turning points in history. The working class did not enter the search for the inner self. The working class was pounded into searching for solidarity in ourselves in the '70s, to prepare for the '80s. The working class didn't become bored with the mobility and freedom they had in the '70s. They were taught in the '70s that the mobility and personal freedom they had was disappearing, and they would have to fight to maintain any of it.

"The working class didn't lose any radical dream of transforming American society. It began thinking about the possibility of transforming American society. The workers did not become convinced in the '70s that capitalism can work for everyone. To the contrary, it is this very proposition they have become more and more dubious about."

Youth and revolution

Marx and Engels, who were in their twenties when they threw themselves into the revolution of 1848 in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, knew that revolutions are made by young people. Men and women in their teens and twenties—and even younger—fought the battles that brought the working class to power in Nicaragua and Grenada. Youth are carrying out the literacy campaigns, fill the army and militia, lead the trade unions, and hold many key government posts in these countries today.

In the United States, young workers punctured Carter's draft registration

the job, and who will be touring the country this fall to build support for the SWP candidates and the Young Socialist Alliance; and James Sprau, organizer of the Cedar Falls, Iowa, Young Socialist Alliance, one of the newest and fastest-growing chapters.

Some of the themes of the conference were brought together in a speech by Andrew Pulley, the Black Chicago steelworker who is the SWP candidate for President. Speaking of the continuing efforts of Washington to lay the groundwork for reinstituting the draft, he declared:

"We must continue to build protests, discussing with workers the real reasons for this draft. And we must continue to simply refuse to register.

"That's right. The socialist campaign says to young people, don't register. Draft registration is immoral, illegal, and downright unconstitutional. Even the courts have said this.

"Let's tell the militarists, the Carters and Reagans, where to go. And if the government of the oil companies wants to prosecute us for hailing the youth who exercise their legal right to uphold the constitution and refuse to register, if they want to try us like they did Eugene V. Debs in World War I, I say just try it!"

Pledge to spread truth

He concluded:

"Now when I was in Grenada, I met with Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who heads the New Jewel Movement government. I pledged that my party was going to go all out to spread the truth about Grenada to working people and to the Black communities.

"The revolution in Grenada, like the revolution in Nicaragua, is going to have a big effect in this country. When Blacks and other working people see what Black Grenada has done, they are not only going to identify with the Grenadians, they're going to want to be like the Grenadians.

"The Black youth, fighting for jobs and against police terror, will want to emulate Grenada's example. Parents who see the U.S. government cutting funds for education and shutting down schools will prefer the Grenadian way. Education is being expanded and everyone is being taught to read and write. American women will also prefer the Grenadian way when they find out that Grenadian women are winning true equality in law and fact.

"Union members will want to emu-

'Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are headed by revolutionary leaderships, consciously and systematically fighting for the interests of the workers and poor farmers. They stand in sharp contrast to the bureaucratic castes that rule in the Soviet Union and China.'

scheme and led the fight for human dignity in the streets of Miami.

That's why the conference put stress on the role that the Young Socialist Alliance will play in winning a new generation of working class rebels to the revolutionary socialist movement.

The presidential election campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann will be the key to expanding the forces of revolutionary socialism in the coming months.

The tone for the next months of campaigning was set at a rally on the last night of the conference, at which \$52,000 was raised for the SWP ticket. A high point was the prolonged standing ovation given to the full-time teams of young petitioners who helped the SWP meet discriminatory ballot requirements in state after state.

The youth of the rally speakers was indicative of the youth of the workers who are moving ahead in thought and action today. They included YSA member John Wood, a twenty-year-old Baltimore dockworker who refused to sign up for Carter's draft registration; Kathryn Crowder, a California aerospace worker who fought her employer for her right to talk about socialism on

late Grenada. Because Grenada has a workers government, the workers never lose a strike and the capitalists never win. Americans facing soaring taxes and inflation will like Grenada where the government lifted all taxes from the lowest-paid thirty percent of the workforce.

"And when they learn about the aid Cuba is giving Grenada and Nicaragua, they will demand along with us that Washington keep its bloody racist hands off Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. And they will say the same for El Salvador and Guatemala."

The 1980 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference came to an end as the audience rose to their feet, and the chant of "No war! No draft!" filled the auditorium.

Participants began heading back to their jobs and communities, where they will be building solidarity with Nicaragua and Grenada, spreading the idea that labor should build its own political party, campaigning for the socialist alternative in the 1980 elections, and talking to co-workers about why they should join the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

1,300 socialists meet

A week filled with education, discussion

By Harry Ring

It was a jam-packed week.

Each day of the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference, one major talk was given by a Socialist Workers Party leader. The week began with an overview of the world political situation and wound up with a presentation on the fall tasks of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

Nearly every night there was a rally, concert, or other special event.

The rest of the conference schedule included more than 100 classes and some two dozen workshops. Teachers ranged from veteran Marxist educators to young leaders in the factories today.

Eleven classes were led by the graduates of the first session of the SWP leadership school, which ended its intensive five-month study of the basic writings of Marx and Engels right before the Oberlin conference.

They conducted one series that focused on the 1848-1852 period, showing how the strategy of the Marxist movement was developed out of revolutionary experiences then, and another on the origins of the American labor and Marxist movements.

Classes on the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions were enriched by eyewitness accounts by writers for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Farrell Dobbs's four-volume history of the rise and defeat of a class-struggle leadership in the Minneapolis Teamsters was the subject of several classes.

Other talks on the labor movement explored little-known chapters of union history on the struggles of Black and Chicano workers; organizing in the South; Stalinism and the unions; and the development of the United Mine Workers, United Auto Workers, electrical unions, rail unions, and oil-industry unions.

There were introductory discussions on socialism and on basic Marxist writings.

Marxist philosopher George Novack presented an evaluation of the final works of George Lukacs.

New material on the early history of the American Trotskyist movement was presented in a series by George Breitman.

There were seminars on economics as well as lectures on the dialectics of nature, evolution, the origin of women's oppression, Marxism and religion, and Marxism and literature.

Additional classes were held on events in Iran, Afghanistan, South Africa, China, Korea, Guatemala, Israel and the Mideast, and Canada and Quebec.

And many, many more.

* * *

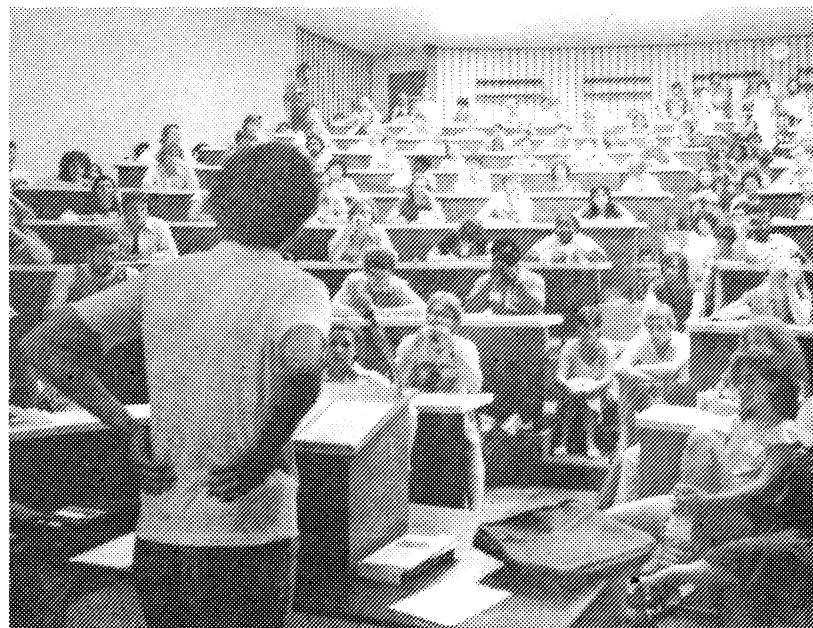
One cause for cheers at the conference was a report that Gary Tyler had won a hearing for a new trial. A victim of Louisiana racism, Tyler has suffered imprisonment for the past five years on a murder frame-up. (See news story, page 6.)

The gathering voted unanimously to send Tyler a message hailing the gain in his fight and pledging "our fullest support in your struggle for freedom. Free Gary Tyler! No more racist frame-ups!"

* * *

The serious attitude of conference participants toward Marxist education was registered at the Pathfinder Press literature tables, where a record \$24,700 in books and pamphlets were purchased.

Pathfinder's Don Bechler reports that interest was greatest in two areas: Cuba and the Latin American revolution, and writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.



Militant photos by Charles Ostrofsky and Lou Howort

Conference participants bought record quantities of Marxist literature, took part in over 100 classes and two dozen workshops, and relaxed at benefit jazz concert by Thiago de Mello & Friends.

Jonathan Kozol's *Children of the Revolution*, an outstanding account of education in Cuba, became a conference collector's item. Pathfinder sold its eighty copies in the first day and a half and took orders for fifty more. A local bookstore in Oberlin sold out its entire stock, got another shipment, and promptly sold them out too!

Joseph Hansen's *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, with its bright yellow cover, was conspicuous in the hands of participants going to classes on related topics.

A thick new Education for Socialists booklet on *Revolutionary Cuba Today*, with documents from recent SWP discussions, sold 241 copies.

Fourteen volumes have now been published of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, and Pathfinder was offering the first thirteen as a set for \$100. Twenty-four people bought it, and many individual volumes were sold.

More than 100 people took advantage of a special package offer on five books by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Among new Pathfinder titles, the top seller was Tom Kerry's *Workers, Bosses, and Bureaucrats*, which sold nearly 400 copies. More than 200 each were sold of *The Chinese Communist Party in Power* by P'eng Shu-tse, *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt* by Ernest Harsch, *Fighting Racism in World War II* by George Breitman and others, and the second volume of Leon Trotsky's *Challenge of the Left Opposition*.

* * *

The conference was thoroughly internationalist both in the subjects of its discussions and in the person of its participants. Guests attended from (at least) Argentina, Australia, Britain, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Israel, Martinique, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, and Sweden.

Simultaneous translation into French, Spanish, and German was provided at all major sessions, and classes were translated as needed.

SWP leaders stressed time after time the importance of English-speaking

revolutionary cadres in this country learning Spanish, not only to keep up with struggles and sister parties in Latin America, but because of the growing Latino component of the U.S. working class.

A good beginning was reported in making the SWP a truly bilingual party, as more than 250 participants—aside from international guests—indicated on registration forms that they knew or were learning Spanish.

To stay on top of revolutionary developments around the world, conference-goers bought 380 subscriptions to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Many also picked up subscriptions to publications of revolutionaries in other countries.

* * *

Workshops reflected the wide range of activities in which SWP and YSA members are involved.

There were several workshops on the party's ambitious election campaign plans for the fall, and one on the fight against registration and the draft.

Others took up the struggle for women's rights, Caribbean and Central American solidarity, and the movement against nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Additional workshops were devoted to practical aspects of party and YSA building, including forums, literature sales, finances, and sales of the revolutionary press.

* * *

As at several previous Oberlin gatherings, the acclaimed Brazilian jazz guitarist, singer, and composer Thiago de Mello presented a benefit concert. This year the proceeds went to the Political Rights Defense Fund, which raises funds for the SWP suit against the federal secret police.

Most of the evening was devoted to original compositions by Thiago and the outstanding West Coast keyboard artist and composer, Llew Matthews.

In addition to Thiago and Matthews, the group included: Bob Auld, trumpet; Duduca, drums; Richard Lesnick, tenor sax and flute; John Philpott, tenor sax; Larry Modula, alto sax; Claudio Roditi, trumpet and trombone; Marcelino

Smith, bass; and Carol Sudhalter, baritone sax and flute.

Spurred on by audience enthusiasm, the group performed for nearly four hours without a break. Commenting on the two dollar contribution to the benefit, fans agreed it was the biggest jazz bargain they had experienced.

* * *

There were a number of tables enlisting support for worthy causes. Activists in solidarity with the Salvadoran and Guatemalan revolutionary struggles were represented. On the U.S. front, there was a table gathering petitions in behalf of American Indian Movement leaders now the target of a frame-up trial in Portland.

* * *

Despite the heavy educational schedule, entertainment and recreation were not neglected.

There was nightly dancing, and the campus gym and swimming pool were available, plus tennis and volleyball courts.

A number of outstanding films were shown, including the widely discussed Cuban film on women's liberation, *Portrait of Teresa*.

Accompanied by Dorothea Breitman, Claudia Hommel sang classical and modern songs, while Dean Athens and Milton Chee offered jazz duos on guitar and vibes, respectively.

On the last two nights a skit was presented. Overflow audiences watched "The Empire Strikes Out," a musical satire on the Carter, Reagan, and Anderson "choice."

* * *

Some 1,300 people attended the conference, including 125 international guests.

Some 600 of the participants were industrial workers, holding membership in about forty unions.

The largest single number, 138, are members of the United Steelworkers. Next were 92 members of the United Auto Workers. There were 87 rail unionists, 52 members of the International Association of Machinists, 49 electrical unionists, 35 members of the Teamsters union, and 15 coal miners.

Concerns of members left home

Steelworkers convention: No answers to

By Stu Singer

LOS ANGELES—The twentieth convention of the 1.4 million-member United Steelworkers of America was held here the first week in August. The convention was originally planned for Las Vegas but was moved to protest the failure of Nevada to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

Of the nearly 4,000 delegates, more than 1,000 were staffers, who work directly for International President Lloyd McBride. They hold the credentials from locals which cannot afford to send their own delegates to the convention.

The convention met in the middle of one of the worst downturns in the steel industry since the depression of the 1930s. Almost one in four workers in the steel industry are now laid off, according to the officers' report to the convention.

Thousands of women who fought their way into the steel industry in recent years are out of work. They face being driven out of the steel industry. Discriminatory layoffs have wiped out gains from union-sponsored affirmative action programs in hiring for minorities and women.

The steel companies are using the crisis to undermine union wages and conditions as well. Days before the convention opened, Interlake Steel announced it would shut down two plants in northern Kentucky, just across the Ohio River from Cincinnati. More than 800 steelworker jobs would be eliminated. Union members there rejected a company proposed one-year wage freeze.

Within two weeks after the convention new threats against the contract were made by Wheeling-Pittsburgh and McLouth steel companies. Citing "financial problems" both companies demanded union members make wage concessions.

A resolution passed by the convention referred to 35,000 other steelworker jobs lost to plant shutdowns in the last few years.

Faced with this economic crisis, no elements in the union leadership put forward any perspective for fighting to preserve jobs and working conditions.

Nor was any effective challenge made by delegates to the McBride officialdom's acceptance of shutdowns and layoffs or to its acceptance of the idea that steelworkers must tie their fate to the profitability of the companies.

Newport News victory

The high point of the convention was a celebration of the strike and organizing victory of Local 8888 at the huge Newport News, Virginia, shipyard.

Convention proceedings were interrupted Wednesday afternoon to view a film about the Newport News strike. Then the delegates from 8888, wearing union hats and T-shirts, walked through the convention hall and onto the stage.

Local President Edward Coppedge introduced the dozen delegates, describing the role each had played in the organizing effort. District Director Bruce Thrasher spoke on how the militant Newport News strike paralleled the original efforts to build the union.

Another highlight was the strongly worded resolution passed in support of the 40,000 copper workers on strike. (See box.)

A resolution was passed favoring more organizing drives, and there were several talks, as well as a movie and new literature put out by the union to promote union membership. But no projections were made to involve the entire union in any of the efforts which are underway as was done to some extent at Newport News.

The convention saw a couple of



Militant/Stu Singer

Convention highlights were rally for Newport News strike and organizing victory and support for striking copper workers. Above, Newport News Local 8888 President Edward Coppedge at microphone with 8888 delegation and union staff organizers behind him.

incidents of intimidation against union oppositionists and leftists. But union veterans noted a marked decrease from the past. Both the image and the atmosphere within the Steelworkers has changed.

On Tuesday morning a gang of about twenty goons attacked a handful of people outside the convention center who were distributing the Communist Party newspaper, the *Daily World*. They did not bother a nearby table where a couple of right-wing U.S. Labor Party agents were circulating petitions for an "open Democratic Party convention" and handing out Lyndon LaRouche for president literature.

Some of the attackers were identified as delegates from Texas where gangster attacks organized by union officials have occurred in the past.

Delegate Mike Olszanski from Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, tried to stop the attack and was roughed up himself. Olszanski protested on the floor of the convention, and no further attacks occurred.

Goon tactics were not favored by most of those at the convention. When people distributed literature the following day, including from the Socialist Workers Party campaign, they were met with a more friendly response than at past USWA conventions.

'Fightback' opposition

All the policy resolutions and constitutional changes proposed by the leadership were passed overwhelmingly. Discussion on every point was limited, but opposition points of view were heard from the floor and voted on.

With one exception there was little booing or heckling of those speaking against the views of the official leadership.

The exception was when James Balanoff, director of District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area, spoke against a proposed cost-of-living raise for union leaders. Balanoff was shouted down, although delegates who spoke against this proposal from the floor were not.

Balanoff is now the main representative of the union opposition forces which call for a more democratic, militant union. They were involved in the 1977 campaign of Ed Sadlowski for international president.

Sادلowski got over one third of the votes in that election, carrying a majority among basic steelworkers, the strongest section of the union.

There was no indication at this convention that anyone will challenge the McBride team of top officers in the May 1981 referendum election.

But campaigning is underway for district director seats, which are elected at the same time. Notably, in District 31, Local 1014 President Jack Parton, a McBride supporter, is already campaigning against Balanoff.

The Youngstown fight

The union's International Executive Board, composed of the five top officers plus the district directors, set the stage for the convention in a meeting the week before.

They unanimously passed two resolutions: one to endorse Carter for president, the other to dissolve District 26 of the union, centered in Youngstown, Ohio, and divide the members up among other districts.

The vote for Carter was not unexpected. But the move against the Youngstown district represented a blow against steelworkers who have waged a serious fight against plant closings.

Youngstown has been an important

steelmaking center since before the turn of the century.

Since 1977 Youngstown Sheet and Tube (now owned by Jones and Laughlin) and U.S. Steel have been closing down their operations there, claiming they are outmoded. Vigorous protests by steelworkers have slowed but not stopped the shutdowns.

Two developments provoked dissolving the district. One was the planned campaign by union staff representative Marvin Weinstock for district director. Weinstock had run on the Sadlowski slate against the McBride leadership and was associated with the fight of the local unions against the shutdowns.

The incumbent district director, Frank Leseganich, earned the enmity of Youngstown-area steelworkers by following the international leadership in standing aloof from the fight.

A second development was that Youngstown Local 1462 President Ed Mann, a central leader of the fight against the shutdowns, had petitioned and won a spot on the ballot as an independent candidate for U.S. Congress in the November elections.

Mann's campaign represents a radical departure from the union practice of only supporting Democrats plus an occasional Republican.

Dissolving the union's district structure in Youngstown would weaken both these efforts.

In explaining the move, McBride was quoted in the July 31 *Youngstown Vindicator* as saying that "the district has been affected by plant shutdowns and little or no organizing drives. There also has been little or no opposition or direction to reopen the closed mills."

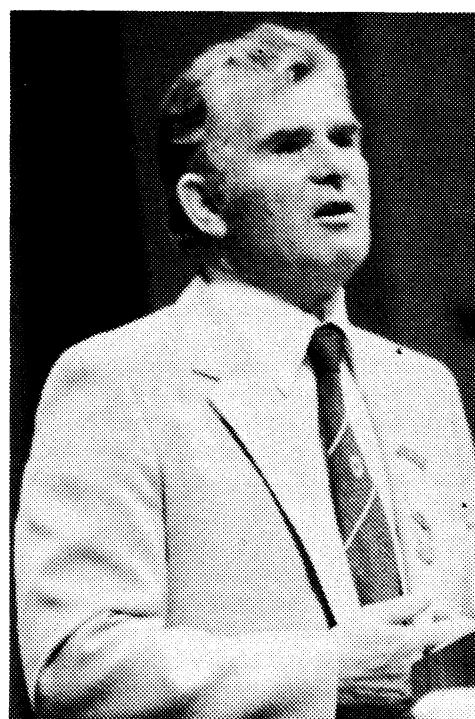
'Not much left'

When I was in Youngstown August 1, steelworkers I spoke with were infuriated at McBride's remarks. Responsibility for new organizing rests with the international and district offices, both controlled by McBride. The local unions had conducted an energetic fight for years against the shutdowns, with no help from McBride.

One steelworker told me, "The companies took our jobs and now the International has taken the union. We don't have much left."

The Youngstown issue came to the convention floor as part of the report from the constitution committee. Since the various districts are listed in the constitution, reference to District 26 had to be deleted.

Ed Mann spoke eloquently against the District 26 shutdown. He recently



Militant photos by Stu Singer

Canadian New Democratic Party leader David Barrett, left, and William Sirs, head of British Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. They touched on the labor party, nationalized industry, and socialized medicine, but none of these points were discussed on convention floor.

layoffs

suffered a stroke and his vocal cords were partly severed. He has difficulty speaking, but the convention listened attentively.

"This union was built through our sweat and blood. Men died to establish the union. Youngstown will recover. We'll organize the unorganized," he said.

"Youngstown is a proud union town."

Other delegates spoke in support of Ed Mann's stand. A voice vote was taken on the leadership motion to take District 26 out of the constitution. It appeared to be defeated.

But the motion was declared passed. Shouts broke out for a roll call vote.

This brought McBride to the podium urging delegates to "react with your brains, not your hearts." When a standing vote was taken, the dissolution of the district went through.

It is one thing to vote against the leadership on a voice vote, but quite different to stand up against them.

Women's department

Local 65 President Alice Peurla from U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago and other delegates advocated the formation of a women's department. This was referred to the executive board.

No delegate proposed any step to preserve affirmative-action gains of women or Black workers in the face of layoffs.

Modification of seniority to end the disproportionate firing of women and minorities would, however, have been consistent with the union's official commitment to affirmative action in hiring and upgrading. Support to that side of affirmative action was reaffirmed in reference to the union victory in the *Weber* case.

Nationalize steel?

The epidemic of plant shutdowns and layoffs is the most pressing concern of hundreds of thousands of steelworkers. But there were no proposals pointing to steps that could be taken to fight back.

A resolution was passed entitled: "Steel imports and the shutdown of steel plants." It echoed the company line of blaming shutdowns on imports and proposed no concrete measures to save jobs.

There was opposition from delegates wanting action by the union.

One speaker was Local 1397 President Ron Weisen from U.S. Steel Homestead Works outside Pittsburgh.

The Homestead delegation was one of the most vocal groups at the convention against the McBride leadership. When Weisen got up to speak demanding stronger action against plant shutdowns, McBride lost his temper. He warned the Homestead delegates not to be "belligerent."

Weisen declared that the international officers are "just like politicians, all talk and no action."

After other delegates also urged more action against shutdowns, McBride responded: "There seems to be a question whether the international is doing all it can. I want to know how we can force a company that's operating at a loss to stay in business under our economic system. Who's going to make up the loss? You heard Bill Sirs describe the situation in Britain. I'm serious. I want a proposal."

That ended the discussion.

A week earlier McBride was quoted in many newspapers as predicting there would be a debate on nationalizing the steel industry at the convention.

The very use of the word "nationalization" brought howls of outrage from the steel industry, expressed through mouthpieces like the daily newspapers in Youngstown and Pittsburgh. Lead



Militant photos by Stu Singer
Sharpest debate was over leadership proposal to dissolve District 26 in Youngstown, Ohio. Youngstown Local 1462 President Ed Mann, top, argued against international President Lloyd McBride. McBride lost on voice vote, but won standing vote.

editorials denounced the idea, blaming the problems of the steel industry on imports and "high wages."

British steel

McBride prepared for the debate by inviting the head of the main union among British steelworkers, Bill Sirs of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, to speak in Los Angeles. Sirs reported on the long strike against the nationalized British Steel Corporation and the drastic plant shutdowns and layoffs the Conservative Party government is imposing on the industry.

McBride's reference to nationalization was intended to strengthen his bargaining position with both the government and the steel companies.

But there was no debate.

No one spoke in favor of nationalization.

Some delegates who may have been in favor of the idea decided not to mention it. They feared it was a "trap" for McBride to attack them.

Thus they lost a good opportunity to conduct a discussion on how the steel industry could be run to provide jobs and steel for society instead of profits for private owners.

The convention actually registered a step backward on the question of jobs. For years the steelworkers union has been on record as favoring a shorter work week with no cut in pay in order to create more jobs. But this proposal was not written or proposed by anyone at the convention.

Political action

Then there was the vital issue of the upcoming elections. Here again the

Delegates back copper strike

The special resolution 'Supporting the Striking Copper Workers' approved by the United Steelworkers convention concluded with the following pledge:

Above all, in your hour of trial, we extend our Union hearts and our bonds of solidarity to you, the innocent victims of this industry plot. To you, the strikers and families, we promise not to remain silent and unresponsive while you are forced to endure

severe sacrifices while the industry profits richly from its market and price exploitations.

We pledge you our full organizational support in your proud, brave, and determined stance against these heartless mining barons.

We stand with you all the way. The battle you wage is our battle too, as it is of all of labor. You will certainly again know the triumph of victory that will be yours and in which we all can rejoice.

convention registered no reflection of the discussions going on among steelworkers and others about breaking with the Democrats and Republicans.

No mention was made of the resolution passed in May at the union's District 38 convention calling for a labor party. Ed Mann's campaign for Congress was not mentioned.

Political discussion on the floor was between the unanimous executive board proposal to endorse Carter and a proposal to call for an "open" Democratic Party convention and endorse Kennedy for president.

Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Minntac mine on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota, spoke in favor of endorsing Kennedy. He said that the local union was sending four delegates to the Democratic Party convention to push for that.

The response from McBride and some delegates was that Reagan represents a great danger and Carter was going to be the Democratic candidate so the union should back him.

There was no enthusiasm for Carter. One delegate walked around the hall to applause wearing a mask of either Jimmy or Billy Carter. But Carter was endorsed.

A little later, on a live telephone hook-up, J. Carter spoke to the convention. He thanked the delegates for "your near unanimous, or maybe, it was unanimous, endorsement of me, including your Canadian members."

This brought derisive laughter. A Canadian delegate had made a point during the discussion that they were not participating in the vote.

An international union

The Steelworkers are an "international" union with 186,000 members in English Canada and Québec plus others in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. But if the convention had little to do with the problems and needs of steelworkers in the United States, there was hardly a pretense of concern for workers outside the U.S.

There were many guest speakers in addition to Bill Sirs. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie put the delegates to sleep with a foreign policy speech calling for arms limitations.

California Governor Jerry Brown began his talk calling for stronger pro-labor laws. He ended with a jingoist attack on "third world countries who make suckers of us by selling cheap manufactured goods here."

The best talk was by David Barrett, head of the New Democratic Party in British Columbia. Barrett was premier of British Columbia when the NDP, Canada's labor party which is strongly backed by the steelworkers there, was in power a few years ago.

Barrett joined in the attacks on imports, but he gave a strong argument in favor of socialized medicine and contributed somewhat to demystifying the term "socialist," which he used a number of times.

Notable by its absence was any debate pressing for the right of members in the basic steel industry to ratify their contract. This was the major point contested at the last convention.

The United Steelworkers convention did not reflect the concerns of the 1.4 million members it was supposed to represent. The draft registration—which nineteen and twenty year old steelworkers protested and refused to sign-up for—was not mentioned.

The rebellions which Black steelworkers joined in Chattanooga and elsewhere did not come up.

The gains registered by workers and farmers in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada were ignored—except for threats against Cuba and a call for "free elections" in Nicaragua. (The union officialdom had neglected to mention Nicaragua as long as the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship was in power.)

The pressing economic crisis driving steelworkers out of their jobs found no answers at this convention.

The election dead-end of Carter-Reagan-Anderson and increasing attacks by the elected "friends of labor" in Congress met no response.

'Quietest gathering'

The *Wall Street Journal* described the convention as "about the quietest gathering of steelworkers in history." The big business paper claimed that "the kind of spirited debates and bitter dissension that have marked past USW conventions could jeopardize the union's ability to win concessions from both government and industry."

It was a lack of militancy and absence of proposals to protect the membership which characterized the leadership at this convention. The "quiet" noted by the *Wall Street Journal* is what jeopardizes the ability to win concessions.

But the "spirited debates" that point the way forward are not absent from the workplaces, unemployment lines, and more and more, the local union meetings of steelworkers.

When the delegates entered the Los Angeles Convention Center they seemed to leave the needs of the rest of the members at home. But those needs will continue to bear down. They will eventually force a hearing—and action—from this potentially powerful union.

Labor history and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$7.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:

Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$4.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$4.95

Teamster Bureaucracy 256 pp., paper \$4.95

The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for Working People by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. 40 pp., \$7.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

'We may be out a long time'

Montana copper miners explain strike issues

By Robert Simms

BUTTE, Montana—Anaconda Copper and the local Chamber of Commerce still bill Butte as "the richest hill on earth." More than nineteen billion pounds of copper have been mined from the ore body on the northeast side of town over the last century. That's nearly \$19 billion worth at today's market price.

But the company is digging in its heels to prevent copper miners from defending their living standards in the latest contract negotiations. The national copper strike is well into its second month.

Anaconda Copper is now owned by the giant Atlantic Richfield oil company. "The oil companies own

about 35 percent of copper in the U.S.," Butte miner Stan Blackwood told the *Militant*.

"You'd think with the profits the oil companies have been pulling down they could afford to let us keep the twenty-odd cents of COLA they're trying to take from us," he said at his picket station in front of the entrance to the huge Berkeley pit in Butte.

The copper companies, employing 40,000 workers, are demanding that part of the unions' cost-of-living-allowance be used to pay for pensions and other benefits, such as health plans that are already in effect.

Blackwood said an important local issue is the reinstatement of fifteen

strikers fired by Anaconda. Workers at Butte struck one week before the national strike began "over safety issues, mainly," Blackwood told the *Militant*.

"Some safety grievances have been around more than two years. The company has put them on the shelf and doesn't plan to do a damn thing with the issues," he said. About sixty picketers helped defend the early walkout, "and the company just picked out fifteen and fired them."

There are 1,200 miners at Butte in more than twenty unions, including the various trades. The Teamsters and United Steelworkers represent the biggest units. The Steelworkers, Local A-1, is known locally as the

Butte Miners Union, harking back to the long and militant union tradition in this town.

There are an additional 850 smelter workers, twenty miles west of Butte in the town of Anaconda, and 450 copper refinery and fabricating workers at Anaconda's works in Great Falls, Montana.

Harry Fleck, three years short of retirement, was sitting outside the smelter in Anaconda beside a picket sign that read "No contract, no work," when he told the *Militant*, "The company isn't bargaining much. We may be out a long time." He figured this was his sixth or seventh strike, including one that lasted nine months.

Interlake shuts Ky. plants, blames workers

By Ernie Abdo and Ove Aspoy

CINCINNATI—Interlake Steel, northern Kentucky's largest private employer, shut its Wilder and Newport plants on July 31. More than 1,100 hourly and salaried employees lost their jobs.

The plants were closed shortly after workers in United Steelworkers Locals 22 and 1870 rejected the company's proposals for a new contract. The vote was 806 to 1.

For decades the Interlake plants had come under the same USWA national agreements negotiated with the nine giant steel companies. This year Interlake claims it just could not afford it.

A few days before the vote, Interlake sent each employee a letter demanding a one-year contract with a wage and benefit freeze.

The company blames the plant closings on the rising costs of materials and energy, as well as on the expenses of pollution control. Above all else, Interlake blames the workers.

In the letter to employees, Reynold C. McDonald, chairman of the board, stated, "Before you vote, consider the alternatives very carefully. Remember that a vote to reject the company offer is not a vote to strike. Instead, it is a vote that will result in the permanent closing of the plant."

McDonald went on to say that even with acceptance of the proposals, the plants might have to be closed in a year.

In response, USWA Locals 22 and 1870 demanded that the company open its books to union inspection. Interlake refused, but later agreed to turn over a financial summary. It revealed a profit of \$1.89 million during the first half of this year. The company claimed millions in losses in previous years. But at the same time Interlake had been pouring more than \$20 million into the Kentucky plants as part of a modernization project.

Carl Harbour has worked in steel mills for more than ten years. He was a millwright at Interlake for two years. He told the *Militant* that many people thought the plants would be closed regardless of the vote. He summed up their attitude: "Let's shut down now, not when the company wants to."

Like many other workers, Harbour is suspicious about the closings. He said the contracts at Interlake's two Chicago plants expire September 1. He believes Interlake may have closed the Kentucky plants to tell the Chicago workers, "We really mean business."

Harbour said the company only asked the workers to sacrifice. "For example," he said, "they had two foremen in some departments with only



Steelworkers rejected Interlake's blackmail 806 to 1

two or three men under them."

Many workers thought the company was just bluffing. They pointed to past attempts at intimidation by Interlake, including threats that the plants would be sold or shut down. But so far the company has refused all efforts to reopen negotiations. Interlake says the plants are closed and up for sale.

Some workers cited the moderniza-

tion project and the reported profits this year. The Kentucky plants made specialty alloys, steel coil, and pipe. Interlake was competitive in these markets, they said.

Few workers blamed imports for the shutdowns.

For now, most workers seem to have adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Some, however, have already started looking for work.

Oh say does that Star Spangled Banner still wave?

In one sense, most American workers have considered themselves patriotic. They have generally felt that this is, or could be, a pretty good country. They would like to see things better, but, traditionally, they have considered it their country.

In the past twenty years, this attitude has undergone significant change. A growing number of working people have come to recognize that they

Adding to the deep distrust of government brought on by the Vietnam experience has been the steady deterioration in the quality of life for workers since the war.

Economic insecurity, inflation, worsening working conditions, persistent racism and sexism, pollution of earth, sky, and water, the nuclear danger, the threat of a new war, the shameless energy ripoff by the oil barons—all this and more have made masses of people realize there's something profoundly wrong in this society. Most people don't have a clear idea about what can be done. But they know the problems are real and that they're getting worse.

It's for all of these reasons that politicians are finding it increasingly difficult to manipulate the way people feel about their country. Jingoism, emotional appeals to the flag, the national anthem, don't work the way they once did.

All of which is by way of comment on a remarkable incident reported in a three-inch Associated Press dispatch in the August 20 *New York Times*.

It said that the commander of the Great Lakes Naval Training Center "has suspended the playing of the national anthem at the base movie theater because it drew catcalls, hisses, and boos."

Rear Admiral Charles Gurney III reportedly wrote in the base paper: "This is the end of the national anthem at Ross Auditorium Theater for as

long as I'm commander here."

Gurney had earlier suspended performance of the "Star Spangled Banner" before the evening feature because of the jeers from the audience. However, he changed his mind, he said, after some complaints.

So he resumed the practice, urging everyone to turn in the names of catcallers. But, the good admiral lamented, "Not one name was turned in to me."

"Where," he asked, "were all the patriotic people who abhor such behavior?"

It's tempting to reply that they were apparently all out front jeering and catcalling.

A more precise answer might be that growing numbers of people, particularly those caught in the military, have come to abhor people who hypocritically promote a song about the "land of the free" but couldn't care less about freedom.

I don't think it's an accident that this item got but three inches in the *New York Times*. It doesn't bode well for the capitalist system which the *Times* so patriotically defends.

—Harry Ring

P.S. Rear Admiral Gurney has ordered reinstatement of the playing of the national anthem at the naval station movie theater. However, he advised, it will be played with the theater lights partly on "to guarantee proper behavior."

AS I SEE IT

have no real voice in how the country is run. And they see more and more that the professional politicians who run things are unresponsive to their needs.

The most profound changes in attitude, of course, were brought about by the Vietnam war.

As that bloody aggression continued, more and more Americans came to recognize that it was dead wrong—illegal, unjust, and immoral. They also came to see how stubbornly indifferent the government—whether it was a Republican or a Democratic administration—was to the majority view that we should get out of Vietnam.

Bolivian junta carries out reign of terror

By Will Reissner

While Bolivia is no stranger to military coups, the regime installed by Gen. Luis García Meza on July 17 is already one of the bloodiest and most vicious in Bolivian history.

Gen. García Meza, who seized power with the help of the Argentine military dictatorship, is openly comparing himself to Chilean dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet, who overthrew Salvador Allende in 1973 and instituted a reign of terror against the workers movement.

According to García Meza, his regime will stay in power "as long as is necessary to eliminate the Marxist cancer, be it five, ten, or twenty years."

Independent sources place the number of prisoners being held by the military at over 2,000, while the army itself admits to holding 500 people. Col. Luis Arce Gómez has stated that political prisoners now in custody will be placed in forced labor gangs to build roads in Bolivia's eastern jungles.

There have been widespread arrests of trade-union and political leaders as well as journalists, church figures, and teachers. According to church leaders in La Paz, summary executions have been carried out against captured opposition figures.

Journalists arrested

Several dozen journalists have been arrested and the July 30 *Washington Post* reports that there have been numerous "cases of beatings and torture of reporters."

Mary Helen Spooner, a U.S. journalist who was held by the military for seven days for her reports that some of the top officers were involved in the lucrative cocaine trade, described the techniques used in interrogation. "I was warned," she said, "that if I failed to give them what they wanted I would be killed or mutilated." Spooner was freed on August 12 due to international pressure.

New York Times correspondent Warren Hoge gave an example in an August 14 article of how those without Spooner's international connections are treated by the junta. According to Hoge:

A shoemaker from the hillside slum of El Alto Norte was picked up, for no stated reason, by the army one recent Sunday and taken to the city's new soccer stadium. There he was beaten with rifle butts and forced into a dressing room so packed with other prisoners that the men had to sleep standing up and relieve themselves in place.

After two days, soldiers pinned left-wing party legends on the chests of 15 of them, took them in a truck to a nearby cliff, and



Bolivia's jails hold an estimated 2,000 political prisoners, among them trade union leaders, journalists, church figures, and teachers.

lined them up. The shoemaker, tumbling into a crevice below the precipice in the midst of the ensuing murderous fury, was the only one to live to tell what had happened. The Government reported that 14 men had died trying to storm a garrison.

Priests and nuns throughout the country have seen houses and church centers searched and ransacked by military patrols. According to one nun in Cochabamba, "anyone who works with peasants is on the blacklist." Teachers and professors have also been forced into hiding.

Siles Zuazo's victory

The Bolivian military seized power to prevent Hernán Siles Zuazo from taking office following his victory in the June 29 presidential elections. Siles Zuazo, a former president of Bolivia, headed a reformist electoral coalition—the Democratic People's Unity (UDP)—which included the pro-Moscow Communist Party.

The June 29 elections were the third that Siles Zuazo won in the past two years. In each case, however, the results were annulled by the military.

What worried the Bolivian military and their Argentine mentors was not that Siles Zuazo would carry out major reforms or radical changes, but rather that he would be unable to contain the growing radicalization of the Bolivian working class and peasantry. It is this fear of the toiling masses that is behind the new regime's savagery.

Following the coup, in which Argen-

tine security forces played a big advisory role, Argentine military dictator Jorge Rafael Videla promised the new Bolivian regime \$200 million in financial assistance including an immediate loan of \$50 million.

Videla was quite open in stating his reasons for backing the coup. In his words, "the formally correct thing would have been for a government resulting from the election to have taken power, but this represented for us a high degree of risk because of the possibility that it would spread ideas contrary to our way of life and the permanence here of a military government."

According to the August 8 *Latin American Weekly Report*, the Brazilian military regime also had advance notice of the coup and gave its approval to Argentine participation.

General strike

The Argentine-backed coup was met by a general strike in the cities and by armed resistance from Bolivia's tin miners, who were joined in some areas by peasant forces. The military was, however, able to decapitate much of the resistance by staging a lightning raid on the headquarters of the powerful Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), capturing many working-class leaders. The COB had been instrumental in leading the successful resistance to a coup last November.

Although Hernán Siles Zuazo escaped and remains in hiding inside

Bolivia, Juan Lechín Oquendo, who is the leader of the COB and of the miners union, was among those captured in the raid.

Lechín was paraded before television cameras on July 22 to call upon workers to end their resistance to the coup, but has not been seen since. The August 4 *New York Times* reports that Lechín is "presumed by many to be dead."

Resistance to the coup lasted for more than two weeks in the mining areas of Oruro, Huanuni, Siglo Veinte, Catavi, and San José. In Catavi miners and peasants stormed army barracks with shotguns and dynamite on July 23, fighting a five-hour battle before retreating.

Jet fighters were used to silence miners' radio stations, and assaults on the mining towns left more than fifty dead. In addition, troops surrounded the mines to prevent food and other supplies from reaching the miners.

Soldiers resist

There were a number of reports of soldiers refusing to fire on civilians. About eighty members of one army regiment were shot for refusing to fire on striking mineworkers in Corocoro. Near La Paz, three truckloads of soldiers deserted after killing their officers.

In addition, because of the large number of individual desertions, the lower ranks of the armed forces have been refused leave, adding to unrest in the ranks.

Although open resistance to the García Meza coup has largely ended, there are signs that it continues underground. On August 6, the day he would have been inaugurated as president, Hernán Siles Zuazo declared from the underground that he was assuming the presidency "in clandestinity as the only and legitimate representative of the Bolivian people."

In addition to trying to crush the Bolivian masses, the new regime has signaled its willingness to do whatever it can to smash the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. Its first diplomatic move was to break relations with the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

However, the Bolivian junta remains isolated internationally. Besides the South American dictatorships of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, the only governments that have extended recognition to it are those of South Africa, Taiwan, Israel, and Egypt.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Charges dropped against one AIM defendant

PORTLAND—The American Indian Movement defendants facing trial here this month won a partial victory in August when U.S. District Court Judge James Redden dismissed all charges against KaMook Banks.

She, along with Dennis Banks, Russ Redner, and Kenneth Loud Hawk, had been reindicted in June on frame-up charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives based on an incident that occurred in November 1975 (see August 8, 1980, *Militant*).

Redden ruled that the government had "failed to dispel the appearance of vindictiveness" when, during its reindictment of KaMook Banks, it added a charge that had not been included in the original 1975 indictments, though the government had knowledge of the alleged violation at that time.

The defense attorneys have announced that they are appealing this decision on the grounds that the charges were not dropped against her co-defendants although they too faced

new charges when the reindictments were issued.

Government attorneys have also announced that they plan to file a cross appeal challenging Redden's dismissal of the charges against KaMook Banks.

Defense attorneys will also be arguing a pretrial motion that charges be dismissed because the government has obtained "inside information" about the defense's strategy. This information was obtained when a woman who previously had relations with the FBI stole Dennis Banks' briefcase from his office and turned it over to the FBI.

The FBI, after inspecting the contents of the briefcase, made a statement that it did not "condone her action in this matter" and "is coordinating the return of the briefcase" to Banks.

Redden has turned down a number of other defense pretrial motions and has announced his determination to begin the trial on September 3, despite the appeals.

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...Poland

Continued from page 3

former shipyard worker who had been dismissed following the 1976 strikes, climbed over a wall into the yard and addressed the workers.

By 11:00 a.m. the whole yard was out, and a strike committee had been elected.

The strikers' demand for the reinstatement of both Walentynowicz and Walesa was quickly agreed to by the management. But by then the workers' demands had already escalated and the strikes were beginning to spread.

Fight rising prices

The central economic demand of the strikers was for an across-the-board wage increase of 2,000 zlotys (US\$66) a month to offset the higher prices for meat and other consumer items.

They also demanded guaranteed salary increases following price hikes or currency devaluations, vacation pay for those on strike, and a restriction of exports to only surplus commodities, to ensure full supplies on the domestic market.

Connected with these basic economic grievances were demands to abolish the special privileges enjoyed by police, party, and government officials. Workers in Poland are well aware that party officials and factory managers can buy imported items in special shops that ordinary people are excluded from, and that they can drive new cars and enjoy luxurious homes and vacation houses while workers are constantly asked to sacrifice.

The bureaucrats' response to this demand has been especially cynical. In a meeting with the Lenin Shipyard workers, one government negotiator, in a transparent bid to buy them off, offered to also give the shipyard workers special privilege cards, which allow access to scarce consumer goods at discount prices.

No censorship!

The strikers have also raised a series of explicitly political demands, reflecting their understanding that much of the country's economic difficulties stem from the lack of workers democracy and from the bureaucratic methods of rule employed by the authorities.

They demanded the release of all political prisoners (there are reported to have been six before the most recent detentions); a full and public discussion of the country's socioeconomic problems, in which everyone could discuss how to remedy them; freedom of speech and the abolition of censorship; and the right to strike and to establish democratic trade unions free from government and party interference.

This last demand was particularly important for the workers. During the 1970 and 1976 upsurges, the workers wrested numerous concessions from the bureaucracy, but many of them were subsequently whittled down, since they did not have their own democratically-controlled unions to safeguard those gains.

According to Walesa, "Our main aim is to create free trade unions independent of the party and the government because only then the interest of the nation and the interest of the workers can be objectively defended. Until we have free trade unions, a strike is the only means of defense."

Are workers 'antisocialist'?

The bureaucracy sought to cloak the defense of its own power and material privileges in the guise of defending "socialism" and the "nation."

In a nationally televised speech, Gierek charged that the strikes were "aimed against the basic foundations of the socialist system" and claimed that "irresponsible, anarchist and anti-socialist elements" were using the work stoppages for "hostile political aims."

The workers and the dissidents allied with them have denied that they are antisocialist. None of the strikers

are demanding a return of the capitalist class that ruled Poland until the late 1940s.

Their support for the socialist revolution and the nationalized economy has been openly expressed during the course of the strike, as workers in the Gdansk shipyard broke out into choruses of the "Internationale," the international communist anthem.

What the strikers do want is the granting of basic democratic rights and an end to bureaucratic privilege. These would not threaten the Polish workers state, but strengthen it immeasurably.

The biggest problem in Poland, the strike leaders point out, is that the workers in reality have no control over decision-making. Everything is done behind their backs.

When asked what she thought was the main cause behind the labor unrest, Walentynowicz replied, "It's the cheating and the lying that the Government does. The truth must be told to the people—that's the main thing."

She went on, "They say that this is a country run by the workers. Up to now, the workers have had no say at all. Maybe if we had, we wouldn't be so bad off economically and owe all that money overseas."

A similar theme was raised by Florian Wisniewski, another strike leader in Gdansk: "We want to restart work as soon as possible, but we must be the real masters of our factories."

A politicized leadership

The high political consciousness of the Polish workers is a legacy of their long experience in fighting against the bureaucratic regime. Three times before—in 1956, 1970, and 1976—they rose up to demand democratic rights and social and economic gains. The first two times they brought down the existing governments.

The workers in the Gdansk shipyards in particular have been able to retain some continuity of leadership. Both Walentynowicz and Walesa were active participants and leaders in the 1970 and 1976 strike waves.

The worker activists have also been able to establish vital links with other dissident forces in Poland, who have helped to defend them from repression and to publicize their aims. The most important of these are the Committee for Social Self-Defense—known as the KOR—and the closely allied underground newspaper *Robotnik* (Worker), which now has a circulation of about 30,000.

The demand of the strikers for independent trade unions is not a new one. In 1978, Walentynowicz and others became involved in the initial attempts to organize such unions. By late 1979, organizing committees had been estab-



Strikers on guard duty at Lenin Shipyard. Workers have elected committees to organize strike and keep order.

lished in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Katowice. The same year, a "Charter of Workers' Rights" was issued, which raised many of the same demands that are now being voiced by the strikers.

The existence of this politicized leadership is a key factor in the strength and organization of the current strikes.

Rank-and-file participation

Another vital element is the level of rank-and-file participation. Besides electing their own representatives, the strikers have been kept fully informed of the negotiations between management and the workers' delegations.

Shortly after the beginning of the strike at the Lenin Shipyard, talks were arranged between the local strike committee and the authorities.

According to a report in the August 17 *Washington Post* by correspondent Michael Dobbs, who was allowed to sit in on the negotiations, "Some of the proceedings were broadcast by loudspeaker to the crowds of workers who occupied the plant immediately after the strike began. Outside the hall, there was a constant echo of cheers and boos as management made concessions or resisted the workers' demands."

The strike committee reached an initial agreement with the management, but that was overruled by the strikers themselves, who insisted that they stay out in solidarity with the strikers in other enterprises.

Discipline

The strikers also displayed a high degree of discipline. To avoid giving the government a pretext to crack down, the strike committees ordered

the workers to refrain from street demonstrations and called for a ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages. Some categories of workers were asked to stay on their jobs to maintain vital services.

According to Dobbs, "The strikers appointed their own activists to keep order at the Lenin plant. Red or white armbands were the insignia of a strike committee official—and no outsiders were allowed past the gates without the committee's permission. Food supplies were delivered by sympathizers outside the plant, and the cafeteria was kept running to feed the 8,000 or so workers taking part in the sit-in. . . ."

"Some passing motorists sounded their horns and gave clenched-fist salutes of support to the strikers sitting on walls around the shipyard. Elsewhere in Gdansk, there were similar scenes at other factories."

According to most news reports from Poland, the strikers are being widely supported by the general population, despite the disruption that the strikers have caused. Large crowds gather outside the gates of the occupied factories and enterprises, bringing food and money.

International support

The Polish strikers have also won support from unions and political organizations in other countries.

In France, Georges Séguy, the general secretary of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the Communist Party-led union federation, stated that the trade unions in Poland must change. "They do not correspond to the need for democratic expression and trade unionism demanded by the workers," he said August 18.

Some Western Communist parties have come out in support of the demands of the Polish workers.

Bo Hammer, the international secretary of the Swedish Communist Party, said that the strikes showed that reforms were necessary in Poland, "which needs a strong and democratic labor movement, both free and independent in its relation to the state and party apparatus."

Santiago Carillo, the central leader of the Spanish Communist Party, declared, "I believe that the political system does not contain what a large part of the Polish working class is seeking."

It is because of the fear that such solidarity—as well as the example of the Polish strikes—could spread to the rest of Eastern Europe and into the Soviet Union itself that the Soviet government and most of the regimes in Eastern Europe have been attempting to block out accurate news of the strikes.

Despite a few self-serving claims of sympathy with the Polish strikers, the major imperialist powers are also backing Gierek. They too are worried that the stirring example of the Polish workers could catch on.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Strike spokesperson Lech Walesa, right, was leader of earlier workers' protests in 1970 and '76. Glum-looking man with tie is Deputy Prime Minister Jagielski entering talks with workers' delegates.

How U.S. gov't, media view Polish events

By Suzanne Haig

The capitalist press in this country has responded to the upsurge of Polish workers with expressions of sympathy. The *New York Times* in an August 19 editorial even called the workers' demands "exhilarating."

"The insurgent workers," they rejoiced, "are not talking about just food and wages. They are also demanding the unthinkable—political rights."

The U.S. government has been more cautious. With the elections in view, Carter has dropped gentle hints that he sympathizes with the Polish workers, but the government has carefully avoided any statements that might be viewed as encouraging the workers or criticizing the Polish government.

But are the U.S. rulers and their news media really as sympathetic to the Polish workers as they claim?

One thing should arouse immediate suspicion. Since when has the government or press given sympathy to workers' struggles in this country?

No major paper hailed the demands of striking oil workers earlier this year. And when the transit workers struck this spring in New York City not just for "food and wages," but also "demanding the unthinkable"—the political right to strike against the city government—the *Times* supported the imposition of heavy fines against them.

No. The media and the rulers of this country have not one drop of sympathy for the Polish workers. They have merely seized the opportunity to make some propaganda against socialism.

For example, the August 21 *Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "What is billed as a Workers' Paradise is, in fact, a workers' prison in which the industrial workers are deprived of any say in the government."

Socialism means a low standard of living and the absence of political rights, they state, while capitalism, by implication, means the opposite.

But the Polish workers don't regret having overthrown capitalism and established a workers' state. They oppose only the bureaucrats who misrule that state.

They have no desire to go back to capitalism which brought nothing but poverty, hunger, illiteracy, disease, foreign rule, and fascism to Poland.

They don't want to turn the steel



OHIO, NOT POLAND. U.S. government and employers, who stop at nothing to break strikes, want us to think they're for Polish workers. Above, cops drag away striker during attack last year on United Auto Workers picket line at Bailey Controls plant in Wickliffe, Ohio.

mills, shipyards, railroads, and mines over to individual capitalists. They are not fighting for less control over production and government, but more control. They want to advance toward socialism.

They believe they can better lead society than the narrow-minded corrupt bureaucrats who are only concerned with maintaining their privileges at the workers' expense.

The U.S. rulers are playing a double game. While they gush over the plight of the Polish workers, they support the austerity measures which the Polish government is taking against these workers.

They harp on the importance of the Polish government paying its \$20 billion debt to capitalist banks in the United States, West Germany, Britain, and France.

Big business wants the debt—including the extortionist interest rates charged by the bankers—to be taken

out of the workers' hides.

Thus the *Wall Street Journal* complained August 21 about the Polish government's policy of "buying off workers' discontent with various subsidies" which had kept the prices of meat and other necessities "artificially low relative to income." It sounds a lot like their complaints about the "excessive" wages and benefits of workers over here.

In the same vein, the August 22 *Christian Science Monitor* praised the effort of the Polish government to "put its economic house in order."

"Raising meat prices—the issue which sparked the labor strikes—was a reasonable thing to do," they said.

And in words familiar to every American worker it added, "The workers need to appreciate the need for labor discipline and higher productivity."

Some support.

Much of the press coverage has been occupied with fears of possible Soviet troop intervention into Poland. Such claims are used to portray the workers' struggle as hopeless and to suggest that the workers better go back to work quietly lest they provoke Moscow.

The talk about Soviet troops is also used to try to line up the American people behind Washington's murderous foreign policy.

The spectre of Soviet action is a means of justifying reinstituting the draft, beefing up the nuclear arsenal, spending more on the military budget, at a time when the American people are opposed to such war moves.

Despite this propaganda, Washington's interests in Poland today lie with the Stalinist governments in Moscow and Warsaw—not with the workers.

This was indicated in an article in the *New York Times* by Bernard Gwertzman on August 25. "For the moment," Gwertzman noted, "there seems to be a convergence of interests in Washington and Moscow, with both capitals interested in seeing Poland's rulers and populace working out a suitable compromise that avoids disruptions that would threaten the stability of central Europe."

Since Washington cannot hope to foster a capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, it supports the Gierek government. They know this government will do nothing to inspire the masses at home or abroad to struggle for a socialist future.

The gains being won by the Polish workers terrify Washington and Wall Street.

The Polish workers are showing us, along with working people around the world, how to fight against attacks on our rights and standard of living.

They are demonstrating in action the tremendous power that workers can wield against their oppressors.

Further victories by the Polish workers could raise the possibility of a revolutionary workers' government emerging in Poland. Imagine a Cuba in the heart of industrialized Europe!

When push comes to shove Washington would certainly prefer even an invasion by Soviet troops to that outcome.

The heroic fight of the Polish workers is directly in the interests of working people in this country. They deserve our full solidarity.

Church hierarchy presses strikers to yield

By Harry Ring

There's no bigger hypocrite than a pious one.

To confirm that, one only need look at the response of Pope John Paul and Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski to the struggle of the Polish workers.

Wyszynski was brought into play as the strike spread beyond the Baltic Port region, and the government came under heavy pressure to make large scale concessions.

In a television broadcast from Warsaw August 26, Wyszynski called for "peace, calm, reason, prudence and responsibility." His target was the strikers.

Calling for an end to the job actions, he warned that "things may come to such a pass that those who are raising demands will say this is not what we wanted but then it will be too late."

"The right to refrain from work can be very costly," he added.

For many years now the Vatican and the Polish hierarchy have demagogically exploited the alienation of the Polish workers and peasants from their bureaucratic regime. At each opportunity the hierarchy has projected the image of sympathy and support for the antitotalitarian aspirations of the Polish masses.

But when the chips are down the Pope and his top brass within Poland line up with the bureaucrats against the workers.

That's not as surprising as it may seem.

Last year, when John Paul made his widely touted tour of Poland, the *Militant* stated in a June 22, 1979, editorial that despite his criticism of the Polish regime, the pope and the Stalinist bureaucrats were simply "engaging in shadow boxing."

We said then that the reason the Polish regime permitted John Paul to make his obviously political tour of the nation was because they needed him and his Polish lieutenants. They needed them, we said, "For what the Catholic hierarchy has always been so good at—instilling acceptance of oppression and tyranny."

To indicate this was not simply our own view, we cited a June 10, 1979, *New York Times* story which flatly stated that the ruling Polish Communist Party "needs the support of the church for some of the disagreeable remedies it will have to apply soon to realign the economy—keeping down wages, raising food prices . . ."

And that's exactly what the pope and his associates are now doing for

the bureaucrats in their hour of desperate need.

The *New York Times* reported from Warsaw August 22 that the Catholic church had issued a statement after the bishop at Gdansk, center of the strike movement, conferred with Poland's cardinal.

The statement, the *Times* reported, voiced "understanding" of the strikers' demands, "but implicitly criticized their methods."

The church warned that "prolonged stoppages, possible disturbances, and fraternal bloodshed are against the good of society."

The following day a statement was issued by John Paul himself.

"Although both documents hinted [!] at sympathy for the strikers," the August 24 *Times* reported, "they indicated that the church's major concern was for the maintenance of social order."

That's not new. In 1970, when the shipyard workers and others went on a big, similar strike, the Catholic Church tried to herd them back to work. The workers held firm and won. And when these workers went out again in 1976, Polish bishops advised the masses to exercise restraint "to preserve public order."

"Solid work," they righteously counseled, "is a moral obligation and ability to make sacrifices—a Christian virtue."

Such reactionary declarations must be a bitter pill for those Polish workers who still have illusions about the nature of the hierarchy's opposition to the hated bureaucrats. And it must be particularly difficult for those priests and nuns and others in the church who have a genuine sense of solidarity with the embattled workers.

But the church's official declaration can only be characterized as a piously hypocritical stab in the back.

Why does it lecture the strikers on the need to avoid "prolonged stoppages, possible disturbances and fraternal bloodshed"?

It is the bureaucrats, trying to swindle the workers out of their just demands, who prolong the strike. And it is the regime's troops and secret cops, not the well-organized, highly disciplined workers, who pose a threat to public order and create any possible danger of bloodshed.

It would be useful if the pope and his Polish mouthpieces declared a moratorium on their pious double-talk—doubletalk intended to give aid and comfort to the bureaucrats in Warsaw, and Moscow.

A heroine of the revolution

Tribute to Cuba's Haydée Santamaría

On July 28 Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado—a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and of the Cuban Council of State and the director of Casa de las Américas, the Cuban publishing and cultural organization—committed suicide. The following is the address given the following day by Major of the Revolution Juan Almeida at the state funeral held for Santamaría, which was attended by Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro, and other leaders of the Cuban party and government. The text is taken from the August 10 issue of the English-language 'Granma.'

Dear Comrades:

We couldn't have a more painful and sad task than the one we are faced with this afternoon. We have come here to pay our last respects to a person who, from the earliest and most difficult times, was a fervent fighter for our Revolution; to a comrade who was loved by all of us and by all our people; to a figure of incalculable international prestige who on her own merits and through her tireless efforts became an outstanding representative of revolutionary Cuba's history, fighting spirit and feelings of solidarity.

Haydée Santamaría holds, in her own right, an ineffaceable place in the Cuban Revolution. Hence, the circumstances under which her death has taken place are doubly painful.

Haydée was one of the young people who immediately after the coup d'état of March 10, 1952, began seeking a new way to free Cuba and found it at Fidel's side. At a time when we still lacked everything, when we had

neither weapons nor money and were unknown, when all we had really was our dreams and our will to fight, she, along with her brother Abel, became a pillar of the nascent revolutionary movement. As we all know, she took part in the attack on the Moncada Garrison, and there she withstood with insuperable courage one of the hardest tests any revolutionary ever had to go through when the henchmen of the tyranny vented their fury on her by showing her the bloody remains that were mute evidence of the savage assassination of Abel and other equally beloved and close comrades. She was imprisoned and when she was released she devoted herself fully, along with Comrade Melba [Hernández], to carrying out the instructions and tasks issued by Fidel from his prison cell for the reorganization of the revolutionary movement. Among those tasks was the publication and distribution of the first edition of *History Will Absolve Me*.

Total dedication

As a fighter in the underground she took part, with Frank País and other comrades, in organizing the November 30 uprising in Santiago de Cuba and in many other tasks in the cities. She was a founding member of the National Leadership of the 26th of July Movement. She joined the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra in spite of the fact that her health was impaired, and remained in the mountains until Fidel ordered her to go abroad to carry out a series of important missions for the Revolution. She distinguished herself at all times, everywhere, for her total dedication to the cause, her revolutionary stoicism and her fighting spirit.

After the triumph of the Revolution on January 1, 1959, she devoted herself with the same spirit to the new tasks facing our country. She spared no effort in the struggle to consolidate our socialist homeland and make it advance. She was a bulwark of our Party and belonged to the Central Committee from its inception. Her work for 20 consecutive years as head of Casa de las Américas constitutes an exceptional contribution to friendship, solidarity and culture and to the development of indestructible bonds between Cuba and its sister nations in Latin America, the Caribbean and other parts of the world. As a result of this, she also contributed greatly to raising the prestige of our country and to making it possible for Cuba's example and the truth of our reality to be known in spite of the blockade and slander of the Yankee imperialists and the fascists and reactionaries of our continent.

On principle, revolutionaries do not approve of suicide. The lives of revolutionaries belong to their cause and their people, and they must devote themselves to serving them down to their last atom of energy and their last second of existence.

However, we can't judge Comrade Haydée coldly. It wouldn't be fair.

Wounds of Moncada

Those of us who were close to her knew that the wounds of the Moncada had never healed. Above all, Comrade Haydée's health had deteriorated steadily in the past few years. In addition to this, she was involved in a car accident a few months ago that almost killed her and which further aggravated both her physical and

mental condition. Only these circumstances, which no doubt led her to lose her self-control, can account for the fact that a figure of such historic and revolutionary stature, of such merits with respect to her country and socialism, a figure whose mettle was put to the test in the most difficult and heroic moments of our struggle, should take the tragic decision to put an end to her life.

Women of Cuba

This is why such a painful end cannot in any way diminish her virtues, the power of her revolutionary example or the legacy she leaves to our new generations and, especially, to the women of Cuba.

Let us not remember her during the last tragic moment of her life. We will always remember her as working with Abel and Fidel in organizing the revolutionary movement.

We will remember her as the heroine of the Moncada, as the fighter in the Sierra Maestra and in the cities. We will remember her as a builder of our new homeland. We will remember the example of her fighting spirit, laboriousness, modesty and complete devotion to the cause of socialism and internationalism. Those of us who must go on carrying out our duties toward our country and the Revolution will draw even greater strength from her example.

Dear comrades, on behalf of Haydée Santamaría's family, the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of State and the board of directors of Casa de las Américas, we thank you for your company in this hour of sorrow.

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Sounds reasonable—"CLEVELAND—There's no movie house in downtown Cleveland. The last one closed this spring. And the city remains in default on payments it could not meet in 1978. Cleveland, in fact, has become a symbol of the decline of the industrial North. Yet . . . Cleveland's two leading banks are thriving. . . . 'Our profitability is high not despite Cleveland, but because of it,' says M. Brock Weir, Ameri-Trusts' chairman."—*New York Times*.

Things are tough all over—Royal Dutch/Shell reported that its second quarter profits had dropped 4.2 percent to a mere \$1.61 billion. It prophesized continued reduced earnings through-

out 1980 because of the oil glut.

Double appeal—An Ohio court received an appeal from a prisoner neatly typed on toilet paper. He explained he had used up his quota of regular paper and added: "It is quite rough on myself to spare even this paper."

"If I get another illiterate, biased, prejudiced decision . . . before my next issue of paper, I'll really be hurting."

Theology dep't—The Vatican says it's OK for married Anglican priests to become Catholic priests, while other priests are expected to remain celibate. However, widowed Anglicans would

not be permitted to remarry. Also, such priests can't become bishops. Nor, we assume, popes.

Obviously reliable—An FBI agent, charged with stealing \$79,000 from a U.S. marshal's office in Montana, was released on his own recognizance.

Note to jobhunters—Smoking during employment interviews may be hazardous, according to employment agencies. "A nervous applicant might light the wrong end," warns one agency. Also, it's reported, cunning interviewers sometimes offer cigarettes but no ashtrays to see if an applicant is cool under pressure. Or maybe they're just too cheap to buy ashtrays.

TELL IT LIKE IT IS

By DUNAGIN



7.17

Dunagin
and the
New York Times

'Our defense will be that you didn't know what you were doing . . . Your record in Congress will back that up.'

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



Opinion polls and abortion rights

Ever wonder about those polls pointing to growing opposition to women's right to abortion?

Well, they're phony. The outcome of the polls depends upon how they're worded.

That was the finding of a *New York Times*/CBS News poll taken earlier this month.

In it people were asked about their views of abortion in several different ways. The results? Their position depended on the wording of the question, according to an August 18 article in the *New York Times*.

First they were asked: "Do you think there should be an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting abortions?"

When worded this way, 62 percent opposed the amendment and only 29 percent favored it. The rest were undecided.

Later the same people were asked the question in a different way, using the wording preferred by anti-abortion crusaders.

The question now read: "Do you believe there should be an amendment to the Constitution protecting the life of the unborn child?"

The results: 50 percent in favor of the amendment, 39 percent opposed, and 11 percent undecided.

One fifth of those polled changed their position when the second question was put to them. One

third of those who had opposed the amendment when it was described as "prohibiting abortions" shifted to support when it was presented as "protecting the life of the unborn child."

You can see why.

The second choice is imbued with emotional and confusing language depicting a fetus as a human being. It is designed to make someone feel guilty of advocating murder if they support abortion rights. It deliberately shifts the axis away from the right of a woman to terminate a pregnancy without interference from the state.

It is the favored language of the right wing because it masks their real program: forced motherhood and opposition to a woman's right to hold a job and have equal opportunities and a life beyond her traditional family role.

Since 1973 hundreds of thousands of women have exercised their right to abortion for a variety of reasons. This is the clearest indication of support for the right to have this operation.

The poll also shows this: Despite the wording change, 36 percent consistently opposed the anti-abortion amendment, while only 26 percent supported it. "The rest either switched from one side to the other or were undecided on one or both phrasings of the question," explained the *Times*.

On another and crucial question: "If a woman

wants to have an abortion and her doctor agrees to it, should she be allowed to have an abortion or not?" Sixty-two percent said a woman should have the right to an abortion, 15 percent said it depended on the circumstances, and only 19 percent said a woman should not be allowed to have an abortion.

A clear majority supported the right to abortion, regardless of the circumstances. This gives lie to the assertion that many people support abortion only in certain instances like rape or incest.

Polls that mislead are forever being pointed to by Democratic and Republican politicians to justify their support for cutting off federal funds for abortions, and requiring parental consent for teenagers and a husband's consent for married women to have abortions.

These capitalist politicians are not voting with the needs and wishes of working people in mind. They have the interests of their big-business backers at heart.

But they tell us there's an anti-abortion backlash. Well, it's time we told them something. The women's movement needs to join forces with the trade unions and civil rights organizations to let the government know that we will not tolerate any attacks on the right to abortion and demand Congress immediately allocate Medicaid funding for abortion.

What's Going On

ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

1980 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY WITH ANDREW PULLEY, SWP candidate for president, and Mohammed Oliver, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Alabama. Wed., Sept. 3, 7:30 p.m. U.A.B. Volker Hall, Lecture room D. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call: (205) 788-2105.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Sat., Sept. 6, 6:30 p.m. banquet, 8 p.m. rally. Pathfinder Bookstore, 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$5, \$2 rally only. Ausp: Georgia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call: (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Gordon Shols, Young Socialist Alliance; Etta Ettlinger, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., Sept. 7, reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Ramada Inn Midtown, 1530 N. Meridian. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Indiana Socialist Workers Campaign Committee 1980 and Young Socialist Alliance. For

more information call: (317) 283-6149.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

THIRD PARTY ALTERNATIVE IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Leslie Graves, Libertarian Party National Committee member; Lloyd Hansen, Citizens Party State Chair. Fri., Sept. 5, 5 p.m. Olin Auditorium, Macalester College. Ausp: Macalester Democratic Alliance, Libertarian Party, Citizens Party, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call: (612) 645-1674.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Steve Thomas, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 5th C.D.; Jim Kendrick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 4th C.D. Sat., Sept. 6, 5:30 p.m. refreshments, 6:30 p.m. dinner, 8 p.m. rally, social following rally. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$6 dinner and rally, \$1 rally only. Ausp: Minnesota 1980 SWP Campaign Committee and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325, or (612) 645-1674.

MESABI IRON RANGE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Ilona Gersh, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th C.D. Wed., Sept. 3, reception 6 p.m., banquet 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 1012

Second Ave. South, Virginia. Donation: \$5. Ausp: 1980 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call: (218) 749-6327.

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Keith Jones, SWP candidate for Congress, 14th C.D.; Diane Wang, recently returned from Grenada. Sat., Sept. 6, 6:30 p.m. social, 8 p.m. rally. 355 Atlantic Ave. (at Hoyt St.) Donation: \$3. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party. For more information call: (212) 852-7922.

OREGON PORTLAND

GRENADA: BIG REVOLUTION IN A LITTLE COUNTRY. Speaker: Paul Freeman, member Machinists Local 1005. Sun., Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; Glenn White, SWP candidate for city council at-large. Sun., Sept. 14, 4 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard NW. Donation \$2. Ausp: D.C.

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call: (202) 797-7699.

FORUMS ON POLAND CHICAGO

POLAND: THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Speaker and discussion. Sat., Sept. 6, 7 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Donation: \$2. For more information call: (312) 939-0737.

NEW YORK CITY

STRIKE IN POLAND. Speaker: Fred Feldman, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., Aug. 30, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., second floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call: (212) 260-6400.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WORKERS STRIKE IN POLAND: THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. Speaker: Harvey McArthur, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 5, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Leon Trotsky (1879-1940)

Leon Trotsky was assassinated on August 20, 1940, while living in exile in Mexico. His assassin was later established to be Ramón Mercader, an agent of the Soviet secret police. The order for the murder had come from Stalin.

Trotsky became a revolutionary socialist in 1896. He played a leading role in the Russian revolution of 1905, heading the main workers council of St. Petersburg (now Leningrad).

After the February 1917 revolution he joined forces with the Bolshevik Party, where he and Lenin fought for a policy of opposing the capitalist provisional government and fighting for the workers' and farmers' councils to take power. In October 1917, he organized the insurrection that brought this about.

In the next years, he led in organizing, almost from scratch, the Red Army which defeated counterrevolutionary invasions by nineteen foreign armies as well as forces organized by the Russian capitalists and landlords.

In 1923 Trotsky, following Lenin, began a struggle against the growing strength of the conservative bureaucracy headed by Stalin. Trotsky favored broadening workers' democracy in the Soviet Union.

After Lenin's death Trotsky continued the struggle. When Stalin sought to collaborate with the imperialists at the expense of the world revolution, Trotsky continued to advocate the necessity of supporting revolutionary struggles in other countries. He opposed Stalin's moves to crush all independent thinking and revolutionary currents in the Communist International.

Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929, and sought refuge in Turkey, Norway, France, and finally Mexico. Four of his children and countless friends and comrades were murdered by Stalin.

As head of the International Left Opposition and later the Fourth International, Trotsky continued the fight.

The murder of this historic figure struck a heavy blow to the revolutionary socialist movement. In a speech given to a Leon Trotsky Memorial Meeting in New York City on August 28, 1940, James P. Cannon explained why the movement would survive and grow. Cannon was a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

The following abridged excerpts from that speech are reprinted from *Speeches for Socialism* by James P. Cannon. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, and the bookstores listed on page 27.

Comrade Trotsky's entire conscious life, from the time he entered the workers' movement in the provincial Russian town of Nikolaiev up till the moment of his death, was completely dedicated to work and struggle for one central idea. He stood for the emancipation of the workers and all the oppressed people of the world, and the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism by means of a social revolution. In his conception, this liberating social revolution requires for success the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the workers' vanguard.

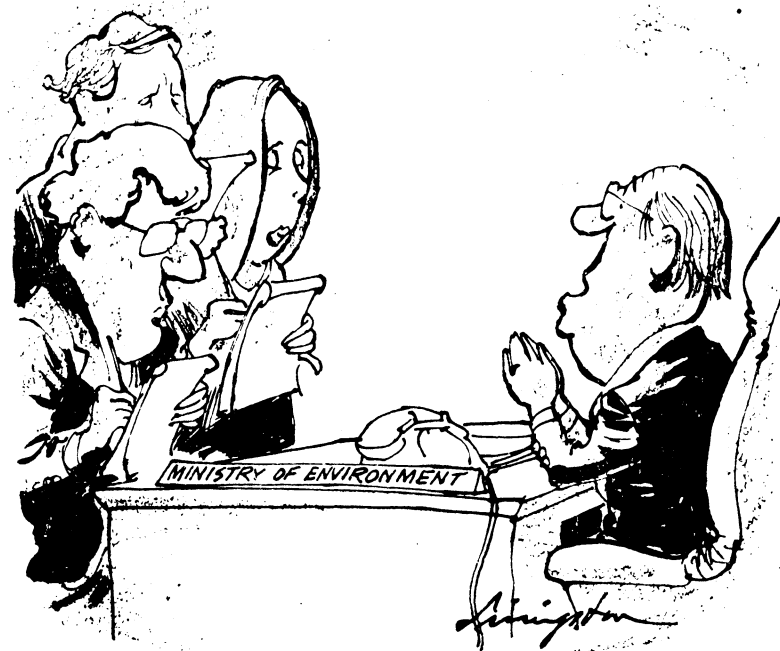
The whole world knows about his work. And in the minds and hearts of all those throughout the world who grieve with us tonight one thought—one question—is uppermost: Will the movement which he created and inspired survive his death?

Without the slightest hesitation we give an affirmative answer to this question. Those enemies who predict a collapse of Trotsky's movement without Trotsky, and those weak-willed friends who fear it, only show that they do not understand Trotsky, what he was, what he signified, and what he left behind. Never has a bereaved family been left such a rich heritage as that which Comrade Trotsky has left to the family of the Fourth International as trustees for all progressive humanity. A great heritage of ideas he has left to us; ideas which shall chart the struggle toward the great free future of all mankind.

Trotsky himself believed that ideas are the greatest power in the world. Their authors may be killed, but ideas, once promulgated, live their own life. If they are correct, they make their way through all obstacles.

Trotsky, the great man of ideas, was himself the disciple of a still greater one—Marx. Trotsky did not originate or claim to originate the most fundamental ideas that he expounded. He built on the foundations laid by the great masons of the nineteenth century—Marx and Engels. In addition, he went through the great school of Lenin and learned from him. Trotsky's genius consisted in his complete assimilation of the ideas bequeathed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. He mastered their method. He developed their ideas in modern conditions, and applied them in masterful fashion in the contemporary struggle of the proletariat.

If you would understand Trotsky, you must know that he was a disciple of Marx, an orthodox Marxist. He fought under the banner of Marxism for forty-two years. The power of Trotsky, first of all and above all, was the power of Marxism.



'Now the matter of persons exposed to weed killer . . . I think there's a very good probability these persons will never get weeds.'

Praise the lord

People are always saying that religious folk are impractical idealists with their heads in the sky.

But there was a report in the August 26 *New York Times* that indicates that people can have their heads in the clouds, but still have them screwed on right.

The paper reported that an artist named Noel Singer, who lives down in Kentucky, deeded a 200-acre piece of land he owned there to god and opened it, for free, to anyone who wanted to live there.

Some people did take advantage of this unique offer and homesteaded there.

But as we know, He moves in mysterious ways, and it recently became necessary for the homesteaders to pack up and leave.

It seems that the good brother Singer learned there was oil on the land and the homesteaders were interfering with drilling.

Since July, five wells have gone into production, and while the land may be deeded to god, the royalties are going to Singer.

Singer did get involved in court though. Not over dispossessing the homesteaders. Rather because, it seems, he sold the exclusive drilling rights to two different oil companies. (W.C. Fields used to insist that there's no sucker like the one with a little larceny in his heart.)

But a Solomon-like federal judge in Louisville solved all the problems.

First of all, he decided that Singer—not god—was still the owner of the property. "You can't subpoena god," he judiciously noted.

And he further ruled that each of the oil companies was entitled to drill on half the property. Mr. Singer, of course, will collect royalties from both.

Praise the lord.

H.R.
New York, New Jersey

movement and the changing status of women.

Sixty-four percent of both women and men support the efforts to change and strengthen women's status. In 1970 only 40 percent of women and 44 percent of men approved.

While 62 percent of white women approve, 77 percent of Black women favor these efforts!

Only a minority of women (22 percent) and men (25 percent) believe that any differences in male and female behavior are the result of basic physical differences between the sexes.

On marriage, some 52 percent of women see marriage as a relationship to be equally shared, with both partners earning salaries and sharing family and household responsibilities.

Nearly half of men (49 percent) agree!

Georgia Chamichian
Jersey City, New Jersey

Antidraft sentiment

During the two weeks of draft registration, myself and other CARD [Committee Against Registration and the Draft] activists diligently leafleted antidraft material at various suburban Detroit post offices. The response was overwhelming.

Based on my observation, I would say that the number of registrants who trickled in came in at the rate of about eight to twelve over a six hour period. Of all the nineteen and twenty year olds I talked with (over a ten-day period) only two seemed eager to register. (One of whom was planning on going into the service as a commissioned officer.)

The vast majority of potential registrants were perturbed at Selective Service to say the least, and not hesitant to say so. Most of them expressed to us that they were registering out of fear of the stiff penalties that the government threatened them with.

Also the majority of non-draft-age people we talked with were deadly opposed to the draft, as many of them had

Attitudes toward women

Results of the 1980 Roper Poll for Virginia Slims reported in the June issue of the *National NOW Times* shows the effects of the women's

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friends and relatives who were being required to register this year.

Another impressive thing we noted was that many people seemed wise to the oppressive political undercurrents of draft registration; such as the interest of oil profiteers, and the immorality of U.S. imperialism as a whole.

Judging from these and other experiences with the diversity of people I have encountered, I feel that antidraft sentiment is strenuously mounting, and that the movement is off to an excellent start. I am convinced that the American people can and will put a stop to this indecency.

Bart Gilkeson
Southfield, Michigan

Child labor

California growers, who raise 90 percent of America's garlic crop, never complained about children as young as six years working in their fields—until striking workers insisted on one-worker, one-vote in union representation elections.

Suddenly the growers became very concerned over child labor laws which bar children under twelve from working. They claimed the children could not vote because they are in the fields illegally.

A state agent explained, "It may be against the law for children to work in the fields, but they do, and there is no law against them voting in these elections."

The children, carrying United Farm Workers (UFW) flags, cast their votes along with their parents. To get an idea of the numbers of children involved, the vote at the Christopher Farm was 188 for the UFW, 5 against, and 169 challenged by growers because most of them were from children.

Inspired by the garlic harvesters, strike actions quickly spread to other crops, resulting in the largest farmworkers strike of the year.

In the Salinas Valley all major growers were forced to accept an interim settlement raising wages from \$1.70 a basket to \$2.50 a basket.

If the growers don't want children helping to win such victories, the solution is obvious: pay adults wages allowing them to earn enough to care for their families; establish day-care centers and schools.

Evelyn Sell
Los Angeles, California

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

Unions in a workers' state

The group of workers who are central in the strikes in Poland are the 17,000 who work at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. It is appropriate that the name of Lenin, who led the Bolshevik Party in the Russian revolution of 1917, is associated with these workers. Their struggle is in defense of principles that Lenin represented.

Lenin died in 1924. During his last two years, he began a fight in the Soviet Communist Party against the growing power of the conservative, privilege-seeking bureaucracy. Under Stalin—after Lenin died—this bureaucracy became consolidated as a governing caste.

The proposals put forward by the Polish workers are similar to those put forward by Lenin and his supporters almost sixty years ago.

This gives the lie to the claims by the Polish and Soviet bureaucrats and the capitalist media that the Polish workers are directed against socialism.

The Polish workers are fighting for socialism.

One claim made by the Polish government and by the media here is that the workers' demand for trade unions controlled by the workers and the right to strike are violations of "Leninism."

Not at all.

Trade Union Debate

In 1920 and 1921 there was a debate in Russia about the role of unions.

Below are some excerpts from the "Draft Theses on the Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy". It was written by Lenin between December 30, 1921, and January 4, 1922.

The "New Economic Policy" marked a shift from the stringent "war communism" imposed by the Civil War and the invasion by nineteen different foreign armies, to a policy that allowed much more leeway to private traders and farmers.

It is taken from the book *Lenin on the Trade Unions*, published by Moscow's Progress Publishers. It can be obtained from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, or from the offices listed below. The cost is \$2.95, plus \$.75 for postage.

* * *

"As long as classes exist," Lenin wrote, "the class struggle is inevitable. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the existence of classes is inevitable; and the program of the Russian Communist Party definitely states that we are taking only the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism. Hence, the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and the trade unions must frankly admit the existence of a class struggle and its inevitability until the electrification of industry and agriculture is completed—at least in the main—and until small production and the supremacy of the market are thereby cut off at the roots. It follows from this that at the present moment we can under no circumstances abandon the idea of the strike struggle, we cannot, as a matter of principle, conceive the possibility of a law that makes compulsory state mediation take the place of strikes.

"On the other hand, it is obvious that under capitalism

the ultimate object of the strike struggle is to break up the state machine and to overthrow the given class state power. Under the transitional type of proletarian state such as ours, however, the ultimate object of the strike struggle can only be to fortify the proletarian state and the state power of the proletarian class by combatting the bureaucratic distortions, mistakes and flaws in the state, and by curbing the class appetites of the capitalists who try to evade its control."

The idea of trade unions subordinate to the state, with leaders selected from above, was alien to Lenin. In the course of the debate, he declared: "Ours is a workers' state with a *bureaucratic twist to it*. . . . Well, is it right to say that in a state that has taken this shape in practice the trade unions have nothing to protect, or that we can do without them in protecting the material and spiritual interests of the massively organized proletariat? No, this reasoning is theoretically quite wrong. . . . We now have a state under which it is the business of the massively organized proletariat to protect itself, while we, for our part, must use these workers' organizations to protect the workers from their state and to get them to protect our state."

What has changed?

Electrification of industry, agriculture, homes, and offices was a major goal of the Bolshevik regime. It was a symbol of the full industrialization that would make it possible to meet all human needs and abolish inequality. While electrification and other technology substantially raised living standards in the USSR and Poland, the socialist goal remains to be achieved.

Under the "New Economic Policy," Lenin's government encouraged capitalist enterprise—although this remained a minor factor in basic industry. Neither Poland nor the Soviet Union have any capitalist ownership of industry today. But the "class appetites of the capitalists" are a big factor in the Polish struggle.

The price rises that set off the strike wave were largely dictated by the needs of meeting payments to capitalist banks, to which Poland is deeply in debt. The pressure these banks put on the bureaucracy for austerity measures has some resemblance to the austerity drive they foster in capitalist countries.

In a workers state, however, workers are in a better position to demand that human needs be put first. The Polish workers are setting a good example for us all in this.

The conditions that led Lenin to believe that the right to strike and unions controlled by workers were needed have not disappeared in Poland and the Soviet Union today. These have become even more urgent because, instead of a state with a "bureaucratic twist" as Lenin described, the USSR today and Poland are workers states under the complete political domination of self-seeking bureaucrats.

It was Leon Trotsky who analyzed and led the fight against the bureaucracy as it came to power under Stalin.

Next week's column will go into Trotsky's views.

—Stu Singer

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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- OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.
- OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.
- PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.
- TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.
- UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.
- VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
- WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.
- WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
- WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
- WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Phila. Blacks: Bring killer cop to justice!

Murder of youth sparks angry protests

By Jack Warner

PHILADELPHIA—Enraged protests over the police murder of a Black youth have been answered here with more cop brutality.

On August 25, the night after the police murder, 400 Black community members gathered at the Church of the Advocate in North Philadelphia to demand justice. They spilled out into the street, and, joined by several hundred more, marched to the station house three blocks away.

The anger was deep and rocks and bottles began to fly. A cop cruiser was overturned and caught fire.

Forty riot-equipped cops charged out of the station and began hurling rocks and bottles back at the protesters. Five cops and an unknown number of protesters were injured in the fracas.

Two people were arrested at the scene. Then the cops went into the community and began harassing anyone on the street. Five more were arrested.

The protests were triggered when John Ziegler, a white cop, shot and killed William Green, seventeen, after a car chase through North Philadelphia's Black community.

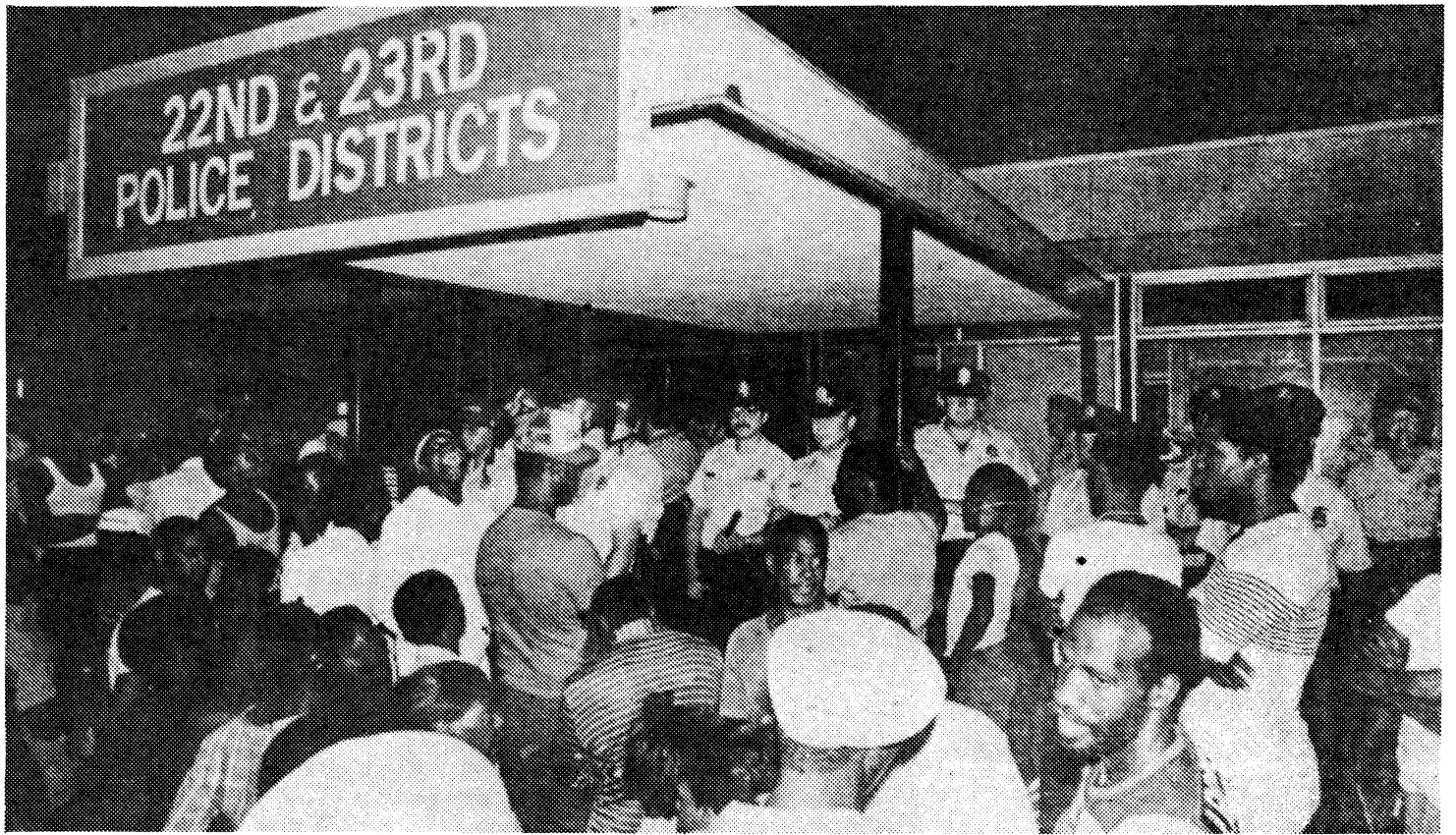
The cop caught Green who had allegedly run a red light, and began clubbing him on the head with a pistol. Ziegler then fired the fatal shot before some hundred horrified witnesses.

The cop now claims his gun went off by accident while he was pistol-whipping Green.

Witnesses insist he shot deliberately. Some say Green already had one of his hands cuffed.

Three days after the crime, Ziegler was still not charged with anything. Instead, he was assigned to a desk job.

A Black youth on Sixteenth Street, a block from the police station, told the *Militant*, "It's the same old story. The gun went off by accident." It wasn't no



Angry crowd confronts cops outside station on August 25

accident. It was murder."

On Tuesday night, tension and anger still gripped the community. This time a militant crowd of 700 gathered at the church demanding that the killer cop be arrested.

As the meeting broke up, hundreds of youths milled on the street corners. Clashes between the protesters and the large police occupation force followed. Cops attempted to disperse the youths with arrest raids into the crowd.

One youth, sitting on the steps of a house, told cops, "I ain't gonna move, cause I ain't done nothing." Eight cops responded by beating him with night

sticks. He was then whisked away in a police vehicle.

Battles with the cops went on into the early morning. Police terrorized area residents; some entered homes and dragged residents into the street.

The anger in the community runs so deep because the shooting of Green is only the latest in a long history of unpunished murders of Blacks by police. The violent way in which the police have responded to the justified protests, has only served to deepen the bitter awareness that the police are the enemies of justice.

Socialist Workers Party campaign

supporters handed out hundreds of statements of solidarity at the Tuesday night meeting.

"The wrong people have been arrested in Philadelphia," says Linda Mohrbacher, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. "We demand the immediate arrest and prosecution of Officer John Ziegler and that all charges against the arrested protesters be dropped."

Frank Rizzo, Philadelphia's notorious racist ex-mayor, may be gone, but his party—the Democrats—and his racist policies are alive and lethal in Philadelphia.

Ill. woman convicted in ERA smear trial

By Rich Robohm

CHICAGO—In an attempt to smear the Equal Rights Amendment campaign, Wanda Brandstetter, a member of the National Organization for Women, was convicted here August 22 on trumped-up charges of bribing a state legislator for his vote on ERA.

Brandstetter, a fifty-five-year-old Chicago biologist, could be sentenced on November 7 to seven years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

In response to the verdict, more than 300 ERA supporters marching August 24 in Chicago's annual NOW-sponsored walk-a-thon, carried signs supporting Brandstetter and demanding ratification of the amendment.

Chicago NOW President Mary Jean Collins blasted the verdict, saying that Brandstetter was "singled out and brought to trial for something that is a common practice in Springfield."

Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate, charged that "the Democratic and Republican politi-

cians—who are in office only because Exxon, U.S. Steel, and other corporations long ago bought them off—are now hypocritically screaming about bribery in order to justify their hatchet job on the ERA."

Brandstetter and ERA supporters here have correctly characterized the trial as a "witch-hunt."

The judge and prosecution took care to exclude all ERA supporters from the eight-woman, four-man jury. The sole ERA supporter remaining on the jury when the opening arguments began was dismissed by the judge during the trial.

On the first day of the trial, the judge denied defense motions to subpoena Phyllis Schlafly of STOP-ERA along with several legislators. Brandstetter's lawyers had planned to show that she was set up by an anti-ERA "legislative conspiracy."

State Representative Swanstrom, who made the bribery charges, re-

ceived over two years at least \$1,900 from a STOP-ERA slush fund. It was his biggest single source of campaign money.

On the eve of the ERA vote in the Illinois legislature, however, word was leaked that Swanstrom was now "quite torn" over how to vote on the ERA and was worried about the consequences of losing the support of his anti-ERA backers.

On the basis of this "disinformation," Brandstetter went to Swanstrom on May 14 with a promise to work for his reelection for a month, and to donate \$1,000 to his campaign if he would "vote his conscience" when the ERA came up. She wrote a note on a business card to remind him of this offer.

Swanstrom took the card immediately to state investigators, who met with Brandstetter two days later, posing as friends of the legislator who wanted to discuss the ERA. They came away empty-handed. As one of the

investigators testified at the trial, Brandstetter emphasized during their meeting that her promise of financial support "was not intended to be a bribe or graft," and that Swanstrom should "vote his conscience."

In the wake of a massive pro-ERA demonstration in Chicago May 10, the Democratic and Republican foes of women's equality framed up Brandstetter to try to intimidate ERA supporters by smearing ERA lobbyists as bribers. They sought to justify their bipartisan opposition to ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

After several postponements, last June Swanstrom once again helped defeat ERA ratification in Illinois.

But Brandstetter and her fellow ERA supporters have not been intimidated. In an interview after the trial, Brandstetter said, "I fought against McCarthyism in the fifties, I fought against the [Vietnam] war and for civil rights in the sixties." And she vowed to fight on for the ERA.