Polish victory shows how workers can fight back here

By Andy Rose
Winston-Salem, N.C.—American workers can learn a lot from the victorious strikes waged by their Polish brothers and sisters, Andrew Pulley told a campaign rally here September 7.

Speaking in this “right to work” southern state, one of the lowest in the country in both unionization and wages, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate centered his remarks on the Polish example of how workers can fight and win.

He began by ridiculing the hypocrisy of James Carter and Ronald Reagan, who pretend to embrace the Polish struggle.

“Polish workers demanded free and independent unions,” Pulley said, “which means, in the first place, the right to have a union at all. But Carter doesn’t even let unions organize on his peanut plantation. What about union rights in Georgia, or in North Carolina? What about an end to anti-union ‘right to work’ laws?

“How about unions free of government interference? Carter says he likes to see it in Poland. Why not here? Why doesn’t Carter stop interfering with unions by trying to tear up their contracts whenever they win more than his 9.5 percent wage limit?”

The fundamental thrust of the Polish workers’ struggle,” Pulley said, “was the demand that they become masters of their factories, masters of their industries. But Carter and Reagan both agree that Rockefeller should continue to be master of Standard Oil, and that the rest of the capitalist class should continue to own and control industry and get rich off what we workers produce.”

Model strike
The way the Polish workers organized and conducted their strike was a model, Pulley went on.

“First, these workers didn’t accept the government argument that as public employees they couldn’t strike. They struck anyway, in defiance of all limits the Stalinist rulers tried to place on them.

“Second, they had a massive strike. This was no strike limited to three little demoralized pickets at the gate of some huge plant, like we’ve seen all too often here. They took over the shipyard and occupied it for three weeks. Here, union officials let the courts say how many pickets can be at the plant. There, the government authorities couldn’t get into the place without a pass from the strikers!”

“Third, the Polish workers had a democratic strike. No secret negotiations. The talks were broadcast throughout the shipyard so every proposal, every lie by the government, was heard by thousands of workers. So everything was done with the full knowledge and participation of the average worker.

“How about applying that here?” Pulley asked.

“Democracy is a revolutionary idea,” the socialist candidate declared. “There’s lots of talk about it in the United States, but little implementation. To Carter and Reagan, the sight of a democratic labor movement here would be like showing a cross to Dracula. They’d run for cover.”

Political demands
Many of the Polish strikers’ demands are sorely needed in this country, Pulley pointed out: automatic increase in wages whenever prices go up; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; more child-care centers; greater safety on the job, including an end to inhuman shift-work schedules.

“Theyir demands were political as well as economic,” Pulley said. “For release of political prisoners, which the government had to concede. For free access to the airwaves for different points of view, something we certainly need and don’t have in this country. Continued on page 4
**IAM & labor party**

The September 2-10 convention of the International Association of Machinists mandated the IAM leadership to initiate discussions about the possibility of forming a labor party.

This is an important step forward. It was only one year ago—Labor Day 1979—that California AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer John Henning called for such discussions. In subsequent months his proposal was taken up by the California State Council of Carpenters union and by several AFL-CIO central labor councils in California.

The California convention of the National Organization for Women also voted to participate.

On May 24, a meeting of District 38 of the United Steelworkers of America voted to urge the national USWA leaders to take steps to establish a labor party.

The IAM is the first big national union to call for such discussions. Far from receding after the Republican and Democratic conventions and the full-scale opening of the Carter-Reagan-Anderson campaign, the discussion of the labor party idea is deepening and involving growing numbers of workers.

That is because of the deep dissatisfaction that workers feel about the antilabor policies of the Carter administration, the Democratic Congress, and state and local governments of both parties. It is because working people know that the two parties have given us nothing—and are not even promising us anything.

Growing hostility to the capitalist two-party fraud is based on the fact that the economic difficulties of capitalism have forced the employers to take the offensive against the jobs, living standards, unions, and basic rights of working people.

Politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties have no choice but to carry out the antilabor offensive ordered by big business. That's why both parties have moved steadily to the right, and why we get the spectacle of Carter asking for the votes of working people on the grounds that he will attack them less savagely than Reagan.

The growing dissatisfaction of workers presented with this “choice” was also reflected in the IAM’s decision to refuse endorsement to Carter, Reagan, or Anderson.

The employer offensive compels union members to look for a way to bring to bear a power that can counter the power of the employers and their parties. That power is first of all in the unions. With more than twenty million members, they are the organized bastion of the American working people.

At the IAM gathering, one criticism raised of the labor party proposal was that it might isolate trade union members from the rest of the population.

Just the opposite is true. The political organization of 20 million union members into their own party would powerfully attract the unorganized workers and the unemployed.

After all, a labor party will not be the party of trade union members alone. It will be the party of Blacks in Liberty City in Miami who want an end to police brutality. Of youth who want jobs and who don’t want to be drafted to fight for big oil. Of women whose equal rights are being denied. Of farmers ripped off by agribusiness and exploited by high interest rates. Of all the oppressed.

The labor party will be able to represent the interests of the great majority, unlike the Republicans and Democrats—parties that defend the interests of a few thousand millionaires.

The IAM’s decision has opened broad opportunities for developing the labor party discussion throughout the union movement. Every thinking union member should seize this opportunity to spread the word about the importance of the labor party idea, carrying the discussion into every union convention, local, factory floor, unemployment line, and community.

...one way to help

One way to advance the labor party idea is to help sell The Militant. It provides full coverage on developments in this discussion—a discussion that is being totally blacked out in the big business press.

This week opens a drive to sell 8,000 subscriptions to The Militant and Perspectiva Mundial in factories and at plant gates, in neighborhoods and schools.

While Carter, Reagan, and Anderson offer nothing for American working people, one campaign is focusing on the need for American workers to forge a labor party. That is the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Andrew Puley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

The Militant is their campaign newspaper. Join us in winning 8,000 new regular readers. Help get out the word.

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**No Vietnam in El Salvador!**

U.S. intervention in El Salvador is escalating as the military dictatorship there becomes more isolated. Five American military personnel have reportedly been killed in combat.

Robert Novak’s column in The New York Times of September 9 that “the United States is preparing to give El Salvador’s military-civilian Government an annual $20 million in military aid to offset economic sabotage by left-wing guerrillas.”

This is in addition to $72 million already approved by Congress this year. And all this "aid" is in addition to the secret supplies of weapons and advisers. It looks like a repeat of the build-up for the Vietnam War.

Under the guise of carrying out reforms, the dictatorship in El Salvador is stepping up terror throughout the country.

It faces increasing opposition.

Since January of this year at least 5,000 people have been murdered. The repression is directed increasingly against unions. Seventeen leaders of the electrical workers union were arrested recently.

U.S. money pours into El Salvador. But nearby Nicaragua, where a successful literacy campaign was completed and the government has widespread support, is on the Democratic Party ticket in November.

Militant, “I am convinced that if the imperialists are stupid enough to intervene in El Salvador, they will create a Vietnam in Central America.”

The imperialist rulers in Washington need to be reminded there is overwhelming opposition here to another Vietnam.

The union movement should be fully informed about the anti-union repression in Central America that is being financed by our taxes.

The victory of the Polish workers is raising consciousness about international solidarity.

The power of the American unions can be brought into support of the working people of El Salvador.

No aid to the junta!

U.S. hands off El Salvador!
Bring Klan killers to justice!

Socialist candidate visits Greensboro trial

By Andy Rose

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Other courtroom spectators were waved through, but the pot-bellied, crew-cut North Carolina cop bristled as Andrew Pulley walked up.

"Where you think you're going?"

"To the trial," Pulley answered.

"What trial?"

"The Klan trial."

"Back up and walk through there again," the cop demanded, waving at the metal-detecting frame in the courthouse hallway.

Inside, two Nazis and four Ku Klux Klanners sat expressionless through the morning recess on September 8. They are on trial for the murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators last November.

This morning's testimony was technical. An FBI ballistics expert linked bullet casings from the murder scene to guns seized from the defendants.

A small arsenal of shotguns, pistols, rifles, and a military-type semi-automatic rifle was piled on tables in the courtroom. At the reminder of the fire power unleashed against the slain demonstrators.

On several occasions the FBI agent testified that certain shells or bullets had clearly identifying marks but did not match any of the weapons he was given. This underlined the failure of the cops to apprehend the majority of the shooters, no participants in the killings or to track down all the evidence.

In testimony last week, eyewitnesses positively identified all six defendants as firing weapons at the anti-Klan protestors, members of the Communist Workers Party. Videotapes of the slaughter were also shown.

Reporters shaken

Even though the press here goes out today's testimony was on trial.

Boyd's testimony should be discounted.

"Disputing Klan claims of self-defense, Boyd said the first shot came from the Klan-Nazi caravan and that he did not see any of the CWPer weapons back."

"I was there," Boyd insisted. "I saw what happened, and I'll never forget it as long as I live. I've only told the frame-up trial of Joanne Little in Rockford, Illinois, was a mass support—demonstrations outside, people from all kinds of movements, all parts of the country.

"The same thing should be done here to show opposition to Klan violence and, even more important, to govern­ment complicity with the Klan and Nazis," Pulley urged. "Black leaders should come down here. Trade union leaders should come down."

Pulley pointed out that if the killers go free, "the danger is that people will become intimidated in their efforts to form unions or to oppose racism, out of fear they may also be shot down by these scum."

Shouldn't the accused racists be presumed innocent until proven guilty? one reporter demanded.

"Gov't stacks deck"

The real problem in this case, Pulley responded, is that "the government can stack the deck to make sure they will be found innocent, even if they are as guilty as the devil. Like in the trial of the Miami police who killed Arthur McDuffie. The onus is on the state and the judiciary to show that they care about justice."

What would you do different if you were president? asked another reporter.

"First, I would order the Justice Department to immediately begin prosecution of all the KKK and Nazis involved in the murders.

"Second, I would open all the government files on the KKK, the Nazis, and the government agents who participated with them in drawing up plans for the executions—that's what they were, executions—of the demonstra­tors."

"And third, I would use my office to demand not just the charges against Nelson Johnson of the CWPer that are being brought down here to demand justice? Why did Carter let his agents participate in this criminal action?"

He noted that one open Klanner is running for Congress as a Democrat in California, while another is campaign­ing for Congress as a Republican in Michigan.

Bipartisan policies

"The purpose of both parties—opposing affirmative-action quotas and busing for school desegregation, cutting back welfare, expanding the military budget, refusing to ratify the ERA, campaigning against undocumented immigration, the Cubans, Mexicans, and Haitians who come here—are policies the KKK loves. When the top politicians of the two-party system are campaigning for these racist measures, Reagan more openly, Carter more covertly, it's no wonder the KKK killers are embold­ened."

While in the Greensboro area Pulley also released a message he sent on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to the widows of the slain CWPer and to the anti-Klan demonstrators now facing "felony riot" charges.

"You have been jailed, harassed, and framed up while most of the racist killers go free," the message said in part. "Rarely has there been so flan­gant an example of racist 'justice' trying to turn victims into criminals."

It went on to call the "cover-up of Klan-Nazi violence and racial compli­city... a threat to the rights of all unionists, civil rights fighters, and defenders of democratic liberties."

Andrew Pulley outside Greensboro Klan trial. He told reporters that more Blacks and trade unionists should attend trial to help build the kind of movement needed to convict Klan-Nazi murderers.

But will the truth be honored when the verdict comes in?

Speaking to news media outside the courtroom at the morning recess, An­rew Pulley said he had "grave doubts whether justice will be done."

The Socialist Workers Party presi­dential candidate explained that "all you have to do is look at the jury. It's all white. And at least one of the jurors is a cop."

Pulley also lashed out at the pious statements of James Carter, who Ro­ナルd Reagan last week as they tried to put a little distance between them­selves and the Klan. "If they're against the Klan, Pulley demanded, "why haven't they spoken out about these murders? Why haven't they come down here to demand justice? Why did Carter let his agents participate in this criminal action?"

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Militant editor on campaign trail

What do working people think about the socialist alternative in the 1980 elections? What's the response to Socialist Workers Party presiden­tial candidate Andrew Pulley as he travels across the country, speaking out for a labor party, in defense of Black and women's rights, against the draft?

Militant editor Andy Rose, who has just joined Pulley on the cam­paign trail, will bring you weekly reports up through the November election. Rose is a single issue of the Militant as we wind up the 1980 socialist election campaign.

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Special offer to new readers

The Militant—8 weeks/$2

The union movement is the scene of growing discussion on the need for an alternative to the Republican and Democratic parties. The idea that the unions should form a labor party to serve the needs of working people is winning new support.

Only one newspaper today is reporting and participating in this discussion, week in and week out. The Militant.

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Against bureaucracy

The heart of the Polish workers' struggle is directed against a Stalinist bureaucracy that grew privileges for itself while claiming to run things in the workers' interest.

Cooper compared the Polish rulers to high-paid union bureaucrats here who mislead the labor movement while claiming to represent workers.

"In my union, the United Steelworkers, as in many others in this country, we don't even have the right to vote on our union contract, much less decide union policy. Union officials are more concerned with good public relations with the corporations than with the welfare of the workers. My year at work I made about $18,000, while the international union president made over $80,000. I did the work; he collected the dues. It's that way in Poland."

The Stalinist bureaucracy and the U.S. union bureaucrats "act alike and they fear the workers in the same way," Pulley declared.

If workers democracy and an end to bureaucratic privilege are good for Poland, he said, aren't they good for the labor movement here too?

But in this country, Pulley went on, "we face an even bigger problem than privileges for itself while claiming to run things in the workers' interest."

Pulley compared the Polish rulers to the workers rule the country. That's what the struggle in Poland shows a perspective of a socialist revolution.

"What about America?" Cooper asked.

"As long as we have a political process that excludes the workers' voice and is not based on unions, we can't change the fundamental economic and social problems."

Cooper said, "So we have to go to Puerto Rico, to Poland—"

"We have to change the fundamental economic and social problems of the country. You can't even begin to talk of real democracy and equality here so long as the purpose of producing oil, for example, is to make Rockefeller even richer."

Nationalize industry

"We need to nationalize the energy industry and run it for human need, not private profit. We need to nationalize auto, steel, and other industries so they will produce for society's needs. We need to have the workers controlling production so it is safe and efficient.

"The present government is not going to do that. The Democratic and Republican parties are not going to do that."

Unions here need to build a labor party to win the kind of demands the Polish workers are fighting for. A labor party that could fight for working people to be masters of the factories and of society. A labor party that could fight against Ku Klux Klan violence. A labor party that could fight to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment and for new jobs and income for women, Blacks, and Latinos. A labor party that could take the money that now goes to the military for wars abroad and use it to solve social problems."

Finally, Pulley scoffed at the notion that the struggle in Poland shows a desire to return to capitalism. "They're not asking for Reagans or Carters," he said.

"They're not asking for Reagans or Carters," he said.

"The struggle in the Lenin Shipyard implemented the ideas of Lenin—for revolutionary unionism and socialist democracy. They are demanding that the workers rule the country. That's the same thing Lenin and Trotsky fought for, the same thing Marx and Engels fought for, the same thing the Socialist Workers Party is fighting for in this country today."

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**Socialist vs. Klan-Democrat**

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in California's Forty-Third District, John Linder, facing his Democratic opponent, Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Thomas Metzger, on NBC's "Speak Up America" show September 5.

The program included film clips of a helmeted Metzger leading a pack of club-swinging Klannas in an attack on a peaceful demonstration in Oceanside, California. Friedman called for unions, civil rights, and women's rights groups to unite to defeat the Klan.

In NBC's viewer poll at the end of the show, an overwhelming majority of TV watchers polled said they would not vote for Metzger.

Klanner Metzger is on the California ballot, but California Gov. Edmund Brown is trying to throw socialist Friedman off (see page 7).
Zimmermann blasts draft; demands aid to Nicaragua

By Dave Cahalane

INDIANAPOLIS—A September 7 victory rally for the socialist campaign here was the occasion for a hard-hitting response to the draft and to stepped-up U.S. government pressure against Nicaragua.

The rally celebrated the announcement two days earlier by Indiana Gov. Otis Bowen that the names of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, would appear on the state ballot in November.

Zimmermann was the featured speaker. Among others joining her on the speakers’ platform was Gordon Shultz, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance who decided not to register for the draft.

"We remember Vietnam very well," Zimmermann declared, "and don’t want to see it come around again. Draft registration was supposed to show that the American people have gotten over their Vietnam syndrome. They’re ready to be tough and tough with the rest of the world."

"But American youth voted on Carter’s registration with their feet. Hundreds of thousands of young people stood up to the threat of jail and fines and said no. Many of those who registered did so under duress."

Zimmermann challenged the government’s assertion that 93 percent of those ordered to register did so. She offered to compare the results of her survey with estimates from past offices and independent observers when registration was actually going on.

She lashed out at the government’s continued stalling on $75 million in aid to Nicaragua, which is struggling to recover from the devastating civil war that ousted the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship last year.

The aid is now being withheld until Carter is satisfied that the new government is not “aiding, abetting, or supporting acts of violence or terrorism in other countries.”

"They want to use this aid as a club to keep the Nicaraguans quiet. Their figures show no express solidarify with their brothers and sisters in El Salvador and elsewhere,” Zimmermann charged. "And they don’t want to admit the proved claim that Nicaragua is sending arms to El Salvador freedom fighters as a pretext for opposing the literacy campaign and other progressive steps that have taken place in Nicaragua."

"For one would like to see a lot of unemployed Indiana and other American workers back at work making tractors, trucks, and machinery to help Nicaragua,” Zimmermann said.

"I would like to see the government buy up the produce of Indiana farmers at good prices and help feed hungry people in Central America."

"I think that aiding Nicaragua is far more popular with the American working people than sending arms and advisers to the brutal military regime in El Salvador, far more popular than getting involved in some new ‘campaign’ war in Central America. We know it will be working people and the poor who will do the fighting in a new war, not the politicians in Congress or the generals in the Pentagon."

Zimmermann: ‘American workers would rather send aid to Nicaragua, not arms to El Salvador junta.'

New gov’t draft figures disputed

By Osborne Hart

The Selective Service reported September 3 that their figures show more than 80 percent of the males eligible for draft registration complied with the government order.

The following day, Selective Service officials announced that 93 percent of the draft-age youth had registered. They claim that 87 percent of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds registered on time and the other 6 percent signed up later.

Many opponents of the draft believe the government is lying. It wouldn’t be the first time.

Barry Lynn of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft said that the registration “had been unsuccessful on its own terms.”

A national survey of post offices conducted by The Boston Globe confirms Lynn’s and other draft opponents’ point.

The Globe reports that “the registration order was in fact defied or ignored by approximately 25 percent” or “one million of the 4,076,000 civilian American males born 1961 and 1962.”

The Globe released its survey in a front-page feature August 27—a week before the Selective Service announcement. The Globe concluded that “the registration program suffered major short falls nearly everywhere.”

The Globe’s base population figure of 4,076 million male minors contradicts the government’s 3.88 million. The Globe explains that their figure is based on the 1970 census estimate and “no one has accused the Census Bureau of overcounting.”

The survey covered “registration figures from large postal districts that cover more than 10 percent of the nation’s population.”

The Globe’s findings included:

- Forty-seven percent of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds did not register in Peoria, Illinois.
- In Chicago, “32 percent stayed away, while in Chicago’s suburban and outlier districts, an area covering 4.6 million people, the refusal rate amounted to 27 percent.”
- “For Nashville and the middle half of Tennessee, the rate was 32 percent.”
- In seventy-two eastern Massachusetts cities and towns 38 percent did not sign up.

When the Globe asked the Selective Service about the results of their survey, Joan Lamb, Selective Service public affairs officer, asserted that it was “invalid and incomplete.” They’re [draft age youth] a mobile group and didn’t have to register in their areas.”

The Globe also points out some additional factors that could be used to “mask” or “minimize” the percentage of those who did not register:

- Estimates of the men required to sign up were not corrected for alleged census undercounts. An undercount, however, would tend to mask noncompliance.
- The estimates of eligible men include resident aliens—including illegal aliens—although they were required to register and many undoubtedly did. (Even the Cubans in refugee camps were given registration forms to fill out.) Again, this factor would tend to minimize estimates of noncompliance.
- The fact that non-registration is a felony offense with a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a $10,000 fine compelled many youths to sign up who may otherwise not have. The number of falsiﬁed and bogus forms signed in protest of registration are difﬁcult to determine. The government, however, claims that only 1.8 percent registered under protest.

‘Militant’ circulation drive opens this week

By Nancy Rosenstock

This issue marks the opening of the fall drive to sell subscriptions to the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance plan to sell 8,000 new subscriptions during the ten-week drive, which coincides with the last weeks of the SWP presidential campaign.

This week we are publishing a scoreboard showing the goals each area has for the drive.

Supporters of SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley got off to an early start in Atlanta. During the first week of September, while Pulley was touring their city, socialists sold twenty-three subscriptions to the Militant.

Organizing the subscription drive in conjunction with the campaign tour proved to be an effective way to introduce people to the revolutionary press. Four people who attended Pulley’s rally in Atlanta left with introductory subscriptions to the Militant. Atlanta socialists placed a lot of emphasis during the rally on getting out and helping as many people as possible about what the SWP campaign stands for and why they should read the candidate’s newspaper. The time spent insured positive results.

Socialists in Pittsburgh had a similar experience. They printed tickets for a recent campaign performance and sold them to co-workers. Included in the price of the ticket was an introductory Militant subscription. It was worth the effort: seventeen new subscriptions were sold.

Subscription goals

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<td>Twin Cities</td>
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<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>540</td>
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<td>1080</td>
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Miscellaneous: 365
National Teams: 1000
TOTAL NATIONAL GOAL: 8000
How socialists won a major victory in Missouri

By Chuck Petrin

ST. LOUIS—With an impressive show of labor support highlighting a major public outreach campaign, the Socialist Workers Party has won the fight here for a place on the Missouri state ballot.

Secretary of State James Kirpatrick officially certified the SWP August 28. In addition to presidential candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the party is running Martin Anderson, a steelworker, for governor, and Martha Pettit, an auto worker, for U.S. Senate.

This is the first time ever that the SWP won ballot status in Missouri. And it is the first time in twenty-eight years that any socialist has done so.

Speaking to reporters August 28, Martin Anderson explained: "This is an historic victory, and not just for the Socialist Workers Party. "It is a victory for all those in the labor movement and elsewhere who spoke up in support for our right to be on the ballot; for the nearly 33,000 people who signed our nominating petition; and, most important, for the workers of this state who are fed up with Democratic and Republican rule and who want a chance to vote for a workers party."

The secretary of state said the Socialist Workers Party was certified for ballot status because it met all the legal requirements.

True enough. Campaign volunteers—the majority of them industrial workers with full-time jobs—spent countless hours collecting and processing petition signatures. Some 18,000 were needed, spread among five of the state's ten congressional districts, but close to that number were filed—well before the deadline.

That is only part of the story, however.

Twice before, in 1974 and 1976, the SWP had also made an exhaustive effort to meet these requirements, and yet, it was denied ballot status both times.

Changing political climate

The difference lies in the changing political climate. More and more working people are attracted today to a socialist platform that speaks for their interests.

The present state election laws, first enacted in 1963, were carefully designed to give the Democrats and Republicans a monopoly on the ballot. Costly, time-consuming petitioning requirements were expected to discourage small parties with limited resources from even trying. But in any case the secretary of state would have final authority to certify or not certify as he saw fit.

So it was that in 1968, George Wallace, running at the head of the right-wing American Independent Party ticket, filled a batch of petitions that no one even bothered to look at before he was certified on the ballot.

Likewise, proponents of an anti-labor "right to work" initiative in 1978 breezed through the certification process without a hitch.

Special treatment

The SWP, on the other hand, got the full treatment. In 1974, for instance, the secretary of state's office admitted making at least 366 telephone calls to employers, landlords, neighbors, and relatives of those who had either signed or circulated party nominating petitions—purely for purposes of intimidation.

When all else failed, valid signatures were simply disqualified by the thousands.

With this in mind, Missouri socialists devised a two-pronged strategy for the 1980 ballot drive: one, to petition; and two, to transform the petitioning process itself into a massive public outreach campaign, with the goal of talking to tens of thousands of working people about the socialist alternative in the election.

This was crucial. The main prop of the government's case for denying the SWP ballot status is to project the illusion that socialists are a "fringe" element, "out of the mainstream," and generally not to be taken seriously.

The truth is, however, that the SWP's views on many issues—against the Equal Rights Amendment, against nuclear power, for a cut in the workweek with no cut in pay to combat unemployment, for school desegregation, for strengthening the unions against government and big-business attempts to destroy them—are shared by millions.

The central plank of the party's platform—"A labor party based on the unions—coincides with a growing sentiment among working people for an independent alternative to the Democrats and Republicans."

By making its views known to as wide an audience as possible, the SWP stood to gain many new supporters—all while undermining the credibility of any attack on the party's democratic rights. If the State of Missouri wanted to keep the SWP off the ballot in 1980, it could do so only at the risk of exposing its real purpose.

American 'democracy'"Face it, they don't want you running around telling ordinary people we can run things better than they can," said one young foundry worker who signed a petition, that's how one young foundry worker expressed it as he signed in support of the SWP's right to be on the ballot: "America's a democracy, you know, but only up to a point."

At the same time, the SWP began to seek support for its ballot rights among prominent individuals. Among those who spoke out were Linda Woody, president of the Missouri State National Organization for Women; state representatives Devere Coleway and Elbert Walton; Jr; Frank Chapman, a national board member of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Kenneth Zinn, a leader of the St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft.

But the most decisive support came from the labor movement. This reflected both the increased support for the SWP, as a party rooted in the unions and supportive of labor struggles, and the changes in attitudes taking place among workers.

Labor officials who endorsed the SWP's right to be on the ballot included: Harold Gibbons, international vice-president of the Teamsters; Robert Tibbs, business manager of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 5-6; Anthony Tovmey, acting president of Firefighters Local 42; Bonnie Daniels, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 323; Gus Lampe, editor of the Missouri Teamster; Earl Graham, vice-president of the National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 39; and Mike Blackus vice-president of United Steelworkers Local 67.

On May 14 the SWP filed 26,000 signatures with the secretary of state in Jefferson City. The party demanded that state officials act promptly in validating the petitions and certifying the party for ballot status.

Media backing

Two of the state major daily newspapers, the Kansas City Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, editorialized in favor of full access to the ballot. The Post-Dispatch characterized the filing of the party's petitions as "a test of how well Missouri is prepared to implement the democratic process," putting the secretary of state on notice that this influential paper would be watching things closely.

On June 23, the first test came. The secretary of state issued a preliminary report stating that, according to the count by local election officials, the party's nominating petition was insufficient. Some 12,900 signatures were deemed invalid, without explanation or proof.

The party immediately called a news conference to respond, demanding that the state make the petitions and current lists of registered voters available to campaign supporters to verify the count themselves. A joint statement by several labor leaders was issued supporting this demand, noting that "perhaps state officials have something to hide."

The news reporters followed up, persistently asking the secretary of state for an explanation as to why he refused this simple request. At that point the secretary of state conceded to allow the party to review the petitions, after the secretary of state issued a preliminary certification.

Papers skeptical

The press reported the situation sympathetically. The Post-Dispatch carried another editorial expressing skepticism about the large number of signa-
By Sara Gates

OAKLAND, Calif.—The Democratic Administration of Gov. Edmund G. Brown is trying to keep the Socialists Workers Party candidates off the 1980 California ballot. This is an attack on the right of all Californians to a choice in this election and is aimed at discouraging the California Socialist movement to run its own candidates.

During the months of June and July hundreds of socialist campaigners were on the streets of California petitioning to get the SWP candidates on the ballot. The SWP is running a worker, Andrew Palley, for president, along with Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president; auto worker, George Johnson for U.S. Senate; and machinist Mark Friedman for Congress in the Forty-third C.D.

Socialists found unprecedented support for their right to be on the ballot. Many working people are fed up with the performance of the Democratic and Republican parties and see no choice between them. They welcomed the opportunity to have an alternative on the ballot.

Socialist petitioners explained what the SWP candidates stand for:

• a labor party based on the unions;
• no draft, no war, no nuclear power;
• nationalization of the energy industry;
• for the ERA and equal rights for Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans;
• for solidarity with the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada who have freed their countries from exploitation and oppression.

People in the Forty-third C.D. were especially anxious to put congressional candidates Mark Friedman and Andrew Palley on the ballot because the Democratic Party's candidate is Thomas Metzger, a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan.

Double standard

In order to qualify for the ballot, the SWP was required to get 101,300 signatures of registered voters for its presidential candidate and 11,000 signatures for Friedman. Here's how that compares to the signature requirements for the Democrats and Republicans.

Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan: 772,080

Republican Ronald Reagan: 8,372,080

Democratic senatorial candidate Alan Cranston: 65

Republican senatorial candidate Paul Gann: 65

Republican congressional candidate Clare Burgener: 50

Democratic congressional candidate Thomas Metzger: 40

Despite the double standard, the SWP far exceeded the burdensome signature requirements for each of its candidates, amassing 311,000 signatures altogether. Yet Brown's administration refuses to certify the SWP for the ballot, claiming that the party does not have enough valid signatures to qualify.

The Brown administration claims that only 40 percent of the SWP's signatures are valid. To bolster that claim, the state resorted to widespread violations of the election code.

According to law, county clerks must check to see if the nominating petitions turned in by an independent party contain the required number of registered voters. They must do so within ten days of receiving the petitions so that an independent party has time to gather more signatures, if it falls short of the requirement.

Yet the state officials refused to check the SWP's signatures within ten days, taking forty-two days to notify the SWP of the invalidation of the signatures and thereby denying it a chance to correct any flaws.

Socialists found a valid registration rate of only 42 percent who state guidelines, campaign supporters found a validity rate of well over 64 percent.

In addition, numerous discrepancies have been found in the registration rolls themselves.

Democratic senatorial candidates Sarah Gannett, alias Richard Gannett, has a wrong address listed by her name, although she informed the state two years ago of a change of address and has voted at the new address.

Lea Sherman, SWP congressional candidate from Dallas, has a wrong address listed by her name, although she informed the state two years ago of a change of address and has voted at the new address.

The decision by the state to attempt to keep the SWP off the ballot follows the most successful petitioning effort ever carried out by any party in the state. Tens of thousands not only thought socialists had a democratic right to be on the ballot, but were interested in a campaign that speaks out against the draft, demands ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and promotes the idea that working people should form a labor party based on the power of the unions.

Messages of protest can be sent to

Honorable George W. Strake, Jr., Secretary of State, Capital Station, Aue- tin, Texas 78711, with a copy to the Texas Fair Ballot Committee, P.O. Box 61678, Houston, Texas 77268. Funds are urgently needed.

Rich Finkel, Texas SWP chairperson, at September 8 news conference.

THE MILITANT/SEPTEMBER 19, 1980

7
IAM calls for discussions on union refusal to endorse 'lesser-evil' Carter

By Fred Feldman
CINCINNATI—The discussion of labor's need for its own party to fight the big-business thrust in the electoral process and the right of the SWP to be on the ballot. The SWP has documented evidence that the Alameda County authorities inserted “random sample numbers” out of sequence, matching them up with non-valid signatures.

Tampering
As if these violations were not enough, state officials have ruled the signatures of thousands of such voters invalid, forcing the IAM to participate in the electoral process and the right of the SWP to be on the ballot.

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DIARY TRICKS: page from socialists' petition shows how officials took random sample numbers (see arrows) and substituted them for sequential numbers to match with non-registered ("NR") voters.

Nat'l NOW conference
The National Organization for Women, the nation's largest women's rights organization, will hold its thirteenth annual National Conference July 11-14 and then check 5 percent of them to see if they are valid. The overwhelming voice vote to refuse endorsement of either Carter, Reagan, or Anderson came on September 3, the second day of the gathering. At the same time, the delegates voted to implement the policy of supporting Democratic candidates for Congress and to endorse the Democratic presidential platform—in spite of the antiwar record piled up by Democratic-controlled congressmen over the past twenty years.

These moves were in line with the policy advocated by IAM President Harry Winpisinger. At the Democratic National Convention in New York City last month, Winpisinger led a third of the delegates who had been elected as delegates. Winpisinger also cast the sole "no" vote by IAM delegates when the Democratic National Committee endorsed Carter. Three other Executive Council members abstained, namely Jerry Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The convention decision came in the face of pleas from top Democrats for the IAM to stick with Carter. On the day of the vote, Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and Senator Edward Kennedy publicly spoke to this.

Kennedy, who was supported for the Democratic presidential nomination by Winpisinger and the IAM, made a particularly impassioned appeal. Kennedy personally got an enthusiastic reception, including several standing ovations and an organized demonstration featuring placards and balloons explaining "Kennedy in 1984."

But as he left the platform, a motion to refuse endorsement to any presidential candidate was made, seconded, and adopted after a brief discussion.

"I for one am sick and tired," declared Wurf, "of having us revisited time after time with a candidate who is not registered in his own convention as the lesser of two evils."

The following day a resolution submitted by Local Lodge 707 of North Haven, Connecticut, came up for discussion. It called for the IAM to "initiate and solicit other AFL-CIO Unions to form an independent labor party thereby giving workers the representation in government that they feel they have worked these many years to achieve."

The reporter from the Resolutions Committee was critical of the resolution, although he noted, "in view of the failure of either the Democratic or Republican Parties to offer candidates worthy of our support, the idea of a Labor Party attracts many good labor unionists."

After arguing that the formation of a labor party would be premature, he asserted that "we are not opposed to the main thrust" of the resolution. He refuted the assertion that the IAM leaders initiate preparatory discussions about forming an "independent labor party."

The delegates of Local Lodge 707 indicated that they accepted this change and the resolution was adopted.

Coupled with the refusal to endorse Carter, the vote to initiate discussions of the labor party was a big step forward for the whole labor movement. The IAM is the first major national union to take this step in recent years.

The transcript of the convention discussion on the labor party was reprinted on the facing page. A full report on the convention will appear in a future issue.

Supporters of the SWP's right to ballot status include Mel Mason, city council member in Berkeley, California; Mayor Gus Newport of Berkeley, Supervisors John Henning of Alameda County; John Perez, United Steelworkers District 38, Subdistrict One; Daniel Flores, president, SEIU Local 5004; and John Day, coordinator, Los Angeles Trade Unions for Action and Democracy.

Also, Frank Wilkinson, chair, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Service Employees International Union; John Henning, president, SEIU; Art Richtop, executive director, Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; Stephen Noble, executive director, California American Civil Liberties Union; and Stanley Sheinbaum of the ACLU Foundation of Southern California.

In addition to the mounting California protests, a national campaign of telegrams and letters is needed to win ballot status for the Socialist Workers candidates. Working people across the country have a big stake in the California ballot on a labor-rights issue.
The following is a transcript of the discussion on the labor party that took place at number 4 at the convention of the International Association of Machinists. The transcript represents the proceedings of the convention published by the IAM. The resolution was reported on by Delegate Auvis Green of Lodge 12 in Houston, representing the committee on labor party. His comments on the resolutions committee report of the Resolutions Committee.

**DELEGATE GREEN: Resolution No. 37, page 10**

**RESOLUTION NO. 37**

Subject of Motion: Independant Labor Party

*(Preferred to Resolutions Committee)*

**RESOLVED:**

Whereas experience has shown that the two (2) major parties in the United States use organized labor to their own advantage and not to the advantage of our membership.

Therefore it is RESOLVED that the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers will initiate and solicit other AFL-CIO Unions to form an independent labor party thereby giving workers the representation in government that they have worked these many years to achieve.

**MARY-ALICE MORAN**

Recording Secretary, Lodge 707

This resolution reflects the frustration most of us feel about the kind of choices we are being given at the polls by the two major parties.

In more and more political contests voters are being denied any meaningful alternatives.

This is especially true in the current Presidential contest—where the choice for working people is between the conservativeness of Carter to the right of Reagan.

But it is also true in far too many Senate, Congressional and Local Elections.

In view of the failure of either the Demo­cratic or Republican Parties to adequately offer candidates worthy of our support, the idea of a Labor Party attracts many good trade unionists.

However, the American labor movement has been successful over the long run because it has grown out of temperamental idealism with reason.

We suggest it is only realistic to recognize that any support a Labor Party might gain from 20% of the electorate that belongs to unions would be constrained by the indifference or antagonism of the 80% who do not.

Even in Canada, where organized labor formally joined in the foundation of a new party some years ago, it was decided that workers could achieve more through an independent party that was pro-labor than through participation in a trade union.

Even so, it has taken the new Democratic Party almost 20 years to make effective inroads on the strength of the two tradi­tional major parties in Canada.

In point of time, we are not opposed to the mainstream of Resolution No. 37.

But we do not think the IAM should, as it suggests, take primary responsibility for organizing and launching a new party.

We should keep our options open.

We should be ready to support any grass roots movement that holds promise for a better deal for working people.

But let us not squander our resources tilting in which cause.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we offer the following recommendation for the Resolve in Resolution No. 37.

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:**

That the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers join with other progressive and liberal groups in our so­ciety to determine the extent to which grass roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party dedicated to principles of social democracy.

With this amendment, Mr. Chairman, we recommend concurrence with Resolution 37.

**PRESIDENT WINPISINGER:** The motion is for concurrence with the substitute Resolution of the resolution. Is there a second?

**... The motion was duly seconded.**

**PRESIDENT WINPISINGER:** It has been seconded. Is there discussion? The delegate at mike 6.

**DELEGATE GILBERT (Lodge 707):** I stand to say that while we propose the original motion, that we wholeheartedly accept the substitute amendment.

**PRESIDENT WINPISINGER:** Thank you, Brother Gilbert. The delegate at mike 9.

**BROTHER SMITH (Lodge 1005):** Brothers and Sisters to this Convention: As pointed out to us, many of the problems facing organized labor are focused on the you will all agree that scabs are not noted for their courage or idealism.

Let us not forget that the Democratic-con­trolled Congress now is in power and they control the interest rates as they escalate.

We need to build the picket lines like they did in the thirties; we must demand our constitutional rights; we must return to the solidarity of the thirties; we must have the right to strike in our contracts; we must insist on the picket lines where we controlled who crosses these lines, not management.

We have to stop the scabs. Show the unions our militancy and determination and people will flock to the IAM as they did to the CIO in the thirties. Show this militancy and the people will flock to the IAM as the Polish workers rallied to the leadership of the shop stewards.

We are not going to dump the Taft Har­ley Law and other laws by supporting the

**What would happen to the labor laws in this country if all of the Machinists on this continent were to lay down their tools at the same time? All we have to do is put our hands in our pockets and stand firm like the Polish workers did.**

We have been consistently given less and less choice of political candidates, as exempli­fied this year by big business controlling Reagan and the so-called lesser evil, Carter, and the United States is the only major country in the world where the working men and women do not have their own political parties that function on a day to day basis, leading and fighting for their interests in the community and the political arena.

The IAM should take the initiative to build an independent labor party.

We should respect President Winpisinger and Secretary Glover to call a conference for the purpose of building a working people's party and that this Convention should call upon all of organized labor in the United States to join in building an independent American labor party.

If we do not start now, we will not have a labor party. (Ap­plause)

**PRESIDENT WINPISINGER:** Thank you, I will recognize the delegate at mike 10.

**DELEGATE MEINELL (Lodge 777):** I move the previous question.

**PRESIDENT WINPISINGER:** The previous question has been called for. Are there a sufficient number? Raise your hand if you are ready to vote. There is a sufficient number.

Let us stand together as the Polish work­ers did and we will gain victory. We must have a labor party and must stand building it today.

**PRESIDENT WINPISINGER:** You timed that, Mr. Brother. When you said the last five-minute light went on, you very much, and let me assure you that any time this organization has an opportu­nity to grasp any of those objectives we will not be found wanting.

I will recognize the delegate at mike 7.

**DELEGATE HARDIN (Lodge 1265):** It is true in support of the amendment. I feel that in the Democratic Party there is room to work the changes if we do our work.

**PRESIDENT WINPISINGER:** Thank you, Brother. Is there further discussion? I have another delegate.

**DELEGATE KELLY (Lodge 79):** The working men and women of this country

...
Polish masses chalk up more advances

By Fred Feldman

When it became apparent that the Polish government was going to have to appeal to the unions for the assistance of thousands of Polish workers for the right to form worker-controlled trade unions, former shipyard worker Lech Walesa, a former shipyard worker who was active in the workers' revolts of 1970 and 1976. Fired for his protest activities, he was working as an electrician for the Elektromontaz engineering firm when the shipyard workers went on strike in August.

In the September 1 issue of the West German weekly Der Spiegel, a correspondent described the moral authority Walesa has won among the workers by his leadership role. The question was put to Walesa why he became the leader of the uprising. He asked the workers to answer it themselves. A chorus arose: ‘Because we trust Leszek Walesa.' We'll never let him down, no matter what happens."

Walesa is a real tribe of the people, is surrounded by the leadership of the people, the reporter added. "The workers follow him uncon­ditionally."

The Catholic church hierarchy, which warned many of Poland's workers by calling for a strike, is trying to repair the damage to its reputation by rushing to hail Walesa after the victory.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, editor of a mass newspaper for workers, Sept 7 issue of the State Radio-TV committee, said the advances of the Polish working people have weighted stepped up economic pressure to the very core of the Stalinist regime. He added: "Poland is not now a promising country, it is not now a policy making country."

Pulley joins N.Y. Caribbean Day festival

By Osborne Hart

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, campaign headquarters and supporters to the annual Caribbean Day festival here Sept. 1.

"Hi, I'm running for president of the U.S."

A Black man running for president!

The result is a challenge to the very foundations of Stalinist bureaucratic rule in Poland, one which no one expects to be resolved without big confrontations in the future. "There will be struggle," one intellectual told Spivak. "I can't remember one example when our authorities gave any ground without being forced.

But the regime is in a poor position to stage a crackdown. "Open disdain for the party and the government apparatus is met everywhere."

A September 4 dispatch in the New York Times reported, "An editor at a major [Polish] newspaper expressed concern in an interview yesterday that the Szczepanski affair could create unrest among high party officials who have accumulated their own riches and privileges."

Such gross inequalities and corrup­tion have been major targets of the workers.

The advances of the Polish working people put an end to the political career of Edward Gierek. He was replaced Sept. 6 as party chief by Stanislaw Wyszynski. Walesa's accession was hailed by both Brezhnev and Gorbachev as a new way and a new future."

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The advances of the Polish working people put an end to the political career of Edward Gierek. He was replaced Sept. 6 as party chief by Stanislaw Wyszynski. Walesa's accession was hailed by both Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev and U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, who hoped Walesa might be able to slam a lid on the developing revolutionary spurt.

But an invasion by Soviet troops—the method used to crush struggles for workers democracy in East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968—would be extreme­ly costly to Moscow. The Kremlin rulers are afraid the workers, including promises of union rights, the right to strike, escalator clauses, a freeze on food prices, more child care centers, a shorter work week, and extended maternity leave—run directly against the victories that the capitalist­ists in the United States and Western Europe are trying to impose on working people.

Some in the U.S. ruling class are weighing stepped up economic pressure against Poland, in order to wear down the morale of the workers and prod Moscow and Warsaw to stronger repressive action.

The New York Times advocated in a September 9 editorial that"capitalist governments should stop working...

Poland is not a new revolution, the Times explained. "The prospect for restraining con­sumption are nil."

Young Socialist Alliance table attracted many participants in Caribbean Day Festival.

Young Socialist Alliance table attracted many participants in Caribbean Day Festival.
By David Frankel

"New things are in the air," Cuban President Fidel Castro declared in his July 26 speech on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks. "We are in the midst of the greatest transformations that have ever occurred in Latin America," Castro explained, are the extension of the socialist revolution into other Latin American nations.

Castro's speech dealt, in part, with the idea of "long-term strategy," the eradication of "reactionary, imperialist, and counterrevolutionary forces and the Christian forces." He noted that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSNL) is the one group that has been able to do this.

"There is certainly a, there is no hesitation, there is no retardation, there is no compromise, there is no capitulation, there is no let-up," Castro declared.

"Nicaragua is a country where religious feelings go far deeper than they did in Cuba, therefore, the support given to the revolution by those religious sectors is very important," Castro explained.

An ultra-left attitude toward the church, Castro warned, would be a disastrous mistake. "If the revolution in Latin America were to be an anti-religious character it would split the people.

Castro gave as an example the case of El Salvador, "where the revolutionary forces and the Christian forces are closely united." He noted that the reactionaries there go to church every Sunday, but "do not hesitate to plant bombs in churches and to assassinate priests and bishops. They'd murder the Pope if they could.

Castro continued: "But not only in El Salvador; there's something, there's something, where there's constant repression and murder, including that of priests. There are numerous examples, especially on the side of the revolution.

While in Nicaragua, Castro said, he received about 100 letters from Sandinista Front and left-wing groups, and why not? there are also right-wing paramilitary groups.

While capitalist parties and capitalist economic relations continue to exist in Nicaragua, Castro stressed that the organization of the Nicaraguan masses after only one year of the revolution exceeds what existed in Cuba the first year after its revolution.

Contrary to the image of a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua," Castro declared. "In Nicaragua there is, in the first place, a people's revolution whose main strength is found in the workers, the peasants, the students and the middle strata of the population. That people's revolution conducts the process, plans the process, so that the Nicaraguan country can be done at the right moment."

No repeat of Chile

Answering those who question the ideological purity of the revolution or who argue that the pace of change there is not rapid enough, Castro said: "What happened in Cuba can never happen in Nicaragua, under no circumstances, because the people have the power, because the people have the weapons. Therefore, the revolution is guaranteed. And the revolution plans its development according to the country's real and objective conditions."

Along with the attempt of the Sandinista Front and left-wing groups, Castro also took up the theme of the Cuban experience of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSNL) to discuss the experiences of the Cuban revolution. Castro stressed that his meeting had been requested by the FSLN, as he had visited Nicaragua.

He told the huge crowd at the July 26 celebration: "Our Revolution wants to be an example; it does not want to be hegemonic. Our Revolution is not interested in appearing as the leader or leading the peoples. We'd be very glad to bring up the rear—the very rear—of a whole revolutionary movement in Latin America and in the Caribbean. What we're interested in is the revolution, the liberation of our peoples.

Confidence in Sandinistas

Continuing with his report to the Cuban people, Castro said: "I'm explaining all these things so that nobody will be confused and in order to express our confidence in the Sandinista Revolution, to express our opinion that what they are doing they are doing exceptionally well, in a very correct fashion. They have power in their hands, and they can plan their future. No two-bit coup d'etat is ever going to liquidate the Sandinista revolution. There won't be any coups d'etat there, because the people are in power and they have the weapons.

A big part of Castro's speech dealt with the revolutionary situation in El Salvador and Guatemala, and the murderous, U.S.-backed repression in those countries. The imperialists and the reactionaries are alarmed over what may happen in Guatemala and El Salvador and all the other places. We are not alarmed." Castro expressed his conviction that "bourgeois society already rules the world."

But in the meantime, Castro declared, "Genocide is not only being committed in El Salvador, but in Guatemala as well. Corpses of workers, students, professionals, even priests, appear daily. ... And I ask myself if the peoples can go on accepting this program of affairs.

"The Guatemalan experience, the Salvadoran experience, the Chilean experience, the Bolivian experience, what have they taught us? That there is only one path: revolution! That there is only one way: revolutionary armed struggle!"

Capitalist democracy, Castro insisted, offers the toiling masses no solution. When the masses vote against a reactionary government and in favor of a progressive government, or even a democratic one, there's a coup d'etat. Like in Chile, in Bolivia. And the peoples learned their lessons and saw that there was only one road to liberation: that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other formula.

Cuba's support for the extension of the socialist revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean has resulted in new imperialist threats against it. Castro asked: "Should we lose our sleep over that? Have we not lived under constant threats for the past 21 years?"

Nevertheless, Castro said, "We are living through truly dangerous international moments that affect our region and affect the whole world."

He condemned Washington's "war mongering policy, its plans to deploy over 500 medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, its plans to rearm NATO, its plans to set up military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, set up bases in the Middle East, etc. For all this, the current U.S. administration is responsible."

U.S. presidential election

Taking up the Republican Party platform, Castro declared: "That platform must be denounced and world opinion has to be aware of this. It is essential that world opinion react to such a political program. Names are not important to us; we don't care who becomes the next president of the United States; we do not intend to get mixed up in that. But we are interested in a situation that derives from the existence of a U.S. party program that threatens the world and our revolution.

Castro explained that "we do not believe that there's anything or anybody in the world capable of turning the clock back historically. But we would be naive, very naive, we would be unrealistic, not to be aware of the dangers."

"Cuba's economic tasks were placed within this broader international context by Castro. He pointed out that Cuba's economic achievements have allowed it to send "more than 50,000 self-sacrificing and magnificent Cubans" to "do exemplary work in scores of our sister countries."

He noted that "we are not only able to care for our own health and maintain the highest level of health in the Third World, but we are able to help other countries."

"And we must think about when the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala and other countries are victorious, because eventually they will triumph and no one and nothing can stop that, and they will need more internationalist doctors and more internationalist teachers, and more internationalist technicians."

"As I once said, to be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity, because other countries, other peoples, helped and continue to help us as a great deal. The Soviet worker who grows wheat in the Ukraine or extracts oil in Siberia and ships it to the ports and from the ports to Cuba has helped us tremendously. So have the technicians from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the arms we've received to defend ourselves so that we can today feel secure and not be afraid of anyone—including Reagan, or King Kong, if he were president of the United States."

Castro called on the Cuban people to "continue to press and to continue working to develop our country and contribute as much as we can to the development and progress of other peoples."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprec
The following speech was made by Cuban President Fidel Castro before an audience of more than 100,000 in Ciego de Avila on July 26, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks. One section of the speech, in which he discusses Cuba's agricultural productivity, has been summarized at that point in the text. This translation has been taken from the August 3 issue of Cuba's English-language weekly, Genna.
to do in the reconstruction of the country in the first year of revolution is really impressive. They even have things that we didn’t have in our first year. For example, they have the masses already organized; the trade unions, the Sandinista Defense Committees, the women, the young people, the Sandinista Children’s Associations, somewhat like our Pioneers, and they have the Sandinista National Liberation Front, well organized throughout the country and which is like the revolutionary Party and the vanguard of Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE) They have a collective leadership composed of a group of guerrilla fighters, with a long record, with great prestige and a lot of experience who, in spite of the long years of struggle, are still a very young group, but with the advantage of being both experienced and mature.

They have a Government of National Reconstruction composed of experienced, capable men. There’s a close relationship between the Sandinista Front and the Government of National Reconstruction; there’s great unity among the Sandinistas, in the Sandinista ranks and in the Sandinista leadership. Therefore, all the conditions exist for the revolutionary process to continue successfully.

The Sandinista struggle earned great sympathy and great international solidarity, not only in Latin America but throughout the world. The broad form of government they have set up is without a doubt very favorable for continuing to have the broadest international support.

Last year we challenged the Western world to show who would help the Nicaraguan people the most, a sort of emulation in assistance. We stated our willingness to cooperate to the best of our ability. (APPLAUSE) The Nicaraguan people have their own revolution, and socialist countries alike—to give the Nicaraguan Revolution their utmost support, because it really needed it.

Bourgeois revolution?

Now, then, is there a revolution in Nicaragua? That’s the question. (SHOUTS OF “YES!”) There is a real revolution in Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE). And does the case of the bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua mean that there’s a bourgeois revolution going on in Latin America? (SHOUTS OF “NO!”) No! There’s no such thing as a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua. In Nicaragua there exists a revolution, the people’s revolution whose main strength is found in the workers, the peasants, the students and the middle strata of the population. That people’s revolution conducts the process, plans the process, so that the right thing be done at the right moment.

The fundamental thing in a revolution, the fundamental thing to be able to speak of a revolution, a people’s revolution, is to have the people and the weapons.

What happened in Chile can never happen in Nicaragua, under no circumstances, because the people have the power. (APPLAUSE) because the people have the weapons. (APPLAUSE) Therefore, the revolution is guaranteed. And the revolution plans its development according to the country’s real and objective conditions.

My meetings were not limited to the people. I also met with almost 400 trade union leaders, explaining our experiences in every field. I also met with a large number of priests and progressive religious leaders who are on the side of the revolution and give it their full support. (APPLAUSE)

Nicaragua is a country where religious feelings go far deeper than they did in Cuba, therefore, the support given to the revolution by those religious sectors is very important.

Need for alliance

In Chile, once, and also in Jamaica, we spoke of the strategic alliance between Christians and Marxist-Leninists. (APPLAUSE) If the revolution in Latin America are to take on an antireligious character, it would split the people. In our country, the Church was, generally speaking, the Church of the bourgeoisie, of the wealthy, of the landowners. This is not the case in many countries in Latin America, where religion and the Church have deep roots among the people. The reactionary classes have tried to use religion against progress, against revolution, and, in effect, they achieved their objective for quite a long time. However, times change, and imperialism, the oligarchy and reaction are finding it more and more difficult to use the Church against revolution.

Many religious leaders have stopped talking exclusively about rewards in this world and happiness in the other world and are talking about the needs of this world and about the sickness of this world. (APPLAUSE) For they see the hunger of the people, the poverty, the unhealthy conditions, the ignorance, suffering and pain. If we bear in mind that Christianity was, in the beginning, the religion of the poor, that in the days of the Roman Empire it was the religion of the slaves, because it was based on profound human precepts, there is no doubt that the revolutionary movement, the socialist movement, the communist movement, the Marxist-Leninist movement, would benefit a great deal from honest leaders of the Catholic Church and other religious returning to the Christian spirit of the Pope if the Roman archbishop said, (APPLAUSE) What’s more, Christianity would also benefit, along with socialism and communism. (APPLAUSE)

And some religious leaders in Nicaragua asked us why strategic alliance, why only strategic alliance, why not speak of unity between Marxist-Leninists and Christians. (APPLAUSE)

Explosive formula

I don’t know what the imperialists think about this. But I’m absolutely convinced the formula is highly explosive. (APPLAUSE) It exists not only in Nicaragua but also in El Salvador, where the revolutionary forces and the Christian forces are closely united.

Look how reaction and fascism are constantly murdering priests, how the archbishop of El Salvador was brutally assassinated. This is because reactionaries and fascists—many of whom go to church every Sunday—when they see their interests affected, endangered, do not hesitate to plant bombs in churches and to assassinate priests and bishops. They’d murder the Pope if they could. (APPLAUSE)

But not only in El Salvador; there’s Guatemala, where there’s also constant repression and murder, including that of priests. There are numerous priests who are on the side of the revolution.

I’m telling you this so you’ll have an idea of how situations change, how different they are in each country, and therefore we cannot be thinking of a strictly Cuban formula, because that formula is specifically for us. Of course, many of the other formulas have many of the ingredients that ours has. (APPLAUSE) But it’ll never be completely alike.

We also met with the leaders of the Sandinista Front, about 100 of them. They requested this meeting, and we explained our experiences to them. And I want to tell you that in those meetings I was very critical of our Revolution, because I believe that however much more than anything else in the world and we cannot be arrogant, or vain, or consider ourselves as saints. I do believe we are wise, but we are wise because we know how to recognize our own shortcomings. (APPLAUSE)
The time will come when people will see the Devil himself; they lose order to express our confidence in the slave society and feudal society.

The imperialists are alarmed when they don't have to build the Sandinista Revolution. There won't be any coups d'état, because sometimes it's better not to stir things up, given the special situation that's on the continent at the moment; genocides after three years that have cost Guatemala 50,000 lives in the past 20 years. And I ask myself if we don't have to go on accepting this state of affairs.

The oligarchy, reaction and imperialism use all these so-called constitutional mechanisms, the so-called representative democracy against the peoples. Even when the overwhelming majority of people through the democratic, and particularly the electoral mechanisms, vote against a reactionary government and in favor of a progressive government, the oligarchy says: there's a coup d'état! Like in Chile, in Bolivia and the peoples learned that the only way for the people to defend themselves was on the road to liberation; that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other road.

The oligarchy, reaction and imperialism are alarmed when people want to talk about these things when I speak in the main rally there. There was a U.S. delegation present and I was a visitor and didn't think I had the right to speak on such a subject, but here I think I have some right to bring it up. (APPLAUSE) The imperialists have put Somosa there; they intervened directly in Nicaragua for many years; they created the Somoza dictatorship in Central America. (APPLAUSE)

Moreover, the Yankee imperialists support Somosa, because they are the ones that put him there. I didn't want to talk about these things when I spoke in the main rally there, because there was a U.S. delegation present and I was a visitor and didn't think I had the right to speak on such a subject, but here I think I have some right to bring it up. The imperialists have put Somosa there; they intervened directly in Nicaragua for many years; they created the Somoza dictatorship in Central America. (APPLAUSE)

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Reagan has been outspoken among capitalist politicians in favoring two-frontist approach to Central America: the workers like these in Guatemala City Arrow Shirt factory are proving to be no pushovers.
dating back to the times of Mussolini, to the effect that the revolution can be made with or without the army but dented economic and financial brink of cold war, of the arms race,rophe. And faced with this situation world is on the verge of an a debt of they could not be solved at all without and the atmosphere. Even if you can ecological problems, that is, not only the destruction of the landscape, but as a revolutionary country, we are those that preceded Hitler's election as three armies! (APPLAUSE)THE

Dangerous moments
We are living through truly dangerous international moments that affect our region and affect the whole world. Analysts, statesmen, men given to calm thinking, understand and realize problems facing the world, particularly the underdeveloped world; the food problems; the problems of uncontrolled population growth; the educational problems; the health problems; the situation of the United States, its warmongering policy, its plans to deploy over 500 medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, its plans to rearm NATO, its plans to set up military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, set up bases in the Middle East, etc. For all this, the current U.S. administration is responsible.

Dangerous platform
Now then, the Republican Party Convention was recently held in the United States, and its candidate has drawn up and approved a political platform of an extremely dangerous and extremely reactionary nature. At times one gets the impression that we are living through days similar to the Panama Canal accords, annexing Puerto Rico. Mention has even been made of a naval blockade against Cuba, there is the most reactionary talk of aggressive policies in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East, of a rearmament policy, of a policy to achieve military superiority over the socialist camp.

I know that there are some in the United States who would prefer us Cubans not to attack that platform. They say that owing to certain U.S. public opinion trends to the right, any criticism levied at the program may help its authors, since we are looked upon as enemies and it might be considered a merit if Cuba should attack that program. Very well, I can understand that point of view. But what's in the cards here is not a U.S. president

If the imperialists are stupid enough to intervene in El Salvador, they will create a Vietnam in Central America...

ecological problems, that is, not only the destruction of the landscape, but also the gradual poisoning of the water and the atmosphere. Even if you can prevent war from breaking out, the effort that must be made to tackle these problems is truly impressive, and they could not be solved at all without international collaboration—we need not only a climate of peace but one of collaboration.

Now the world finds itself anew on the brink of cold war, of the arms race at a time when the underdeveloped countries of the world are shouldering a debt of 300,000 million dollars and it is estimated that it will be 700,000 million by 1985. This means that the world is on the verge of an unprecedented economic and financial catastrophe. And faced with this situation that undoubtedly calls for a supreme effort for peace, coexistence and collaboration among all nations of the world, we find ourselves with the present those that preceded Hitler's election as chancellor of Germany.

I do not mean to say that both situations are exactly the same. Back then a lunatic like Hitler could start a war with the hope of winning it and without the risk of humanity being wiped out. I think that lunatics nowadays have a different shrieklacket, which are the changes that have taken place in the world, the current world balance of power, and we still hope that these lunatics will use some common sense.

But at this moment there's a real possibility of the party that approved such a platform winning the U.S. elections. And of course its views on Latin America couldn't be more gloomy. It is in favor of cutting all aid to Nicaragua and getting rid of revolution there as much as one would get rid of a cyst, blocking all progressive change in Central America, practically helping fascist governments, repudiat-
Continued from preceding page

I think there are a lot of people in the world—not only socialists, not only Marxist-Leninists, but also democrats, liberals, bourgeois, bourgeois intellectuals, religious sectors, statesmen, even from the capitalist world, even from the industrialized capitalist world, who are aware, must be aware, of these dangers. We know that there are many people warning of this, and these sensible, fundamentally sensible opinions must surely prevail.

That’s why our duty is to struggle for peace while at the same time being ready for anything. (APPLAUSE) That should be our stand: to struggle for peace, work for peace, defend peace and, at the same time, be ready for anything. (APPLAUSE)

It was decided that this year’s 26th of July celebrations be held in the new province of Ciego de Avila.* (APPLAUSE) This was our Party’s recognition for the province’s enthusiastic, efficient, brilliant work. (APPLAUSE) I know how happy this decision made you. I know how hard you worked since the decision was announced 54 days ago, all you have created in just a few weeks: this square, these avenues, the bypass, the works you have completed—even a movie theater scheduled for December was completed in nearly 45 days; (APPLAUSE) how you have repaired the city, painted everything, all you have done so that Ciego de Avila could host the 26th of July celebrations, be host to all the delegations that have arrived here. (APPLAUSE) For we are now commemorating the 26th of July precisely in our country’s smallest provincial capital. (APPLAUSE)

This rally, its organization, its size, is all very impressive. We also know how long you have been mobilizing for this, how long it took you to get here, the hours you have waited in this square. We know about the huge effort which has been made in agriculture, in the planting and weeding of cane. (APPLAUSE)

Here Fidel saluted the accomplishments of the people of Ciego de Avila in agriculture. A major sugar producing area, it earlier had required the allocation of thousands of workers from other provinces for planting and harvesting crops.

But productivity has increased so much that now the people of the province are able to handle the crop virtually alone. Fidel also cited figures to show how agricultural productivity has risen since the revolution. In 1952, he said, a cane cutter annually cut an average of 1,74 tons. In 1979, the average was 3,68 tons.

Nationally, he said, the prodigious efforts of the workers are overcoming the ruinous consequences of blights that hit the sugar and tobacco crops. The added efforts, coupled with the expansion and improvement of sugar refining facilities, will do much to cut the losses.

When we talk about the efforts of our workers in recent months, it is important on a day like this to remember and praise the tens of thousands of our countrymen who are working as workers, technicians, doctors, and fighters in diverse parts of the world. (APPLAUSE)

Right now there are Cuban doctors and technical personnel in more than 30 countries. This, we do not feel ashamed of having a little bit of our share, which we are certainly sweeping up and sending to the perfect garbage dump. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS) When I entered this area this afternoon, I thought of this, of our country’s smallest provincial capital. (APPLAUSE)

When we talk about the efforts of our workers in recent months, it is important on a day like this to remember and praise the tens of thousands of our countrymen who are working as workers, technicians, doctors, and fighters in diverse parts of the world. (APPLAUSE)

The province of Ciego de Avila, originally part of Camaguey Province, was established in 1976 during a geographic and administrative reorganization.

And we asked the comrades in the province, which has been made in agriculture, in the planting and weeding of cane. (APPLAUSE)

The province of Ciego de Avila, originally part of Camaguey Province, was established in 1976 during a geographic and administrative reorganization.

*The province of Ciego de Avila, originally part of Camaguey Province, was established in 1976 during a geographic and administrative reorganization.

To be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity . . .

To be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity.

Cuban health workers arrive in Nicaragua where absence of medical care was almost universal. Cubans regard this as an internationalist responsibility.

The Soviet worker who

...was running at about 60 percent. (APPLAUSE)

Over there, in very remote areas, I have seen many young Nicaraguan literacy brigade members working with a spirit that reminded us of the members of our literacy brigades in 1961. (APPLAUSE) Our teachers have gone to some of the most remote parts of the jungle and the mountains. That contingent returns to Nicaragua in September but this time, instead of 1,200 Cuban teachers in Nicaragua, there will be 2,000. (APPLAUSE) And that will not leave us short of teachers.

When I entered this area this afternoon, I saw the dazzling building of the primary teachers’ school in Ciego de Avila. We now have adequate primary school teachers in every province, with more than 30,000 students. We have students in different areas to become teachers, and we have a large number studying for degrees in primary education. Altogether there are 152,000 education workers studying at various levels. We will not lack teachers, we will not lack teachers! (APPLAUSE) Do you remember when 70 percent of our primary school teachers were not accredited? Now 100 percent of our teachers are accredited. (APPLAUSE)

More teachers

And we asked the comrades in the Sandinista leadership, “Are there still doctors and dentists working in other countries. Thus, we are not only able to care for our own children and the highest level of health in the Third World, but we are able to help other countries.

More will be needed

And we must think about when the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala and other countries are victorious, because eventually they will triumph and no one and nothing can stop that, (APPLAUSE) and we will need more internationalist doctors and more internationalist technical and military internationalist technicians. (APPLAUSE)

I believe I reflect the sentiments of our people when I say that that should be our conscience and that should be our conduct, (APPLAUSE) without any chauvinism, without any national selfishness.

It is right that we work and continue to work for our welfare, it is right that we work and continue to work to raise the level of education, to raise the level of literacy, to raise the health standards of living, to solve many of the problems that we still have; but we cannot share some of the fruits of our efforts and our Revolution.

As I once said, to be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity, (APPLAUSE) because other countries, other peoples, helped and continue to help us. (APPLAUSE) The Soviet worker who...
Citizens of Ciego de Avila rally July 26 to hear Fidel's assessment of revolutionary situation in Caribbean.

...and continue working to ensure that the country is secure, our energy needs and human resources are guaranteed, and we are assured of steady, fair distribution. (APPLAUSE) And the two Latin Americans who died in the battle for the Revolution are our heroes. (APPLAUSE) And we say to ourselves so that we can today feel secure and not be afraid of anyone—including Reagan, or King Kong, if he were president of the United States. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

Thanks to internationalism, our country is secure, our energy needs and many raw materials are guaranteed, and we are assured of steady, fair trade. (APPLAUSE)

We don't have great material resources, we do have great human resources—our doctors are our human resources, our teachers are our human resources, (APPLAUSE) our technicians, our construction workers are our human resources. This we have, and of extraordinary quality! (APPLAUSE)

What revolution can do

Universities with more than 150,000 students are housing tens of thousands of workers studying in higher education, tens of thousands of workers already completing their studies, almost all of them having completed the minimum of sixth grade—these are truly impressive advances. And I think we will go even farther, since the workers organizations have already proposed making ninth grade the minimum for all workers. (APPLAUSE) And the two Latin American peoples to eradicate illiteracy are Cuba, first, and now Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE)—this is what the revolution means, what the revolution is capable of doing.

So we must continue to prepare ourselves and continue working to develop our country and contribute as much as we can to the development and progress of other peoples.

Speaking of this date, of the men who died on this day, of the martyrs of the Revolution, of those who shed their blood on a day like today which is a symbol of other dates, a symbol of those who died before, in the first struggle, a symbol of those who died in the landing of the Granma or in the eastern or Escambray mountains, fighting the saboteurs and counterrevolutionaries on any front, or completing internationalist missions—I think that all these men and women would be happy with this country as it is today, with this dignity, with this people. Nothing could have made them prouder than the idea that the people who 27 years ago lived under the darkest, most infamous oppression are what they are today; (APPLAUSE) that this Revolution is what it is today. (APPLAUSE) That is why I said at the beginning that we were wiser, because we have learned a great deal in these 27 years. We have learned from experience, we have learned from mistakes, we have always been open and honest, ready to correct ourselves whenever necessary. Whoever says he was born wise is a liar; whoever says he knows everything is an egotist who knows nothing. There is no better teacher than the Revolution itself, (APPLAUSE) and we correct our mistakes as soon as we recognize them.

Stronger than ever

I sincerely believe that our revolutionary process today is strong, very strong, stronger than ever! (PROLONGED APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FOR SURE, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKES HELL!")

What have we gained today in comparison with that 26th of July, 27 years ago? First of all, a great Party, (APPLAUSE) with hundreds of thousands of communist members coming from the heart of our people. (APPLAUSE) We have powerful mass organizations to which the immense majority of our population belongs (APPLAUSE)—the unions, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women, the peasant associations, the student and Pioneer associations. (APPLAUSE) Forging new Party members, we have the powerful organization of our Young Communist League. (APPLAUSE) We have the socialist state and People's Power. (APPLAUSE) We have our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces (APPLAUSE) and our members of the Ministry of the Interior. (APPLAUSE) We have tens of thousands of veterans and experienced cadres everywhere—in the Party, the mass organizations and the state. (APPLAUSE)

We should not be afraid to face the future, no matter what the prospects. We continue to hope for a world of peace, a world of cooperation between the peoples, regardless of political systems. We are prepared to do what it takes on the task of development, to work for long-term plans, (APPLAUSE) to think of the year '95, the year '98, and for the year 2000. We are already working on the next five-year plan, and on the plans for the year 2000. We will not achieve victory and success only by applying a system, applying an experience, applying science to planning and management. Behind all this there must be the people. (APPLAUSE) We will unite science, experience and consciousness. (APPLAUSE) We will not abandon voluntary work. (APPLAUSE) because, although we are in the phase of the construction of socialism and it is necessary to apply the principle of distribution according to work, we are and aspire to be Communists. (APPLAUSE) Other generations will live in communism, but from now on we must begin to forge not only socialist men and women, but communist men and women. (APPLAUSE)

Millions of communists

When I ask myself what is a Communist I think of a worker in Bluefields, a woman who is both wife and mother, capable of leaving her family to save lives thousands of miles from home. (APPLAUSE) I think of a teacher in a remote area of the world; I think of a Cuban fighting in another country to defend a just cause thousands of miles from home. (APPLAUSE) And I say to myself, these are communist men and women. I think of one of these Heroes of Labor; (APPLAUSE) I think of one of these caterpillars who, for months at a time, work ten, 12, even 14 hours a day to complete our harvests; (APPLAUSE) I think of the hundreds of thousands of devoted compatriots—manual and intellectual workers—who dedicate their lives to their work and duty, and thanks to whom there is a homeland and a revolution. (APPLAUSE) Not only does our Party have hundreds of thousands of members, but in the heart of our people there are millions of Communists. (APPLAUSE)

I think we have ample reason to be optimistic, we have ample reason to proudly celebrate this 26th of July (APPLAUSE), as an affirmation that the blood shed over these 27 years has not been in vain! (APPLAUSE) Patricia o noveles! (OVERTONE)

The Militant and Perspective Mundial invite you to travel with us on a two-week tour of Cuba.

After spending several days in Havana the tour will fly to Santiago de Cuba, birthplace of the Revolution. The next week will be spent traveling across the island. The tour will visit the cities of Camaguey, Las Villas, and Santa Clara. During the two weeks we will have time to meet with representatives of the Cuban Workers Confederation, Federation of Cuban Women, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, and other organizations. Also we will visit schools, hospitals, polyclinics, housing developments, and factories.

The tour departs from Miami November 15 and returns there on the 29th of November. This includes hotel, meals, roundtrip travel from Miami to Cuba, travel visa fees, and bilingual tour guides.

For more information write to Militant/PM Cuba Tours, P.O. Box 314, New York, N.Y. 10014

THE MILITANT/SEPTEMBER 19, 1980
"Castro Connection" doesn't quite connect

NBC took a half-page ad in the New York Times to plug its September 3 "white paper," "The Castro Connection." It shows Fidel in the center of a line of tumbling dominoes. The headline declares: "This man is working with dominoes. The most dangerous game in Central America."

That conveys the tone of the film. Only, surprisingly, it doesn't quite make it. Despite NBC's best intentions, it doesn't really persuade you that the sinister figure, Castro, is responsible for the turmoil in Central America. In fact, Fidel comes out looking pretty good.

Narrated by Marvin Kalb, the film sets out to do a job on Cuba and Nicaragua. Yet, what's actually seen by the viewer in Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala tends to refute a lot of what's being said.

One reason is that the producers tried for a "sophisticated" approach—tell a bit of truth to make the lies more plausible. But here even a bit of the truth is more powerful than all the lies they come up with.

Which is only a reflection of their basic problem. The case for revolution in Central America is so evidently righteous that their arguments don't carry much weight.

For instance, how much anti-Cuba hysteria can you whip up by pointing to the fact that Cuba has sent 200 doctors to practice in remote regions of Nicaragua where medical care was virtually unknown?

Or, equally subversive, that Cuba sent 1,200 teachers to help Nicaragua carry through its literacy drive.

The contrast is particularly powerful when the filmmakers visit a San Salvador barrio. No paving, no drainage. Shanties. No utilities. Emaciated children everywhere.

Plus a murderous dictatorship. The guerrillas are recruiting in El Salvador. Marvin Kalb confirms, because of the "regression and brutality and, indeed, outright murder committed by the government security troops."

This is illustrated with a truly horrifying scene. It alone is sufficient to indict Washington for the crime of arming and financing the tyranny there.

During a bloody June 23 raid on the University of El Salvador, government forces invaded a nearby high school.

A camera follows. There is a group of students with their hands up. One is forced to lie face down on the floor. A barrage of bullets is fired into his back. With the camera still focused on him, the student screams in agony until he bleeds to death. Hard to pin that on Castro.

The "white paper" advises that the outlook for Washington is equally dim in Guatemala. There, it seems, the rich are getting richer, and the poor poorer.

The Indians are joining up with the guerrillas, and "there is little doubt that guerrilla warfare is now raging" in the country.

And, to make matters worse, "Castro is taking full advantage of the situation."

A question must occur to the viewer: Why is only Fidel "taking advantage" of the situation in Central America? Why doesn't Washington compete?

There's the rub. The "white paper" presents a purported "conflict" of U.S. political opinions on how to deal with the situation.

One alleged pole is presented by Reagan. Asked if he favors sending in troops to crush revolutions in Central America, he allows that he'd "never say never."

The Carter administration—seemingly—present a different approach. The U.S. ambassador to El Salvador explains, quite correctly, that the struggle in the area is "uncontainable. Irresponsible." To avoid going down with the right, or perish the thought, winding up with the left, he then asserts Washington has to look for "viable alternatives."

The hitch being that there are none.

There is, of course, one obvious alternative for Washington. Get out of these countries and let the people determine their own destinies.

But with all the wind about "conflicting views" in Washington, that's one view that's never heard there. Never.

That's why the "debate" on Central America is a fraud. Reagan may speak more candidly about military intervention. But Carter's recently created Caribbean military command post at Key West speaks louder.

"The era of the Banana Republic is over," says Marvin Kalb. "The era of the radical Marxist republic is now dawning, with the U.S. standing on the sidelines, uncertain."

Yes, it is hard to hold back the dawn. But Washington will keep trying. That's the nature of the beast. Happily, as this film somewhat inadvertently testifies, it's not doing too well.

—Harry Ring
Copper strike stops Kennecott takeovers

By Rob Roper

PHOENIX, Sept. 9—Union leaders representing 9,000 striking copper workers reached agreement on wage and benefit issues with the country's largest copper company, Kennecott, at the end of August. Today, the last of the local unions representing Kennecott workers, International Association of Machinists Lodge 598 at the giant complex outside Salt Lake City, voted to accept the local issue agreement. This ends the strike against Kennecott.

But 30,000 other copper workers remain on strike against nine other companies.

The strike, which is centered in the Southwest, began July 1 and involves twenty-six international unions. Bargaining is conducted under the leadership of the largest union, the United Steelworkers of America, through the National Non-Ferrous Industry Coordinating Committee.

The strike against Kennecott is a defeat for the company's takeback effort. The union members will retain their contracts, including a (CWA) quarterly raise, which Kennecott wanted to withdraw.

This success of the copper strike contracts with the same takeback that Steelworkers union officials agreed to in the basic steel contract negotiated last spring under a no-strike pledge.

In an interview with the Militant, Steelworkers copper strike spokesperson Cass Alvin called the Kennecott agreement "a victory, considering the present climate of recession and unemployment, which prevented the unions from applying their full power.

Alvin attributed the victory to "the solidarity among the copper unions, and the members' willingness to sacrifice by holding out eight months.

Alvin said that the unions' negotiating committee will not settle for anything less than the Kennecott settlement with the other companies. "In fact," he pointed out, "we hope that the militancy of the workers will allow us to hold out and get more from the other companies than we got from Kennecott." In the past, other contracts were inferior to the ones at Kennecott.

Alvin predicted that "the greed of the other companies will force them to settle soon," since they do not want Kennecott taking their business. "But these bastards aren't going to give a penny more than they have to." During the strike, the companies brought in 11,000 non-union contractors to do maintenance and construction work at the mines. They managed to drive up the price of copper, making extra profits on their stockpiles.

At the same time the companies have made life as difficult as possible for the workers. They stopped paying insurance premiums, jeopardizing the health of the strikers and their families. Democratic and Republican politicians and government agencies have all made it clear their support for the companies by denying strikers food stamps and other public assistance. In at least one company town, Moreno, Arizona, Phelps-Dodge cut off credit to strikers at the large company-owned grocery and department store.

Copper workers have traditionally had to go on strike every three years to maintain any contract gains at all.

The power of these unions is shown by the fact that none of the companies has dared try to open a struck mine with scab labor, even though the mines are almost all located in anti-union "right to work" states.

U.S. gov't responsible for Haitian drownings

By Vivian Sahner

At least three Haitians drowned on September 7 when a small sailboat carrying them and more than 100 other refugees capsized 120 miles south of Florida. Others had died during the two-week trip.

On September 9 a sunken twenty-five-foot Haitian sailboat and the bodies of six more Haitians were discovered.

These are the latest in a growing number of deaths that can be directly attributed to the racial and imperialist policies of the U.S. government.

The Haitian people are kept in poverty by a tyrannical regime that jails, tortures and murders those who dissent.

The unbridled corruption and wanton brutality of Haiti's "president for life," Jean-Claude Duvalier, is staunchly defended by the government. In 1978, for example, this regime received 40 percent of Washington's military aid to the Caribbean.

Confronted by this repression, thousands have risked their lives by fleeing in flimsy, overcrowded boats to seek asylum in the United States.

In the U.S. these refugees are often slapped into jails or, like the survivors of the September 7 tragedy, sent to unsanitary, overcrowded detention centers.

Those who avoid the authorities are not much better off. Discrimination against them because they are Black and French speaking compounds their difficulties in finding jobs and housing.

The threat of deportation to Haiti and almost certain death at the hands of the Duvalier regime hangs over their heads.

Philadelphia mayor attacks teachers strike

By Haskell Berman

PHILADELPHIA—As of September 9 Philadelphia Federation of Teachers Local 23 was still out on strike against the city's board of education. It appears that negotiators are far from reaching a settlement.

The strike began on September 1, when the previous contract expired. Seven thousand PFT members met at the Civic Center on August 27 and unanimously passed a no contract-no work resolution.

On Labor Day a quickly assembled picket of 300 demonstrated at the headquarters of education's administration building. The next day 1,000 strikers blocked the building's four entrances and barricaded administration offices from entering to organize reopening of the schools.

In response, the city obtained a court order against mass picketing and postponed the date of school opening from September 5 to September 9.

On the first day of classes only 30,000 of the 220,000 students and 200 of the 20,000 teachers went into the schools while large pickets of strikers marched outside. The city then backed down and indefinitely cancelled all school sessions.

On September 4 negotiators for the teachers and board were summoned to city hall by Democratic Mayor William Green. Green torpedoed the talks by insisting that the proposed contract provide the board with unilateral rights to fire school employees for budgetary reasons at any time during the two-year contract.

The mayor's giveback demand would not only be an attack on the union but would jeopardize the education of the children.

Teachers are also fighting for the retaining of some 2,000 school workers who were laid off in June, retention of teacher preparation time, and a class size limit of thirty-three.

In contracts with other city unions, Mayor Green has imposed a pay-cut-salary formula of no wage increase in the first year, 10 percent the second year, and a one percent medical fringe benefit. This formula would represent a big wage loss for the teachers.

Cops kill Black woman in Mississippi

By Osborne Hart

Carrying placards declaring "We want justice more than 100 Blacks demonstrated in the streets of Jackson, Mississippi, September 6 protesting the murder of a Black woman by a white cop.

Dorothy Brown, four months pregnant, was murdered by officer Gary King on August 29.

King shot Brown four times. The police claim Brown threatened King and his partner with a .22 caliber pistol.

King has been put on leave—without pay—pending the results of an investi-
gation conducted by the Jackson Police Department.

The Jackson branch of the NAACP has conducted its own investigation and concluded that the cops were not pro-
voked by Brown.

Commenting on the demands of the Black community, Fred Blackburn, NAACP president, told the New York Times, "We want some straightfor-
ward answers from City officials in this case.

The NAACP is conducting its own investigation into the shooting. The demonstration will be held on September 29 in Washington, D.C., the Black College Day '80 march and rally will be held. Called by the Project '80 Coalition for Black Colleges, the demonstra-
tion will focus on the plight of Black schools.

The demonstration will be preceded by a day of workshops on the main campus at Blackburn University Center, Howard University.

For more information on Black College Day '80, call (212) 575-0876.

Black student protest called

By Osborne Hart

The survival of Black colleges and universities—both private and public—has become a rallying issue among Black students.

With cutbacks in federal and state funds, and attempts to close Black colleges under the guise of "integrating" them into predominantly white state university systems, the existence of the 107 Black campuses is jeopardized.

On September 29, in Washington, D.C., a Black College Day '80 march and rally will be held. Called by the Project '80 Coalition for Black Colleges, the demonstra-

THE MILITANT/SEPTEMBER 19, 1980
Shipbuilders union sponsors debate on nukes

By Marian Nelson

BATH, Maine—Bath Iron Works is the largest workplace in the state of Maine. About 6000 employees work there, where most of its 6000 employees work. The town is surrounded by the coast, and in the days of the nuclear power plant. On September 23, Maine residents will vote on a referendum to shut down the Yankee Atomic Power Plant. The town has been an area of low seismic risk, an issue that later contaminated the local drinking water.

In February 1973, the Emergency Core Cooling System froze during an ice storm. Later that year, environmental groups began to demand a local referendum on nuclear power. Businessman John Beardsley and BIA executive Ray Shadis argued the case for continued dependence on nuclear power. As one of the organizers, Iodine-131 which later contaminated the stream was packed.

The referendum has won significant support from shipyard workers at Bath Iron Works. The large working place in the state. (See story above). The Bath shipyard workers are setting a good example for labor, unlike some officials from the Plumbers and Steelworkers unions, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, who have come out against the referendum.

By Marian Nelson

Maine Yankee since 1972, and an opponent of the plant. They are among the principal organizers of the Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee, which worked in getting the issue onto the ballot.

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Women in Revolt

Union women on the move

On August 21 Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, was appointed to the executive board of the AFL-CIO, the federation's highest leadership body.

She will be the first woman to serve on the council since the AFL and CIO united twenty-five years ago.

Miller's appointment reflects the growing strength of women in the labor movement, which also reflects the increasing significance in the labor movement of CLUW.

CLUW is the only national organization of trade union women that organizes more than sixty unions. Its members belong to the major industrial unions, as well as many others. It involves many Black women in its leadership and membership.

Founded in 1974 at a convention of 3,200 women unionists in Chicago, CLUW's roots lie in the massive influx of women into the workforce in recent years, coinciding with the rise of women's liberation struggles. These have combined to produce a new self-awareness among working women.

CLUW's statement of purpose outlines four goals:

- organizing the unorganized; affirmative action in the workplace and political action, and participation of women within their unions.
- The growing involvement of trade unions in the fight for reproductive rights is an important example of the success in getting the power of the union movement behind women's demands and making women's rights a labor cause.
- CLUW chapters helped build the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago, sponsored by the National Organization for Women.
- Oakland, CLUW helped build the annual San Francisco Day in the Park for Women's Rights this year.

Chapters have gotten involved in the fight against the Hyde Amendment that cuts off Medicaid funds for abortion. At its national convention last September, CLUW reaffirmed its strong stand on reproductive rights.

CLUW seeks to convince working women that belonging to a union is vital for them in their battle for equal pay and opportunities, and an end to discriminatory layoffs and sexual harassment on the job.

Currently 66 percent, or 38 million women in the workforce, are not in trade unions.

In line with its firm commitment to organizing the unorganized, CLUW has called a national conference to address the issue of organizing women. It will be held November 14-16 in Arlington, Texas.

Women unionists who want to join CLUW and find out more about the chapter nearest them, or about the upcoming conference to National CLUW at 15 Union Square, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 777-5330.

CLUW has available a pamphlet called Working Women Today that includes valuable statistics and information on the situation of women in the workforce. Copies can be obtained from the CLUW national office for 25 cents each or 20 cents each for orders of 50 or more.

You can subscribe to CLUW News, the organization's quarterly newsletter, by writing to the national office. Subscriptions are free to members and $5 a year for nonmembers of CLUW.

If a woman's place is in her union, a trade union woman's place is in CLUW!
Our Revolutionary Heritage

First workers international

On September 28, 1864, the founding conference of the International Working Men’s Association was held in London. This movement was later called the First International. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were founding members and leaders of the First International. Marx drafted its founding program. Below are excerpts from Marx’s inaugural address presenting a program for “the emancipation of the working class,” which Marx says, “must be the work of the working class itself.”

The role of the workers movement then, Marx explains, is to reach out in solidarity with workers around the world. He cites the role of the British workers in blocking European intervention on the side of the slaveholders in the U.S. Civil War.

Marx calls for solidarity among all workers against the Russian czar. Feudal Russia, under the rule of the czar, was the main counterrevolutionary force of that time.

Shipyards workers on Poland

I work at Avondale shipyard in New Orleans. Other workers and I have been discussed the situation in Poland.

Avondale is the largest non-union shipyard in the U.S. Nine thousand of us have put up with the arbitrary discipline and restrictions on our freedom, to say nothing of the non-union wages and working conditions forced on us by the company. Avondale hoped the fight to establish the anti-union “right to work” law in Louisiana in 1976.

The fight led by shipyard workers in Poland was called by socialists foreign and which forms the political economy of the working class.

Hence the Ten Hours’ Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class. The lords of the land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defense and perpetuation of their economic privileges. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of their elimination.

To conquer political power has therefore become the great problem of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Italy, and the United States there have taken place simultaneous revolts, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganization of working men’s party.

One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the working men of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggle for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their ineffectual efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different countries assembled on September 28, 1864, in public meetings at St. Martin’s Hall, to found the International Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their immediate occurrence, how are they to fulfill that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people’s blood and treasure?

It was not the working men of the different classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of that barbarous power, whose head is at Petersburg, and whose hands are in the cabinet of Government.

The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucausus fall a prey to, and heroic Poland being assailed by, Russia; the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in the cabinet of Government; and whose heart is in Ireland, Austria, and the Ottoman Empire, may teach to the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to resist alone, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to prove that the same oppression and injustice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

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Learning About Socialism

Polish workers and the church

What do Marxists think about the demand made by the strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media? We support this demand. Not only because Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it. The Catholic hierarchy was also justified as a political move to broaden support for the workers' struggle.

Deaf Smith points on subjects of gen­
strikers; stop police officers against us.

In Cuba, the church stood in open opposition to the progressive demands of the workers and farmers. While preaching religious freedom, the revolutionary leadership was able to isolate the hierarchy, crush the open counterrevolutionaries in it, and compel the church officialdom to abandon the policy of spreading the revolution. The Castro government retained the unwavering support of the Cuban people.

Tb, the repressive role of Stalinism produced a different situation.

Seventy percent of Poles are Catholic. The peasants, who make up 30 percent of the population, tend to be the most religious.

In the first years of the Stalinist regime the church came under repression. The bureaucracy sought to consolidate its rule by eliminating all potential competitors in the Church and shutting off all avenues through which working people might voice opposition.

Canadian Wyszynski, for example, was in jail until 1956. Attacks on the church became a symbol for many Poles of the sweeping violations of national and human rights by the Soviet and Polish bureaucracies.

The church hierarchy has attempted to preserve its base by identifying with the workers' hatred of these violations of human rights. It does not openly call for the abolition of capitalism, and claims to accept the existing economic order.

Undemocratic restrictions on the Catholic church imposed by the Polish authorities did not end religious freedom. They lent a progressive veneer to the reactionary policies of Wyszynski and other top church officials.

In 1956 the Polish workers revolted, forcing concessions from the government. In an effort to stabilize Stalinist rule, the new government turned to the church. In exchange for support from the Catholic hierarchy, the government agreed to give the church certain privileges in education and more freedom of action.

And in the pinches, the hierarchy has lent its support to the Polish workers, extolling sacrifice as the French workers.

The strikers did not bow. They held firm, forcing the church hierarchy to give up a peacekeeping mission.

We support this demand. Not only because Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it. The Catholic hierarchy was also justified as a political move to broaden support for the workers' struggle.

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**The Militant**

**Antinuclear referendum on Sept. 23 Maine ballot**

By Richard Cahalane

On September 23, Maine residents will vote on a referendum to shut down the Maine Yankee nuclear power plant in Wiscasset and ban all future construction of such facilities. The referendum is on the ballot in a special election as a result of a statewide effort that collected 80,000 signatures on petitions.

Two years ago, Montana residents voted to prohibit construction of new nuclear plants, but the Maine referendum is the first attempt to close down an operating facility.

The Maine Yankee plant is built on a beautiful estuary, common to the coastal region, and draws its cool water from the sea. There is an "impressive tourist center next to the plant, complete with scale models, multi-media displays, simulated plutonium pellets (which you can take home) and geiger counters to show you how radiation is 'everywhere.'"

When this reporter visited the plant, some tourists asked the plant guide such questions as: what about the plant's impact on the environment; is there much routine venting of radioactive gas; and how much more on-site waste disposal capacity remains? Only a few hundred yards away the giant turbines of the 840 megawatt plant could be felt through the vibrating floors.

By Joe Ryan

**Union officials back labor safe energy meeting**

The Labor Outreach Committee of Citizens Against Nuclear Power held a news conference in Chicago August 28 to build the first National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. The national conference will be held in Pittsburgh at the Hilton Hotel October 10-12.

The Chicago news conference featured officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the United Mine Workers (UMWA) plus representatives of two United Steelworkers (USWA) locals in the Chicago-Gary area.

IAM representative Charles F. Williams told the news conference that "the two most serious problems facing American workers today are unemployment and the energy crisis."

Williams is a Grand Lodge representative and State Legislative andCOPE coordinator for the IAM. He called for the development of safe energy programs and said, "Three Mile Island demonstrates that nuclear power is not the answer to our energy problems."

The IAM is one of the sponsors of the October national conference. International IAM President William Winpisinger is a scheduled speaker.

United Mine Workers District 12 Legislative Representative Gerald Hawkins also spoke at the news conference. District 12 represents more than 20,000 Illinois coal miners. "As a coal miner," Hawkins said, "I feel particularly qualified to come here today to urge my brother and sister trade unionists to join me, my International Union, and eight other international labor bodies" at the national conference.

Hawkins pointed out that Illinois has the largest reserves of bituminous coal in the United States but "over 1,400 coal miners are laid off and another 1,100 are working shortened work weeks."

At the same time, Illinois has the largest number of operating nuclear power plants in the country. "Those nuclear power plants currently operating represent over 5,000 coal mining jobs—far more than the number of trade unionists employed at the nuclear facilities."

The mine union leader went on to say, "If the federal government devoted... as much financial support for cleaning coal as it does for developing nuclear power, coal could be safely burned in all areas of the United States." Hawkins outlined the position on nuclear power of the United Mine Workers. The UMWA opposes nuclear power use "until adequate safeguards against radiation poisoning are developed; until safe, permanent waste sites are created; and until protection against catastrophic nuclear power plant accidents is assured."

UMWA President Sam Church is scheduled to address the Pittsburgh conference.

All trade union members are urged to attend the conference. The Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment is at 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone (202) 365-7190.