Iraq invasion targets Iranian revolution

Carter threatens military action

The Iranian revolution is under attack. The Iraqi regime has launched an invasion of Iran, accompanied by intense bombing of heavily populated Iranian cities.

President Carter has openly raised the possibility of military intervention. On September 24, Carter declared that "freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf is of primary importance" to Washington and its allies. He wouldn't say whether U.S. forces in the region had been placed on alert.

Carter said he is "consulting" his allies about possible action in the Persian Gulf. According to the September 25 New York Times, the consultations involve "the formation of an international naval force" to take "preventive action" to keep the Gulf and Strait open.

The fleet would consist of warships from the U.S., Britain, and France.

The Strait of Hormuz is the entrance way to the Persian Gulf, a major artery for oil shipments. The Gulf is the scene of big naval battles between Iraq and Iran.

The U.S. threats are not intended to deter Iraq, which started the war. They are aimed directly at Iran.

The Wall Street Journal made the target explicit in a September 24 editorial: "What if . . . the Iranians decided to close the Straits of Hormuz?" it asked. "Sending military forces to lift the threat would have to be considered very seriously."

Washington's moves and the escalating military assault by Iraq's rulers are directed at the gains that Iranian workers and farmers have won since the shah was toppled in February 1979.

The Iranian revolution abolished the monarchy and SAVAK, the shah's hated secret police. The torturers and hangmen of the old regime began to be tried and punished.

Farmers began dividing the lands of the big agricultural barons.

Most industrial workers won a doubling of wages, and unemployment insurance increased.

The domination of Iran's oil wealth by Exxon and its ilk was dealt a blow. Oil workers, who work in the areas most immediately threatened by the Iraqi invaders, established powerful organizations and fought for their right to oversee production.

Most foreign-owned banks and industries were nationalized.

Throughout Iran, factory workers began organizing committees to fight for their interests on issues of wages, health, safety, hous-

Continued on page 2

Arkansas nuclear nightmare

By Nelson Blackstock
and Mohammed Oliver

DAMASCUS, Ark.—"Those missiles have done a lot more harm to us than the Russians," said John Stacks.

Stacks' property borders the base where a Titan II missile exploded on September 19. One Air Force sergeant was killed and twenty-one other people were injured in the blast. Some 1,400 residents within a five-mile radius of the silo were temporarily evacuated.

Stacks, who suffered injuries from a previous accident at the base two years ago, says, "It's a miracle only one person got killed" this time.

Deadly debris and shrapnel from the blast were thrown hundreds of yards from the silo. A huge piece of twisted steel sits on Stacks' land.

Initial Air Force accounts of the incident claimed it resulted from a maintenance worker dropping a three-pound wrench socket seventy feet, puncturing a fuel tank. The fuel began to leak, the story goes, and several hours later it exploded.

There have been hundreds of accidents at Titan II missile bases since the system was deployed in 1963. Fifty-five people have died and scores have been injured. The two senators from Arkansas have questioned the safety of the Titan II weapon system, calling for a full congressional investigation of the missile.

But Hans Mark, secretary of the Air Force, defends the Titan II as "the largest, most reliable, best missiles among our launchers."

Mark, however, is more interested in the Titan's war-making capabilities than he is in space exploration.

Of the 1,054 land-based Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) in the United States, the Titan IIIs carry one-third of the total megatonage. Arizona, Arkansas, and Kansas each have eighteen of the missiles. Each Titan II carries a nine-megaton nuclear warhead that is 750 times more

Continued on page 3
In Our Opinion

...war
Continued from front page

Continued from the south, and other necessities to
improved city-dwellers was begun.

Instead of maintaining the shah's old
alliance with the racist South African and
Israelis regimes, he opened new government
broke relations with both and cut off oil shipments
to them. These gains were accomplished and main-
tained by massive and continual mobilizations
of the oppressed and exploited.

Such mobilizations terrify regimes like that
in Iraq, which brutally represses every attempt
by working people to express their views or
defend their interests.

Despite their anti-imperialist declarations and
conflicts with Washington over issues like
Israel, the Iraqi ruling class derives its wealth
from a backward economic and social struc-
ture that is dominated by U.S. imperialism and
other imperialist powers.

The Iraqi regime fears that the deepening of
the Iranian revolution will inspire the workers
and farmers in Iraq and elsewhere in the
Middle East.

The Carter administration and the govern-
ment of Saddam Hussein in Iraq share a
common interest in keeping the revolutionary
process in Iran before it leads to a
socialist revolution, as happened in Cuba.

That is why the Iranian rulers— who peacefully
settled their territorial dispute with the shah in 1975—have launched a bloody war
against Iran today. It was only after the shah
fell that Hussein revolted the border dispute.

Carter loudly proclaims "neutrality" in the
war between Iran and Iraq. But the U.S. oil
companies and banks, and their government,
State Department, and CIA have never been
neutral where the Iranian revolution was con-
cerned.

In 1953 the CIA organized a coup to return
the shah to the throne after he had been
driven from power by the Iranian people. The
CIA organized the shah's secret police, and
40,000 U.S. "advisers" trained and staffed his
army. To the bitter end in early 1979, the
Carter administration tried to keep the royal
butcher in power—even at the cost of tens of
thousands of lives.

Many of the Iranian politicians and gener-
als that Washington supported against the
Iranian people are now in Iraq, where they are
organizing an army to invade Iran—much like the exile army that Washington
trained to invade Cuba in 1961.

It can be safely assumed that, as in the past,
Washington is providing aid and guidance to
these forces. Especially since the CIA admits
that it maintains radio stations that beam
messages of support for these counterrevolu-
tionaries into Iran.

The Iraqi invasion was accompanied by a
stepping up of Washington's drive against
Iran.

Carter claims he is worried about the safety
of the hostages now that a war has begun.

The Carter administration should be asked
why it dismissed the offer from Ayatollah
Khomeini to release the hostages if Washing-
ton lifted all sanctions against Iran and re-
turned the wealth stolen by the shah. Carter's
brushoff came at a time when he was well
aware that military conflict with Iraq was
heating up.

Like the U.S. military raid against Iran last
April, this demonstrated the Carter adminis-
tration's indifference to the fate of the hos-
tages. It is much more concerned with using
the hostages as a focus for anti-Iran propa-
ganda and a possible pretext for military
moves.

Big oil is also out to squeeze every nickel it
can out of the crisis. With Carter's support, the
oil giants are readying new price increases.

They claim that the war will produce an oil
shortage, even though inventories are at an
all-time high and hardly any of the oil this
country uses is from Iran and Iraq.

With the media drumfire about the hostages
and "oil shortages" as backdrop, U.S. military
forces are being prepared for possible action
in Iran. "The Pentagon has begun by designat-
ning four Army and Marine divisions, plus Air
and Navy support units for quick use in
the Persian Gulf," reported the September 20

"Almost one-fifth of the Army's active divi-
sions, one-third of the Marine Corps, half the
Navy's carrier battle groups on patrol and a
variety of Air Force wings have been allocated
to the effort."

Reporting on the "Rapid Deployment Force" in
the September 24 New York Times, Malcolm
Browne noted that "most soldiers seem aware of
the possibility that they could be fighting soon
in the Persian Gulf or elsewhere in the
Middle East."

A recent, little-publicized presidential direc-
tive (Presidential Decision Memorandum No.
51) provides for possible use of nuclear wea-
pons against Iran.

Unlike Carter and his allies, American work-
ing people have every reason to support the
big gains that Iranian workers and farmers
have won. Their aspirations for a better life
are the same as ours. And their enemies—like
big oil—are our enemies.

And we have a life-and-death stake in oppos-
ing the Carter administration's attacks on
Iran. For these moves are a drag the American
people into a new Vietnam in the Middle
East—and to the brink of a nuclear holocaust.

Hands off Iran! U.S. forces out of the Persian Gulf!
No to the draft! We won't fight big oil's war!

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Arkansas farmers speak out: ‘military won’t tell us anything’

By Nelson Blackstock and Mohammed Oliver

DAMASCUS, Ark.—“We’re sitting on a powder keg here. One of our rulers could get a little off and blow the whole world up.”

Jim Trice, nearly seventy, is from Brinkley, Arkansas. He was voicing the feelings of a lot of people.

“It’s like the problem with all of those chemicals they’ve been dumping. They are getting into our water streams and they are going to cause us a lot of problems.”

We met Jim Trice in a restaurant on the way to this farm town of 225 people that has suddenly drawn worldwide attention.

Our first stop here was the Sharp-Payne Growers, where the Air Force had set up a temporary claims office for those suffering damages as a result of the explosion at the missile silo just north of town.

As we pulled up, Jeff Hutto was examining a piece of metal. It was found on his property.

“Isn’t that the truth,” he said. “That’s the truth. District 31 Steelworkers discuss the nuclear threat, environmental standards, and jobs. See page 15.

They got that warhead out of here in a metal box last night. Then this morning they made a big production of shipping a Porta-Toilet out on a flatbed truck, making like that was the warhead.

“The thing that gets me is that they could have had everyone out of here if they had told us it was going to blow.”

We’ll never know

“Now they told us that there was no radiation leak. But you don’t know about that either.”

What about the danger of contaminating milk produced here?

“They’re not testing for it. We’ll never know. The consumer will have to suffer.”

He was in bed seven miles away when the missile blew up.

“There was one explosion, then a half-second later, another one. It was earth shattering.”

...Arkansas

Continued from front page

powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

The warhead atop the missile in Damascus was blasted 500 feet into the air and several hundred feet away from the silo.

At an evening conference on September 19, Mark insisted that “the warhead is not in danger of being ignited because it is equipped with fail-safe safety devices.” Mark also claimed that “there was absolutely no evidence of radioactive debris in the area.”

Concern about the condition of the Titan II’s warhead following last week’s explosion continued. In 1966, for example, a B-52 bomber collided with a tanker above a town called Palomaros, Spain. Two atomic weapons fell and spread radioactive debris over the landscape.

Ed Klausch, who is an operations officer for the Arkansas Office of Emergency Service, told reporters that he was within 1,200 feet of the Damascus silo just hours after the blast and saw inspectors with geiger counters walk up to the warhead.

Klausch, formerly a technician who loaded nuclear warheads in Titan missiles, knows what the warhead looks like.

By September 20, the Air Force was refusing to even admit the existence of a nuclear warhead. State officials and local residents were told nothing about the whereabouts of the warhead or its condition. This cover-up angered many.

State Public Safety Director Sam Tatom and Van Buren County Sheriff Gus Anglin both criticised the Air Force’s secrecy.

Police and local residents got most of their information about what was going on at the missile site by monitoring Air Force radio conversations. Sam Hutto, a local farmer, told the Militant that he listened to Air Force teams “that everybody else exploded for the warhead. And, after finding it, discuss how to hide it from view.”

“I was with five boys,” Hutto said, “talking about what did we decide was—the Air Force was gambling. They wanted to keep it all secret. If they lost, a lot of people might have gotten killed. But if they fixed it, no one would have known.”

Early in the morning of September 21, three days after the explosion, the Air Force appeared to have moved the nuclear warhead to a base near Little Rock. The news media followed a flatbed truck believed to be carrying the bomb through Little Rock during rush-hour traffic.

Meanwhile, some speculated that the Air Force had actually already moved the warhead on September 21. Public Safety Director Tatom, for example, said that the “more relaxed” attitude of the Air Force on September 21 led him to believe that the warhead had already been moved.

The warhead is being returned to a nuclear weapons assembly plant in Texas for repairs.

Air Force chief Mark, however, when asked at a news conference on September 22 about Air Force plans regarding the warhead, responded by asking, “What warhead?”

Distrust of the Air Force is high here. Sam Hutto said, “if you asked the Air Force whether there was an explosion, they would probably deny it.”

In addition to his dairy, John Stacks has a small feed store. That’s where we found him, about to be interviewed by a Little Rock television reporter.

“I suffered a $20-30,000 loss after the accident in 1978,” he said. “The Air Force has never admitted any responsibility whatsoever. My veterinarian did an autopsy of my cow and found their lungs filled with scars and lesions.

“I got caught in the fog too. I still suffer from headaches, chest pains, and nausea. I’ve been to the Mayo Clinic, the National Institute of Health in Washington, D.C., and in and out of the hospital twenty-nine times. I’ve never gotten a dollar from the government. I have a suit pending against them.”

Had John Stacks been warned of the pending danger in 1978, he would have avoided all of this suffering.

This time, like others, he listened to the Air Force band on his radio.

“That’s the only way we found out anything.”

‘Print this’

“There is somebody else I’m mad at, and I want you to print this. That’s Governor [Bill] Clinton. The Air Force told him there would be an explosion, but he never told us. It’s a miracle only one person got killed. That big hunk of metal that’s in my yard is a quarter of a mile from the silo—it could have hit somebody’s house and killed a bunch of people.”

Stacks says that there are now discussions among farmers about block.

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THE MILITANT/OCTOBER 3, 1980

3
By Stu Singer

There have been serious attacks against the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party in southern California in the past week.

On Saturday afternoon, September 20, a bomb blew off the door of the Los Angeles headquarters of the Communist Workers Party, located north of downtown. The building was 60 years old, not particularly sturdy, and may have been struck by a piece of debris from the explosion.

On Tuesday, September 23, a man was discovered planting a bomb against the Ku Klux Klan headquarters in Los Angeles.

Jim Little, an SWP campaign supporter, was driving toward the headquarters when he noticed a man standing outside the office. Little prevented what could have been a fatal explosion.

"Wheth the attacker saw me," Little told reporters, "he very coolly placed a white handkerchief around the bomb and then fled out the back alley. I then walked to the window of my car and threatened me with a pistol and he carried in his belt. He then fled out the back alley."

"I can positively identify this man if I ever see him again."

At a 3 p.m. meeting at the SWP office thirty minutes after the bomb attack, the caller said, "The bomb that didn't go off is still out there. If you don't believe me ask your constituents around Wilshire Boulevard."

The Communist Party office that was attacked is located on Wilshire Boulevard.

When the bomber was discovered outside the SWP office, a meeting of about twenty people was in progress only a few yards from the door. The effect of the blast would have been lethal.

The meeting in the SWP office was to map out plans for the fight to win a spot on the California ballot. Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party were illegally ruled off the ballot by the administration of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.

Both parties submitted far more than the required 101,000 signatures to win a spot on the ballot. Both are involved in court actions and protests of the discriminatory ballot exclusion.

At a September 24 news conference, SWP congressional candidate Mark Friedman, a Machinists Union member from San Diego, said the SWP welcomed the right of workers to organize.

Friedman, a Machinists Union member from San Diego, is the candidate of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

The Brown administration ruled Friedman off the November ballot along with the other NAAARP, the Hpanic Urban Center, and the United Teachers of Los Angeles, in addition to the SWP.

Busing to desegregate schools in Los Angeles has just begun. Members of the board of education have openly been involved in organizing racist masterminds against busing.

At the news conference were representatives of the Peace and Freedom Party and the Socialist Workers Party, organized around SWP.

"I have been a member of the SWP for a year," Friedman said. "I have a lot of stock in what they tell us."

"But this was the first time I was coming in to try to milk. I remember seeing on television the government from putting a missile back in the silo."

"I thought that we were all a bunch of hicks."

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Mark Friedman, SWP congressional candidate for California

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Aerospace workers: interest in labor party, ballot fight

By Rebecca Finch

Los Angeles-socialist campaign workers took to the streets this week in the continuing battle to put SWP candidates on the California ballot of state and local candidates.

The SWP candidates, 6,500 signatures short of the 38,453 required for a spot on the ballot, held a mass meeting in downtown Los Angeles and began a huge phone campaign to get the signatures they need.

"The meetings were called to discuss the upcoming contract negotiations at the McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft plant in Long Beach," SWP activist Fred Friedman said. "And to announce that we have been denied the right to speak at the state convention of the Machinists Union." The Machinists Union, one of the strongest industrial unions in California, is at its international convention in Cincinnati this week, and the SWP's request to speak was denied.

"The situation is getting worse and worse," Friedman said. "This is an attempt to keep labor candidates off the ballot. The SWP has a right to be heard by these workers."

The SWP has been fighting for access to the ballot for many years. In August 1980, the SWP filed suit against the California Secretary of State, seeking to put socialists on the ballot. This suit was settled in the SWP's favor, but the California Secretary of State has appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

"The SWP is fighting for access to the ballot for all workers," Friedman added. "We are fighting for the democratic right to vote."

The SWP has received widespread support from workers around the country. "Workers in California and the rest of the country have a big stake in this fight," Friedman said. "The SWP is the only voice for workers on the ballot."

"We are fighting for the right to speak to workers," Friedman concluded. "The SWP is fighting for the democratic right to vote."
Cuban astronaut: first Black on space flight

By Harry Ring

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Revolutionary Cuba is jubilant at having its first cosmonaut in outer space. Cubans point with pride to the fact that Lt. Colonel Telmo Ramírez is the first Latin American to become a cosmonaut.

An Afro-Cuban, Tamayo is also the world's first Black person to explore outer space.

At a special press conference here September 19, Dr. Roa Roa Kouri, Cuba's ambassador to the U.N., said that news of the successful takeoff by Tamayo and a Soviet cosmonaut was "with great joy throughout our country."

He added: "As a Cuban I am indeed proud that Lieutenant Telmo Ramírez is the first citizen of Latin America to fulfill humanity's dream of exploring outer space."

Tamayo and his Soviet partner were huddled into space from a launching pad in the USSR September 18. Two days later they left their spacecraft and joined two other Soviet scientists aloft nearly six months.

Recently, cosmonauts from Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Vietnam participated in joint flights with Soviet space scientists.

Dr. Roa said that in addition to the broad general fields of investigation, there will be a number of specific benefits to Cuban science. These will include specialized photographic studies and water area studies that will be of value in terms of productivity, control of atmospheric and marine contamination, and other areas.

Roa responded, "I definitely agree there is necessity in our country. But I definitely disagree there is hunger. The living standard of our people is higher than that of practically all of Latin America, not to speak of Africa or Asia.

What are Cuba's budgetary priorities? The first priority of the Cuban Revolution, Roa responded, "has been the education, the well-being and the public health of our people. . . . The money that goes into these programs is by far the largest of any comparable underdeveloped country."

As a consequence, he continued, "We have attained a very high level of public health in our country. Also a very high level of protein consumption and of nutrition.

"We do, of course, spend money in development and research in several fields. But the money which goes into that is much smaller than that devoted to economic and social development."

What, a reporter wanted to know, did socialism have to do with the 'Cuban cosmonaut's accomplishment?'

Tamayo, Roa responded, was born in a poor family. What he accomplished was, "first of all, the results of his own efforts, but under a social system that provided him an opportunity to become a cosmonaut."

Cuba, he added, is an underdeveloped country striving to build socialism "under very difficult conditions." "Cuba," he said, "which only twenty-one years ago was not really independent, now has a cosmonaut."

"I think that this is a matter for inspiration for all those who believe in social progress."

Roa mentioned that Tamayo had taken part in three Underground Military Action, a copyleft group representing Cuba's historical, cultural, and revolutionary traditions.

Among these were portraits of José Martí, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara, a copy of Fidel's History Will Absolve Me, and a replica of the yacht, Granma, in which the July 26 fighters sailed to Havana in 1956.

Also, Roa added, "sand from Giron Beach, where imperialism was first defeated in America."

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Minnesotans denounce slaying

By Vivian Sahner

Twenty-two cities citizens, including Minneapolis Mayor Don Fraser and three state legislators, have signed a statement protesting the assassination of Cuban UN attaché Félix García Rodriguez.

At a September 19 press conference in the Minneapolis Press Club, signers told the media, "We demand immediate action to stop Omega 7. . . . We are demanding that the Cuban government be held responsible for the acts of terrorism."

One reporter, referring to the threats against Roa by García's killers, asked, "Now thirty-eight, Lt. Colonel Tamayo came from a poor working-class family. At age thirteen he was shining shoes and working as a vegetable vendor. His first salaried job was as a carpenter's assistant."

"He was seventeen when Batista was overthrown and immediately joined the Association of Rebel Youth, the first youth organization created by the revolution. He was able to study at a technological institute and, on joining Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, was trained to become a combat pilot. By 1976, he had attained his present rank. Cuban personnel who participated in the Interkosmos program were selected to participate in the Interkosmos program. At the press conference here, one reporter asked Dr. Roa how his government justified participation in a costly space program while Cubans suffered "hunger" and "necessity." Roa responded that while the program was obviously costly, the cost was borne by the Soviet Union. He added, "I definitely agree there is necessity in our country. But I definitely disagree there is hunger. The living standard of our people is higher than that of practically all of Latin America, not to speak of Africa or Asia."

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Revolution scores new gain

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—At his press conference here Cuban UN Ambassador Roa Roa responded to questions relating to the September 11 assassination of Cuban UN Mission attache Félix García Rodríguez.

"The Omega 7 terrorist group has claimed responsibility for this murder," Roa declared, "that the authorities are taking these criminal acts seriously. They have been here for many years. They were originally trained by the CIA. . . . So I think they are well known. This is a fact that is not disputed by the authorities. They say, 'Yes, we know them, but we have no proof they participated in specific acts.'"

Discussing the isolation of the terrorists from the people of Cuba, and from the U.S. Cuban community as well, Roa declared, "It is evident that they are in a weak position. This is an act of desperation. They really have nothing left except to resort to terrorism. Politically, they are a lot that has failed."

—Harry Ring
By Nancy Rosenstock

We made it! Our goal was to win 1,000 new Militant and Perspectiva Mundial during the first week of our ten-week subscription drive. Though efforts from all areas are not complete, initial results show that we sold 1,047 new subscriptions.

Our goal was to beat the first scorecard. The scorecard doesn’t show last-minute results called in. It reflects only the subscriptions actually on hand at the circulation office in New York. Our new subscriptions are as ready ahead of schedule. Kansas City now joins Atlanta as the second area to meet its subscription goal. Kansas City socialists are aiming to gain 110 new subscriptions, up from their previous goal of 50.

Many other areas that are ahead of schedule are having discussions on raising the target. Socialists in those that are behind are making plans to catch up. San Francisco socialists are organizing Tuesday leafleting in San Francisco. And those that are behind are making plans to catch up. San Francisco socialists are organizing Tuesday leafleting in San Francisco. And those that are behind are making plans to catch up. San Francisco socialists are organizing Tuesday leafleting in San Francisco. And those that are behind are making plans to catch up. San Francisco socialists are organizing Tuesday leafleting in San Francisco. And those that are behind are making plans to catch up.

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Iraqi regime's invasion strikes at Iranian oil supplies

Behind Carter's 'neutral' pose

By Janice Lynn

The all-out offensive launched September 22 by the Iraqi regime, following several weeks of escalating border attacks on Iran, fits in with the drive by the United States to contain the Iranian revolution. Reports from both Iran and Iraq indicate that a full-scale war has erupted. On September 24 Iraqi warplanes, supplemented by artillery shelling, repeatedly bombed Iran's largest oil refinery at Abadan. The huge oil and gas storage tanks there were ablaze. The Abadan refinery, the world's largest, supplies all of Iran's domestic energy.

In addition, the Iraqi regime claims its troops have "encircled and cut off completely" three Iranian cities—Abadan, the oil-exporting port near Khorramshahr, and the northern city of Qasr-esh Shirin.

Two days earlier, Iraqi war planes had carried out a bombing raid on Iran's Mehrabad international airport. Ten Iranian airfields were confirmed to have been hit.

Retaliatory raids

Iranian planes reportedly carried out retaliatory raids against Iraqi targets, including Baghded.

The Iraqi military offensive began without any provocation by the Iranian government. The assault was followed by Iraq's President Saddam Hussein on September 17 that a 1975 agreement giving Iran partial sovereignty over the Shatt al Arab estuary was "null and void." The estuary lies between Iran and Iraq near the Persian Gulf; it forms part of the western border of Iran's oil-producing Khuzestan Province. Hussein's statement vowed that Iraq would recover the Persian Gulf; it forms part of the western border of Iran's oil-producing Khuzestan Province. Hussein's statement vowed that Iraq would recover the

Iraqi President Hussein, Bakhtiar hooked up last September 22 that "the Iraqi attack against Iran is part of a U.S. plot." Rafsanjani, speaker of Iran's parliament, declared September 22 that "the Iraqi attacks against Iran is part of a U.S. plot." Rafsanjani added that the attacks would continue to attract the attention of the world's powers.

Muskie's move

On the very same day that the Iraqi regime launched its full-scale assault, U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, speaking before the United Nations General Assembly, hypocritically urged the Iranian government to abandon the "human sacrifice" of the hostage problem. Once the hostages have been released, he said, Washington is "prepared to deal, to negotiate on equal terms, with all the outstanding issues and misunderstandings between Iran and the United States."

But no amount of tirade or hollow promises can substitute for meeting Iran's reasonable demands. And no amount of "conciliatory" language can counter the record of Washington's ongoing complicity with counterrevolutionary pro-Shah forces now based in Iraq.

Terrorist networks

These terrorist networks include Shahpur Bakh­tari, the Shah's last-handpicked prime minister, as well as the Shah's former top generals, Gholam Oveissi, now based in Palizbar. Oveissi, notorious inside Iran as the "butcher," was directly responsible for the "Black Friday" massacre of peaceful anti-Shah protesters in September 1978.

William Sullivan, who was U.S. ambassador to Iran during the 1979-79 revolution, has recently documented in Foreign Policy magazine that the Carter administration sought to maintain this gang of murderers in power to the bitter end.

Iranian rightists

As Washington is still banking on these same rightist forces to overturn the current Iranian government and put a halt to the deepening of the revolution.

Since Oveissi fled Iran in early 1979, he has spent a good portion of his time in the United States. Washington officials acknowledge that he has met with Oveissi, but they have refused to comment on their discussions.

A few days after the visit to Iraq and a meeting with Iraqi President Hussein, Bakhktarihooked up last June with both Oveissi and Palizbar. Christian Science Monitor correspondent John Cooley disclosed that the three reached agreement on military operations based in Iraq. Iranian emigre sources told Cooley that both generals had been gathering forces and arms for an Iraqi-supported attack against the Iranian revolution.

Oveissi has set up bases in Iraq, and there are reports that the Hussein regime has supplied him with money, arms, and other military equipment. Oveissi has also established a radio transmitter in Iraq to beam anti-Khomeini messages into Iran. It is hardly unreasonable to suggest that funding for Oveissi comes from the same source as funding for similar anti-Khomeini broadcasts beamed from Egypt. U.S. officials acknowledged last June that the Egyptian operation is bankrolled by the CIA.

Washington's "Iraq option" is one aspect of the same overall policy that led to its abortive attack last April at a raid on Tehran. Despite U.S. claims that it was a "humanitarian rescue mission," the raid clearly had much broader aims, in line with Washington's goal of overthrowing the Iranian government and replacing it with one more accommodating to imperialist interests in the region.

Coup attempt

Governments throughout the Islamic world con­demned the U.S. military attack on Iran, including even such servile rightist regimes as that of Gen. Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan. In Iraq, however, the state radio derivatively described the raid as play-acting orchestrated between Tehran and Washington. In a shameless display of hypocrisy, the Iraqi regime accused Tehran of opening the door to American military intervention in the Persian Gulf! Then, the very next day after Carter's raid, Hussein publicly attacked Khomeini at a rally in Iraq, saying that his government was ready to defeat Iranian forces.

Fewer than three months later, in mid-July, the Iranian government succeeded in breaking up a coup attempt. Two former generals from the shah's regime reportedly confessed that they had plotted to bring Bakhtari back to power. The Iraqi military was directly implicated in this plot.

The recent revelations by U.S. columnist Jack Anderson of a "top secret plan to invade Iran with a powerful military force" sometime in October raise questions about how the Iraqi regime's military offensive may be connected with the exposed invasion plans.

Neutrality

Washington has loudly proclaimed its "neutral­ity" in the fighting between Iraq and Iran. "We will not become involved in the combat," declared U.S. President Carter September 23 but he quickly added that Washington did have "military forces in the area."

A Pentagon spokesman confirmed that there were thirty-one U.S. ships in the region, a squadron of F-4 jets in Egypt, and additional ships and weapons at the island of Diego Garcia.

Carter suggested that the Iraqi offensive serves Washington's interests. He suggested it might "in­duce Iran to release the hostages."

A similar theme was carried further in a Sep­tember 23 New York Times editorial. Bemoaning the fact that the Iranian revolution has meant that Washington no longer has control over what happens in the area, the Times suggested that perhaps the Iraqi attacks could serve to convince Iran of the "importance of its return to normal diplomatic and trade relations with the West."

In an ominous development, Washington officials expressed their concern September 24 that steps might have to be taken to keep open the Strait of Hormuz, through which much of Western oil im­ports pass. U.S. Sen. George McGovern even called on the United Nations to send a task force to keep the straits open.

Relations have traditionally been strained be­ tween Washington and Iraq since the revolution in 1958 that toppled the Iraqi monarchy and scuttled the proimperialist Baghdad Pact. Subsequent Iraqi regimes had aligned themselves with the Soviet Union and have maintained a public stance of opposition to any compromise with Zionist Israel. Washington's key ally in the Mideast.

U.S.-Iraqi relations

Over the past several years, however, U.S-Iraqi relations have eased, and this has been especially true since the overthrow of the shah in February 1979. This shift in U.S. policy has become increas­ingly clear since the turn of the year. We see no fundamental incom­patibility of interests between the United States and Iraq," Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, declared in April.

An article in the May 3 U.S. weekly New Republic pointed out that Hussein "has done nothing to dissuade U.S. attentions, and in fact has encour­aged them. He has increased Iraq's oil exports to the Western nations, has proposed 'liberating' South Yemen from its Marxist traces, and has offered himself as the protector and guarantor of Saudi Arabia's stability and as the preeminent bulwark against radical Islamic forces."

The June 4 Wall Street Journal explicitly spilled out Washington's interests in promoting an Iraqi "rapprochement with the United States."

"With revolutionary Iran creating so much ten­sion in the Middle East," the Journal's reporter Bill Paul wrote, "Washington would clearly welcome
Nicaraguans jubilant at death of ex-tyrant Somoza

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—The only regret in Nicaragua on September 17 was that bloody ex-diCtator Anastasio Somoza Debayle was not brought to justice here.

As word spread of the buzzsaw blast in Asuncion, Paraguay, that permanently deposed Somoza in the garage can of history, Nicaragua exploded in a nationwide outpouring of joy.

All commercial activity ground to a halt as people huddled around their radios. When the news was confirmed by the FSLN National Directorate, people began hugging each other, patting each other on the back, shaking hands with total strangers. They raised their fists and shouted, "The buzzard is dead!" All Nicaragua seemed to be smiling.

Arms locked and standing beneath a photo of Rigoberto López Pérez, the national hero who shot and killed Somoza's father in 1956, the nine FSLN Commanders of the Revolution issued a statement to the people of Nicaragua:

"Having confirmed that the genocidal tyrant Anastasio Somoza Debayle has been brought to justice, the National Directorate of the FSLN joins the people of Sandino in national rejoicing. We feel ourselves fulfilled in this heroic deed, achieving our rights and our desire for justice and vindication against the one who massacred thousands of Nicara­guans and plunged our country into misery and ignorance."

The FSLN statement hailed the "combative, self-sacrificing, and brave Nicaraguan Sandinistas who carried out the attack on Somoza. They embodied, the FSLN said, "the implacable will of Rigoberto López Pérez."

Joining the popular celebrations, the revolution­ary commanders led a demonstration through the streets of the capital in open jeeps. They drove through streets of poor and working-class neighbor­hoods where the bomb-out remains of buildings are mute testimony to the hardship Somoza wrought among his own people.

The scenes were almost indescribably euphoric. People rushed into the streets waving red-and-black Sandinista flags and ran alongside the car caravan. They shouted greetings and slogans and applauded the commanders, who flashed victory signs and reached down thousands of times to shake out­stretched hands.

"Thank God they killed that wretch" the multitude paused in front of the Eastern Cemetery, where many of Somoza's victims are buried. An old woman expressed the common senti­ment: "Thank God they killed that wretch who murdered our children."

As they passed the offices of the Managua daily El Nuevo Diario, Commander Tomás Borge paused to embrace the paper's editor Xavier Chamorro, brother of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, the victor in a Sandinista-organized assassination in January 1978.

The Council of State, upon receiving word of Somoza's end, voted to declare September 17 the "Day of National Jubilation." Festes and parties were held in houses throughout the country. The Sandinista Defense Committees organized burnings of Somoza effigy, while women read his official death sentence.

Late into the night, bonfires lit up the streets, and the sound of firecrackers and marimba music was heard.

The most popular song was Julio Iglesias's Para­franca Strozzer dictatorship tries to frame Sandinistas

By Fred Murphy

The Stroessner dictatorship in Paraguay and other enemies of the revolution lost no time in trying to use the death of Anastasio Somoza Debayle to discredit the revolutionary Sandinista government. "There were statements in Asuncion purporting to link the September 17 action there to the FSLN have received wide play in the big-business news media in the United States."

According to a September 19 dispatch from Asuncion to the New York Times, Paraguayan police officials claimed that "they had traced the rocket and grenade launchers and automatic weapons used in the Wednesday ambush to Nica­ragua."

Stroessner's secret police chief Pastor Coronel displayed to the press on September 19 the body of a man he described as an Argentine guerrilla named Hugo Alfredo Yruzan. A dispatch in the September 20 Washington Post said Coronel declared that "the guerrilla that the guerrilla had recently come from Nicaragua."

Even before the assertions of Stroessner's cops reached the news wires, the New York Daily News was giving prominent coverage to the statements of Congressman John Murphy. The New York Democrat, who attended the LasSalle Military Academy in the United States with Somoza and remained a personal friend of the dictator, "said it was absolutely clear" that the Sandinista "was responsible for the assassination of Nicaragua's former president."

"There's no question that this is Communist-inspired, part of an international conspiracy," he added.

The New York Times in Washington, who have most strenuously opposed even the Carter administration's token aid to Nicaragua, He and other right-wingers will no doubt seek to use Somoza's death as the excuse for further moves to block U.S. assistance to the Sandinista government.

While the revolutionary authorities in Nicaragua have made no effort to hide their immense joy at the tyrant's passing, few believe the Sandinistas have much credit for it. "Sandinism had nothing to do directly with the death of Somoza," said Rafael Córdova Rivas of the Junta of National Recon­struction.

From the first day they were in power, the Sandinistas have scrupulously observed legal norms and even shown considerable generosity in dealing with loyalists of the Somoza regime. Not one Sandinista suspect has been acquitted and released by the revolutionary courts.

As for Somoza himself, the Managua govern­ment initiated extradition proceedings in Para­guay shortly after the tyrant fled there. Aldo Díaz Lacayo, Nicaragua's ambassador to Mex­ico, pointed out to the Mexico City daily Uno mds Uno September 17 that the killing of Somoza "frightens my government's intention to extra­de, try, and sentence him."

The Stroessner regime had placed obstacles in the way of the extradition effort, even expelling two Nicaraguan diplomats from Paraguay in August of this year.

Dictators like Stroessner and their friends in Washington and New York like Murphy will continue seeking ways to isolate and pressure the Nicaraguan revolution. Its supporters, on the other hand, should find fresh inspiration for opposing these attempts. We should redouble our efforts to demand unconditional aid to Nicara­gu.aa.
Recruit 3 million members

New Polish unions hold national conference

By Gerry Foley

Beginning of a nationwide strike wave, which is expected to bring tens of thousands of workers into a flood sweeping Poland.

The first national conference of the new union movement, held on Tuesday, is expected to bring together some 20,000 workers from about 3,000 plants and institutions in Poland and abroad to discuss the organization of new trade unions.

While industrial workers focus on wages and working conditions, others flock to the new unions, the example of independent ones. Journalists present are needed to report on the strike leader exulting.

Stalinists on the defensive

The power and spread of the Polish workers' upsurge has put world Stalinism and the Kremlin on the defensive politically.

One example is the lack taken by the U.S. Communist Party after the strike victories. During the struggle, this party played its usual role of the Krem- lin's most faithful guard dog, raising a howl about "anti-Soviet elements."

But in the September 13 issue of the American Communist Party's paper, the Daily World, Conrad Komorowski wrote:

A notable feature of the Polish developments is that no anti-socialist or anti-Soviet slogans were raised. It was not socialism which came under attack, Poland, but the failure to carry it out.


Gdansk workers read "Solidarity," daily bulletin issued by strike committee. New union federation plans nationwide daily paper with the same name.
The workers packed into the space workers gathered September 19 to support union demands on the Boeing Company, the nation’s largest manufacturer of commercial aircraft. The workers packed into the Kingdome, the big sports arena here.

The last such meeting was held prior to the six-week IAM strike against Boeing in 1977. The mass meeting is an important show of strength for Boeing workers.

More than two-thirds of the members of the International Association of Machinists District 751, which represents Boeing workers, turned out. They overwhelmingly voted at the meeting to authorize their union negotiators to call a strike if no contract with Boeing is reached. The IAM’s three-year contract with the aerospace giant expires October 3.

Joining IAM members at the meeting were half of the 15,000 members of the Seattle Professional Engineers Association (SPEEA), who cast a separate strike sanction vote.

The vote to authorize a strike was preceded by brief reports from officials of the two unions. They described Boeing’s refusal to meet the unions’ modest demands.

The IAM is asking for a wage increase—said to be in the 15 percent range for the first year of the contract—to begin to make up for the rampaging inflation of the past three years. The union also wants to restrict overtime and to establish a full union shop (some 83 percent of Boeing’s production workers are IAM members).

But the cutting edge for members of both IAM and SPEEA members was the cost of living clause. Boeing wants to undercut COLA by diverting some of it to pay for pensions and medical plans.

“Our composite average wage has risen only 16 percent since November 1977. That’s less than one-half the rate of inflation,” one IAM negotiator told the meeting.

“The cost-of-living agreement—that’s a strike issue guaranteed,” said Robert Bradford, executive director of the engineers’ union.

Banners in the arena proclaimed, “No COLA, No work!” “No statutory overtime,” “Full union shop,” and “COLA for retirees.”

As the company’s stonewalling was described, chants of “Strike now!” and “COLA, COLA, COLA” rose from the audience.

I sat near a large group of women wearing IAM buttons and jackets. I asked them what they wanted from the new contract. A Black woman who had a shop steward said, “Improved sick leave and health benefits. And many women who work here are single heads of households, so we really need the COLA.”

IAM President William Winpisinger addressed the meeting. He described the negotiations as “a test in which we find out whether or not a heavy weight union can stand up to and take the measure of a heavy weight corporation.”

Winpisinger pointed to Boeing’s negotiating stance as an example of growing corporate arrogance. “Corporate power is calling the tune on just about everything that happens to American workers today. Our voices politically and economically have been drowned out by the clamor of the corporate few for full control of the destinies of our country.”

But, he added, “without all of you, they can’t build anything.”

In press interviews, Winpisinger stressed his desire to avoid a strike. “The aim is not to have a strike, but a settlement.”

Boeing has opened negotiations with Machinists President William Winpisinger at the union’s convention September 2-10. Below are excerpts:

We are told our kids are being registered for the military draft in case we have to defend our vital interests in the Persian Gulf. We are also told the military draft is a good thing for our kids because it gives them a job, and there are no jobs available in the civilian sector of the economy.

To the first argument, I say let big oil fight its own damned war. The rest of us will get on with development of alternative energy sources and the rebuilding of America. That will remove our interest from that part of the globe.

To the second argument, I respond, of course there are no jobs in exported, shut down, or robotized factories. If the Corporate State wants the military draft, then let it draft robots and give our kids real jobs—jobs with the promise of life, not death. Give our kids cause for hope, not despair—a dream, not a nightmare!
And that even in the other schools that excluded the great majority of people, down to $12. And next year education whose per capita income was only the est budget they have ever had in the country under a new revolutionary government, under the leadership of Maurice Bishop.

We here at The Caribbean Experience have received various points of view, some of them adverse to the policies of the new revolutionary government under Prime Minister Bishop. Recently we had on the air a gentleman by the name of Stanley Cyrus, who was in Grenada for a while and actually was in jail on that island, and he has spoken out against the government of Grenada.

Well, Mr. Pulley is here to share his views on Grenada with us and maybe we can start by explaining to the people what prompted your visit to that part of the Caribbean.

Pulley: I want to see firsthand the accomplishments of this revolution, of this new leadership in Grenada. I had read all kinds of articles as to how the progressive policies they're implementing, on the one hand.

On the one hand, I'd read articles in the capitalist media here—in U.S. News & World Report, New York Times Magazine, and others—that while corroborating some of the positive steps that have been taken, nevertheless I felt slandered the country claiming that it was becoming a puppet of Cuba, claiming that it was an armed camp, claiming that violence raged throughout the country, and that therefore you should look upon Grenada as a hostile fashion.

So I wanted to go there to see whether all this was true, and also to be able to come back and report to the American working people and the Black community here my findings.

Working people call shots

What I found convinced me totally that these working people of Grenada now have power, they call the shots. They are marching forward to solve problems in their country that Black people have been struggling to solve for years. Problems of poverty, unemployment, disease, and whatnot.

I think we need to emulate their example.

I learned, for example, that the British who ran the country built only one secondary school in 400 years of rule. And that even in the other schools that existed, it cost money to attend, which excludes the great majority of people whose per capita income was only $300 a year.

The new government has already lowered the cost of education from $35 down to $12. And next year education will be free to all.

So they are finding money for education. And I'm mindful of what's happening in this country. There they can't find money for education. In D.C. they claim poverty. In Chicago they claim poverty.

The way the Grenadians found money for education was by putting more taxes on the rich, and the largest budget they have ever had in the history of their country.

Blake: Larger than they have had in the past?

Pulley: Yes, larger than they've had in the past. And they got that by simply changing the tax structure.

They also ended the taxes on 30 percent of the work force, the lowest paid, while slapped heavier taxes on the foreign-owned businesses as well as on domestically owned businesses. So they got money in that way, and they made education free.

They also provide free milk for children, for babies and their mothers who can't afford it. And they guarantee a very inexpensive lunch and free breakfast for the children in school. While all these programs in the United States are being cut back in favor of a giant military budget.

Blake: So generally speaking you were very impressed with the revolution in Grenada.

Pulley: Exactly. They have made some giant steps forward already. They were in a country where was 50 percent unemployed. They've already reduced the unemployment rate down to 35 percent in one year alone.

I ask how many jobs has Jimmy Carter created in one year? And I find that he's destroyed quite a few. He's created nothing. And this is a rich country. Grenada's a poor country.

The difference is in the policies that are being enforced there.

Blake: Undoubtedly there is a commonality in terms of the Socialist Workers Party and their platform here in the United States and the left-leaning governments in the Caribbean region such as Grenada. So one can anticipate that when you went to Grenada you expected more or less to see this type of thing going on.

As you say, the media has not been too kind to Grenada, the conventional media. Some of the things they have brought out in criticism of the new revolutionary government, at the top of the list is human rights violations. They talked about political prisoners, they talked about the revolution. How would you respond to those charges?

People feel free

Pulley: The fact is today that Grenada is freer than it has ever been. This is attested not by any biased attitude I have in favor of the government, but based on the response I got from average people.

People felt that they were free now, that they didn't feel police brutality. When you've got police brutality you can't talk about human rights existing. That's why I wouldn't talk about human rights in Miami or in North Carolina or most places in this country.

The Grenadians don't face police brutality any more, while they were under the Gairy regime. Even the revolution that assumed power, when it actually took power, there were very few casualties. Only one person was killed.

The reason power was taken by the [New Jewel Movement] was because orders had been left for them to be executed by the Gairy regime. That would have been a very gross violation of human rights.

There have been no executions of the Gairy Mongoose Gang [Gairy's private gang of thugs], who have been有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命政府的政策没有执行。有些人。革命government's policies have not been executed.

Those who murdered the two women on June 19, when a bomb blew up under a speakers' platform, aimed at the leadership of the revolution, those have not been executed.

Human rights of workers

These pro-imperialist spokespeople—who cry out so loud about human rights not existing in Grenada, Pulley explains, revolutionary government puts human need scene from rally on revolution's first anniversary.

Pulley: Let me ask you—do you think that this type of attack on the revolutionary government is deliberate?

Blake: I think it is very deliberate. The lies that they tell have a purpose, and that is to poison the minds of the American people.
First free in world: Andrew Pulley

Militant/Andy Rose

unemployed. Left, thousands seek few jobs at Western Electric plant. On the much.

first. Economy is being organized to slash unemployment and use skills of all. Right,

think the lies about Grenada will be immediately exposed.

Especially as they build up the power in their own radio broadcasts, as they are able to reach the southern shores of the United States with messages of the truth about how to move forward, as they're able to reach the radio receivers in all of the English-speaking Caribbean countries. This will do a lot to undercut the slanderous remarks.

One story was that in Grenada on every corner you see tanks from North Korea, backed up by Cuban soldiers. Well, nothing could be further from the truth.

I see more people armed in Washington, D.C., that I saw in the whole of Grenada. Of course in D.C. they're all cops carrying three weapons apiece.

And the union members—who now constitute 80 percent of those who are working—love the idea that they can have organizations to fight for their interests against the employers. And they know that they won't be able to get a good start. Also doctors have been sent there by the Cubans and by other countries, I think. They need this kind of aid. This has improved their medical position considerably.

Blake: We're quickly running out of time, but I want to get a couple more things in before you leave.

People like the idea of ending unemployment. They like the idea of having better medical care, free education by next year.

And the union members—who now constitute 80 percent of those who are working—love the idea that they can have organizations to fight for their interests against the employers. And they know that they won't be able to get a good start.

Now, of course, some of the business persons I spoke with didn't like the fact they have to pay more taxes. Well, that stands to reason. But I wasn't surprised at these responses.

Blake: Final words that you may have for our people in this country. One of the things that prompted your going there was seeing for yourself firsthand what's going on in the country. Can you say something to those who are interested in finding out what's happening in Grenada to do likewise?

Pulley: Yes, I would. One of the slogans of the Grenadian Workers' government is, "Come on down and see for yourself.

This is a very powerful argument. It is not a request made by someone who has something to hide. It is a request made by someone who is proud of what they have.

You should do so. Go down and visit.

You'll not only see a lot of positive political accomplishments in one short year, but you'll also see that the vacation among Black people who are free—"freedom and joy"—that Black people in the world, free from imperialist domination, beginning to be free, from the policies of the workers' government, led by a Marxist party.

I think you'll get a lot out of it if you go down, be enlightened, and come back and help us try to do the same thing here in the United States.
A brief item in the September 18 New York Times about a Washington, D.C., press conference of Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley reports: "Mr. Pulley noted that the party had collected more than 500,000 signatures in the drive that put him and his running mate, Matilde Zimmermann, on the ballots of 20 states, with half a dozen more, including New York, still pending."

The Times said, "He attributed his inability to compete with President Carter, Ronald Reagan and Representative John B. Anderson to a lack of news media coverage of his campaign."

Pulley was grudgingly granted the point. "His Washington news conference, held at the National Press Club and well-publicized in advance, tended to prove his point," the Times said. "Only a handful of reporters showed up, plus one television network, whose representative said that the film was being shot for future use rather than spot news."

This, of course, is not unusual treatment for radical candidates who criticize and expose capital-

ism. The mass media are capitalist enterprises and are not in business to reveal the contradictions and crimes of the capitalist system. They operate to defend the interests of the capitalist class against the needs of the working class.

Some who in the recent past have thought that we socialists have been unduly critical of the "objective" news coverage in the capitalist press now have a chance to observe its class bias.

The big-business press had a near complete blackout of the conventions of the International Association of Machinists and the United Electrical Workers, both held shortly before Pulley's press conference. If Pulley hadn't mentioned that the IAM had endorsed the formation of a labor party in this country, probably most of the reporters

sent to cover his story would not yet know that this country, representing nearly a million members, had already been held and had refused to endorse any of the capitalist candidates.

The Times paraphrased Pulley's remarks on this important event. "Mr. Pulley took some comfort," it said, "from the fact that the International Association of Machinists had refused to endorse the major party candidates or Mr. Anderson. This might lead, he predicted, to a new independent political party based on unions, one of the moves he is advocating as part of his campaign."

Edward Kennedy was a guest speaker at the IAM convention and strongly urged a Carter endorse-

ment in order to "stop Reagan." If Kennedy's plea had been accepted by the delegates, the IAM convention would have been big news simply because Kennedy was one of the main speakers, in accor-

dance with the usual "impartial and objective" reporting.

But the fact that the delegates refused to endorse any capitalist candidate for president made the usually "newsworthy" Kennedy appearance a non-

event. It failed to produce what was hoped for. Therefore it is treated as if it didn't happen.

Similarly with the United Electrical Workers convention. As a rule the conventions of this union do not get much attention in the capitalist press because the UE is an "outlaw," having been ex-
pelled from the CIO in 1949 as "communist domi-
nated." But it has managed to survive and now functions about the same as most other unions.

It is not affiliated to the AFL-CIO. And for this reason the UE convention in Los Angeles was different this time. California AFL-CIO leader John Henning was one of the guest speakers. What is more important, Henning spoke strongly for a labor party in this country based on the union movement, as he has been doing for the past year.

The UE, on record for a labor party since its last convention, again endorsed the labor party idea and refused to give support to any of the capitalist presidential candidates.

None of this was "newsworthy" for the capitalist news media. They wish such events didn't happen, so they don't report them. The capitalist publicists and advertising agencies hope that unreported events will be thought to be unimportant even by the participants. But when these unreported events involve the participation of a sizeable segment of the organized labor movement, directly affecting the lives of millions of workers, they can no longer be hidden or ignored.

Andrew Pulley can surely "take some comfort," as the Times would say, in the fact that he is not alone when it comes to the "silent treatment" from the capitalist news media.

It will be a great comfort to all of us when the capitalist press is no longer able to "make news" and poison the minds of its millions of victims.

—Frank Lovell
By Jon Hillson

Greeley, Ind.—More than 250 steelworkers met here for a conference on "Jobs, Energy, and the Environment," the first of its kind sponsored by the United Steelworkers of America. The gathering, organized by USWA District 31 on September 19 and 20, received widespread media coverage in northwest Indiana.

A confrontation was sparked by the presence of David Rossin, an executive of Illinois Commonwealth Edilson, which strongly advocates nuclear power. His co-panelists from the environmental movement opposed his ideas. And more than a dozen antinuke union officials took the floor, explaining the damage being done to the overwhelming delimit of the capacity union crowd.

"There do you live?" an angry griever from Bethlehem Steel Local 6787 demanded of Rossin.

Rossin told the worker to move, evoking hisses from the audience.

The latest turn in the case is a classic FBI frame-up to divide the union.

In the past four years, seven workers died in job-related injuries trying to rescue them. The case was presented by Jack Sheehan, the Machinists union official, and Workers and for action against the U.S. Steel Corporation yard here and been cited for twelve serious safety violations. The FCC has never been a friend of the working people grapple with what this means. "In an open greeting to the audience, USWA District 31 Director James Balanoff told the conference that "we are hearing voices that any pollution controls must be sacrificed to help American corporations reap the benefits of reindustrialization. This debate is an important one."

"We believe the expression of our union has been that pollution control has created jobs," Balanoff said, noting his skepticism that postponing pollution controls would entirely industrialize to modernize. "We support reinvestment in this country," Balanoff said. "In fact we demand it. But reinvestment should not be a code word for unemployment, lower living standards, and open season on pollution control."

"In a workshop on this subject, Sheehan and an industry spokesperson, Irwin and Steel Institute Vice-president Earl Young, were by the companies to the theoretical direction of the steel industry. "We should demand their proposal to be open and fair," Sheehan said. "I know of no way this can be done," Sheehan replied. "Frank McKee, our international treasurer, has called for nationalizing steel," the same worker went on.

"You won't get any argument from me on that," Sheehan said. "Frankly, there's no way that's going to happen."

By Bobbie Bagel

SAN DIEGO—Six weeks of protests, including a six-day work stoppage, have rocked the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company yard here and been continuing for two months.

The struggle at Nasco, the largest shipyard on the West Coast, has focused on worker safety. A month after the protests began, two workers were found dead in the hull of a ship in the yard. The protests erupted. Public sentiment turned sharply against the company.

The latest turn in the case is a classic FBI frame-up to divide the union. It didn't break the back of the protests. It comes complete with an FBI provost, a "bomb plot" and a red scare targeting the Communist Worker Party.

Eighty-six fired

The protests began August 2 when fifty workers demonstrated at a ship launching ceremony. They protested unsafe conditions and union-busting efforts by Nasco management. Seventeen of those protesters were fired.

Those firings sparked a three-day walkout that shut down the yard. The company responded with more firings. By the end of the month, twenty-eight workers had been fired, including fifteen union officials.

This September 2, the bodies of two young machinists were found dead in a hull of a ship. Six workers were injured during the confrontation. The deaths were caused by a leak of argon gas.

The next day 1,000 workers rallied at the shipyard's front gate. And 500 participated in a funeral motorcade.

A frame-up was trying to stifle the protests against the company by mounting shipyard management and the FBI made their dramatic move to derail the movement.

"Not friends of workers"

Wednesday, September 17, three Nasco workers were charged in a "bomb plot." Robert Boote, John Kihl, and David Boyd, members of Ironworkers Local 627 and International Association of Machinists Local 389, were arrested, accused by the FBI of plotting to bomb electrical transformers at San Diego Gas and Electric Company and thereby cripple the shipyard.

Two of the three are members and the other a supporter of the Communist Workers Party. They are all activists in the movement.

District 31 Steelworkers discuss energy, jobs

November 16-30

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

After spending several days in La Habana, the tour will fly to Santiago de Cuba, birthplace of the Revolu­tion. The next week will be spent visiting hotels, meals, roundtrip travel in Cuba, visas, fees, and bilin­gual tour guides.

For more information write to Mi­litan, P.O. Box 314, New York, N.Y. 10014

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Socialist Workers Party congres­sional candidate Mark Friedman is a Machinists union member in San Diego. He and his campaign sup­porters have been distributing a statement on union meetings and plant gates throughout the area denouncing the frame-up effort. In it he says:

"Our enemy is the attack on every unionist in San Diego. The real purpose is to divide and demobilize workers fighting for better conditions.

"I call upon the entire labor move­ment and its allies to defend the Nasco workers. An injury to one is an injury to all. We have to mobilize to demand that these frame-up charges be dropped and all those fired for the August 2 demonstration be rehired."

Other workers said the USWA had no business being on the tripartite board. The jobs or environment trade-off, Sheehan said, "is a dead issue." The most "profound question our industry faces is finding the capital to modernize," Sheehan said. He conceded a minimum of 20,000 jobs would be lost under the proposed modernization plan, but said if the proposal, includ­ing public funding of the steel industry through bond issue, was not carried out, "steel production in this country would disappear."

This debate—labor's stance on what the employers call "retooling America"—will continue as unionists and working people struggle with what policies reflect our interests on the big questions of environment, energy, and jobs.

The next setting for continuing this critical discussion is Pittsburgh on October 17, the National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Organizers for the Pittsburgh confer­ence from the Chicago-based Citizens Against Nuclear Power and the Indi­ana Bailly Alliance were warmly re­ceived at the District 31 conference, signing up union activists to go to Pittsburgh

Safety struggle at S.D. shipyard under attack

The wild charges are contributing to a new company offensive against all the workers in the yard. New charges have been made of workers sabotaging radiation shields for the nuclear powered warships being built there. And the FBI is holding out the threat of more arrests.

FBI Special Agent Norman Zigrassi was quoted in the Los Angeles Times as saying the charges were a "bomb plot" and conversations in the bomb plot and conversations in the yard. Russell Barton had attended meetings with the three indicted workers. The FBI claims that Barton's van was used in the bomb plot and conversations in the yard. Russell Barton had attended meetings with the FBI.

A union lawyer Tom Toedal comment on the case, "It's the same old FBI. The FBI has never been a friend of the working man."

At a news conference after the arrest, Sarah Loo, wife of one of the defendants, called the charges "a frame-up, part of Nasco's union-bust­ ing efforts."

Frame-up

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Nicaragua scores historic victory

By Lis Angus and Phil Courneyear

MANAGUA—On International Literacy Day, September 8, news reached here from Pana that Nicaragua had been chosen to receive UNESCO's prestigious Nadezhda K. Krupskaya Literacy Award for 1980. The prize recognizes Nicaragua's achievement in reducing illiteracy from more than 50 percent to nearly 13 percent in an intense five-month campaign—a unique accomplishment in educational history.

The Krupskaya award—named in honor of the famous Soviet educator—includes a cash prize of $12,000. The Nicaraguan Ministry of Education will devote the money to adult education, a priority of the next phase of literacy efforts here.

UNESCO awarded Nicaragua its Hassan Habif Literacy Award as well. Taken together, the two awards testify to the international interest and acclaim that Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade has achieved.

500,000 new literate

The facts and figures of Nicaragua's literacy drive are impressive. In just five months some 406,000 of Nicaragua's poorest and most deprived people over ten years of age have learned to read and write. By early 1981 this number should rise to more than half a million, once the campaign among the non-Spanish-speaking minorities of the Atlantic Coast region is completed. Nearly 100,000 persons participated directly in the nationwide mobilization. The teachers included 52,180 “brigadistas”—primarily high-school and university students, organized in the People's Literacy Army (EPA). Another 25,846 workers and housewives taught in the cities, both in work places and neighborhoods.

A special primer in braille was developed in order to enable blind people to participate in the campaign.

Including supervisory and support personnel, nearly 70,000 people traveled from cities and towns into the remote and mountainous regions, where they lived with peasant families for five months. Many parents visited their brigadista children during limited visits, further increasing the number of urban Nicaraguans who have learned first-hand of the extreme rural poverty and exploitation that is imperialism's legacy to Nicaragua.

“The city and the countryside each brought forth their own teachers,” said the Ministry of Education's balance sheet on the campaign. “More than half a million persons—peasants, urban workers, and rural people—have participated in the campaign. The same people who taught the children taught their parents—both the same two generations of contact with nature...”

The teacher was a student, the student a teacher—a revolutionary transformation in education.

The interchange between city and countryside affected class relations within the revolution. The majority of the brigadistas and supervisors came from the middle-class urban families with access to education, culture, and leisure time. For the first time, many came face to face with the poverty, hunger, and degradation that have trapped the rural poor in servitude, ignorance, and desperation. The urban youth have learned much more profoundly why the revolution is necessary and why its gains must be defended to the end.

At the same time, the crusade brought the peasant a deeper appreciation of the goals and meaning of the Sandinista revolution.

Teaching more than literacy

The Nicaraguan people took on much more than the task of teaching and learning how to read and write during the crusade.

The brigadistas worked side by side with their adopted campesino families, performing many of the daily tasks of the countryside. El Brigadista, the paper of the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19), said in its September 6 issue: “In five months of the crusade, we held 2,398 mass organizations; 1,000 brigadistas picked up the head, and 20,000 were picked up by the body. Some of these chants were popular ones from the crusade itself, such as “Paño en alto-libro abierto!” (Fist high—book open?) Others were invented on the spot, and included many songs of solidarity with the liberation struggles in El Salvador, Guatemala, Bolivia, and other countries.

Speakers at the congress stressed that the crusade could not have been carried out without a massive mobilization of the whole population behind this second war of liberation.

“When we learned that all the popular organizations concentrate all their efforts on achieving a single goal, nothing can block them,” Carlos Carrion, the FSLN's chief representative to the crusade, told the conference. “One of the greatest lessons the crusade taught people and leaders in outlying areas of the country is that the fundamental factor in solving their problems is precisely their own collective determination and action to solve them.”

Reactive attacks

Not all Nicaraguans supported the literacy campaign. Sectors of the bourgeoisie saw from the beginning that the crusade would advance the overall revolutionary process.

Opposition ranged from passive resignation to outright hostility and even terrorism. Rumors and slander were spread in the countryside about how the brigadistas were coming to take away the peasants' land and tell them not to believe in god. Nine brigadistas were murdered by counterrevolutionary gangs. Along with another fifty brigadistas who died from accidents or illness, they are today honored in Nicaragua as heroes and martyrs of the crusade and the revolution.

Carlos Carrion replied to the counterrevolutionary slander campaign in his address to the congress. He focused particularly on those slanders designed to play on the strong religious beliefs of many Nicaraguans.

“The revolution has confronted these absurdities and lies, with the truth,” he said. “Instead of taking away land, we have given land, and technical and cruder askance as well. Instead of telling people not to believe in god, we taught them to read and write so that they could choose their own beliefs.

“Certain sectors are trying to convince Christians that they can't be Christians and revolutionaries at the same time. The true Christians have not wasted time in these theoretical discussions. Through their participation in the crusade they have shown in practice that to be a good Christian you must be a revolutionary.”

Carrion also took up the charge that Nicaragua is totalitarian and well on its way to totalitarianism:

“How can a government be called totalitarian that never hesitated, in face of technical and financial obstacles, to undertake a literacy crusade? How can we be called a totalitarian dictatorship when we have left in freedom many of those who collaborated with the genocidal forces?

“How can we be called a totalitarian dictatorship when we put arms in the hands of our people so they can defend themselves? We defy the Bolivian dictatorship to put their guns in the hands of the miners of Bolivia.”

Only the beginning

The main work of the congress was carried out in four workshops that met simultaneously. They examined and drew the lessons of four aspects of the crusade: pedagogical work, technical and logis-
in literacy campaign
tic support, the work of the mass organizations, and the upcoming post-crusade phase. Each workshop discussed, criticized, and amended draft reports, which were combined into a final assessment of the literacy crusade. Discussion was lively, and participants freely contributed their opinions and experiences.

The post-crusade workshop was used to set plans for the consolidation and extension of the crusade's achievements. This work will involve three stages in the coming months—sustaining the literacy levels already achieved, following up to reinforce literacy and mathematics skills, and preparing students for the third stage.

The CEPs are based on the local mass organizations; setting them up was one of the priorities of the brigadistas. The CEP coordinators have been chosen from and by their own communities—many are recent graduates of the literacy campaign.

The work of the CEPs will be supported by a body of itinerant teachers (some of them former brigadistas), as well as by radio programs, newspapers, and other resources. Alternative means being instituted to sustain literacy is the waiving of postage on letters between urban youth and their rural ties; setting them up was one of the priorities of the brigadistas. The CEP coordinators have been chosen from and by their own communities—many are recent graduates of the literacy campaign.

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The Vice-Ministry for Adult Education will also be carrying out programs to further reduce the nearly 13 percent illiteracy rate still remaining in Nicaragua. The most important of these is the program to extend literacy among the non-Spanish-speaking peoples in the Atlantic Coast—the Miskitos, the Sumo, and the Criollos (an English-speaking, largely Black) population.

A total of 60,000 are expected to become literate in the Atlantic Coast program. It has already gone through a pilot phase and will be initiated on a full-scale basis at the end of September, to be completed in four to five months. Classes will be conducted primarily by people from the Atlantic Coast communities, in the three respective native languages.

The final report of the post-crusade workshop issued a call for international support to the new literacy crusade. The interview was published in an elegant chapel owned by a Cuban

From Intercontinental Press
By Frank Lovell

American mythology includes the story of how Henry Ford refuted Karl Marx.

The original Henry Ford, founder of the Ford empire, was not a modest man, either, and believed in the inevitability of monopoly capitalism, and the worldwide conspiracy of Jewish bankers, among other things which he considered to be the causes of the Great Depression.

By 1956, however, he had no need to. And the idea probably never once occurred to him.

Ford acquired a lot of money before and during World War I. In the 1920s he was regularly regarded as the world's richest man. More than that, it was said that he earned all his money himself. And that was surely proof enough that he knew all about the laws of capitalist economy.

Bourgeois economists in the great American centers of learning taught that Ford was the man who, by practical example, refuted the economic theories of Karl Marx. That was before the term “capitalist” encompassed the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The Ford Motor Company did not prosper during the depression years, but it survived.

Laws of capitalism

After World War II the laws of monopoly capitalism began to take effect and several big names in the auto industry disappeared from the list. The “big three” remained: General Motors, Ford, Chrysler.

In the mid-1950s the Ford Motor Company was managed by Henry Ford II, his grandfather having passed from the scene. The company by then was different in some ways and Ford the Second is of course not an exact replica of the original. He does, however, exhibit strong hereditary traits.

For some reason he has in the past felt called upon to venture into the field of economic theory.

Back in 1955 Henry the Second undertook to explain to a group of bucketers how “free enterprise” was generally misunderstood and why it was, nonetheless, gaining converts.

The salient points of his remarkable exposition were recorded in a series of articles by George Breitman in The Militant at the time.

This was during one of the so-called Eisenhower recessions when, according to Henry II, the atmosphere was “volatile and tension charged.” He said, “People generally misunderstand the possibility of strikes. They get all worked up about things like automa-

tion, guaranteed annual wages,” etc.

He acknowledged that there are, of course, “periodic spells of uneasiness.” But the only trouble, as he saw it, was that some people were still “fearful of prosperity after so long and pleasant an interlude with it.”

Unemployment was then running at about 5 percent. Automation threatened to throw millions out of their jobs in the ensuing decade. Farm income was falling. Consumer debt was mounting. But from Ford's vantage point there was really nothing to worry about if people would “keep nerves steady and spirits high.”

“Self-regulating system”

He described the great change that had come about. “We have experienced,” he said, “without quite realizing it, the evolution of a new kind of human institution. . . . The primitive, the age of men and their willing unstable relations of the past has given way to a consumer-dominated, self-regulating system that broadly serves the interests of the great mass of people.

To illustrate how this new economy works, he made up an example. But first he advised “brainwashing to wipe away the accumulated flotsam and jetsam, the 19th century economic doggerel, that confuses our brains and impairs our vision.”

We now see things differently. “Suppose,” said Ford, “we look upon capital not as accumulated wealth or goods but as the productive power potential stored up in machinery. . . . It should be possible, then, to measure quantita-

tively in terms of a common denomina-

tor the distribution of horsepower among our people we can, perhaps, learn something new about American capitalism and just who it is that controls the real wealth of our country.

Mechanical power! Labor saving machinery! That's the thing. Ford imagines (anyway, he asked his listener to imagine) an economy in which we “lump together all the standby potential of all public and private machinery except for that in military use—machinery ranging from giant power plants to power lawns.”

Having supposed what capitalism might be and having imagined how value could be measured, the inventive genius of Ford then produced “facts” to substantiate his fantasy. This is what he submitted for the year 1955. Private industry and agriculture own an estimated power potential of about 1 1/2 billion horsepower; public power sources amount to about 75 million horsepower; and “what we might call home capitalism—everything from your auto to your electric shaver—adds up to an estimated work potential of at least four billion 700 million horse-

power—or more than twice as much as all other non-military power combi-

ned.”

What was Ford's conclusion? “Now I submit,” he said, “that when you find people possessing many times more capital goods than all industry . . . you can just go to the bank of our system is, after all, being run for the benefit of capitalists—all 100 mil-

lion of us!”

This was Ford's peculiar variation of the popular 1930s “people's capitalism” theme. Others who subscribed to the “new economy” and developed their own self-serving explanations of it included some of the more “intellec-
tual” union officials of this time. This was the heyday of union-management cooperation. Union officials tried to convince workers that no economic or social crisis was beyond the cure of “enlightened” employers who understood the value of sound advice and cooperation. This was not the case with “fairminded” union officials.

Walter Reuther, then president of the auto union and the CIO (before the AFL-CIO merger), prototype of the “farsighted and fairminded” union officials, shared the fundamental orientation of Ford with some reservations. On the general character of the econ-

omy he thought Ford was beginning to acquire an understanding.

As long as socialists, he reasoned, the bosses will never learn what a useful and possibly a cure for the present crisis of world capitalism union officials think it will probably help Ford sales in this country.

Marx on capitalist crisis

Karl Marx revealed and explained the contradictions of capitalist econ-

omy, which produced periodic crises of overproduction in the system. He also explained why the capitalist class cannot resolve any of the contradictions inherent in its profit-driven economy.

He taught that only the politically organized working class is capable of restructuring society and using the productive capacity of modern indus-

try to satisfy human needs.

This means at the moment that the union movement should demand the nationalization of all idle industrial facilities and not immediately reduce the hours of work with no loss in take-home pay, call for a vast public works program to give jobs to all unemployed workers, and begin the replacement of all capi-

talist politicians with elected working-

class representatives.

Capitalist myths will be further ex-

posed by the deepening economic cri-

sis. They offer neither explanation nor solution to the twin evils of unemploy-

ment and inflation. The American working class will find the answers to these and other problems, and when it does Karl Marx will be restored to a proper place among the great scientists and teachers in our history.
From Poland to Canada to Cuba

Women in industry: new breed of fighters

The following is from the September issue of the Socialist Voice, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Anna Walentynowicz is a 50-year-old Polish woman, the mother of two children, a political activist, union militant, and a leader of the workers' movement in her country. A crane operator, she has worked for 30 years at the Lenin naval yard at Gdansk.

Sally Matthews, a 39-year-old mother of eight children, a union militant, died June 24 following the collapse of a platform in a copper refinery at Toronto. She worked in the blast furnace for five years, where she was in the front lines of the fight to eliminate the unsafe working conditions which finally cost her life, along with those of 1,500 men who have died in Ontario's mines since 1935.

There are more and more women like these in countries all over the world. Women who are doing so-called men's work in the center of production are emerging on the scene as fighters for justice, solidarity, and labor struggles.

More and more women in the advanced capitalist countries are fighting for access to industrial jobs, or to keep the ones they have. It is a major campaign by the employers to drive them out. There is an international struggle, but one that is not well-known. A socialist educational school held at the end of July by the European sections of the Fourth International provided a rare occasion for an exchange of experiences and impressions on this question.

The following information was reported at the school.

The struggle in Italy

In Great Britain, three years three years, some 10,000 women were successful in getting jobs at the giant Fiat industrial complex, earning over $200,000 to 300,000 workers, in Turin.

At the end of the 1940s, Italian workers fought for and won legislation stipulating that hiring in unskilled jobs would be done through lists set up by the employers and to be held in public in front of a wave of factory closures, unemployed youth began a series of occupations of unskilled factories to keep industrial demonstrations in the northern part of the country to force implementation of the law.

The victory that resulted not only established hiring lists controlled by the unions; it also prohibited sexual discrimination.

In order to make the victory real, the women had to lead a hard fight to convince their fellow male workers that they were not out to steal their jobs, as well as combating the objections of the employers who argued having adequate washroom facilities and so forth.

The unions tried to discourage the women by giving them the most difficult and dangerous work. The women never missed a man's work, they had to demand less dangerous work for both men and women.

On a Unidad food processing factory, which employed a large majority of women, closed down, the women went on strike, the collective right to be hired in auto and steel plants.

Preferential hiring

In all the capitalist countries, the vast majority of women are channelled into industries like textiles, electronics, and subassembly in steel and other basic industries. Now they are beginning to win laws that recognize their right to all kinds of jobs.

In some countries, for example Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and Sweden, they have made progress through tentative actions to preferential hiring programs, based on the concept of receiving compensation for centuries of inequality.

In Great Britain, a feminist organization has been fighting for some time to see the nation's girls get into manual trades and for access to skilled trades courses. In particular, they are challenging the schools which refuse to accept the girls who have left school. Women who claim they already have equal opportunities programs for women. More Black women now have jobs on assembly lines in the auto industry.

A new Swedish law which went into effect July 1 bans sexual discrimination in hiring. Women's equality committee exist in several unions. Women working in the metal industry also led a struggle against pornography in the workplace.

With the current recession, the gains won in the United States and elsewhere are threatened. Women are being pushed completely out of control of industry by discriminatory "temporary" layoffs, many of which become permanent.

But as the experience in Italy, Quebec and English Canada, and elsewhere shows, the fight to get into heavy industry and to stay there is part and parcel of the fight against unemployment and arbitrary firings by the working class as a whole.

Despite high unemployment, a big campaign led by the United Steel workers in Hamilton forced Stelco to hire some 40 women in a plant of 10,000 workers. Recently, the first woman was hired at National Steel Car in the same city.

A number of railway and other union caucuses in the NDP-Democratic Party—Canada's labor party are supporting a campaign in Winnipeg, Manitoba, for women to get into skilled "nontraditional" jobs at Canadian National Railway.

The most important struggles in Quebec and English Canada is the fight of the three women fired from the Canadian Nuclear Laboratories near Montreal. This fight, which has received enormous support, links the fight against unemployment with the fight against sexual and political discrimination.

Women led demonstration of striking Fiat workers in Turin, Italy.

Increased Black enrollment at schools like Duke, he explained, are two parts of the same struggle.

Farrell and Doug Tuthill, president of the Black students' association, are touring the South to voice the USWA's support for Black College Day.

"Knowledge is power," Tuthill, who is white, declared, "but the people in this country who don't want you to have it just compared themselves on the black's backs with the U.S. Senate's current attempt to stop the USWA. The support of the USWA has been active in opposing it."

The September 29 march will assemble at 9 a.m. at the Ellis and proceed to the U.S. Senate. "The movement to save Black colleges will be held at Blackburn Center, Howard University, on Sunday, September 29. For more information, write Black College Day, 601 1301 Broadway, Suite 2011, New York, New York 10019, or call 212-757-0476.

The three women who were fired—Suzanne Chabot, Suzanne Pratt, and Wendy Stevenson—are members of the Revolutionary Workers League. A recent report by the Quebec Human Rights Commission confirmed that they were fired last November because of their political activities and socialist views.

The commission revealed that an agent of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) visited Pratt & Whitney and "communicated" the names of the three women to the RCMP. The RCMP requested that the three be placed under surveillance.

On the basis of the commission's findings that the RCMP visits were "decisive" in determining the commission is demanding that the three women be immediately rehired and the employers pay them almost $30,000 in back pay and damages.

The commission is also investigating the subsequent firings of the three women on April 11, 1980—all on the same day at two different companies.

The campaign for rehiring the three women is a significant part of the struggle of the fight of women to work in heavy industry.

Stakes in this struggle

The fight for access to jobs in basic industry is also part of the feminist demands. In order to overcome the obstacles erected by the employers, women have to struggle for other demands like the right to abortion, daycare, and paid maternity leave. To keep women outside the unions by giving them part-time or temporary jobs.

The importance of jobs in industry to the fight for women's liberation is shown by the examples of women in Canada, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Among the first measures taken after each of these revolutions were measures to encourage and inspire women to participate fully in production.

In Cuba, women's brigades were organized to cut sugar cane and played a leading role in mobilizing the population to build up this key sector of the Cuban economy.

In Nicaragua, women are increasingly participating in the construction industry, and that country following the destruction at the hands of Somoza.

And in Canada women are fully participating in the industrialization plan of the new revolutionary government.

The leading role played by women in the revolutionary process in these three countries is inseparable from the gains they have made in moving into the center of social production.
In Review

A southern Black union organizer looks back

The Narrative of Hosea Hudson. His Life as a Negro Communist in the South. By Nell Irvin Painter. Harvard University Press. 400 pages. $7.50.

Being Black in the South in the thirties and forties was dangerous, but being Black and a Communist could be deadly. Hosea Hudson was both, and he tells about it in this new book. Still a member of the Communist Party, Hudson's purpose seems to be simply to tell the story of what he did and saw. In this he was assisted by such as the Lynchings, the frame-ups—Jim Crow society as a whole. At the same time, this was on the mind of many a region. They were looking for a way of combining their strength in the CP.

Hudson was working at Stockham Valves and Fittings when he ran into the Communist Party in 1931. He was very interested when I read this since I was also working at Stockham. The conditions Hudson describes have changed very little.

One day Hudson got a leaflet about a meeting around the Scottsboro case. This involved several Black youths fighting frame-up charges of raping two white women. He went to the meeting and before long he was in the CP.

Soon afterward Hudson was fired from his job on flimsy grounds. (This is one of the things that hasn't changed at Stockham. The Steel-workers local there is now fighting through a grievance to get my job back.)

From then until the late 1940s when he left the ILD to start his own business, Hudson spent most of his time on political work in Birmingham (except for a brief stint in Atlanta and several months at a leadership training school in New York in 1934—where he was taught to read and write—see thirty-six).

According to Hudson, the CP had 600-700 members in Birmingham in the 1934-35 period. There were overwhelmingly Black. There were some white, but not many.

For a white man to even associate with Blacks at that time would earn him the label red, Hudson says. It was actually against the law for Blacks and whites to meet together.

None-the-less there were working-class whites who joined the CP.

One measure of the depth of Jim Crow is that Hudson's book gives you the impression that even CPers dwelled in entirely different worlds, except for top leadership meetings.

Hudson worked among unemployed and working-class Blacks. During the 1934 and mid-thirties the main line of the International Labor Defense. The ILD was much bigger than the CP, he says, and could draw in a larger layer of whites. Its work centered around the Scottsboro case, although there were local struggles as well.

Hudson has some bad things to say about preachers. They were hostile to the ILD, and later to the unions. Hudson himself moved away from his religious convictions after joining the party. When some party members kept asking him where he had put his money, he realized he couldn't answer. After a while in the CP he stopped going to church, although he was ordered to return during the popular-front days of the late 1930s.

Organizing drive

Hudson's book gives a rare firsthand glimpse of the southern union which will place human needs before profits. His Life as a Negro Communist in the South, Alabama. They wound up organizing a steel union, with him as the first president. At first it was all Black, and the whites stayed away. But when they noticed the raises the Blacks were getting, they came to him and asked about joining.

It was customary where there were Black local offices for officials from the district office in Birmingham to come in and administer the oath of membership. But the Black officers outsmarted the racist officials by swearing in the new white members—men who raised no objections—before they got to the meeting.

Recently Hudson returned to Birmingham. The mayor's office awarded him the key to the city. This in itself is a sign of the changes in the city. The evening paper had a big write-up on him, but failed to mention that he had been a CP leader. Maybe they didn't want to put the new Black mayor on the spot with right-wing readers.

While reading this book I found it hard not to like Hosea Hudson. He is one of the best of a generation of fighters who came forward to rally around the banner of working-class revolution and the new world it will bring. But like so many others, he was tricked into accepting a fraud—the Stalinist version. This is a shame.

But there is also much hope in Hudson's story. Because it shows the great potential of southern workers, Black and white. This potential will be realized in the next big round of class battles on the horizon.

Ed Warren is a member of United Steelworkers Local 3036 in Birmingham, Alabama.

Books

Nell Irvin Painter, a history professor at the University of Pennsylvania. She tape-recorded his recollections and put them together.

The main value of this book is that it gives a rare firsthand glimpse of the Birmingham working class in those times—the day-to-day life, attitudes, misery, and oppression—and how the workers tried to fight back. You won't get the big picture—of how the unions were built, for example. But you do get a close-up look at the events Hudson saw and participated in. While it's obviously colored by his political outlook then and now, it's still very useful.

Hosea Hudson was born in Wilkes County, Georgia. Like his folks before him, he grew up to be a sharecropper. But he later moved to the city and became an industrial worker. In this he was no different from hundreds of thousands of others in the South. Hudson, however, went on to become a communist, or at least what he understood to be one.

By the time Hudson got to Birmingham in the 1920s, he had given up the gambling and drinking of his early youth. His main off-the-job activities were singing in a church quartet and following the baseball games played by the teams fielded by industries around Birmingham.

But what was happening to Blacks at the time was always on his mind.

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Come to Indianapolis

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December 27-30

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The Great Society

Harry Ring

Women in Revolt

Boston archbishop rebuffed

The Catholic church hierarchy would like to take us back to the Middle Ages when they had the power to dominate the minds and actions of the population.

But nobody wants to go. On September 11, five days before the Massachusetts election, Cardinal Joseph P. Donnelly, the Catholic archbishop of Boston, issued a pastoral letter condemning politicians "who make abortion possible."

The letter was aimed at two liberal Democratic candidates for Congress, Barney Frank and James Shanamon.

Frank was seeking the congressional seat held by Rep. Robert Drinan, a Catholic priest.

Ironically, Drinan gave up his seat because the pope—worried about the revolutionary actions taken by some priests in Latin America—told him that priests have to stay out of politics.

Both Frank and Shanamon stated they favor a woman's right to abortion and have supported government funding for abortions for poor women.

The archbishop's letter, which was read from the pulpit of many churches on Sunday, September 14, said—last anyone to get the message: "Those who deliberately side with such people on the issue of abortion as are part and parcel of the bipartisan austerity drive of the employers and their government and do not depend upon the individual Democratic or Republican politician who might be holding office.

And as for lesser evil. In the Massachusetts primary, Barney Frank had campaigned for a tighter budget at a time when transit workers were fighting for safer working conditions and higher wages. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and other unions came out behind the anti-abortion candidate running against Frank.

What would have happened though if the unions, backed by women's rights organizations, had run their own candidate, who was pro-labor and pro-abortion rights and who was independent of the Democrats and Republicans?

Such a campaign would have shown in action the way forward for working people and the women's movement.

If such a campaign had been launched, then things would be different.
On October 3, 1965, Fidel Castro, appearing on a television presentation of the newly established Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, read a farewell letter from Che Guevara, who had left Cuba earlier that year.

Ernesto "Che" Guevara was an Argentine doctor and revolutionary fighter. He was convinced of the need for a fight imperialist domination wherever it existed. In July 1955 he met Fidel Castro in Mexico at the home of Maria Antonia Gonzalez. Fidel welcomed Che into the Cuban rebel troops. Che traveled with them to Cuba on the Granma in December 1956. He fought alongside Fidel and other revolutionary leaders until their victory over the imperialist-backed Batista dictatorship on January 1, 1959.

Che served as a central leader in the new revolutionary government until 1965, when he left for Africa, then joined guerilla troops in Bolivia. He was killed by CIA-trained Bolivian troops on October 8, 1967.

Below is his final farewell to Fidel and the Cuban people.

Fidel:
At this moment I remember many things—when I met you in Maria Antonia’s house, when you suggested my rations. When I met you in Maria Antonia’s house, when you suggested my rations.

One day they asked who should be notified in case of death, and the real answer of that fact affected us all. Later we knew that it was true, that in revolution one wins or dies if it is a real one. My comrades fell along the way to victory.

Today everything is less dramatic, because we are more mature. But the fact is repeated. I feel that I have fulfilled the cause we are more mature. But the fact is repeated. I feel that I have fulfilled the cause.

Ernesto "Che" Guevara has always been identified with the Cuban revolution, and as such I shall behave. I find myself under other skies, my last words will be of this people and my revolutionary spirit of my people, the feeling of fulfilling the most sacred duties: to fight against imperialism wherever it may be. This comforts and heals the deepest wounds.

I have always been identified with the foreign policy of our revolution, and I will continue to be. Wherever I am, I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary, and as such I shall behave. I am not sorry that I leave my children and my wife nothing material. I am happy it is that way. I ask nothing for them, as I know the state will provide enough for their expenses and education.

I would like to say much to you and to our people, but I feel it is not necessary. Words cannot express what I would want them to, and I don’t think it’s worth while to banter phrases.

Ever onward to victory! Our country or death!

I embrace you with all my revolutionary fervor.

Che

Best labor paper
Enclosed is my request for a weekly bundle of three Militantes. I will increase the size of the bundle if need be. I am proud to say that your first national campaign subscription team of Stan Hills and Siobhan Duggan spent two nights last week while they campaigned in the local area. They are an excellent team worthy of the title "Socialist Workers."

As always, you continue to publish the best labor paper in America.

SWP in 1980, even in Gulfport!

C.T.
Gulfport, Florida

"Fundamentalist" gov.
I am so glad somebody protested that so-called National Affairs Briefings in Dallas [see September 19 "Letters" column].
Two of those in attendance were Alabama Gov. Bob James and his wife Bobbie. According to a story published in a local newspaper, Governor James denounced the constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state as "nonsense." Throughout Anglo-Saxon history, he said, movements of government have spawned from the pulpit."

This outrageous, racist statement drew ire from millions of people in the state. In Opelika—the governor’s home town—the newspaper, which once thought of him as God’s greatest gift to the state, blasted the statement.

My ministry—I am a Unitarian—made a sermon around the statement and drew applause from the congregation.

Incidentally, Governor and Mrs. James have spent thousands of taxpayers’ dollars using the state plane to fly to this and similar fundamentalist gatherings while slashing social services to the poor and working people of the state. Meanwhile, the governor, a multi-millionaire who made his fortune off the toil of nonunion workers, has refused to reimburse the state.

Patricia Hefner
Birmingham, Alabama

We deserve as much as Polish workers
On Monday, September 8, 1980, 1,600 teachers struck the San Jose Unified School District, comprising 33,000 students at fifty-one San Jose school districts. Members of the San Jose Teacher’s Association (NEA) overwhelmingly rejected the offer of an insulting 3.8 percent raise, which would amount to a severe pay cut in the context of today’s growing inflation rate. In the past six years alone, there has been a 30 percent decline in buying power for teachers who are not protected by a cost-of-living escalator clause.

From the start, the teachers have taken a militant stance in the face of the school district’s decision to send in 1,100 substitutes—a cascad— and provide them with “emergency” teaching certificates. On September 10, the school district asked for a court injunction ordering an end to the strike. 1,500 teachers responded by holding a rally at Paul Moore Park. Later in the day, hundreds of teachers set up a spirited picket line around the superior court building, demanding that the school district negotiate. One teacher carried a sign that read, “We Deserve As Much As The Polish Workers.” The injunction to return to work was soon denied.

Referring to the teachers going on strike, the president of the school board, Phillip Hamm, stated, “Any measure of surprise would have to be naive.” Another board member, Nor­ bert Streeter, conceded, “I do not think it is a reasonable offer. The board position is that the money is not there.” The SJ Teacher’s Association is demanding that the

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Che’s farewell letter

On October 3, 1965, Fidel Castro, appearing on a television presentation of the newly established Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, read a farewell letter from Che Guevara, who had left Cuba earlier that year.

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Learning About Socialism

Bolsheviks discuss trade union

A reader's question:

In your discussion of the trade strikes by Polish workers you are arguing that the 1921 dispute in the Russian Communist Party on the trade union question. (See "Learning About Socialism" column on unions in a workers' state, in the September 19, 1960, issue.)

This dispute involved two of the most prominent leaders of the Russian revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, who took diametrically opposed positions. What was the dispute about? How was it resolved?

H.M.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Frank Lover: replies:

Lenin sharply criticized Trotsky's 1920 pamphlet, "The Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions." Trotsky had argued that unions, in the economic crisis brought on by the civil war, and following the revolution of 1917, should be responsible for increasing production. Lenin disagreed. He said, "Comrade Trotsky . . . seems to say that in a workers' state it is not the business of the unions to stand up for the material and spiritual interests of the working class.

That is a mistake."

Involved in this, said Lenin, was the class nature of the Soviet state, classes within the Soviet Union, bureaucratic abuses, and the level of class consciousness of the workers. "For 'nothing, ours is not actually a workers' state, but a workers' and peasants' state,"

When subjected to Bukharin, who challenged Lenin's definition of the Soviet state, Lenin then corrected himself. "Our 'Programme and Proclamation which the ABC of Communism knows very well—shows that ours is a workers' state with a bureaucratic twist to it," he said.

In my opinion, there is a state element of the massively organized proletariat to protect itself. Lenin continued, "while, for us, for our nation, must use these organizations to protect the workers from their state, and to get them to protect our state."

Lenin believed that unions were essential for the protection of the working-class needs against bureaucratic managers of industry in the workers' state. In 1922 he called for the "New Economic Policy," which introduced a number of changes involving private ownership of small industry and profit incentives. It also provided that union membership should be open to all workers and completely voluntary. "I believe," he wrote, "that a union of workers must be an independent organization, unknown to the bureaucratic caste."

Lenin was a confirmed believer in the axiom that "as long as classes exist, the class struggle is inevitable."

He concluded, "I did not try to deceive myself or others that social classes were abolished when the working-class seized state power.

That was only the beginning of the transition to a classless society, a goal that had been, day-by-day, fulfilled."

"It follows from this," Lenin wrote, "that at the present moment we can under no circumstances abandon the idea of the struggle, we can, in a matter of principle, conceive the possibility of the law that makes compulsory state mediation take the place of strikes."

This particular debate between Lenin and Trotsky over the role and tasks of trade unions in the struggle against bureaucratic distortions," as they described it, was resolved amicably. Trotsky later reported how this came about and submitted his view of what was at issue in the debate in My Life, the autobiography he wrote in 1929.

Trotsky said, "It was only a few months later that Lenin formulated his new principles and role of the trade unions, based on new economic policy. I expressed my unsatisfied approval of his resolution. Our strife was thus destroyed. Lenin's Russian Communist Party is present. Carr says, "The whole trade union controversy of the winter of 1920-21 had been conducted under the system of bureaucratic platforms, but fitted in well with the more flexible programme [of Lenin] accepted by the [leftist] communists, which could be plausibly represented as a continuation of it."

The lessons over the trade-union debate were soon buried by the rise of Stalin to power, began to dismantle the bureaucratic state apparatus under the direction of Stalin. The unions that Lenin had hoped would curb the bureaucratic state were likewise destroyed, and almost all the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 were subsequently murdered by the Party of Lenin.

The disagreement between Lenin and Trotsky reflected the changing economic and political realities these revolu-

tions were grappling with in the first years of the first workers' state.

The trade-union question remains a vital one in all the workers states today. In that role the heirs of Stalin, it is hardening the bureaucratic state.

Unions have emerged out of the recent massive strikes in Poland that are challenging the interests of the workers against the bureaucratic caste.

For the Polish workers and others throughout the world inspired by them, there will be renewed interest in the trade-

unions and discussions among the Russian revolutionaries of sixty years ago.

Lenin on Trade Unions and Trotsky's My Life can be ordered from Printed Workers, 1417-2nd Ave., New York New York 10014 or from one of the offices listed below. The price of Lenin on Trade Unions is $2.95 and My Life is $6.95. Add $0.75 per book for postage.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Chanor Lane, New York, New York 10014.
By Caroline Lund

NEW YORK—They marched by the hundreds on 125th Street, in the center of Harlem, singing “When the Saints Come Marching In.” It was the entire congregation of Canaan Baptist Church, which had come to join the picket line on Sunday, September 21, to save Harlem’s Sydenham Hospital.

The men were in freshly pressed suits, the women in their Sunday best, older women with their cases, girls in organza dresses, the choir in its robes.

The picket outside the hospital swelled to some 2,000, marching in 86° heat. Protesters included trade unionists, members of Black rights organizations, doctors and nurses in their white uniforms, congregations of several other Harlem churches, including the American Muslim Mission, and residents of the community.

The Sunday demonstration was the culmination of a week-long, twenty-four-hour vigil demanding that the hospital remain open. New York City’s Mayor Edward Koch has decreed that the facility be closed down, as a hospital, because it is “wasteful” of health care funds.

“While Koch’s action in the Black struggle for freedom is set to be met with a resounding no!” proclaims a press statement released by the Coalition to Save Sydenham.

The hospital, the group organizing the protest, states, is James Butler, president of the Association of Black Social Workers. Another central leader of the Coalition to Save Sydenham, the group organizing the protest, is James Butler, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 420, which represents the city hospital workers.

The good turn-out by the Harlem community for Sunday’s rally was partly in response to a federal police charge against a rally at the hospital the day before, in which about twenty protesters were injured.

Speaking at the Sunday rally, Rev. Wyatt T. Walker of Canaan Baptist Church turned to address himself to the cops of the community line, urging them to seek state and federal funds to keep the hospital open.

The Coalition to Save Sydenham responded in a press statement later that day: “While recognizing the constructive character of the Mayor’s new position on the hospital, we feel that it is not sufficient. . . . The statement reiterated a determination to keep organizing protests until all plans to close Sydenham are dropped. They urged supporters to rally outside the hospital on Saturday, September 27, at 2:00 p.m.

“The Committee in Support of the Popular Struggle in El Salvador (Fuerzas Unidos Marti) distributed a leaflet urging that the money sent by Washington to support the repressive and murderous junta in El Salvador should instead be used to maintain and increase needed hospital care and social services in this country.

“Johnathan House, president of the Committee of Interns and Residents, told the Militant that Mayor Koch’s stated reasons for closing the hospital were all lies. ‘Harlem has been officially designated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a medically underserved community,’ he noted, ‘so why take away one of the most used hospitals?’

According to Black columnist Earl Caldwell in the New York Daily News, Sydenham’s emergency room accepted 26,000 patients last year. Of these, only 1,500 arrived by ambulance. The rest just walked into the community. Closing Sydenham would literally mean murder to thousands of such community residents who couldn’t afford a cab to a more distant hospital or couldn’t survive the wait for an ambulance.

Reba Williams Dixon, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, walked the picket lines at Sydenham and issued a campaign statement urging her supporters to join the struggle to keep Sydenham open.

At the Sunday rally, a speaker from the National Black Human Rights Coalition seemed to express the mood of the crowd when he stated that ‘what we’re seeing in the 1980s—from Miami, to Wrightsville Beach, to Orlando, to New York—is the reemergence of the struggle of our people, as we previously saw in the 1960s.’

Charlie Barron, chairperson of the Harlem Black United Front, initiated a chant that is the slogan of the revolution on the Caribbean island of Grenada, ‘Forward ever, Backward never!’

By Johanna Ryan

GREENSBORO, N.C.—North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University has been in the forefront of Black higher education since its founding in 1891.

“A&T, as it’s known here, has also long been a center for discussion and action in the Black struggle for freedom. In 1960, A&T students sat in at a segregated lunch counter in downtown Greensboro, setting off a civil rights protest movement that swept the nation.”

Now, under the guise of “desegregation,” federal and state governments are threatening the very existence of the Black colleges.

That’s why student leaders here are planning an all-out effort to build the national Black College Day ’80 march and rally in Washington, D.C., on September 29. March organizers hope to draw students from the 107 Black colleges in this country to Washington to protest the attacks coming down on Black colleges.

Here at A&T, the student government has been setting up tables every day to publicize the march. According to Public Relations Director Vivian Jackson, 560 students have already signed up to make the trip. A spirited rally was held September 18 on the A&T campus, and further rallies are planned to build momentum for the national march. Students at Winston-Salem State and North Carolina Central University, two other Black schools, plan to attend the march.

“Black colleges are being eliminated. Black college students are being emasculated,” says Aubrey Eastmon of the A&T student government. “About 100 students at the September 18 rally: ‘And it’s up to us to do something about it.’

How are Black colleges being under mined? According to television producer and columnist Tony Brown, a central organizer of Black College Day, “The Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Education is destroying them with seemingly innocent desegregation plans that neither improve educational opportunities for Blacks nor preserve these historic institutions.”

Brown cites the example of Savannah State College in Georgia, which has been merged with predominantly white Armstrong State. “This year,” he states, “SSC will graduate about half the Blacks it did last year.” Brown points out, “The desegregation is being used as a prototype for more mergers.”

While seven out of ten students at Black schools graduate with bachelor's degrees, 50 percent of Black students at predominantly white universities will receive bachelor’s degrees while at school.